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Nez Perce Grammar

By

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A.B. (Hiroshima University) 1953
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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

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Degree conferred...
Date

PREFACE

The field work for this study was done during the summers of 1960, 1961, and 1962 at Kooskia, Idaho, under the auspices of the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley, with the cooperation of the Idaho State Historical Society.

My thanks go to Professor William F. Shipley, who, as the chairman of the dissertation committee, encouraged and helped me from the beginning even to correcting the ever intrusive Japanese in my English; to Professor Mary R. Haas, who, as the head of the Survey of California Indian Languages, first introduced me to American Indian linguistics and has been a constant source of encouragement ever since; and to Professor Murray B. Emeneau for reading and commenting on a draft of the grammar.

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H. J. Swinney, Director of the Idaho State Historical Society, Mr. Merle W. Wells, Historian and Archivist of the same Society, Mr. Marcus J. Ware of Lewiston, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Swayne of Orofino, Mr. William Johnston and Mr. Ladd Hamilton of the Lewiston Tribune for their kind assistance; and finally, to my teachers of the language, especially to Mr. and Mrs. Harry Wheeler and Mrs. Elizabeth P. Wilson, whose warm hospitality and rewarding friendship will never be forgotten.

While I am indebted to many in this study, the final responsibility for any errors or inconsistencies is mine alone.

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INTRODUCTION

The Nez Perces called themselves /nimí·pu·/. The neighboring Indians[1] called them *šíwaniš* 'stranger,' *šuk^{w}íšuk^{w}i* 'dark brown' (Sahaptin dialects), *sêhápten* (Flathead) (Teit 1930: 300), *cugádɨkaʔa* 'kows eater,' *sáidukaʔa* 'people under the tule' (Bannock), *cóigaʔa* 'kows people' (Shoshoni), *kúmunuitsitapi* 'dark green or dark blue people' (Blackfoot). The whites called them Nez Perces, Pierced Noses, Chopunnish, Blue Earth Indians, Blue Mud Indians, Green Wood Indians, and Flatheads.

/nimí·pu·/ is analyzable into /nimí·/ and /pu·/. The former occurs only with /pu·/, and the latter means 'people.' Together, they mean 'the Nez Perce people.' An apparent variant *numipu* is also found (Spalding 1840; Morvillo 1888, 1891, 1895; Spinden 1908*a*: 171). Haines has *Nimapu* and notes that it means 'the Real people' (Haines 1955: 8).

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[1] The following are by personal communication: Sahaptin dialects from Bruce Rigsby, Bannock and Shoshoni from Sven Liljeblad, Blackfoot from Allan Ross Taylor.

šíwaniš 'stranger' is used by all the dialects of Sahaptin for the Nez Perce. Some older people, according to Rigsby, use *šukʷíšukʷi*, which means 'dark brown' or 'mahogany color' because the Nez Perces are supposed to have darker skin.

The name *sêhápten* and its variants are recorded by Thompson as early as 1809 (White 1950: 72). Sometimes it was to refer only to the Nez Perces (by Thompson, cf. Tyrrell 1916, White 1950); only to Northern or Northwestern Sahaptin (by Tolmie and Dawson, 1884: 78-87, who call their obviously Northern Sahaptin vocabulary "Shahaptan or Nez Percée"); or presumably for S(h)ahaptian including both Northern Sahaptin and Nez Perce.

sáiduka?a 'people under the tule' apparently refers to a Nez Perce type of dwelling, and *cugádɨka?a* 'kows eater,' and *cóiga?a* 'kows people' to one of their favorite foods. According to Liljeblad, *sáiduka?a* in Oregon Paiute means 'enemy,' 'enemies.'[2]

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[2] That the feeling was mutual is indicated by the Nez Perce word /tiwélqe/, which at once means 'the Snake Indians (and other Uto-Aztecans),' and 'enemy.'

According to A. R. Taylor, *kúmunuitsitapi* is analyzable into *kúmunui* 'dark green or dark blue' and *tsitapi* 'people'; the former is a possible loan from Nez Perce. Nez Perce has no word resembling *kúmunui* with the suggested meaning. However, the Nez Perce word /qemúynu·/ for the Wallawa band of Nez Perces (probably identical with *kamúinu* in Bulletin 30 of the Bureau of American Ethnology given as 'own name') may possibly be the source of the Blackfoot form.

According to Josephy (1955: 14), *Nez Perce* as a tribal name was coined by the French Canadians. It was first recorded in David Thompson's Journal on March 11, 1810 (White 1950: 96). The name derives from the early Nez Perce custom of wearing a dentalium shell through the septum of the nose as noted by Meriwether Lewis:

> "The orniments worn by the Chopunnish are, in their nose a single shell of Wampom, the pirl and beeds are suspended from the ears." (Thwaites 1904-5: 4.37f.)

The custom was also noted by Thompson ca. 1812 (Tyrrell 1916: 486f.), by Ross ca. 1818 (1855: 1.185), by Chief Joseph (1879: 416), by Spinden (1908*a*: 172), by Curtis (1911: 8.4 note 1), and by Teit (1930: 82, 147, 340). An early discontinuation of this custom was indicated by Parker

(1838: 80) in an entry for August 12, 1835:

> "..., but how will those ... account for the Nes. Percés being so called, since they do not pierce their noses ...".

and by Ferris (Phillips 1940: 303), who in recounting his experiences in the Rocky Mountains from 1830 to 1835, noted:

> "... there is not among the Nez-perces an individual having any part of the nose perforated."

This early discontinuation probably accounts for the view that the custom never existed and that the name is a misnomer--a view held by not a few including the authors of the article on Nez Perce in Bulletin 30. It is to be noted that Nez Perce was also used to designate the Northern Sahaptin as evident from vocabularies by Ross (1855: 1.312-323) and Tolmie and Dawson (1884: 78-87). The Anglicized Pierced Noses occurred as early as the date of Lewis and Clark's first historical encounter with the Nez Perces, September 20, 1805. Numerous variants are known including Neepercil and Nenpersaas (Henshaw and Farrand 1910: 2.67). Occasional missing of the mark is noted in Neckpercie (Henshaw and Farrand 1910: 2.67) and Oreille Percé (Coues 1897: 1.398)

Chopunnish was used by Clark in 1805 (Thwaites 1904-5: 3.78). Henshaw and Farrand (1910: 2.66) suggested that this is a corrupted form of a Nez Perce word *Tsútpěli*, a self-designation. Spinden (1908*a*: 172, note 1) suggested that it might be from a Sioux word *Tsunitpelun*, a possible corruption of the Nez Perce form. The present corpus bears out neither of the suggestions, nor does it offer a better one.

Blue Earth Indians and *Blue Mud Indians* may refer (as the Blackfoot word might) to the color and material of face paint. No explanation is available for *Green Wood Indians*. *Blue Mud Indians* was recorded by Lewis and Clark (Thwaites 1904-5: 6.106), *Blue Earth Indians* and *Green Wood Indians* by Henry (Coues 1897: 2.712), and the latter again by Thompson (White 1950: 105).

The name *Flathead* seems to have been used in at least three ways; (1) the ethnic group speaking a Salish language, (2) any group practising frontal deformation, (3) any tribe inhabiting the mountainous area west of the Rocky Mountains. It is possible that in the latter two applications the Nez Perces may have been included.

The practice of frontal deformation among the Nez Perces is noted by Teit (1930: 168, 381f.). Spinden

(1908a: 226) refers to skeletal evidence suggesting that it may have been an ancient or occasional practice. However, the reference Chittenden makes to the testimony of an "eye-witness" that the Nez Perce delegates to St. Louis in 1831-32 had flat heads (Chittenden 1902: 2.889) appears to be unfounded since Haines clarifies that the "eye-witness" William Walker arrived in St. Louis late in 1832, after the delegates had left the city (Haines 1937: 78). Further, Catlin did not paint them with flat heads. Even among the Salish-speaking Flatheads who did flatten their heads, the practice may have been discontinued early, as noted by Parker (1838: 80) in 1835:

> "I was disappointed to see nothing peculiar in the Flathead Indians to give them their name."

Flathead as an areal term inclusive of the Nez Perces is mentioned by Lewis and Clark. After noting that all nations west of the Rockies practiced flattening of heads Lewis remarks:

> "... it is from this peculiar form of the head that the nations east of Rocky mountains, call all the nations on this side, except the Aliohtans or Snake Indians, by the generic name of Flatheads." (Thwaites 1904-5: 4.184)

Further evidence of this use may be found in Catlin's following statement:

> "The Nez Percés who inhabit the upper waters and mountainous parts of the Columbia, are a part of this tribe [Flatheads] ..." (Catlin 1841: 2.108)

and in the following phrasing in a burial certificate of a 1831 Nez Perce delegate to St. Louis:

> "... Je sousigné ai inhumé dans le Cemetière de Cette Paroisse le corps de Keepellelé ou Pipe Bard du Nez Percé dela tribu de Chopoweck Nation appelé Tête Plates ..." (Chittenden and Richardson 1905: 22, note 3)

The territory occupied by the Nez Perce, according to Spinden (1908a: 172), extended from the Bitterroot mountains on the east to the Blue mountains on the west, between latitude 45° and 47°. Thus, while mostly in Idaho, they occupied a considerable area in Oregon and Washington. The adjacent tribes were Northern Sahaptin to the west, Flatheads to the north and east, and the northern Uto-Aztecans to the south, in increasing order of enmity. The military alliance between Nez Perce and Salish against the common enemy, horse-thieves who were after the famed breed of Appaloosa, resulted in an amicable symbiosis of the two tribes. Structural borrowing from the Salish, in consequence, appears probable.

Driver and Massey (1957: 167) state that "every anthropologist agrees that man's biological evolution took place in the Old World." But we are yet to learn of the relations of the Old World languages to the present American Indian languages, the dates of their intercontinental migrations, or their subsequent development in the New World.

The evidence for human habitation in nearby areas include the Five Mile Rapids in Oregon where continuous human occupation of a site from about 11,000 years ago up to the 1820's was established (Cressman 1960: 66; 1962: 2), the Indian Well site dating from 7500 to 8500 years ago (Butler 1959: 13) on the Washington side across the Columbia from the Dalles, the Lind Coulee site of some 8700 years ago (Daugherty 1956: 256), and the Ash Cave site of about 7940 years ago in the Columbia Basin (Butler 1962: 71). The famed Fort Rock Cave sandals have a radiocarbon date of 9053 ± 350 (Libby 1955: 119). Within the present Nez Perce territory, the Weis Rockshelter site indicates continuous human habitation from 7340 ± 140 years ago (Butler 1962: 28) to about 1400 A.D. (Ibid. 29) with indications of volcanic ash deposits identified as eruptions of Mt. Mazama (Ibid. 25f.), which are dated as having occurred around 6453 years ago (Libby 1955: 118f.). The Weis Rockshelter is located in /nipéhe/ or Rocky Canyon near Cottonwood, Idaho.

Cressman notes that the time of the impact of the first Shoshonean speaking peoples who filtered into the intermontane region may be the end of the Altithermal, that is 4000 to 4500 years ago (Cressman 1960: 69), and that the date of Salish settlement in the Tillamook area may be 2000 years ago (Ibid. 71). In reference to the pre-Shoshonean linguistic groups, Cressman notes that "Sapir's Penutian stock was apparently that of the old Great Basin population" (Ibid. 74).

Butler recognized an early culture characterized by leaf-shaped projectile points found not only in the Northwest but also in Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, and Chile. He called it the Old Cordilleran Culture (Butler 1961). At Weis Rockshelter, Butler considers the Craig Mountain phase of 5500 B.C. to 1490 B.C. (Butler 1962: 54) to be the regional expression of this culture (Ibid. 56). At The Dalles and in the

Columbia Basin the culture was coterminous with the anathermal period, but in the Camas Prairie region, in the Puget Lowland and in northeastern California it persisted until a later date (Ibid. 56). Swanson refers to the correspondence between the Old Cordilleran Culture and Penutian (1962: 157).

A different linguistic identification of this culture has been suggested by Daugherty, who after revising the Old Cordilleran Culture to "Northwest Cordilleran Area tradition," notes that "the remarkable correspindence, both temporally and spatially, between the concept of Northwest Cordilleran Area tradition and the apparent distribution of early Salishan languages, suggest a relationship" (1962: 149).

Both Cressman and Swanson agree that Penutian preceded Shoshonean.

Still another view is expressed by W. W. Taylor, who in reference to the Macro-Penutian classification suggested by Whorf (1935: 608) notes that "if the concept of Macro-Penutian is valid, the split between Penutian and Utaztecan was thus probably in the neighborhood of 10,000 years ago and somewhere in the mountainous region north of the Great Basin" (Taylor 1961: 75). He adds that "in fact, the Macro-Penutian speakers, as they moved southward along the western flanks of the Northern Rockies, may have been split by running into the block of Hokaltecans already occupying the desert habitat of the northern Basin." It is to be noted that Taylor's quotation begins with an "if." In Taylor's statement, the suggested sequence is first Hokaltecan, then the Macro-Penutian, which later split into Penutian and Uto-Aztecan.

With our present knowledge it is premature to establish any linguistic chronology subsequent to the earliest evidence of human habitation in the area, especially in view of the possibility that neither the equation of archaeological cultures with linguistic groups, nor that of transitions in cultures with migrations is necessarily warranted. One simple possibility is that the ancestors of the Nez Perces may have occupied their present habitat for several millenia, and that the people who occupied the Weis Rockshelter for the first time some 7340 years ago may have spoken a language ancestral to Nez Perce.

Nez Perce, along with Northern Sahaptin, is a member of the Sahaptian family of languages. Sapir proposed that Sahaptin, Waiilatpuan, and Lutuami are members of a larger group, Plateau Penutian, which in turn is a member of a still larger group, Penutian (Sapir 1929). Sahaptian and Lutuami are probably related (Aoki 1963*b*), but beyond this there is no published demonstration of Plateau Penutian as a genetic group. Besides Sapir, exploratory attempts toward the placement of Sahaptian in a larger group include Swadesh (1954, 1956), and Hymes (1957, 1964). California Penutian, proposed by Dixon and Kroeber (1919) and demonstrated as related by Pitkin and Shipley (1958), and Sahaptian, together with Klamath, probably belong to the same genetic group.

Spinden in 1908 listed some forty divisions or bands within the Nez Perce tribe (Spinden 1908*a*: 174f.). That they are geographical or micropolitical units and not necessarily linguistic subdivisions is suggested by their names which are mostly derivatives of place names, e.g., /lamtá·ma/ 'Whitebird band on Salmon River' is composed of /lamáta/ 'Whitebird (place name)' and /ma/ 'from,' 'people from.'

Almost a century after the tribal relocation into reservations, the historical dialect situation is not clear. According to the informants, all of whom live in the middle and south fork regions of the Clearwater River (Mr. and Mrs. Wheeler in Stites, Mrs. Wilson in Kamiah, Mr. Arthur in East Kamiah, and Mrs. Moody in Kooskia), there is a separate dialect, which may be termed the Lower Nez Perce dialect. The dialect treated in this study, the Upper Nez Perce dialect, and the Lower dialect are mutually intelligible. This division may have some historical relevance since a similar division of the tribe was mentioned by Captain Bonneville in the early 1830's.

The scanty information may be summarized as follows:

Upper	Lower	
petkúhtuʔ	petkʷéhtuʔ	'we will be shooting'
tukéytet	tukʷéytet	'hunting'
pí·tamyalon	pí·tamyanon	'chicken hawk'
célmen	cénmen	'Chinese'
mé·ywi	mé·ymi	'morning'
so·yá·po·m	so·yá·po·nim	'of the white'
maná	manáma	'how'
sepú·msise	sepí·wemsise	'I am leading'
peʔénpeʔyse	peʔénpeʔnse	'he takes somebody else's'
konwacá·n	konwacá·t	'for that reason'

The lower dialect seems to have at least one additional phoneme /k^w/, which marks it as the more conservative dialect of the two, according to the tentative inventory of phonemes in Proto-Sahaptian (Aoki 1962: 173). The two sets with /l/ in the Upper dialect and /n/ in the Lower may or may not be significant since n-l consonant symbolism (300) exists in both dialects. The set with /y/ in the Upper dialect and /n/ in the Lower in allomorphs of {e·y} (benefactive suffix) may involve an incorrect identification by informants. A. B. Smith, in reference to his linguistic observations at Kamiah in 1839-41, notes that kiansha means 'go for another,' and hahnansha means 'see another's wife, children etc.' (Drury 1958: 105). In the dialect of this study Smith's forms would be /kiyé·yse/ and /hexné·yse/. Smith's teacher of Nez Perce was Chief Lawyer (Ibid. 107), whose old home was in the Upper Nez Perce area of Kamiah.

It is possible that there was an extensive vocabulary limited to myths. According to Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson there are at least the following sets, one for common use and the other limited to myths.

common	myth	
ʔiceyé·ye	nisé·ʔweynu·	coyote
wé·x̣pus	nenínme	rattlesnake
wé·ptes	tipiyeléxne	eagle
hími·n	teqelixniké·t	wolf
yá·ʔyax	wiskeʔyné·t	goose
titó·qan	netí·telwit	human beings
hí·semtuks (luminary)	wiyetené·t	sun

The words used only by older people include /nícu/ 'younger kinsman,' /no·ciwá·tx̣/ 'we alone.' The former is without a one-word equivalent in common usage; the newer and more common form for the latter is /nonciwá·tx̣/. /kí·ʔmolikam/ 'mountains' is used only in connection with the guardian spirit quest. The common word for mountain is /mé·x̣sem/.

Certain phonetic modifications produce various subsystems of the Nez Perce language as spoken by different animals in myths.[3] Phinney notes

> "Fox speaks with utmost clarity and directness. Bear slurs consonants into ł. Skunk nasalizes in a high pitched voices and changes x̣ to x and k, s to ts, a to ȧ." (Phinney 1934: ix)

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[3] A similar phenomenon is noted in Nootka (Sapir 1915).

No corresponding information was available except for the change of n to l and s to š in Coyote's speech, e.g., /nisé·ʔweynu·/ 'coyote (in common speech)' and [lišé·ʔweylu·] 'coyote (in Coyote's speech).'

My principal informants were Mr. and Mrs. Harry Wheeler (1960-61), and Mrs. Elizabeth P. Wilson (1961-62). Other informants were Mr. David Arthur, Mr. John Mofatt, and Mrs. Lottie Moody.

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The published sources on the Nez Perce Indians may be divided into scholarly and popular works. For the former this bibliography is (hopefully) exhaustive with respect to those dealing with the language. A selection of other sources are cited, including those referred to in the introduction.

Linguistic publications include two primers by Spalding (1839, 1840), a grammatical sketch by Hale (1846) based on A. B. Smith's field work, another grammatical sketch by Ainslie (1876*a*), a grammar and an English-Nez Perce dictionary by "a missionary of the Society of Jesus in the Rocky Mountains,"[1] a collection of texts by Phinney (1934), and a study of verb affixes by Velten (1943). There are at least three translations of various sections of the Bible: Spalding (1845), Ainslie (1876*b*, 1876*d*) and Cataldo (1914).

In manuscript are a grammar by A. B. Smith (ca. 1841), grammatical notes and an English-Nez Perce dictionary by Sue L. McBeth (ca. 1873-93), and three dictionaries; one presumably by Morvillo (ca. 1890), another by

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[1] Schoenberg identifies Anthony Morvillo as the author (Schoenberg 1957: 66).

William Wheeler (ca. 1900), and a third by Corbett Lawyer (1955-61). Also in manuscript are texts, grammatical notes, and a lexical file by Morris Swadesh (ca. 1930),[2] and grammatical and lexical notes by Phinney (ca. 1930).

One of the most extensive collections of Nez Perce traditions is Phinney's texts (1934). Collections in English include works by Spinden (Boas 1907, Spinden 1908_b_, 1917). Studies in the content and style of the Nez Perce oral literature include Skeels (1954_a_, 1954_b_, Ms) and Clark. Ethnographical studies exclusively concerned with Nez Perce are represented by Spinden's article (1908_a_) based on his field work, and Coale's restatement (1956) of various nineteenth-century accounts including that of Lewis and Clark. An excellent history of the Nez Perces is by Haines (1955).

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[2] Even though these are catalogued as "Cayuse" the language studied is a dialect of Nez Perce.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS

[ ]	Phonetic brackets (Chapter One)
[x]	"x is optional" (Chapters Two and Three)
/ /	Phonemic brackets
‖ ‖	Morphophonemic brackets
{ }	Morphemic brackets
< x >	"class of items including x"
$\overset{f}{\sim}$	"in free variation with"
$\sim$	"varies with"
:	"is represented by" (between two forms)
C	Consonant
P	Stop
V	Vowel

Special symbols for the section on kinship term stems (510.3)

(m)	a man speaking	Mo	mother, mother's
(f)	a woman speaking	O	older
Br	brother, brother's	Si	sister, sister's
Ch	child, child's	So	son, son's
Da	daughter, daughter's	Wi	wife, wife's
Fa	father, father's	Y	younger
Hu	husband, husband's		

aS	adjective stem
aT	adjective theme
At	attributive
C	connective
Cc	coordinating connective
CL	clause
CLc	copulative clause
CLd	dependent clause
CLg	general clause
CLh	hortatory clause
CLi	interrogative clause
CLp	possessive clause
Cs	subordinating connective
cvS	copulative verb stem
cvT	copulative verb theme
dS	demonstrative stem
dT	demonstrative theme
esT	expanded substantive theme
GPh	general phrase
gvS	general verb stem
gvT	general verb theme
H	hortatory particle
HW	hortatory word
I	interjection
IPh	interjectory phrase
kS	kinship stem
kT	kinship theme
L	locative
nS	general noun stem
nT	general noun theme
nuS	numeral stem
nuT	numeral theme
O	object
Ph	phrase
ppS	personal pronoun stem
ppT	personal pronoun theme
pS	pronominal suffix
Q	question particle
QW	question word
S	subject
SEN	sentence
sT	substantive theme
Vc	copula
Vf	finite verb
Vg	general verb
Vp	possessive verb

CHAPTER ONE

PHONOLOGY

100. PHONEMICS

Nez Perce has 36 phonemes as follows:

Segmentals

Consonants	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Velar	Post-Velar	Glottal
Plain:						
Stops	p	t	c	k	q	?
Spirants		ł	s	x	x̣	h
Nasals	m	n				
Semivowels	w		y			
Lateral		l				
Glottalized:						
Stops	p̓	t̓	c̓	k̓	q̓	
Nasals	m̓	n̓				
Semivowels	w̓		y̓			
Lateral		l̓				

Vowels	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid			o
Low	e	a	

Suprasegmentals

Length: ·

Stress: ´

Junctures

Phonological word juncture	+
Pause form	,
Terminal contour	.

110. Consonants.[1] There are at least two directions in which general allophonic statements for consonants may be made: (1) according to the manner of articulation, and (2) according to the point of articulation.

(1) The voiceless plain stops /p/, /t/ and /c/ are unaspirated before a vowel, moderately aspirated before another consonant, and strongly aspirated before a juncture.

The voiceless plain stops /p/, /t/, /c/ and /q/ occur in close transition when geminated. /k/ and /?/ do not geminate.

The voiced continuants /m/, /n/, /w/, /y/ and /l/ are frequently voiceless before a terminal contour.

(2) The dental consonants /t/, /ł/, /n/ and /l/ are palatalized before /u/.

The lamino-alveolar consonants /s/ and /c/ are palatalized before /i/.[2]

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[1] The allophony describes Mrs. HW's ideolect.

[2] In the ideolect of HW, /s/ and /c/ are palatalized everywhere, apparently as in the dialects studied by Smith, Spalding, and Ainslie.

/p/ (bilabial) is: unaspirated and without initial closure (since the preceding segment is unreleased) after /p/ and before a vowel, e.g.,

mít̓ippe	'at a place where elderberries are'

unaspirated with initial closure elsewhere before a vowel,

páyn	'to arrive'
?ápa	'brick of ground camas'
weyí·letpu·	'Cayuse'
cí·kspe	'at sister-in-law's' (a woman speaking)

unreleased before /p/, e.g.,

mít̓ippe	'at a place where elderberries are'

moderately aspirated before a consonant other than /p/, e.g.,

qepsí?s	'evil'
mú?pc	'one-year old fawn'
walápsksa	'I jerk it away'

and strongly aspirated elsewhere, e.g.,

?ásqap	'younger brother' (a man speaking)
c̓éyne·sp	(place name).

/t/ (apico-dental) is: unaspirated and palatalized before /u/,[3] e.g.,

tú·skex	'upward'
pe?tú·qes	'man-crazy'

---

[3] /t/ does not occur, probably fortuitously, after /t/ and before /u/.

unaspirated, unpalatalized and without initial closure after /t/ and before vowels other than /u/, e.g.,

?ipnattiwá·tit 'monologue'

unaspirated, unpalatalized and with initial closure elsewhere before vowels other than /u/, e.g.,

téhes 'ice'
?á·tim 'arm'
?isé·ptekey 'parfleche'
k̓ú·xsteyn 'to guess wrong'
?e?npté·ce 'I go to get it'

unreleased before /t/, e.g.,

weqíttise 'I loudly speak'

moderately aspirated before consonants other than /t/, e.g.,

petkúhtu? 'we will be shooting'
wasátqsa 'I whip'
weqíwtkse 'I am cutting grass'

and strongly aspirated elsewhere, e.g.,

lepít 'two'
?elwéht 'spring (season)'
wehéyqt 'necklace'
ké?npt 'to bite.'

/c/ (apico-alveolar) is: unaspirated, palatalized and without closure after /c/ and before /i/, e.g., picpíccim 'only red fir trees'

unaspirated, palatalized with initial closure elsewhere before /i/, e.g.,

cílmi 'squirrel'

hiwehcí·x 'they are barking'

unaspirated, unpalatalized without initial closure after /c/ and before vowels other than /i/, e.g.,

k̓accaynó·myaʔc 'coyote'

unaspirated, unpalatalized with initial closure elsewhere before vowels other than /i/, e.g.,

cawí·tx 'wild carrot'

pik̓é·xsce 'I am unlucky'

unreleased before /c/, e.g.,

picpíccim 'only red fir trees'

moderately aspirated before consonants other than /c/, e.g.,

lí·ckaw (place name)

léq̓excne (place name)

and strongly aspirated elsewhere, e.g.,

wálc 'knife'

pálx̣c 'rabbit'

títeʔwxc 'chisel mouth.'

/k/ (dorso-velar) is: unaspirated and slightly labialized before /i/, e.g., kimíle 'tamarak'

k̓apskísa 'I eat from the bones'

unaspirated and unpalatalized before vowels other than /i/, e.g.,

ké·tim 'spear'

lí·ckaw (place name)

and moderately aspirated before consonants, e.g.,

tewlí·kt 'tree'

walápsksa 'I jerk it away.'

/k/ does not occur before /k/ or a juncture.

/q/ (dorso-postvelar) has a spirantal off-glide without initial closure after /q/ and before a vowel, e.g.,

hiqqé·wise 'he is drunk'

has a spirantal off-glide with initial closure elsewhere before a vowel, e.g.,

qí·wn 'old man'

hiʔpsqíkeʔykse 'he is walking'

tewqeqé·wit 'nightmare'

is unreleased before /q/, e.g.,

hiqqé·wise 'he is drunk'

and moderately aspirated before a consonant other than /q/, e.g.,

ná·qc 'one'

wéwpeʔqt 'to split'

wasátqsa 'I whip.'

With one exception noted in 200., /q/ does not occur before a juncture.

/ʔ/ is glottal, e.g.,

ʔé·leʔ 'paternal grandmother' (vocative)

ţáʔc 'good'

múʔpc 'one-year old fawn'

ʔewx̣cʔúpeʔqe 'I broke it by sitting on it.'

The spirants are represented by the following allophones:

/ł/ (apico-alveolar lateral) alternates freely with a homorganic affricate between vowels, e.g.,

cú·łim 'bull,'

elsewhere /ł/ is an apico-alveolar lateral spirant, e.g.,

łé·płep 'butterfly.'

/s/ (lamino-alveolar) is palatalized before /i/, e.g.,

símux 'charcoal,'

and unpalatalized elsewhere, e.g.,

sáway 'graveyard,'

máqs 'gall.'

/x/ (dorso-velar) is backed before /q/ or /x̣/, e.g.,

ʔatwíyaxqana 'I advise him,'

te·xx̣í·c̓emkse 'I am angry because of cold,'

and is dorso-velar elsewhere, e.g.,

watí·sx 'tomorrow,' 'yesterday.'

/x̣/ (dorso-postvelar) is a fortis trill between consonants, e.g.,

pitx̣pá·ma 'nephews, nieces',

and is a less fortis spirant elsewhere, e.g.,

tasx̣ 'grease.'

/h/ (faucal), after a vowel and before a consonant, is a voiceless, non-vocalic off-glide homorganic with the preceding vowel, e.g.,

ʔelwéht 'year',

and is a faucal spirant elsewhere, e.g.,

há·ma 'man, husband.'

The sonornats are represented by the following allophones:

/m/ (bilabial nasal) is frequently voiceless in final position, e.g.,

wá·ʔwam 'head of stream',

and voiced elsewhere, e.g.,

mitá·t 'three.'

/n/ (apico-dental nasal) is velarized before /k/ or /q/, e.g.,

ʔanqá·x̣alpx 'remove!',

palatalized before /u/, e.g.,

nú·snu 'nose',

frequently voiceless in final position, e.g., wí·clamn 'lacking,'

and is an apico-dental voiced nasal elsewhere, e.g.,

ná·qc 'one.'

/w/ (bilabial semivowel) is frequently voiceless in final position, e.g.,

ní·ckaw 'basket-cap,'

and is voiced elsewhere, e.g.,

wú·yce 'I run away.'

/y/ (palatal semivowel) is frequently voiceless after a vowel and in final position, e.g.,

kúy 'go away!'

is voiced and with strong friction after /n/ and before a vowel, e.g.,

konyá 'over there,'

and is voiced without friction elsewhere, e.g.,

yá·caʔ 'elder brother' (vocative).

/l/ (lamino-alveolar lateral) is palatalized and voiced before /u/, e.g.,

ʔilú·t 'belly,'

voiceless in final position, e.g.,

ʔex̣ciʔmil 'throat,'

and is lamino-alveolar and voiced elsewhere, e.g.,

lepít 'two.'

The following examples support the phonemic analysis given above:

/p/ - /t/: pé·qt 'bark (of tree)', té·qt 'woodpecker.'

/t/ - /c/: ʔá·tim 'come out!', ʔá·cim 'come in!'

/c/ - /k/: yá·caʔ 'elder brother', yá·kaʔ 'brown bear.'

/k/ - /q/: pé·kt 'woman's younger brother', pé·qt 'bark (of tree).'

/q/ - /ʔ/: qí·wn 'old man', ʔí·wn 'urination.'

/yi/ - /ʔi/: wé·yikt 'to move across', wé·ʔikt 'grease.'

/wu/ - /ʔu/: wú·yce 'I run away', ʔú·yse 'I begin.' (imperfect pair).

/t/ - /s/: hiwtelí·kse 'he spreads (something)', hiwselí·kse 'he stands.'

/c/ - /s/: hé·cu 'fire wood', hé·su 'eel.'

/q/ - /x̣/: qápqap 'cottonwood tree', x̣ápx̣ap 'skin disease.' (imperfect pair).

/k/ - /h/: kéhen 'biceps', hehen 'stem of plants.'

/ʔ/ - /h/: ʔehétewise 'I admire him', hehétewise 'he admires.'

/x/ - /x̣/: ʔawyá·xnoʔqa 'I could see it as I went', ʔaw̓yá·x̣noʔqa 'I could find it.' (imperfect pair).

/m/ - /n/: ʔí·m 'you (sg.)', ʔí·n 'I.'

/n/ - /nn/: ʔimí·ne 'knee (object case)', ʔimí·nne 'gopher (object case).'

The glottalized consonants are distinguished by simultaneous coarticulation of glottal closure, while ʔC and Cʔ are cases of preglottalization and postglottalization, the latter being very infrequent. In glottalized stops, after simultaneous closure at the two points, the oral closure is released slightly before the release of the glottal closure. As a result a slight pop is sometimes produced, e.g., p̓áyn 'to be drained.' In cases of preglottalized stops, three articulatory stages are observed: first glottal closure, second, simultaneous glottal release and oral closure, and finally oral release, e.g., ʔaʔpáwaca 'I am putting it.' In cases of postglottalization, the three stages are: first, oral closure, then simultaneous oral release and glottal closure, and finally glottal release, e.g., hipʔímce 'it is growing.'

The glottalized stops occur word-initially and word-medially, while the general pattern seems to indicate that the glottalized continuants occur word-medially and finally. In general the glottalized consonants are found much less frequently than their unglottalized counterparts. That /n̓/ and /l̓/ are not found word-finally is probably fortuitous.

/p̓/ is bilabial stop, e.g.,

p̓áyn	'to be drained'
ʔilp̓ílp	'red'

/t̓/ is apico-dental stop, e.g.,

t̓áwn 'to guess in stick game'

ʔí·t̓it 'end,' 'stern of canoe'

/c̓/ is apico-alveolar stop, e.g.,

c̓í·x̣lu 'mountain ground squirrel'

wé·c̓ekse 'I am jumping'

/k̓/ is dorso-velar stop, e.g.,

k̓úyc 'nine'

hi·ʔk̓íwce 'it is sunny'

/q̓/ is dorso-postvelar stop, e.g.,

q̓áxno 'prairie chicken'

yoq̓opí 'that'

/m̓/ is bilabial nasal, e.g.,

cú·ɬim̓ayn 'for the steer'

laʔám̓ 'all'

/n̓/ is apico-dental nasal, e.g.,

ʔa·kín̓ax̣ 'I would have seen him'

/w̓/ is bilabial semivowel, e.g.,

ʔew̓ní·se 'I am giving it'

k̓í·w̓ 'cut (past participle)'

/y̓/ is palatal semivowel, e.g.,

ʔé·y̓sce 'I am happy'

hipstú·y̓ 'enough'

/l̓/ is lateral, e.g.,

kiwkiwíl̓ec 'drum.'

The following examples support the phonemic analysis given above:

/p/ - /p̓/: páyn 'to arrive,' p̓áyn 'to be drained'

/t/ - /t̓/: táwn 'to make stone tools,' t̓áwn 'to guess in stick game'

/c/ - /c̓/: cewcé·w 'whisper,' c̓é·wc̓ew 'ghost' (imperfect pair)

/k/ - /k̓/: tukúx 'stiff,' tuk̓úx 'straight'

/q/ - /q̓/: qócqoc 'meadowlark,' q̓ocq̓óc 'naked' (imperfect pair)

/n/ - /n̓/: tinú·n 'grass widow,' tin̓ú·n 'male mountain sheep'

/w/ - /w̓/: wá·wa 'mosquito,' wá·w̓a 'fish hook'

/ʔp/ - /p̓/ - /pʔ/: ʔaʔpáwaca 'I am putting it,' ʔap̓ap̓á·p̓ap 'lizard,' 'tadpole,' hipʔímce 'it is growing'

/ʔy/ - /y̓/ - /yʔ/: wakaykaʔyá·ʔy 'uncleaned,' hipstú·y̓ 'enough,' tíʔma·yʔ 'maiden'

120. Vowels. All unstressed vowels have somewhat centralized lenis and lax allophones.

After glottalization, vowels have a pharyngealized quality, e.g.,

č̓á·no 'that man',

č̓élč̓el 'fat, awkward.'

After /h/ or /ʔ/ and before /n/, stressed vowels are frequently nasalized, e.g.,

ʔé·ni 'fool hen',

hé·nek̓e 'again.'

/i/ is high, front and unrounded before /·/, e.g.,

sí·s 'broth',

has a centralized on-glide after /q/ or /x̣/, e.g.,

qí·wn 'old man',

x̣í·č̓emce 'I am angry',

and is lower high, front and unrounded elsewhere, e.g.,

lepít 'two.'

/e/ is lower mid, front and unrounded after /y/, e.g.,

kiyéwkiyew 'katydids',

and higher low, and rounded elsewhere, e.g.,

ʔé·ks 'sister.'

/a/ is higher low, central and unrounded after /w/ or /m/, e.g.,

maqs 'gall',

and is low central and unrounded elsewhere, e.g.,

náˑqc 'one.'

/o/ is mid, back and rounded after /w/ or /m/, e.g.,

móˑɬaʔ 'maggot',

and is lower mid, back and rounded elsewhere, e.g.,

ʔoyláˑqc 'six.'

/u/ is high and back before /ˑ/, e.g.,

ʔúˑyit 'beginning',

and is lower high and back elsewhere, e.g.,

k̓úyc 'nine.'

In general, rounding is non-distinctive.

The following examples support the phonemic analysis given above:

/u/ - /e/ - /a/: súhuy 'fat', séhey 'worm', sáhay 'sore.' (imperfect pair).

/i/ - /u/: qiyéˑsqiyes 'mean looking', quyéˑsquyes 'bluejay.' (imperfect pair).

/u/ - /o/: qulusqúˑlus 'dandruff', qolosqóˑlos 'esophagus.' (imperfect pair).

/i/ - /e/: nikíse (place name), nekíse 'I think.'

/i/ - /a/: ʔaˑkcíˑqa 'we saw it', ʔaˑkcáˑqa 'I saw it.'

130. Suprasegmentals

/·/ (vowel length) is characterized by relative tenseness in the syllable and a vowel length of approximately two morae, e.g.,

sí·s 'broth' (cf. sís 'navel')
mé·qeʔ 'snow' (cf. méqeʔ 'paternal uncle (vocative)')
ha·lálalcix 'they cheer' (cf. halálalcix
'we cheer').

/ʹ/ (stress) is characterized by high pitch and relative loudness in the syllable, e.g.,

mé·qeʔ 'snow.'

/+/ (phonological word juncture) is characterized by a mid-to-high glide on the following long stressed syllable, and by an occurrence of the dental allophone of a preceding /n/ when /k/ or /q/ follows, e.g.,

/nk/ : [ŋk] ʔanká·ck̓ilksa 'I tear it with hand'
/n+k/ : [nk] ʔí·n ÷ kú·se 'I go.'

/,/ (pause form) is characterized by a clearly marked short silence. The following long stressed syllable starts with middle pitch.

/./ (terminal contour) is characterized by a slight drop in pitch, and by voiceless allophones of the preceding m, n, w, y or l.

The following examples support the phonemic analysis given above:

/·/ - no length: sí·s 'broth,' sís 'navel'; mé·qeʔ 'snow,' méqeʔ 'paternal uncle (vocative)'; ʔa·tóʔsa 'I go out to see somebody else's,' ʔatóʔsa 'I go out to see mine'; ʔó·q̓ox̣c 'ankle,' ʔóq̓ox̣c (man's name); mú· 'cow,' mú 'call.'

/ʹ/ - weak stress: wé·cese 'I am riding,' we·cé·se 'I am dancing.' (imperfect pair)

/+/ - no juncture: ʔé· + wí·ce 'you are crying,' ʔewí·ce 'I am sleepy.' (imperfect pair)

140. Phonotactics

141. The syllable canon is $C_1V(\cdot)(C_2)(C_3)(C_4)(C_5)$. After a phonological word juncture C_1 may be any consonant except glottalized continuants; elsewhere, C_1 may be any consonant. V may be any vowel. C_2, when followed by a juncture, may be any consonant except /k/, /q/,[4] /h/ and glottalized stops. There are no consonant clusters after a phonological word juncture.

142. Prejunctural consonants and consonant clusters.

In general, three-member and four-member prejunctural clusters contain two-member prejunctural clusters in final position. Namely, in $C_1V(\cdot)C_2C_3C_4$, C_3C_4 are permissible final position two-member clusters (with the exception of qt and qs), so are C_4C_5 in $C_1V(\cdot)C_2C_3C_4C_5$. However, in four-member clusters $C_3C_4C_5$ are permitted final three-member clusters in only three cases out of eight examples.

No gemination or glottalized consonants are found in prejunctural clusters. It may be significant that /p/ and sonorants do not occur as the final member after stops (with the exception of /ʔ/) in prejunctural clusters.

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[4] An exception is /hoq̓hó·q̓/ 'hog,' a probable loan from English.

The prejunctural consonants and consonant clusters may be summarized as follows:

C_1	V(·)	C_2	C_3	C_4	C_5
	any V	C^{-}k,q,h,p̓			
		C^{-}ɬ,C̓	C^{-}k,q,h,C̓		
		C^{-}p,t,k,q,C̓	p,t,c,q,x,y	t,c,s,x	
		p,ʔ,h,x	t,c,n,y,w,s	p,k,s	t,c,s

Examples of $C_1V(\cdot)C_2$:

p	ʔásqap	'younger brother of a male'
t	mitá·t	'three'
c	x̣áʔwic	'sharp (of points)'
ʔ	ʔé·leʔ	'paternal grandmother (vocative)'
ɬ	tá·qma·ɬ	'hat'
s	téhes	'ice'
x	símux	'charcoal'
x̣	peqíyex̣	'nephew'
m	cú·ɬim	'bull'
n	tinú·n	'grass widow'
w	sá·w	'silence'
y	weté·key	'leggings'
l	ʔex̣cíʔmil	'throat'

m̓	laʔám̓	'all'
w̓	k̓í·w̓	'cut (past participle)'
y̓	hipstú·y̓	'enough'

Examples of $C_1V(\cdot)C_2C_3$:

The combinations found are as follows:

C_2 \ C_3	p	t	c	ʔ	ɬ	s	x	x̣	m	n	w	y	l
p		1	2			3	4	5					
t						6	7	8					
c							9						
k		10				11							
q			12			13							
ʔ	14	15	16			17		18	19	20	21	22	
s	23	24			25		26	27					
x		28	29			30							
x̣	31		32			33							
h		34											
m		35				36	37	38		39			
n								40	41				
w		42					43			44			
y			45	46			47	48		49			50
l	51	52	53	54			55	56					

1.	pt	ʔuyné·pt	'seven'
2.	pc	k̓apck̓ápc	'furious'
3.	ps	ʔehíps	'I ate it'
4.	px	ʔenímipx	'toward winter'
5.	px̣	sipx̣sípx̣	'dirty'
6.	ts	só·ts	'deep water'
7.	tx	ʔiní·tx	'to the house'
8.	tx̣	pí·tx̣	'maternal uncle'

9.	cx	ʔá·cx	'go in!'
10.	kt	tewlí·kt	'tree'
11.	ks	pewé·yiks	'we crossed over'
12.	qc	ná·qc	'one'
13.	qs	sá·slaqs	'moose'
14.	ʔp	x̣eʔpx̣éʔp	'sneaky'
15.	ʔt	kikéʔt	'blood'
16.	ʔc	táʔc	'good'
17.	ʔs	sewíʔs	'mussel'
18.	ʔx̣	nacóʔx̣	'Chinook salmon'
19.	ʔm	híʔm	'mouth'
20.	ʔn	qeqé·wiʔn	'drunk'
21.	ʔw	kiʔw	'as'
22.	ʔy	wakaykaʔyá·ʔy	'uncleaned'
23.	sp	c̓éyne·sp	(place name)
24.	st	píst	'father'
25.	sł	másł	'so long,' 'that long'
26.	sx	qilá·sx	'otter'
27.	sx̣	písx̣	'tick'
28.	xt	múxtmuxt	'small sucker fish'
29.	xc	hé·ʔyuxc	'cottontail'
30.	xs	púxs	'inner skin'
31.	x̣p	pitáx̣p	'man's sister's child'
32.	x̣c	táx̣c	'definitely'
33.	x̣s	táx̣s	'willow'

34.	ht	?elwéht	'spring (season)'
35.	mt	pú·timt	'ten'
36.	ms	tíms	'chokecherry'
37.	mx	tamántoyamx	(place name)
38.	mx̣	pí·mx̣	'paternal uncle'
39.	mn	?í·mn	'knee'
40.	nx̣	sapankitá·nx̣	'to plant'
41.	nm	kínm	'this' (possessive case)
42.	wt	laymíwt	'small'
43.	wx	?isk̓íwx	'cut it!'
44.	wn	qí·wn	'old man'
45.	yc	k̓úyc	'nine'
46.	y?	ti?má·y?	'maiden'
47.	yx	?ú·tkuyx	'take it away!'
48.	yx̣	x̣ayx̣áyx̣	'white'
49.	yn	ciwáyn	'projection'
50.	yl	kiwáyl	'this long'
51.	lp	?ilp̓ílp	'red'
52.	lt	q̓últ	'penis'
53.	lc	wálc	'knife'
54.	l?	?isk̓í·l?	'rock mouse'
55.	lx	cú·yek̓ilx	'close it!'
56.	lx̣	?isp̓á·lx̣	'sack'

Examples of $C_1V(\cdot)C_2C_3C_4$:

The combinations found are as follows:

C_2	C_3	C_4			
		t	c	s	x
ʔ	p	1	2		
x					3
x̣					4
h		5			
n		6			
y				7	
l		8		9	10
m	t				11
w					12
y					13
x̣	c				14
c	k	15			
ʔ		16		17	
ł		18		19	
s		20			
m				21	
n		22			
w		23			
y		24		25	
l		26			
ʔ	q	27		28	
m		29			
y		30			
l	x̣		31		
ʔ	y		32	33	34

1.	ʔpt	ce·ptuktex̣éʔpt	'to crawl under'
2.	ʔpc	múʔpc	'one-year old fawn'
3.	xpx	wepsú·xpx	'to the right'
4.	x̣px	ʔeqtéx̣px	'to the side'

5.	hpt	wé·plehpt	'imagination'
6.	npt	wiye?énpt	'to carry'
7.	yps	ƛ̓aypsƛ̓áyps	'tough (of wood)'
8.	lpt	temé·ci·lpt	'encampment'
9.	lps	lílps	'mushroom, sp.'
10.	lpx	?anká·x̣alpx	'open!'
11.	mtx	?ú·yitimtx	'come and start!'
12.	wtx	?á·cqawtx	'go in!'
13.	ytx	wiske?éytx	'go on a trip!'
14.	x̣cx	léq̓ex̣cx	(place name)
15.	ckt	?icapyó·ckt	'strip of tanned hide'
16.	?kt	hí·kte?kt	'to cover'
17.	?ks	tuxc̓é?ks	'get stuck (in mud)'
18.	łkt	niká·q̓ołkt	'to remove'
19.	łks	tuké·pq̓ełks	'I crushed with hand'
20.	skt	sapó·ta·skt	'to blow to put out'
21.	mks	wislámks	'I moved'
22.	nkt	cepé·ketinkt	'poisoning'
23.	wkt	tax̣sáwkt	'echo'
24.	ykt	wap̓áykt	'to wash'
25.	yks	wap̓áyks	'I washed'
26.	lkt	taqak̓álkt	'to close door'
27.	?qt	wéwpe?qt	'to split'
28.	?qs	wé·?mupe?qs	'I broke with head'

29.	mqt	wecímqt	'to get splinter'
30.	yqt	wehéyqt	'necklace'
31.	lx̣c	pálx̣c	'rabbit'
32.	?yc	hé·?yc	'loose'
33.	?ys	hé·?ys	'itch,' 'rash'
34.	?yx	wilé·ke?yx	'run!'

Examples of $C_1V(\cdot)C_2C_3C_4C_5$:

1.	pckt	weléykipckt	'to tie'
2.	?tkt	we?lé·mu?tkt	'to tie hair on the forehead'
3.	?npt	ké?npt	'to bite'
4.	?ykt	quqúke?ykt	'to gallop'
5.	?wxc	títe?wxc	'chisel mouth'
6.	htkt	watáhtkt	'to wade out'
7.	xsks	t̓úxsks	'I smashed with hand'
8.	xskt	?icet̓úxskt	'to cut open'

143. The consonants and consonant clusters that occur intervocalically may be summarized as follows:

C_1	C_2	C_3	C_4
any C			
Cu,c̓,k̓,q̓,w̓	C$^{\text{-w̓,y̓}}$		
Cu	Cu$^{\text{-ł,h}}$	Cu$^{\text{-x,h}}$,p̓-p̓	
p,?,w,l	p,t,c,s,x̣,m,n,y,l	p,c,k,q,s	t,c,k,q,?,s

Cu: unglottalized consonants, Pu: unglottalized stops

Examples of V(·)C_1V:

p	?ápa	'brick of ground camas'
t	?á·tim	'arm'
c	?á·cim	'come in!'
k	hekíce	'I see'
q	?á·qam	'above'
?	?á·?a	'crow'
ł	cú·łim	'steer'
s	?é·se	'claw'
x	túxit	'to make fishing lines'
x̣	?ex̣ewíke?ykt	'to go alongside'
h	?e·hé	'yes'
m	?íma	'island'
n	?é·ni	'fool hen'
w	?á·wit	'widow'
y	?áyi	'younger sister!'
l	?á·la	'fire'
p̓	típ̓ut	'lung'
t̓	?é·t̓is	'red face paint'
c̓	?ec̓í·c	'short time'
k̓	?é·k̓ex	'magpie'
q̓	?ó·q̓ox̣c	'ankle'
m̓	cú·łim̓ayn	'for the steer'
n̓	tin̓ú·n	'male mountain sheep'
w̓	wá·w̓a	'fish hook'
l̓	kiwkiwíl̓ec	'drum'

Examples of $V(\cdot)C_1C_2V$:

The combinations found are as follows:

C_1 \ C_2	p	t	c	k	q	ʔ	ɨ	s	x	x̣	h	m	n	w	y	l	p̓	t̓	c̓	k̓	q̓	m̓	n̓	l̓
p	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		9			10	11	12	13		14		15	16			
t	17	18	19	20	21				22	23		24	25	26	27	28	29	30		31	32		33	
c	34		35	36	37			38		39		40	41	42	43	44				45	46			
k	47	48	49					50					51		52	53			54					
q	55	56	57		58			59				60	61			62								
ʔ	63	64	65	66	67		68	69		70		71	72	73	74	75		76	77		78			
ɨ													79					80						
s	81	82	83	84	85			86		87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94		95	96	97			
x	98	99	100	101	102		103	104		105	106	107	108	109		110			111	112	113		114	
x̣	115	116	117					118					119	120	121	122		123	124					
h		125	126	127				128					129	130	131									
m	132	133		134	135	136		137		138		139	140	141	142	143		144	145	146				
n	147	148		149	150							151	152	153	154					155		156		
w	157	158	159	160	161	162		163			164		165	166	167	168		169	170		171			
y	172	173	174	175	176	177		178		179		180	181	182	183	184			185	186	187		188	
l	189	190		191	192			193				194	195	196	197	198	199			200	201			
c̓									202				203		204									
k̓													205			206								
q̓	207										208													
w̓													209											
l̓														210										

1.	pp	mit̓íppe	'at elderberry'
2.	pt	ʔisé·ptekey	'parfleche'
3.	pc	ʔistú·ptupce	'I cut hair'
4.	pk	cá·pkiʔlaksa	'I gather'
5.	pq	heʔlepqénut	'without shoes'
6.	pʔ	hipʔímce	'it is growing'
7.	pł	łat̓ápłat̓ap	'flimsy,' 'easily bent'
8.	ps	niké·pse	'I eat in a hurry'
9.	px̣	x̣ápx̣ap	'skin disease'
10.	pn	nex̣sepníx	'quite different'
11.	pw	pilepwé	'four (men)'
12.	py	ʔicapyó·ckt	'strip of tanned hide'
13.	pl	talí·play	'short pestle'
14.	pt̓	ʔipt̓é·se	'I hit'
15.	pk̓	k̓apapk̓ápap	'round'
16.	pq̓	q̓apapq̓ápap	'tight'
17.	tp	weyí·letpu·	'Cayuse'
18.	tt	weqíttise	'I loudly speak'
19.	tc	tex̣téqetce	'I worry'
20.	tk	petkúhtuʔ	'we will be shooting'
21.	tq	hipetqú·ye	'they drowned'
22.	tx	tátxinma	(place name)
23.	tx̣	x̣étx̣et	'spine'
24.	tm	sapátma	'late season'
25.	tn	wisé·tnix	'we have been standing'
26.	tw	títwite·s	'tooth mark'

27.	ty	pí·ckatyo	'brook trout'
28.	tl`	tátlo	'ground squirrel'
29.	tp̓	wix̣ci?letp̓et	(place name)
30.	tt̓	t̓att̓át	'easy to tear'
31.	tk̓	k̓átk̓at	'cut fringes'
32.	tq̓	hipetq̓ulewske	'they came back in a hurry'
33.	tn̓	qí·tn̓es	'smoke hole'
34.	cp	?icpe?stúptupne	'I cut hair'
35.	cc	k̓accaynó·mya?c	'coyote'
36.	ck	lí·ckaw	(place name)
37.	cq	qócqoc	'meadowlark'
38.	cs	wa·csaca	'I beat with stick'
39.	cx̣	cicx̣emé·mkt	'elk with one horn'
40.	cm	né·cmi?s	'I wish'
41.	cn	?ipox̣poqácna	'your great grandparent' (object case)
42.	cw	wacwácno	'saddlehorn,' 'pommel'
43.	cy	x̣ax̣a·cyá·ya	'man-like grizzly bear'
44.	cl	wiclek̓ú·pt	'to break in cutting'
45.	ck̓	?ick̓átk̓atin	'fringes'
46.	cq̓	q̓ocq̓óc	'naked'
47.	kp	?ekpí·ke?ykse	'I trace it'
48.	kt	hí·kte?ke	'cover'
49,	kc	hé·wlekce	'I am disappearing'
50.	ks	?ew̓ní·kse	'I put it'

51.	kn	cepé·knekt	'to select the best'
52.	ky	wewúkye	'bull elk'
53.	kl	liklí·ce	'I turn'
54.	kc̓	watikc̓á·sa	'I step on'
55.	qp	p̓éqpe	'high noon'
56.	qt	hilíwheqteqt	'dead timber'
57.	qc	te·wc̓íqce	'I talk at night'
58.	qq	hiqqé·wise	'he is drunk'
59.	qs	we?wuqse	'I vomit'
60.	qm	tá·qma·ɬ	'hat'
61.	qn	wisteqné·mit	'gift'
62.	ql	?ipeqlísne	'man's son's child' (object case)
63.	?p	?a?páwaca	'I am putting it'
64.	?t	pe?tú·qes	'man-crazy'
65.	?c	wá·tiwa?ca	'I am wearing belt'
66.	?k	hí·kte?ke	'cover'
67.	?q	septeqepé?qe	'I broke it'
68.	?ɬ	ɬit̓e?ɬít̓e?	'flat'
69.	?s	?a?sak̓iwka?nya	'I cut his'
70.	?x̣	?e?x̣ilpíse	'I am quarreling with him'
71.	?m	sa?máwas	'belt'
72.	?n	pú·?niks	'he names it'
73.	?w	?é·le?wic	'easy to get'
74.	?y	tí?yet	'laugh'
75.	?l	he?lepqénut	'without shoes'
76.	?t̓	mic̓yó·x̣?t̓as	'radio'

77.	?c̓	?é·le?c̓ayn	'for father's mother'
78.	?q̓	lu?q̓í·ckin̓ike·x	'south'
79.	łn	káłna	'wild currant'
80.	łt̓	cepé·łt̓e?kse	'I flatten'
81.	sp	paspasí·n	'rancid'
82.	st	?ástay	'awl'
83.	sc	wac̓ásc̓asca	'I splash'
84.	sk	tú·skex	'upward'
85.	sq	qé·sqe·s	'dotted,' 'parti-colored'
86.	ss	k̓assáyno	'elbow'
87.	sx̣	c̓ax̣í·sx̣is	'goat'
88.	sh	hiné·shin	'tell them!' (in slow speech)
89.	sm	sismáx̣not	'without shirt'
90.	sn	sayq̓isníx	'very beautiful'
91.	sw	waswásno	'chicken'
92.	sy	yo·syó·s	'blue'
93.	sl	sá·slaqs	'moose'
94.	sp̓	?isp̓á·lx̣	'sack'
95.	sc̓	wac̓ásc̓asca	'I splash'
96.	sk̓	?isk̓í·l?	'rock mouse'
97.	sq̓	q̓ósq̓os	'blackbird'
98.	xp	?ilé·puxpux	'ashes'
99.	xt	tukuxtúkux	'protruding'
100.	xc	ca·xcá·x	'wild onion'
101.	xk	peté·?mixki	'they went over'
102.	xq	qi?yaxqí?yax	'squawfish'
103.	xł	łixłí·ks	'scattered rubbish'

104.	xs	ʔenú·xsukse	'I know by smell'
105.	xx̣	te·xx̣í·c̓emke	'I was angry because it was cold'
106.	xh	helé·xhewlex	'thin air'
107.	xm	múxmukt	'fish sp.'
108.	xn	tukelixneʔwé·t	'hunter'
109.	xw	ʔacixwá·koʔs	'canteen'
110.	xl	ciʔmtaxló·yn	'to wear clothes inside out'
111.	xc̣̓	c̓íxc̓ix	'hay'
112.	xk̓	ta·xk̓ó·mayka	'I became ill from cold'
113.	xq̓	q̓eyexq̓éyex	'young chub'
114.	xn̓	t̓uxn̓ípec	'radio'
115.	x̣p	pox̣póqc	'great grandparent'
116.	x̣t	tex̣teqétce	'I worry'
117.	x̣c	caqax̣cáqax̣	'small sore'
118.	x̣s	nex̣sepníx	'quite different'
119.	x̣n	sismáx̣not	'without shirt'
120.	x̣w	piwix̣wí·qin	'argument'
121.	x̣y	ʔéx̣yew	'mane'
122.	x̣l	c̓í·x̣lu	'mountain chipmunk'
123.	x̣t̓	t̓éx̣t̓ex̣	'strawberries'
124.	x̣c̓	c̓ó·x̣c̓oqca	'I am sucking'
125.	ht	petkúhtuʔ	'we will be shooting'
126.	hc	hiwehcí·x	'they are barking'
127.	hk	hiweʔynéhkeʔyke	'he took her home'
128.	hs	tiʔnéhse	'(the sun) rises'
129.	hn	mú·hne	'cow' (object case)

130.	hw	ʔinahwá·latksa	'I carry fire'
131.	hy	teʔnéhyekse	'I am going up hunting'
132.	mp	neʔé·lempe	'my paternal grandmother's place'
133.	mt	té·mtex̣likse	'I spread something'
134.	mk	neʔé·lemki	'through my father's mother'
135.	mq	hiyé·mqece	'I cry after'
136.	mʔ	há·mʔawit	'widower'
137.	ms	té·msepseye	'I pack by throwing in'
138.	mx̣	x̣oyímx̣oyim	'alone'
139.	mm	pammí·ʔwacpa	'frequently'
140.	mn	hamná·wisa	'I visit my folks' (of married woman)'
141.	mw	neʔé·lemwecet	'because of my father's mother'
142.	my	pi·tamyalon	'chicken hawk'
143.	ml	weylí·mleks	'stray one' (e.g. a dog)
144.	mt̓	x̣émt̓uy	'periwinkles'
145.	mc̓	ʔamc̓íya	'I heard it'
146.	mk̓	tamk̓ác̓k̓ac	'hail'
147.	np	ʔinpíse	'I take it'
148.	nt	kuntemelú·kt	'the second' (e.g. son)
149.	nk	ʔenkitipíse	'I am tanning hide'
150.	nq	capalá·nqana	'I was working'
151.	nm	sepú·nmise	'I blow horn'
152.	nn	ʔimí·nne	'gopher' (object case)
153.	nw	ʔínwim	'last year'
154.	ny	konyá	'there'

155.	nk̓	?imu·né·nk̓e	'they also'
156.	nm̓	?inm̓é·ks	'my sister'
157.	wp	cik̓í·wpe	'at wife's brother's'
158.	wt	té·wti?yese	'I laugh at night'
159.	wc	tamatamáwca	'I throw too far'
160.	wk	?a?sakíwka?nya	'I cut his'
161.	wq	tewqeqé·wit	'nightmare'
162.	w?	taw?ox̣o?óx̣aca	'I cough at night'
163.	ws	wé·wsese	'I thrash beans'
164.	wh	hilíwheqteqt	'dead timber' (in slow speech)
165.	wn	q̓alawní·n	'beaded'
166.	ww	tewwí·ce	'I cry at night'
167.	wy	pí·wyu·cix	'we separate'
168.	wl	hé·wlekse	'I am disappearing'
169.	wƛ̓	cá·wƛ̓alahsasa	'I raise front lock of hair with stiffener'
170.	wc̓	te·wc̓íqce	'I talk at night'
171.	wq̓	q̓a?áwq̓a?aw	'white horse'
172.	yp	paypayló·ya	'tattle-tale'
173.	yt	táytay	'little salmon'
174.	yc	pe·lé·yce	'I got lost'
175.	yk	tiwáyka·s	'hair oil'
176.	yq	tayqísa	'I thread'
177.	y?	?a·tway?áyn	'for an old woman'
178.	ys	suk̓uysúk̓uy	'dark' (of skin)
179.	yx̣	x̣ayx̣áyx̣	'white'
180.	ym	laymíwt	'small'

181.	yn	páyna	'I arrived'
182.	yw	mé·ywi	'morning'
183.	yy	hipeyyewicwíye	'they were poor'
184.	yl	miwáyl	'how long?'
185.	yc̣̓	tuké·yc̓illiks	'I am exhausted'
186.	yk̓	k̓ayk̓áyoc	'raccoon'
187.	yq̓	sayq̓isníx	'very beautiful'
188.	yn̓	way̓áwyawn̓as	'fan'
189.	lp	wisalpó?s	'paddle'
190.	lt	taltátki	'with cedar'
191.	lk	?etelkelí·kce	'I am leading'
192.	lq	hiwá·tálqa	'it stopped'
193.	ls	c̓í·lilse	'I curl up'
194.	lm	cílmi	'pine squirrel'
195.	ln	k̓alk̓álna	'maggot'
196.	lw	lawí·lwit	'intelligent'
197.	ly	cilyé·x̣ne	'fly' (object case)
198.	ll	tillá·pca	'I am lonesome'
199.	lp̓	cilp̓ú·?	'ace' (of cards)
200.	lk̓	k̓álk̓al	'maggot'
201.	lq̓	pá·lq̓allay	'both ends'
202.	c̓x	xic̓xí·c	'rubber'
203.	c̓n	?iné·c̓nehwewitise	'it is going downstream'
204.	c̓y	mic̓yó·x̣o?t̓as	'radio'
205.	k̓n	?iné·k̓nikt	'band' (of people)
206.	k̓l	titek̓lú·yni?n	'pigeon-toed'
207.	q̓p	seq̓píse	'I am scratching'

208. q̓h hoq̓hó·q̓ 'hog'

209. w̓n ?ew̓ní·kse 'I put it'

210. łw ?ełwíce 'I spend winter'

Examples of $V(\cdot)C_1C_2C_3V$:

The combinations found are as follows:

C_2	C_3 C_4	p	t	c	k	q	?	s	x̣	m	n	w	y	l	t̓	c̓	k̓	q̓
p	c					1			2					3				
	k							4										
	?									5				6				
	s			7		8												
	x										9							
t	k							10				11						
	q							12										
	x													13				
	x̣	14	15	16				17										
c	p				18													
k	s	19	20										21					
q	c							22			23	24						
	s		25							26								
?	p								27						28			
	t							29										
	c							30			31							
	k							32										
	q							33										
	s		34								35	36						
	x									37								
	x̣							38						39				
	m		40		41		42					43		44				
	n	45									46		47					
	w̓							48										
	y				49			50			51		52					53
	l											54						
ł	k							55										
s	k̓							56										

C_2	C_3	C_4 p	t	c	k	q	ʔ	s	x̣	m	n	w	y	l	ƛ̓	c̓	k̓	q̓
x	p				57													
	c										58	59					60	
	ʔ													61				
	s		62	63														
x̣	c						64											
	s			65														
h	p							66										
	t							67										
m	c				68													
	k							69										
	s		70	71													72	
n	p							73										
	ʔ									74								
w	k							75										
	ʔ												76		77			
	s											78						
	x				79													
	n												80					
y	k							81										
	q							82			83							
	s										84							
	x̣															85		
l	p							86	87									
	k							88										
	q							89										
	s		90															
	x			91														
	x̣	92									93							

1.	pcq	ʔipcqí·tit	'bird with long bill'
2.	pcx̣	capcx̣iláyksa	'I sweep'
3.	pcl	lapclápc	'covered all over'
4.	pks	ʔecu·yeʔípkse	'I am cultivating'

5.	pʔn	cúpʔnit	'emerge from timber'
6.	pʔl	hipʔlátaca	'he goes mining'
7.	psc	qépsce	'I close eyes'
8.	psq	ʔipsqíkeʔykse	'I walk'
9.	pxn	tasí·pxne	'cow elk' (object case)
10.	tks	cú·yeti·pitkse	'I make it smooth'
11.	tkw	petkwéhtuʔ	'we will be shooting'[5]
12.	tqs	wasátqsa	'I whip'
13.	txl	litxlítx	'bushy'
14.	tx̣p	pitx̣pá·ma	'mother's brothers'
15.	tx̣t	ʔatx̣tó·ca	'I am sneaking up on it'
16.	tx̣c	ʔátx̣capsa	'I shoot it lengthwise'
17.	tx̣s	hitx̣sáwksa	'it is echoing'
18.	cpk	pox̣poqácpkin̓ix	'from great grandparent's'
19.	ksp	ci·kspe	'at sister-in-law's' (a woman speaking)
20.	kst	c̓iʔlá·kstin	'deer claw bells'
21.	ksy	hi·semtuksyé·ye	'luminary (personified)'
22.	qcs	ʔoylaqcsik̓í·wpa	'six days before or after'
23.	qcn	ʔinípox̣poqcna	'my great grandparent' (object case)
24.	qcw	ʔoylá·qcwa	'six (men)'
25.	qst	teqsté·qs	'fern'
26.	qsm	maqsmáqs	'yellow'

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[5] HW gave this form, which is noted as of lower dialect by EPW.

27.	ʔpx̣	x̣eʔpx̣éʔp	'sneaky'
28.	ʔpƛ	ʔeʔpƛé·se	'I hit it'
29.	ʔts	sapáʔtsa	'I let it out'
30.	ʔcs	sapáʔcsa	'I let it in'
31.	ʔcn	ʔeleʔcnú·t	'without paternal grandmother'
32.	ʔks	hí·kteʔkse	'I cover'
33.	ʔqs	ʔicepéʔqse	'I cut'
34.	ʔst	ʔicpeʔstú·ptupne	'I cut hair'
35.	ʔsn	sewiʔsníme	(place name)
36.	ʔsw	teqepsiʔswíye	'he made me upset'
37.	ʔxm	kúʔxmac	'several'
38.	ʔx̣s	heʔx̣siʔmilwí·se	'he eats much'
39.	ʔx̣l	laʔx̣láʔx̣	'powdery'
40.	ʔmp	hí·tiʔmpeʔqs	'I broke it with knee'
41.	ʔmc	hí·tiʔmce	'I am kneeling'
42.	ʔmq	ʔilsté·ʔmqet	'partly burned tree'
43.	ʔmw	sáʔmwa·ca	'I wear a belt'
44.	ʔml	hí·tiʔmlikse	'I am about to kneel'
45.	ʔnp	ʔeʔnpíse	'I arrest him'
46.	ʔnn	tiʔnnúx	'quick death'
47.	ʔny	ʔaʔsak̓íwkaʔnya	'I cut it for him'
48.	ʔws	ce·péʔwse	'I select'
49.	ʔyk	hiweʔynéhkeʔyke	'he took her with him'

50.	ʔys	pá·nyaʔysa	'he makes it for someone'
51.	ʔyn	toʔynóʔayn	'crupper'
52.	ʔyy	ʔaʔyyíʔc	'dangerous'
53.	ʔyq̓	pik̓unʔmaʔyq̓á·l	'September'
54.	ʔlw	haʔlwíya	'I went for nothing'
55.	ɬks	co·lahóɬksa	'I slip it off'
56.	sks	wató·sksa	'I turn it off'
57.	xpk	wepsú·xpkin̓ike	'right hand'
58.	xcn	léq̓excne	(place name)
59.	xcw	loxcwí·sa	'I am industrious'
60.	xck̓	hinúxck̓omayn	'to be sick from smell'
61.	xʔl	ta·xʔlá·twisa	'I am tired from freezing'
62.	xst	ḳ̓ú·xsteyn	'to guess wrong'
63.	xsc	pik̓é·xsce	'I am unlucky'
64.	x̣cʔ	wix̣cʔútekey	'pillow,' 'cushion'
65.	x̣sc	ʔemú·x̣sce	'I swallow it'
66.	hps	hiwwé·plehpse	'I imagine'
67.	hts	tukéhtse	'I am shooting'
68.	mck	temckileyleké·t	'grasshopper-like insect'
69.	mks	q̓uyímkse	'I drag'
70.	mst	ʔemsteqeʔénpse	'I am answering him'
71.	msc	ʔemscú·kwece	'I understand'
72.	msk̓	hímsk̓uye	'dirty mouth (with food)'
73.	nps	ʔemsteqeʔénpse	'I am answering him'

74.	nʔm	pik̓unʔmaʔyq̓á·l	'September'
75.	wks	hitx̣sáwksa	'it is echoing'
76.	wʔy	yiʔyé·wʔyew	'all of a sudden'
77.	wʔƛ̓	wawʔƛ̓í·liyaxc	'woodpecker sp.'
78.	wsw	pewswé·lu·ye	'we are going down'
79.	wxk	kewxké·wx	'brown'
80.	wny	yawnyá·ya	'Cold' (a mythical figure)
81.	yks	ʔiné·tepeleykse	'I am getting confused by talking so much'
82.	yqs	wehéyqse	'I put a necklace on'
83.	yqn	wehéyqne	'necklace' (object case)
84.	ysn	ʔaysníma	(place name)
85.	yx̣c̓	q̓oyx̣c̓á·l	'July'
86.	lps	tuké·pilpse	'I carry in arms'
87.	lpx̣	x̣álpx̣alp	'mythical figure on cloud'
88.	lks	ʔo·cik̓í·lksa	'I spoil it'
89.	lqs	wa·tálqsa	'I stop'
90.	lst	ʔilsté·mqet	'partly burned tree'
91.	lxc	cálxcalx	'cricket'
92.	lx̣p	qoqalx̣pípam	'among buffaloes'
93.	lx̣n	ʔilx̣ní·wisix	'we increased in number'

Examples of $V(\cdot)C_1C_2C_3C_4V$:

?psq	hi?psqíke?ykse	'he is walking'
?cks	capti?wacá?cksa	'I am ready to shoot'
?mks	?eqsímteqeti?mkse	'I am throwing it in anger'
?npt	?e?npté·ce	'I go to get it'
?nks	?iyé·ti?nkse	'I will drown'
?yks	hi?psqíke?ykse	'he is walking'
?lqs	?ehísi?lqse	'I am moistening'
ptks	?átx̣captksa	'I shoot it lengthwise'
psks	walápsksa	'I jerk it away'
wtks	weqíwtkse	'I am cutting grass'
wx̣c?	?ewx̣c?úpe?qe	'I broke it by sitting'
lpsc	q̓í·lpsce	'I snap eyes at'
lpsk	k̓alpskísa	'I eat from the bones'

200. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Nez Perce has 17 morphophonemes represented by phonemic alternations. These morphophonemes are in two groups:

1. ‖c‖, ‖k‖, ‖q‖, ‖ʼ‖, ‖·‖, ‖k^w‖, ‖q^w‖, ‖h‖, ‖H‖, ‖^‖, ‖e‖, ‖u‖, ‖_‖, ‖-‖
2. ‖r‖, ‖r$_i$‖, ‖R‖.

210. The members of the first group show the following phonemic alternation:

‖c‖ : /s/ before ‖n‖ or ‖w‖, and /c/ elsewhere, e.g.,

‖yúʔc‖ : /yúʔc/ 'poor,' 'pitiful'
‖yúʔcne‖ : /yúʔsne/ 'poor' (object case)
‖ʼuylé̲·qc‖ : /ʔoylá·qc/ 'six'
‖ʼuylé̲·qcwe‖ : /ʔoylá·qswa/ 'six' (of men)

‖k‖ : /x/ before ‖k‖, ‖q‖, ‖n‖, ‖l‖ or ‖+‖; /k/ elsewhere, e.g.,

‖cemitékki‖ : /cemitéxki/ 'with huckleberry'
‖ʼíyelí·kqe̲wne‖ : /ʔiyalí·xqawna/ 'I drifted by'
‖cemitknú·t‖ : /cemitxnú·t/ 'without huckleberry'
‖cemitékle̲ykin‖ : /camitáxlaykin/ 'near huckleberry'

‖cemí·tk‖ : /cemí·tx/ 'huckleberry'
‖cemitkʼé̲yn‖ : /camitk̓áyn/ 'for huckleberry'

‖q‖ : /x̣/ before ‖k‖, ‖n‖, ‖l‖, or ‖+‖; /q/ elsewhere, e.g.,
‖hickilí·tu̲qkike‖ : /hickilí·tox̣kika/
'he went on back'
‖hic̓í·qne‖ : /hic̓í·x̣ne/ 'he spoke'
‖c̓í·qlu‖ : /c̓í·x̣lu/ 'talking squirrel'
‖tú·q‖ : /tú·x̣/ 'tobacco'
‖tú·qise‖ : /tú·qise/ 'I smoke tobacco'

‖ʼ‖ : ∅ after ‖ʔ‖ or ‖ʼ‖; /ʼ/ after other stops; /ʔ/ elsewhere, e.g.,
‖tísqeʔ‖ : /tísqeʔ/ 'skunk'
‖tisqeʔʼé̲yn‖ : /tisqaʔáyn/ 'for skunk'
‖ʼim̓ʼi·s‖ : /ʔim̓í·s/ 'your mother'
‖teʔéx̣etʼu‖ : /teʔéx̣et̓u/ 'just a youngster'
‖ʼiní·t‖ : /ʔiní·t/ 'house'

‖·̓‖ : /ʔ/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /·/, e.g.,
‖he̲lx̣pí·̓s‖ : /halx̣píʔs/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /halx̣pí·s/ 'all day'

‖h‖ : ∅ after a consonant at normal speed; /h/ elsewhere, e.g.,
‖hiné·shin‖ : /hiné·sin/ 'tell them!'
‖héhen‖ : /héhen/ 'stem,' 'vine'

‖H‖ : a homorganic unglottalized stop before a glottalized stop; the same consonant before a sonorant (‖m‖, ‖n‖, ‖l‖); and ∅ elsewhere, e.g.,

‖k̓úyc‖ : /k̓úyc/ 'nine'
‖peHk̓úyc‖ : /pekk̓úyc/ 'nine each'
‖lepít‖ : /lepít/ 'two'
‖peHlepít‖ : /pellepít/ 'two each'
‖pú·timt‖ : /pú·timt/ 'ten'
‖peHpú·timt‖ : /pepú·timt/ 'ten each'

‖^‖.

With vowels. ‖V̂‖ : /V/ when ‖^‖ occurs with the first vowel in a word or with the third vowel which follows a consonant cluster; and ∅ elsewhere, e.g.,

‖mîc’îkú·ynekse‖ : /mic̓kú·ynekse/ 'I believe'
‖himîc’îkú·ynekse‖ : /himc̓ikú·ynekse/ 'he believes'
‖mîc’í̲·se‖ : /mic̓í·sa/ 'I hear'
‖’emîc’i̲·se‖ :: /ʔamc̓í·sa/ 'I hear someone else's'
‖’ené·smîc’i̲se‖ : /ʔaná·smic̓isa/ 'I hear them'
‖hipe’îlelé̲ʔe̲mkse‖ : /hipaʔlaláʔamksa/
'they are all burned up'

With length. ‖^‖ : /·/ when ‖^‖ occurs after the first or third vowel after ‖+‖; and ∅ elsewhere, e.g.,

‖hí^miye̲ce‖ : /hí·miyaca/ 'I lick'
‖hihí^miye̲ce‖ : /hihímiyaca/ 'he licks'

||ʼé·̂yewise|| : /ʔé·yewise/ 'I am peaceful'

||hiʼé·̂yewise|| : /heʔéyewise/ 'he is peaceful'

With length and ||R||. ||·̂|| is Ø in the reduplication and /·/ elsewhere, e.g.,

||té·̂mul|| : /té·mul/ 'hail'

||R té·̂mul|| : /temulté·mul/ 'sleet'

||k^w||. ||k^wV|| : /ku/ after ||ˆ|| with the second vowel after ||+||; /kV/ elsewhere, e.g.,

||tûk^weylé·kse|| : /tukeylé·kse/ 'I drive down'

||hitûk^weylé·kse|| : /hitkuylé·kse/ 'he drives down'

||q^w||. ||q^wV|| : /qu/ after ||ˆ|| with the second vowel after ||+||; /qV/ elsewhere, e.g.,

||tûq^weléhnece|| : /tuqeléhnece/ 'I swim down'

||hitûq^weléhnece|| : /hitquléhnece/ 'he swims down'

Nez Perce has extensive vowel harmony. In a harmonic sequence, which is bounded by ||-|| or ||+||, and is either coterminous with or smaller than a morphophonemic word, either the set /i/, /a/, /o/ or the set /i/, /e/, /u/ is found. The following four morphophonemes, ||e||, ||u||, ||_||, and ||-|| describe the harmony. Among older speakers, the harmonic sequences are frequently coterminous with morphophonemic words. Consequently, the occurrence of harmonic sequence boundary marker, ‖-‖, *is very infrequent*, the main exception being foreign loans.

‖e‖ : /a/ with ‖_‖ within the same harmonic sequence bounded by ‖-‖ or ‖+‖; /e/ elsewhere, e.g.,

‖tú̲·teʔ‖ : /tó·taʔ/ 'father' (vocative)
‖’í·teʔ‖ : /ʔí·teʔ/ 'mother' (vocative)
‖pîlé̲qeʔ‖ : /piláqaʔ/ 'grandmother' (vocative) (maternal grandmother)
‖ce̲witk’é̲yn‖ : /cawitk̓áyn/ 'for wild carrot'
‖lém-he̲·y‖ : /lémha·y/ 'the Lemhi River, Idaho'[6]

‖u‖ : /o/ with ‖_‖ within the same harmonic sequence bounded by ‖-‖ or ‖+‖; /u/ elsewhere, e.g.,

‖su̲·yé·pu·‖ : /so·yá·po·/ 'the white people'
‖tewé·pu·‖ : /tewé·pu·/ 'people of Orofino, Idaho'
‖tuʔúynu‖ : /tuʔúynu/ 'tail'
‖tuʔynú’e̲yn‖ : /toʔynóʔayn/ 'crupper,' 'for the tail'
‖cú·ɬim-’e̲yn‖ : /cú·ɬim̓ayn/ 'for the steer'[7]

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[6] Lemhi, originally Limhi, was named after a king by Mormon immigrants in the area ca. 1855.

[7] /cú·ɬim/ 'steer' is a loan from Salish.

‖_‖. ‖e‖ : /a/, ‖u̱‖ : /o/, ‖i̱‖ : /i/. ‖_‖ is phonemically ∅, e.g.,

‖né̱·qc‖ : /ná·qc/ 'one'
‖tú̱·teʔ‖ : /tó·taʔ/ 'father' (vocative)
‖cí̱·ceʔ‖ : /cí·caʔ/ 'paternal aunt' (vocative)

‖-‖ (harmonic sequence boundary marker) is phonemically ∅, e.g.,

‖lém-he̱·y‖ : /lémha·y/ 'the Lemhi River, Idaho'
‖cú·łim-'e̱yn‖ : /cú·łim̓ayn/ 'for steer'

220. The members of the second group are morphophonemes of reduplication.

‖r‖ : /he/ before ‖ʔi‖ or ‖'i‖; /hV/ before ‖ʔV‖ or ‖'V‖ (V representing ‖e‖ or ‖u‖); elsewhere a sequence of a consonant and a vowel corresponding to the initial CV, e.g.,

‖'ískit‖ : /ʔískit/ 'trail'
‖r 'ískit‖ : /heʔískit/ 'trails'
‖'éhew‖ : /ʔéhew/ 'wounded'
‖r 'éhew‖ : /heʔéhew/ 'wounded' (distributive)
‖hé̱ˆcwe̱l‖ : /há·cwal/ 'son'
‖r hé̱ˆcwe̱l‖ : /hahácwal/ 'sons'

‖r_i‖ : a sequence of the following consonant and /i/, e.g.,

‖té̲ʔc‖ : /táʔc/ 'good'
‖r_i té̲ʔc‖ : /titáʔc/ 'good' (distributive)
‖x̣é̲ʔwic‖ : /x̣áʔwic/ 'sharp' (of points)
‖r_i x̣é̲ʔwic‖ : /x̣ix̣áʔwic/ 'sharp' (distributive)

‖R‖ : complete reduplication of the following stressed sequence, e.g.,

‖qíʔye̲x‖ : /qíʔyax/ 'squawfish'
‖R qíʔye̲x‖ : /qiʔyaxqíʔyax/ 'little squawfish'
‖mé̲qs‖ : /máqs/ 'gall'
‖R mé̲qs‖ : /maqsmáqs/ 'yellow'
‖ʼílp‖ : /ʔílp/ 'reddish skin eruption'
‖R ʼílp‖ : /ʔilp̓ílp/ 'red'
‖ʼé̲ys‖ : /ʔáys/ 'parsnip sp.'
‖R ʼé̲yc‖ : /ʔayc̓áyc/ 'parsnip sp.'

230. Morphophonemic sequences.

‖ewe‖ and ‖éwe‖ are phonemically /u·/, /o·/, /ú·/, /ó·/.
‖ewé‖ : /ewé/ or /awá/.

‖weyíknikuʔ‖ : /weyíxnikuʔ/ 'I will be flying around'
‖peweyíknikuʔ‖ : /pu·yíxnikuʔ/ 'we will be flying around'

‖wé·yiksik‖ : /wé·yiksix/ 'we are going across'

‖sîtéweyiksik‖ : /sitú·yiksix/ 'we are looking across'

‖weptem̲é̲wne‖ : /waptamáwna/ 'I murdered'

‖ʼeweptem̲é̲wne‖ : /ʔo·ptamáwna/ 'I murdered (somebody else's)'

‖wé̲·pciʔye̲wcik‖ : /wá·pciʔyawcix/ 'we are killing'

‖ʼewépciʔye̲wcik‖ : /ʔó·pciʔyawcix/ 'we are killing (somebody else's)'

‖wé̲wye̲ce‖ : /wáwyaca/ 'I beat with stick'

‖ʼewé̲wye̲ce‖ : /ʔawáwyaca/ 'I beat (somebody else's)'

There are following exceptions:

‖mé̲we̲‖ : /máwa/ 'when'

‖t̓é̲we̲‖ : /t̓áwa/ 'well ...'

‖k̓é̲we̲‖ : /k̓áwa/ 'so much,' 'that much'

‖kéweye‖ : /kéweye/ 'let them'

‖we̲ʔlé̲we̲‖ : /waʔláwa/ 'Wallawa, Wash.'

‖ʼipé̲we̲ce‖ : /ʔipáwaca/ 'I put in papoose'

‖VhV‖ and ‖VʼV‖ show the following:

$\|V_1hV_2\| : /V_2\cdot/ \overset{f}{\sim} /V_2hV_2/$

‖heqtí·se‖ : /heqtí·se/ 'I am getting old'

‖hiheqtí·se‖ : /he·qtí·se/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /heheqtí·se/ 'he is getting old'

‖$V_1h\acute{V}_2$‖ : /$V_2h\acute{V}_2$/

‖hé·sce‖ : /hé·sce/ 'I breathe'

‖hihé·sce‖ : /hehé·sce/ 'he breathes'

‖$V_1{}'V_2$‖ : /$V_2ʔV_2$/

‖'eíwíce‖ : /ʔeíwíce/ 'I spend winter'

‖hi'eíwíce‖ : /heʔeíwíce/ 'he spends winter'

‖$V_1{}'\acute{V}_2$‖ : /$V_2ʔ\acute{V}_2$/

‖'éˆyewise‖ : /ʔá·yewise/ 'I am peaceful'

‖hi'éˆyewise‖ : /heʔéyewise/ 'he is peaceful'

300. CONSONANT AND VOWEL SYMBOLISM

An interesting feature of Nez Perce is the occurrence of consonant and vowel alternation, mainly with augmentative-diminutive significance. /s/, /n/, /k/, and /e/ as non-diminutive forms are paralleled by /c/, /l/, /q/, and /a/ as diminutive forms. The diminutive forms indicate smallness in size, possession by the first person (in kinship terms), verisimilitude, or contempt (in tribal names). These diminutives often occur with ‖R‖.

s ~ c:

‖pé·su·yece‖ : /pé·su·yece/ 'he rocks (a child)'
‖pé·cu·yece‖ : /pé·cu·yece/ 'he rocks (a baby)'
‖R wé̱s nu‖ : /waswásno/ 'chicken'
‖R wé̱c nu‖ : /wacwácno/ 'saddle horn'
‖neʔyé̱·c‖ : /naʔyá·c/ 'my elder brother'
‖ʼim̓yé̱·s‖ : /ʔim̓yá·s/ 'your elder brother'
‖neʔcí̱·c‖ : /naʔcí·c/ 'my paternal aunt'
‖ʼimsí̱·s‖ : /ʔimsí·s/ 'your paternal aunt'
‖ʼiskí·cuʔmix‖ : /ʔiskí·cuʔmix/ 'Coeur d'Alene'
‖ʼickí·cuʔmix‖ : /ʔickí·cuʔmix/ 'Coeur d'Alene' (in derision)

n ~ l:

‖hité·m̓n̓es‖ : /hité·m̓n̓es/ 'book' ({hité·me} 'read')

‖kiwkiwíl̓ec‖ : /kiwkiwíl̓ec/ 'drum' ({kiwkiwí} 'beat')

‖ʼiceyé·ye-qe̲n‖ : /ʔiceyé·yeqan/ 'young coyote' ({ʼiceyé·ye} 'coyote') cf. ‖qe̲l‖ in 'dog' below.

k ~ q:

‖sík̓em‖ : /sík̓em/ 'horse'

‖ciq̓é̲·mqe̲l‖ : /ciq̓á·mqal/ 'dog'

e ~ a:

‖sé·x‖ : /sé·x/ 'onion'

‖R cé̲·x‖ : /ca·xcá·x/ 'wild onion'

‖ké·tis‖ : /ké·tis/ 'spear'

‖R ké̲·̂tic‖ : /katická·tic/ 'toy spear'

CHAPTER TWO

MORPHOLOGY

400. INTRODUCTION

The Nez Perce morphological word is a sequence of one or more morphemes between successive morphological word junctures symbolized as {+}. {+} is represented by free alternation of ‖+‖ and ∅, e.g.,

{yu̲q + ʼipním + ʼiní·t} 'that house of his'
: ‖yu̲q + ʼipním + ʼiní·t‖ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ ‖yu̲q + ʼipním ʼiní·t‖
$\overset{f}{\sim}$ ‖yu̲q ʼipním + ʼiní·t‖ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ ‖yu̲q ʼipnim ʼiní·t‖
: /yox̣ + ʔipním + ʔiní·t/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /yox̣ + ʔipním̓iní·t/
$\overset{f}{\sim}$ /yoq̓ipním + ʔiní·t/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /yoq̓ipním̓iní·t/.

The morphological word is either identical with or larger than the theme, which in turn, is either identical with or larger than the stem.

There are three morphological word classes internally defined: substantives, verbs, and particles. These are differentiated by discrete sets of affixes or by the absence of affixes.

500. SUBSTANTIVES

Substantive stems are discussed in 510 and substantive themes are discussed in 520.

510. Substantive stems.

There are six stem classes.

510.1 General noun stems (nS) : one or two general noun root morphemes.

There are three factors determining the allomorphs of general noun stems, the first of these is morphological, the others are phonological: (1) the absence or presence of affixes, (2) the absence or presence of stress in the affix, (3) whether or not the initial consonant of the suffix is a voiced continuant. The combination of these three results in five sets of environments:

I: no affixes

II: followed by an unstressed suffix with initial voiced continuant, e.g., {nim}, {ne}

III: followed by an unstressed suffix with initial voiceless stops, e.g., {pe}, {cim}, {k}, {kek}, {ki}, {kińik}

IV: followed by a stressed suffix with initial voiced continuant, e.g., {lé̲ykin}, {níme}, {nú·t}

V: followed by a stressed suffix with initial voiceless stops or glottalization, e.g., {pípem}, {’e̲yn}.

The alternation between allomorphs of a general noun may be summarized as a difference in the number of segments, in length, and in stress.

Of segmental differences there is but one, namely, the stem final t, which alternates with zero in environments II and IV. Others involve vowels, the most frequent being the alternation between CV́(·)CC in environment I and CVCV́C in environments II and III.

Length difference may be observed in the alternation between final short vowels in environments I, IV, and V and final long vowels in II and III. This alternation is morphologically conditioned.

Stress difference is generally characterized by stressed allomorphs in environments I, II, and III and stressed allomorphs in IV and V. Though there are exceptions, allomorphs in II and III tend to occur with the stress placed closer to the stem-final position than in I.

The types of allomorphy and examples are as follows:

(1) {wex̣wéqt} type. The members of this type have six allomorphs, two forms in environment V. An example is {wex̣wéqt} 'frog.'

I: {wex̣wéqt +} : ‖wex̣wéqt‖ : /wex̣wéqt/ 'frog'
II: {wex̣wéqt ne} : ‖wex̣weqé ne‖ : /wex̣weqéne/
'frog' (object)
III: {wex̣wéqt pe} : ‖wex̣weqét pe‖ : /wex̣weqétpe/
'at the frog'
IV: {wex̣wéqt níme} : ‖wex̣weqe níme‖ : /wex̣weqeníme/
'Frog-Place'
Va: {wex̣wéqt ’é̲yn} : ‖wex̣weqt -’é̲yn‖ : /wex̣weqt́áyn/
'for a frog'
Vb: {wex̣wéqt pípem} : ‖wex̣weqet pípem‖ : /wex̣weqetpípem/
'among frogs'

(2) {te̲lé̲te̲t} type. The members of this type have five allomorphs. An example is {te̲lé̲te̲t} 'cedar.'

I: {te̲lé̲te̲t +} : ‖te̲lé̲te̲t‖ : /talátat/ 'cedar'
II: {te̲lé̲te̲t ne} : ‖te̲lté̲ ne‖ : /taltána/
'cedar' (object)

III: {telétet pe} : ‖teltét pe‖ : /taltátpa/
'at the cedar'
IV: {telétet níme} : ‖telte níme‖ : /taltaníma/
'Cedar-Place'
V: {telétet pípem} : ‖teltet pípem‖ : /taltatpípam/
'among cedars'

(3) {cé·qet} type. The members of this type have four allomorphs. An example is {cé·qet} 'raspberry.'

I: {cé·qet +} : ‖cé·qet‖ : /cé·qet/ 'raspberry'
II: {cé·qet ne} : ‖ceqé· ne‖ : /ceqé·ne/
'raspberry' (object)
III: {cé·qet pe} : ‖ceqé·t pe‖ : /ceqé·tpe/
'at raspberry'
IV and V: {cé·qet níme} : ‖ceqet nime‖ : /ceqetníme/
'Raspberry-Place'
{cé·qet pípem} : ‖ceqet pípem‖ : /ceqetpípem/
'among raspberries'

(4) {té·mses} type. The members of this type have four allomorphs. An example is {té·mses} 'wild rose.'

I: {té·mses +} : ‖té·mses‖ : /tá·msas/ 'wild rose'

II and III: {té̲·mse̲s nim} : ‖te̲sé̲·s nim‖
: /tamsá·snim/ 'wild rose' (possessive-nominative)
{té̲·mse̲s pe} : ‖te̲msé̲·s pe‖ : /tamsá·spa/
'at the wild rose'
IV: {té̲·mse̲s nú·t} : ‖te̲mse̲s nú·t‖ : /tamsasnó·t/
'without wild rose'
V: {té̲·mse̲s ʼé̲yn} : ‖te̲mse̲·s é̲yn‖ : /tamsa·sáyn/
'for wild rose'

(5) {qé̲·msit} type. The members of this type have four allomorphs. An example is {qé̲·msit} 'kows' (edible root) (*lomatium kaus*).

I and III: {qé̲·msit +} : ‖qé̲·msit‖ : /qá·msit/
'kows'
II: {qé̲·msit ne} : ‖qé̲·msi ne‖ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ ‖qé̲·msit ne‖
: /qá·msina/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /qá·msitna/ 'hows' (object)
IV: {qé̲·msit nú·t} : ‖qe̲msi nú·t‖ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ ‖qe̲msit nú·t‖
: /qamsinó·t/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /qamsitnó·t/ 'without kows'
V: {qé̲·msit pípem} : ‖qe̲msit pípem‖ : /qamsitpípam/
'among kows'

(6) {qeqí·t} type. The members of this type have four allomorphs, with two freely alternating allomorphs each in environments II and III. An example is {qeqí·t} 'root somehwat like kows.'

I: {qeqí·t +} : ‖qeqí·t‖ : /qeqí·t/ 'qeqí·t'
II: {qeqí·t ne} : ‖qeqí· ne‖ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ ‖qeqí·t ne‖
: /qeqí·ne/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /qeqí·tne/ 'qeqí·t' (object)
III: {qeqí·t pe} : ‖qeqí·t pe‖ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ ‖qeqiyít pe‖
: /qeqí·tpe/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /qeqiyítpe/ 'at qeqí·t'
IV and V: {qeqí·t pípem} : ‖qeqi·t pípem‖ :
/qeqi·tpípem/ 'among qeqí·t'
{qeqi·t nú·t} : ‖qeqi·t nú·t‖ : /qeqi·tnú·t/
'without qeqí·t'

(7) {pé̲·ps} type. The members of this type have three allomorphs. An example is {pé̲·ps} 'red fir tree.'

I: {pé̲·ps +} : ‖pé̲·ps‖ : /pá·ps/ 'red fir tree'
II and III: {pé̲·ps nim} : ‖pe̲pé̲s nim‖ : /papásnim/
'red fir tree' (possessive-nominative)
IV and V: {pé̲·ps pípem} : ‖pe̲ps pípem‖ : /papspípam/
'among red fir trees'

Other examples in this type are {sí·ks} 'nest,' {pí·ps} 'bone,' {ʼé·yx̣} 'white salmon.'

(8) {ɬit̓é̲·n} type. The members of this type have three allomorphs. An example is {ɬit̓é̲·n} 'bitterroot.'

I, II and III: {ɬit̓é̲·n +} : ‖ɬit̓é̲·n‖ : /ɬit̓á·n/ 'bitterroot'

{ɬit̓é̲·n ne} : ‖ɬit̓é̲·n ne‖ : /ɬit̓á·nna/ 'bitterroot' (object)

{ɬit̓é̲·n k} : ‖ɬit̓é̲·n k‖ : /ɬit̓á·nx/ 'to bitterroot'

IV: {ɬit̓é̲·n nú·t} : ‖ɬit̓e̲n nú·t‖ : /ɬit̓annó·t/ 'without bitterroot'

V: {ɬit̓é̲·n pípem} : ‖ɬit̓e̲·n pípem‖ : /ɬit̓a·npípam/ 'among bitterroots'

(9) {yé̲·ke̲ʔ} type. The members of this type have two allomorphs. An example is {yé̲·ke̲ʔ} 'brown bear.'

I, II and III: {yé̲·ke̲ʔ +} : ‖yé̲·ke̲ʔ‖ : /yá·kaʔ/ 'brown bear'

{yé̲·ke̲ʔ ne} : ‖yé̲·ke̲ʔ ne‖ : /yá·kaʔna/ 'brown bear' (object)

{yé̲·ke̲ʔ pe} : ‖yé̲·ke̲ʔ pe‖ : /yá·kaʔpa/ 'at the brown bear'

IV and V: {yé̲·ke̲ʔ níme} : ‖ye̲ke̲ʔ níme‖ : /yakaʔníma/ 'Brown Bear Place'

{yé̲·ke̲ʔ pípem} : ‖ye̲ke̲ʔ pípem‖ : /yakaʔpípam/ 'among brown bears'

The frequency of the nine types in a sample of 52 general noun stems is:

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">Type</th><th colspan="6">Environments</th><th rowspan="2">Number of Allomorphs</th><th rowspan="2">Frequency (per cent)</th></tr>
<tr><th>I</th><th>II</th><th>III</th><th>IV</th><th colspan="2">V</th></tr>
<tr><td>{wex̣wéqt}</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>6</td><td>1.9</td></tr>
<tr><td>{te̲lé̲te̲t}</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td colspan="2">5</td><td>5</td><td>3.8</td></tr>
<tr><td>{cé·qet}</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td colspan="3">4</td><td>4</td><td>1.9</td></tr>
<tr><td>{té̲·mse̲s}</td><td>1</td><td colspan="2">2</td><td>3</td><td colspan="2">4</td><td>4</td><td>3.8</td></tr>
<tr><td>{qé̲·msit}</td><td>1</td><td>1~2</td><td>1</td><td>3~4</td><td colspan="2">4</td><td>4</td><td>1.9</td></tr>
<tr><td>{qeqí·t}</td><td>1</td><td>1~2</td><td>1~3</td><td colspan="3">4</td><td>4</td><td>1.9</td></tr>
<tr><td>{pé̲·ps}</td><td>1</td><td colspan="2">2</td><td colspan="3">3</td><td>3</td><td>53.8</td></tr>
<tr><td>{łit̓é̲·n}</td><td colspan="3">1</td><td>2</td><td colspan="2">3</td><td>3</td><td>3.8</td></tr>
<tr><td>{yé̲·ke̲ʔ}</td><td colspan="3">1</td><td colspan="3">2</td><td>2</td><td>25.0</td></tr>
</table>

In compound stems, the maximal number of constituent morphemes appears to be two. As in monomorphemic stems the allomorphic variation is in number of segmentals, in length and in stress. Unlike monomorphemic stem allomorphs, some morphemes with consonant-final allomorphs before a morphological word juncture have allomorphs ending in a stressed vowel when they are the first member in a compound. Though there are exceptions, the second member tends to have unstressed allomorphs.

‖he̲cwe̲lé· miye̲ʔc‖ : /hacwalá·miyaʔc/ 'son'

‖hé̲·cwe̲l‖ : /há·cwal/ 'boy'

‖miyé̲ʔc‖ : /miyáʔc/ 'child'

‖ce̲witéx si·s‖ : /cawitáxsi·s/ 'carrot soup'

‖ce̲wí·tk‖ : /cawi·tx/ 'wild carrot'

‖sí·s‖ : /sí·s/ 'broth'

‖ʼe̲le̲ té̲lu̲‖ : /ʔalatálo/ 'yellowjacket'

‖ʼé̲·le̲‖ : /ʔá·la/ 'fire'

‖té̲·lu̲‖ : /tá·lo/ 'testes'

‖píyéx̣c ʼini·t‖ : /piyéx̣c̓ini·t/ 'Mt. Idaho'
(from its shape)

‖píyex̣s‖ : /píyex̣s/ 'rawhide strap'

‖ʼiní·t‖ : /ʔini·t/ 'house,' 'tepee'

510.2 Numeral stems (nuS) : any numeral.

The numeral allomorphy may be summarized:

after	stem	bef.{+}	{ne}	{t}	{we +}	{we nik}	{eʔéle}	{éhem}	{hú·sus}	{eʔéptit}
+	{né̲·qc}'1'	né̲·qc	=	Ø	né̲·qc	ne̲qc	ne̲xc	ne̲qc	Ø	Ø
+	{lep} '2'	Ø	Ø	lepí	lep	=	=	=	=	1
+	{mi̲té̲·}'3'	Ø	Ø	mi̲té̲·	mi̲té̲	*	mi̲t	=	=	=
pí·	{lep}2x'2'	Ø	Ø	lep	=	*	lep	=	=	=
+	{pé̲·x̣e̲}'5'	Ø	Ø	pé̲·x̣e̲	pé̲·x̣	pe̲x̣	pe̲q	pe̲·q	pé̲·q	pe̲q(1)pe̲·q(2)
ʼuy	{né̲·qc}5+'1'	lé̲·qc	=	Ø	lé̲·qc	*	le̲qc	=	=	le̲qs
ʼuy	{lep} 5+'2'	Ø	Ø	né·p	=	nep	=	=	=	n
ʼuy	{mi̲té̲·}5+'3'	Ø	Ø	mé̲te̲	=	me̲te̲	mi̲t	=	=	=
+	{k̓úyc} '9'	k̓úyc	k̓uʔíc	Ø	k̓uʔíc	k̓uʔic	k̓uyc	=	=	k̓uys
+	{pú·tim}'10'	Ø	Ø	pú·tim	=	pu·tim	putim	pu·tim	pu·tm	pú·t

Ø: non occurrence

=: same as left

*: lacunae

(2): before {eʔéptit} followed by {+}

(1): elsewhere before {eʔéptit}

510.3 Kinship term stems (kS) : any kinship term.

The kinship term stems may be divided into two groups and five subgroups. The relationship of these groups and subgroups and affixal allomorphs may be summarized:

Environments / Stem groups	{neʔ}	{’im}	{pe·}	{eʔc}	{nim}		{ne}		{e}	{eʔ}
					1	2	1	2		
Group 1a	neʔ néʔ	’i ’ím ’im	∅	eʔc	em	pim im	ep	ne	e	eʔ
Group 1b			pí pi pé· pe· pé pí·	∅						
Group 2a	’iní ’in ’inm ’iním	’im	∅		*				∅	
Group 2b							ep			
Group 2c							p~ ne			

Environment 1: + {neʔ}/{’im} stem - +

Environment 2: + {pe·} stem - + or + stem {eʔc} - +

The membership of the groups above is as follows:

Group 1a: {qeléc} 'FaFa,' {’é·l} 'FaMo,' {pîléq} 'MoFa,' {qé·c} 'MoMo.'

Group 1b: {tú̱·t} 'Fa,' {ʼí·c} 'Mo,' {méq} 'FaBr,' {ci̱·c} 'FaSi,' {té̱q} 'MoBr,' {qé·q} 'MoSi,' {yé̱·c} 'OBr,' {né·n} 'OSi.'

Group 2a: {ʼé̱cqe̱} 'YBr(m),' {nípe} 'YBr(f),' {qé̱ni} 'YSi(m),' {ʼé̱yi} 'YSi(f),' {ʼé·ks} 'Si(f),' {pé·qiy} 'BrCh(m),' {pé̱·mte̱} 'BrSo(f),' {pú̱·y} 'BrDa(f),' {mé̱m} 'SiCh(m),' {ʼí·te̱} 'SiCh(f),' {miyé̱?c} 'Ch,' {pé̱he̱p} 'Da(m),' {peqélis} 'SoCh(m),' {pé̱ple̱x̣} 'DaCh(m),' {píptex̣} 'SoCh(f),' {péqex̣} 'DaCh(f),' {pinú·kin} 'HuBr,' 'BrWi(m),' {cí·ks} 'HuSi,' 'BrWi(f),' {tiwé·ye} 'WiBr,' {cik̓í·wn} 'WiBr,' {piné·xsin} 'HuFa,' 'SoWi,' {pí·ses} 'WiFa,' {ʼîwé·p} 'Wi.'

Group 2b: {hé̱·me̱} 'Hu.'

Group 2c: {ciwé̱·qu} 'WiMo.'

Semantically, Group 1 includes the forms referring to senior consanguineal kin, while the second group includes the forms referring to junior consanguineal kin and affinal relationships. Group 1a includes four grandparent-grandchild forms.

The stem allomorphy in Group 1 is characterized by a ‖c‖-‖s‖ alternation between first and second person singular possessed forms, the former occurring with

‖c‖ and the latter with ‖s‖, and by final t-less allomorphs before suffixes with initial n and by p-less allomorphs before suffixes with initial m.

The complete inventory of kinship stem allomorphy is:

Environments:

1: + – +
2: + – {eʔ}
3: {neʔ} – +
4: {neʔ} – {nim}/{ne}
5: {’im} –
6: {pe·} – + *or* + – {eʔc} +
7: {pe·} – {ne} *or*
+ – {eʔc}{ne}
8: {pe·} – {me} *or*
+ – {eʔc}{me}

Environments:		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
{qe̲lé̲c}	FaFa	Ø	qe̲lé̲c	=	=	=	=	=	=
{’é·l}	FaMo	Ø	’é·l	’él	’é·l	=	=	=	*
{pílé̲q}	MoFa	Ø	pílé̲q	=	=	=	=	=	*
{qé̲·c}	MoMo	Ø	qé̲·c	=	=	qé̲·s	qé̲·c	=	*
{tú̲·t}	Fa	Ø	tú̲·t	=	=	=	st	sí	sit
{’í·c}	Mo	Ø	’í·c	=	=	’í·s	ke	ké·	=
{méq}	FaBr	Ø	méq	=	=	=	mq	méq	=
{cí̲·c}	FaSi	Ø	cí̲·c	=	=	sí̲·s	sis	si·s	=
{té̲q}	MoBr	Ø	té̲q	=	=	=	tq	té̲q	*
{qé·q}	MoSi	Ø	qé·q	=	=	=	qeq	qé·q	=
{yé̲·c}	OBr	Ø	yé̲·c	=	=	yé̲·s	yep	yé·p	yé·
{né·n}	OSi	Ø	né·n	nic	=	nis	het	hé·	hét

Environments:		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
{’e̲cqe̲}	YBr(m)	’é̲cqe̲	’é̲sqe̲p	=	=	’sqe̲p	’é̲sqe̲p	’e̲sqé̲p	’e̲sqé
{nípe}	YBr(f)	nípe	pekt	pek	pé·kt	pekí	pé·kt	pekí	pekít
{qé̲ni}	YSi(m)	qé̲ni	qe̲nis	=	qé̲nis	qe̲ní·s	qé̲nis	qe̲nis	qe̲ní·s
{’é̲yi}	YSi(f)	’é̲yi	’e̲ci̲p	=	=	’cí̲·p	’é̲cip	’e̲cí̲·p	’e̲cí̲·
{’é·ks}	Si(f)	’e·ks	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
{pé·q́iy}	BrCh(m)	pé·qiy	peqiyex̣	=	peqíyex̥	peqiyé·x̣	peqí·yex̣	peqiyé·x̣	=
{pé̲·mte̲}	BrSo(f)	pé̲·mte̲	pe̲mtin	=	pé̲·mtin	=	=	pé̲·mte̲	pé̲·mtin
{pú̲·y}	BrDa(f)	pú̲·y	pu̲·t	pu̲·	pú̲·t	pú̲·	pú̲·t	pú̲·t	=
{mé̲m}	SiCh(m)	mé̲m	pitx̣pe̲	=	pité̲x̣p	=	=	pitx̣pé̲·	=
{’í·te}	SiCh(f)	’í·tx	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
{pé̲he̲p}	Da(m)	pé̲he̲p	pe̲he̲p	*	*	*	pé̲he̲p	*	pe̲hé̲

Envitonments·1: + - +

2: + {ne?} - +

3: + {ne?} - {ne} +

4: + {’im} - +

5. + {’im} - {ne} +

6. + {pe·} - +

7: + {pe·} - {ne} +

8: + {pe·} - {me} +

Environments:		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
{peqélis}	SoCh(m)	Ø	peqelis	=	peqélis	peqlís	peqélis	peqlís	=
{pé̲ple̲x̣}	DaCh(m)	Ø	pe̲ple̲x̣	=	pé̲ple̲x̣	pe̲plé̲x̣	pé̲ple̲x̣	pe̲plé̲x̣	*
{píptex̣}	SoCh(f)	Ø	piptex̣	=	píptex̣	pipté·x̣	píptex̣	pipté·x̣	=
{péqex̣}	DaCh(f)	Ø	pqex̣	=	péqex̣	pqé·x̣	péqex̣	peqé·x̣	*
{pinú·kin}	HuBr	Ø	pnukin	pnukun	pnú·kin	pnukún	pinú·kin	pinukún	=
{cí·ks}	HuSi	Ø	ciks	=	cí·ks	=	=	*	*
{piné·xsin}	HuFa	Ø	pnexsin	=	pné·xsin	=	piné·xsin	*	*
{cik̓í·wn}	WiBr	Ø	cik̓iwn	=	cik̓í·wn	=	=	*	*
{tiwé·ye}	WiBr	Ø	tiweye	=	tiwé·ye	=	=	*	tiweyé·
{píses}	WiFa	Ø	pses	=	píses	=	=	pisé·s	*
{'îwé·p}	Wi	Ø	'îwé·p	=	=	=	*	*	*
{hé̲·me̲}	Hu	Ø	hé̲·me̲	hé̲·m	=	=	hé̲·me̲	=	*
{ciwé̲·qu̲}	WiMo	Ø	ciwe̲q	{ciwe̲q ~ ciwe̲qu̲	ciwé̲·q	=	ciwé̲·qu̲	*	*

510.4 Personal pronoun stems (ppS) : any personal pronouns. The stem allomorphy of the personal pronouns is:

before:		+	nim	ne	k̓e	’e̲q	we̲·tk	ciwé̲·tq	ník	hí’·n	me
{’í·n}	1sg	’í·n	=	=	=	=	’ín	’in	=	*	Ø
{’í·m}	2sg	’í·m	’im	’ime	’í·m	Ø	*	’im	=	*	’im
{’ipí}	3sg	’ipí	’ip	=	’ipín	Ø	*	’ip	’ipin	’ipn	Ø
{nú·n}	1pl	nú·n	=	=	=	=	*	{nun nu·} ~	nun	*	Ø

{’í·m} with {me}, a plural suffix, indicates either second or third person; and second person singular without {me}.

{nú·n ciwé̲·tq} has two forms, /nonciwá·tx̣/ and /no·ciwá·tx̣/, the latter being an "older" form (cf. p. xxii).

510.5 Demonstrative stems (dS) : any demonstrative.

There are two demonstrative stem morphemes: {kí•} 'this,' and {ku̲} 'that.' The allomorphs are:

Environments:		1	2	3	4	5
{kí•}	'this'	kí•	kín	kin	kin	ki•
{ku̲}	'that'	Ø	ku̲n	kú̲n	ku̲n	ku̲n

Environments 1: before {+}, {kek}

2: before {pe +}, {ike}, {ki}, {kin̓ik},
{ne}, {nim}, {wecet}

3: before {ʼé̲yn}

4: before {pe mé}

5: before {me}

Examples are:

		{kí•}	{ku̲}
Environment 1	before {+}	‖kí•‖	
	before {kek}	‖kí• kek‖	
Environment 2	before {pe +}	‖kín e‖	‖ku̲n é‖
	before {ike}	‖kín ike‖	‖ku̲n iké‖
	before {ki}	‖kín ki‖	‖ku̲n kí‖
	before {kín̓ik}	‖kín ik‖	‖ku̲n í•k‖

		{kí·}	{ku̲}
	before {ne}	‖kín ye‖	‖ku̲n yé‖
	before {nim}	‖kín m‖	‖ku̲n ím‖
	before {wecet}	‖kín wecet‖	‖ku̲n wecé·n‖
Environment 3:	before {’é̲yn}	‖kín ’ye̲yn‖	‖kú̲n ’ye̲yn‖
Environment 4:	before {pe mé}	‖kin é· me‖	‖ku̲n e mé‖
Environment 5:	before {me}	‖kí· me‖	‖ku̲n mé‖

{yu̲q} 'that' is semantically similar to {ku̲} 'that.' However, the allomorph ‖ne‖ of {ne}, instead of ‖ye‖ or ‖yé‖, occurs with yu̲q, which may be taken as a general noun. Because yu̲q occurs in the first environment, where ku̲ does not, yu̲q frequently is found as a suppletive element.

510.6 Adjective stems (aS) : any adjective.

Adjective stem allomorphy may be treated more systematically after a larger corpus is examined; affixes occur with adjectives much less frequently than with the other subclasses of substantives. However, three trends may be observed, (1) stems with stress on the last syllable in an allomorph which occurs after a {+} tend to have an allomorph with stress on the first syllable after an unstressed prefix, (2) an unstressed allomorph occurs after {ʼeteyé·} or before {ník}, (3) allomorphs ending in V́ʔC before a {+} tend to have an allomorph ending in VʔV́C before a suffix.

Example of (1):

‖cicqíʔc‖ : /cicqíʔc/ 'generous'
‖r cícqiʔc‖ : /cicícqiʔc/ 'generous' (distributive)

Example of (2):

‖té̲ʔc‖ : /táʔc/ 'good'
‖ʼeteyé· te̲ʔc‖ : /ʔatayá·taʔc/ 'too good'
‖te̲ʔc ník‖ : /taʔsníx/ 'very good'

Examples of (3):

‖te̲ʔé̲c wi t‖ : /taʔácwit/ 'goodness'
‖qepsíʔs‖ : /qepsíʔs/ 'bad'
‖qepsiʔís wi t‖ : /qepsiʔíswit/ 'badness'

520. Substantive themes (sT).

Each of the above stem classes is defined by its occurrence in special thematic constructions. These constructions include classes of substantive affixes, which are shown below, together with their distributions among the various stem-classes.

521. Thematic affix classes.

Prefixes:

class	subclass	number of members	occurs with					
			nS	nuS	kS	ppS	dS	aS
< r >		1	x					x
< peH >		1	x	x				
< neʔ >		3	x		x			
< ’e·t >	’e·t	1	x					x
	’eteyé·	1	x		x			x
	’ic	9	x					
	wiwe̲qi	1	x		x			
	’úyˋ	1	x	x				
	’uy	2		x				
	siléw	1						x

Suffixes:

class	subclass	number of members	occurs with					
			nS	nuS	kS	ppS	dS	aS
< ’é·l >		31	x					
< eʔéce >		3		x				
< eʔéptit >		1		x				
< hú·sus >		1		x				
< we >	we	1	x	x				x
	t	1		x				
< eʔc >		2			x			
< ’eq >		5				x		
< weyl >		1					x	
< ník >	ník	1	x	x	x	x	x	x
	cim	1	x				x	
	tí·te	1				x	x	
< nú·t >		1	x					
< nim >		1				x	x	
< me >		1	x		x	x	x	
< ’éyn >	’éyn	1	x				x	
	hi’·n	1	x		x	x		
	mé	1	x				x	
	pe	1	x			x	x	

521.1 Thematic Prefix Classes.

< r > The single member of this class is {r} (distributive), e.g.,

‖hé̲ˀcwe̲l‖ : /há·cwal/ 'son'
‖r hé̲ˀcwe̲l‖ : /hahácwal/ 'son' (distributive)
‖wepcú·k‖ : /wepcú·x/ 'intelligent'
‖r_i wé·pcuk‖ : /wiwé·pcux/ 'intelligent' (distributive)

< peH > The single member of this class is {peH} 'each' (with general nouns and kinship terms), 'in groups of ...' (with numerals), e.g.,

‖hé·pey‖ : /hé·pey/ 'middle'
‖peH hé·pey‖ : /pehé·pey/ 'each of the middle ones' (e.g., any toe other than big and little toes)
‖peH lepít‖ : /pellepít/ 'in twos'

< neʔ > The three members of this class are {neʔ} (first person singular possessive), {'im} (second person singular possessive), {pe·} (non-possession). An example with {neʔ} is:

‖neʔ tú̲·t‖ : /naʔtó·t/ 'my father'

< ’é·t > This class has 16 members, generally attributive in meaning. An example is: {’é·t} 'big,' 'very.'

‖té?c‖ : /tá?c/ 'good'

‖’e·t- té?c‖ : /?e·ttá?c/ 'very good'

The others are:

{’eteyé·}	'distant,' 'deceased,' 'unbelievably'
{’ic}	'direction of'
{’ilé·}	'of fire'
{ke·}	'connected with biting'
{kun}	'once removed'
{pex}	'each'
{telí·}	'short'
{we?}	'with hand'
{wiyé·}	'in camping,' 'in moving'
{wiweqi}	'old'
{’úy}	'all,' 'both'
{’uy}	'five'
{pi·}	'twice,' 'mutually'
{siléw}	'seemingly'
{R}	(diminutive)

521.2 Thematic Suffix classes.

< ʼé̲·l > This class has 27 members. An example is

{ʼé̲·l} 'season of ...'

‖q̓ú̲yx̣c‖ : /q̓óyx̣c/ 'small reddish salmon'

‖q̓u̲yx̣c ʼé̲·l‖ : /q̓oyx̣c̓á·l/ 'season of small reddish salmon'

The others are:

{ʼes} 'cure for ...'

{ʔm} 'season of ...'

{ʔwé·t} 'person who uses'

{eʔél} 'place where ... is'

{e̲ʔé̲·t} 'female ...'

{en} (meaning uncertain)

{e·s} 'site of ...'

{ete·s} 'place where ... lives'

{hí·c} 'place where ... is' (of plants)

{ht} 'beginning of ...'

{í} 'possessor of ...'

{íʔles} 'one that lives in ...'(?)

{ínme} 'a creature from ...'

{me̲p} 'place of ...'

{nik̓ey} 'all of ...'

{níme} 'place where ... is'

{nimu·} 'people who eat ...'

{nume} (place name formant)

{peĺu·} 'person connected with ...'

{pu·} 'residents at ...,' 'band or tribe of ...'

{qe̲n} 'young of ...,' 'small'

{síʔwey} 'bush of ...'

{twe·} 'friend in ...,' '-mate,' 'person having ... in common'

{wé·kuʔs} 'a thing like ...'

{wite·s} 'place where ... was,' 'person that used to be ...'

{yé·ye} 'the family of ...'

< eʔéce > The three members of this class are {eʔéce} 'group,' {eʔéle} 'pair,' {éhem} 'times.' An example (with {éhem}) is:

‖lep éhem‖ : /lepéhem/ 'twice'

< eʔéptit > The single member of this class is {eʔéptit} 'ten times,' e.g.,

‖’uy mi̲t eʔéptit‖ : /ʔoymitaʔáptit/ 'eighty'

< hú·sus > The single member of this class is {hú·sus} 'hundred times,' e.g.,

‖’uy mi̲t hú·sus‖ : /ʔoymitó·sos/ 'eight hundred'

< we > The two members of this class are {we} (personal classifier), {t} (neutral classifier), e.g.,

‖'uy né·p we‖ : /ʔuyné·pwe/ 'seven' (people)

‖'uy né·p t‖ : /ʔuyné·pt/ 'seven'

< eʔc > The two members of this class are {eʔc} (non-possession), and {eyu·} '... and others,' e.g.,

‖qe̲lé̲c eʔc‖ : /qaláca ʔc/ 'paternal grandfather'

‖neʔ tú̲·t eyu·‖ : /naʔtó·tayo·/ 'my father and others'

< 'e̲q > This class has 5 members. An example is {ciwé̲·tq} 'alone.'

‖'í·n‖ : /ʔí·n/ 'I'

‖'in ciwé̲·tq‖ : /ʔinciwá·tx̣/ 'I alone'

The others are:

{'e̲q} (optative suffix)

{k̓e} 'also'

{q̓u̲ʔc} 'first'

{we̲·tk} 'alone'

< we̲yl > The single member of this class is {we̲yl}
'so much,' e.g.,
‖ki wé̲yl‖ : /kiwáyl/ 'this long,' 'this much'

< ník > The three members of this class are {ník}
(intensifier), {cim} 'only,' {tí·te} 'same.'
An example with {ník} is:
‖té̲ʔc‖ : /táʔc/ 'good'
‖te̲ʔc ník‖ : /taʔsníx/ 'very good'
‖'í·n‖ : /ʔí·n/ 'I'
‖'in ník‖ : /ʔinníx/ 'I myself'
‖ku̲né‖ : /koná/ 'there'
‖ku̲ney ník‖ : /konayníx/ 'at that very place'

< nú·t > The single member of this class is {nú·t}
'without,' e.g.,
‖'é̲·tim‖ : /ʔá·tim/ 'arm'
‖'e̲tim nú·t‖ : /ʔatimnó·t/ 'armless,'
'General Oliver O. Howard'

< nim > The single member of this class is {nim}
(possessive-nominative), e.g.,
‖sík̓em‖ : /sík̓em/ 'horse'
‖sik̓é·m nim‖ : /sik̓é·mnim/ 'horse' (poss-nom)

< ʼé̲yn > The four members of this class are {ʼé̲yn} '(thing) for ...,' {hí·n̓} '(an object) with ...,' {mé} '(people) from ...,' {pe} 'at ...,' 'place of ....'

‖ciq̓é̲·m qe̲l‖ : /ciq̓á·mqal/ 'dog'

‖ciq̓é̲·m qe̲l ʼé̲yn‖ : /ciq̓a·mqal̓áyn/ 'for dog,' 'dog sled'

‖hé̲·se̲s‖ : /há·sas/ 'nit'

‖he̲sé̲·s hi·n̓‖ : /hasá·siʔn/ 'nitty,' 'Shoshoni'

‖ʼe̲lpé̲wewi‖ : /ʔalpáwawi/ 'Alpowa Creek, Wash.'

‖ʼe̲lpe̲wewi mé‖ : /ʔalpawawimá/ 'people from Alpowa'

‖tú̲hu̲n‖ : /tóhon/ 'leggings'

‖tu̲hú̲n pe‖ : /tohónpa/ 'in leggings'

522. Thematic constructions.

The varying internal structures of the substantive theme (sT) are described in the following sections. The elements surrounding the stem class markers are references to the preceding chart of affixes.

sT:	neʔ	r	peH	’e·t	nS	’é·l	’éyn	me	we	nik
1.	x				x	x				
2.		x			x		x			x
3.		x	x		x					
4.			x		x		x			
5.				x	x					
6.					x	x	x		x	
7.					x			x		
8.					x				x	
9.					x					

Examples:

1. {neʔ ’îlú·t twe·} : ‖’in ’îlú·t we·‖ : /ʔin̓lú·twe·/ 'my half-brother' (a woman speaking) ({neʔ} 'my,' {’îlú·t} 'belly,' {twe·} 'a person having ... in common'

2. {r ’ínwim mé cim} : ‖r ’inwí·m e cim‖ : /heʔinwí·mcim/ 'only yearlings' ({r} distributive, {’ínwim} 'year,' {mé} '(a being) from,' {cim} 'only')

3. {r peH néqe} : ‖r_i peH néqe‖ : /pepennéqe/ 'half-breeds' ({r} distributive, {peH} 'each,' {néqe} 'half')

4. {peH cik̓é·t pe} : ‖peH cík̓et pe‖ : /pecík̓etpe/ 'every night,' 'night after night' ({cik̓é·t} 'night,' {pe} 'place or time of ...')
5. {ʼeteyé· kú·s} : ‖ʼeteyé· ku·s‖ : /ʔeteyé·ku·s/ 'ocean' ({ʼeteyé·} 'distant,' 'deceased,' {kú·s} 'water')
6. {ʼé̲ys níme pe we} : ‖ʼe̲ys nimé pe we‖ : /ʔaysnimá·po·/ 'Catholics' ({ʼé̲ys} 'parsnip sp.,' {níme} 'a place where ... is,' {pe} 'place of ...,' {we} personal classifier)
7. {lé̲wtiwe· me} : ‖lé̲wtiwe·me‖ : /láwtiwa·ma/ 'friends' ({lé̲wtiwe·} 'friend,' {me} plural suffix)
8. {le̲ʔé̲m we} : ‖le̲ʔé̲m we‖ : /la.ámwa/ 'all the people' ({le̲ʔé̲m} 'all,' {we} personal classifier)
9. {lé̲wtiwe·} : ‖lé̲wtiwe·‖ : /láwtiwa·/ 'friend'

ST: nS nú·t

Example:

{ʼé̲·tim nú·t} : ‖ʼe̲tim nú·t‖ : /ʔatimnó·t/ 'armless,' 'General O. O. Howard' ({ʼé̲·tim} 'arm,' {nú·t} 'without')

Unlike substantive themes in which a general noun stem is a constituent, the substantive themes having a numeral stem as the constituent occur with at least one obligatory suffix.

sT:	peH	ʼe·t	nuS	eʔéptit	hú·sus	we	eʔéce	ník
1.	x	x	x				x	
2.			x	x	x			
3.			x			x	x	
4.			x			x		x
5.			x	x			x	
6.			x		x	x		
7.		x	x			x		x
8.			x			x		

Examples:

1. {peH ʼuy né̲·qc éhem} : ‖peH ʼuy le̲qc éhem‖ : /paʔoylaqcáham/ 'six times each' ({peH} 'each,' {ʼuy} 'five,' {né̲·qc} 'one,' {éhem} 'times')
2. {lep eʔéptit hú·sus} : ‖l eʔeptit hú·sus‖ : /leʔeptitú·sus/ 'two thousand' ({lep} 'two,' {eʔéptit} 'ten times,' {hú·sus} 'hundred times')
3. {pú·tim t eʔéle} : ‖pu·tim t eʔéle‖ : /pu·timteʔéle/ 'ten pairs' ({pú·tim} 'ten,' {t} neutral classifier, {eʔéle} 'pair')
4. {pé̲·x̣e̲ we ník} : ‖pe̲x̣ lu· ník‖ : /pax̣lo·níx/ 'only five people' ({pé̲·x̣e̲} 'five,' {we} personal classifier, {ník} intensifier)
5. {pé̲·x̣e̲ eʔéptit éhem} : ‖pe̲q eptit éhem‖ : /paqaptitáham/ 'fifty times'

6. {lep hú·sus we} : ‖lep hú·sus we‖ : /lepú·suswe/ 'two hundred people' ({lep} 'two,' {hú·sus} 'hundred times,' {we} personal classifier)
7. {ʼuy lep we ník} : ‖ʼuy nep we ník‖ : /ʔuynepweníx/ 'only seven people' ({ʼuy} 'five,' {lep} 'two,' {we} personal classifier, {ník} intensifier)
8. {lep t} : ‖lepí ṭ‖ : /lepít/ 'two' ({t} neutral classifier)

Either the < neʔ > class, or the < eʔc > class is required as a constituent with a kinship stem (kS).

sT:	ʼe·t	neʔ	kS	eʔc	me	nim	ʼé̱yn	ník
1.	x	x	x					
2.		x	x			x	x	
3.		x	x			x		x
4.			x	x			x	
5.			x	x	x			
6.		x	x					
7.			x	x				

Examples:

1. {pi· pe· ʼé·ks} : ‖pí· pe ʼeks‖ : /pí·peʔeks/ 'cowives,' 'rivals' ({pi·} reciprocal prefix, {pe·} non-possession, {ʼé·ks} 'sister')

2. {neʔ ʼé·l nim ʼé̲yn} : ‖neʔ ʼé·l em -ʼe̲yn‖ : /neʔé·lem̓ayn/ 'article for my paternal grandmother' ({neʔ} 'my,' {ʼé·l} 'paternal grandmother,' {nim} possessive-nominative, {ʼé̲yn} '(thing) for ...')
3. {neʔ ʼé·l nim cim} : ‖neʔ ʼé·l em cim‖ : /neʔé·lemcim/ 'only my paternal grandmother' ({cim} 'only')
4. {ʼé·l eʔc ʼé̲yn} : ‖ʼé·l eʔc -ʼe̲yn‖ : /ʔé·leʔc̓ayn/ 'article for a paternal grandmother' ({eʔc} non-possession)
5. {qe̲lé̲c eʔc me} : ‖qe̲lé̲c eʔc me‖ : /qaláca ʔcma/ 'paternal grandfathers' ({qe̲lé̲c} 'paternal grandfather,' {me} plural suffix)
6. {neʔ qeléc} : ‖neʔ qe̲lé̲c‖ : /naʔqalác/ 'my paternal grandfather'
7. {qe̲lé̲c eʔc} : ‖qe̲lé̲c eʔc‖ : /qalácaʔc/ 'paternal grandfather'

sT:	ppS	me	nim	ʼe̲q	ník	ʼé̲yn
1.	x	x	x		x	
2.	x	x	x	x		
3.	x		x		x	x
4.	x					x
5.	x				x	
6.	x			x		
7.	x	x				
8.	x					

Examples:

1. {'í·m me nim ník} : ‖'im e m ník‖ : /ʔimemníx/
   'your (pl.) very own,' 'their very own' ({'í·m}
   'you (sg.),' {me} plural suffix, {nim} possessive-nominative suffix, {ník} intensifier)
2. {'í·m me nim k̓e} : ‖'im é· m k̓e‖ : /ʔimé·mk̓e/
   'you (pl.) also,' 'they also' ({k̓e} 'also')
3. {'ipí nim ník pe} : ‖'ip nim níx pe‖ : /ʔipnimníxpe/
   'his own place' ({'ipí} 'he, she, it,' {pe} 'place of ...')
4. {'í·m pe} : ‖'im pé‖ : /ʔimpé/ 'your (sg.) place'
5. {'í·m ník} : ‖'im ník‖ : /ʔimníx/ 'you (sg.) yourself'
6. {'í·m k̓e} : ‖'í·m k̓e‖ : /ʔí·mk̓e/ 'you (sg.) also'
7. {'í·m me} : ‖'im é‖ : /ʔimé/ 'you (pl.),' 'they'
8. {'í·m} : ‖'í·m‖ : /ʔí·m/ 'you (sg.)'

sT:	dS	we̲yl	me	nim	'é̲yn	ník
1.	x		x	x		x
2.	x				x	x
3.	x		x		x	
4.	x				x	
5.	x		x			
6.	x	x				
7.	x					

Examples:

1. {ku̲ me nim tí·te} : ‖ku̲n me m tí·te‖ : /konmamtí·ta/ 'the same those' ({ku̲} 'that,' {tí·te} 'same')
2. {ku̲ pe ník} : ‖ku̲n ey ník‖ : /konayníx/ 'that very place'
3. {ku̲ me ʼé̲yn} : ‖ku̲n me ʼyé̲yn‖ : /konmaʔyáyn/ 'an article for those'
4. {ku̲ pe} : ‖ku̲n é‖ : /koná/ 'that place'
5. {ku̲ me} : ‖ku̲n mé‖ : /konmá/ 'those'
6. {kí· we̲yl} : ‖ki wé̲yl‖ : /kiwáyl/ 'this long'
7. {kí·} : ‖kí·‖ : /kí·/ 'this'

sT:	r	ʼe·t	aS	we	ník
1.	x		x		
2.		x	x		
3.			x		x
4.			x	x	
5.			x		

Examples:

1. {r néx̣sep} : ‖r_i néx̣sep‖ : /ninéx̣sep/ 'different' (distributive) ({r} distributive, {néx̣sep} 'different')
2. {ʼeteyé· té̲ʔc} : ‖ʼeteyé· té̲ʔc‖ : /ʔatayá·taʔc/ 'unbelievably good' ({ʼeteyé·} 'unbelievably,' {té̲ʔc} 'good')

3. {nex̣sep ník} : ‖nex̣sep ník‖ : /nex̣sepníx/ 'very different'

4. {’iléx̣ni we} : ‖’ilx̣ní· we‖ : /ʔilx̣ní·we/ 'many' (people) ({’iléx̣ni} 'many,' {we} personal classifier)

5. {té̲ʔc} : ‖té̲ʔc‖ : /táʔc/ 'good'

523. Deverbative themes.

In addition to the preceding there are substantive themes which include verb stems (vS) as a constituent.

523.1 Deverbative themes in which affixes for substantive themes occur as optional constituents:

sT:	vS	’é̲·1
1.	x	x
2.	x	

Examples:

1. {pé̲y nime} : ‖pé̲y nime‖ : /páynima/ (place name) (literally 'place of arrival') ({pé̲y} 'come,' {nime} a place name formant, a member of < ’é̲·1 > class)

2. {lé̲wye̲le̲} : ‖lé̲wye̲le̲‖ : /láwyala/ 'fishing' ({lé̲wye̲le̲} 'fish (vb.)')

523.2 Deverbative themes in which special suffixes for verb derivation occur as constituents. This special suffix class will be called < ʔé·t > class. The 21 members of this class and thier allomorphs are as follows:

{ʔé·t} (agentive 1) indicates the performer of an action. There are four morphemes (agentives 1-4) with similar semantic content, the last two are extremely limited in occurrence. {ʔé·t} : ‖ne·t‖ or ‖né·t‖ after a c-class verb theme (cf. 620 for c- and s-class distinction); ‖yeʔé·t‖ after an s-class theme ending in ‖i‖; ‖ʔé·t‖ or ‖ʔét‖ elsewhere.

‖ne·t‖:

{pîʔím ʔé·t} : /piʔímne·t/ 'young person'

({pîʔím} 'grow' c-class)

‖né·t‖:

{te̲mté̲·y ʔé·t} : /tamtayná·t/ 'minister'

({te̲mté̲·y} 'preach,' 'gossip' c-class)

‖yeʔé·t‖:

{sepi·newi ʔé·t} : /sepi·newiyeʔé·t/ 'surveyer'

({sepi·newi} 'measure' s-class)

‖ʔé·t‖:

{tûkʷe lú· ʔé·t} : /tukelu·ʔé·t/ 'diver'

({tûkʷ} 'dive'; {lú·} 'move under water' s-class)

‖ʔét‖:

{wepeyete ʔé·t} : /wapayataʔát/ 'helper,'

'assistant' ({wepeyete} 'help' s-class)

{eʔwé·t} (agentive 2): ‖neʔwé·t‖ after a c-class theme; ‖yeʔwé·t‖ after an s-class theme ending in a vowel other than ‖e‖; ‖ʔwé·t‖ after an s-class theme ending in ‖e‖; ‖eʔwé·t‖ elsewhere.

‖neʔwé·t‖:

{sepé· hité·me eʔwé·t} : /sepehitemeneʔwé·t/

'teacher' ({sepé·} causative 620; {hité·me}

'read' c-class, lit. 'one who makes one read')

‖yeʔwé·t‖:

{tûkʷ lú· eʔwé·t} : /tukelu·yeʔwé·t/ 'diver'

‖ʔwé·t‖:

{wepeyete eʔwé·t} : /wapayataʔwá·t/ 'helper,'

'assistant'

‖eʔwé·t‖:

{hipí eʔwé·t} : /hipeʔwé·t/ 'eater' ({hipí}

'eat' s-class)

{un} (agentive 3) is found in the following two examples, which occur after s-class themes.

{'imé·c̓inp un} : /ʔimé·c̓inpun/ 'prophet'

({'imé·c̓inp} 'prophesy' s-class)

{kú· e·̓yik un} : /kiké·yikun/ 'perennial
traveler' ({kú·} 'go' s-class; {e·̓yik}
repetitive 620 s-class)

{lu} (agentive 4) is found in the following single example after a c-class theme.

{c̓í·q lu} : /c̓í·x̣lu/ 'talking squirrel'
({c̓í·q} 'talk' c-class)

{eʔí} (inanimate agentive): ‖eʔí‖ before {+}; ‖eʔí·‖ elsewhere. There are no examples of {eʔí} after a c-class theme.

‖eʔí‖:

{we· keʔéyk eʔí} : /we·keʔykeʔí/ 'airplane'
({we·} 'fly'; {keʔéyk} 'go' s-class)

‖eʔí·‖:

{ʼipné· wîlé· keʔéyk eʔí ki} : /ʔipnewlekeʔykeʔí·ki/
'by automobile' ({ʼipné·} third person singular
reflexive prefix, < pi· > class 620; {wîlé·}
'run' 610.1; {ki} 'by' of < k > class 533)

{eʔs} 'an object for ... ing': ‖n̓es‖, ‖l̓ec‖ or ‖s‖ after a c-class theme; ‖eʔs‖ after a consonant-final s-class theme; ‖ɬ̓es‖ elsewhere.

‖n̓es‖:

{hité·me eʔs} : /hité·men̓es/ 'book'

({hité·me} 'read' c-class)

‖ł̓ec‖:

{kiwkiwí eʔs} : /kiwkiwíł̓ec/ 'drum'

({kiwkiwí} 'beat' c-class)

‖s‖:

{tí·pse̱ʔ s} : /tí·psaʔs/ 'scraper' ({tí·pse̱ʔ}
'scrape' c-class)

‖eʔs‖:

{’îse k̓í̱w k eʔs} : /ʔisak̓íwkaʔs/ 'saw'
({’îse} 'with a cutting instrument';
{k̓í̱w} 'cut'; {k} meaning uncertain, < e̱tk >
class 620; s-class)

‖t̓es‖:

{’ipé·t̓e eʔs} : /ʔipé·t̓et̓es/ 'scraper/
({’ipé·t̓e} 'scrape' s-class)

{ú̱ʔs} 'an object for ...ing': ‖-nú̱ʔs‖ after a c-class theme; ‖u̱ʔú̱s‖ after an s-class verb theme ending in a single consonant and not before a {+}; ‖ú̱ʔs‖ elsewhere after a consonant-final s-class theme; ‖-t̓u̱ʔs‖ elsewhere.

‖-núʔs‖:

{’îye léhne ú̱ʔs} : /ʔiyehnenóʔs/ 'pole' (for

a canoe) ({ʼîye} 'afloat'; {léhne} 'down'
c-class)

‖u̲ʔú̲s‖:

{wislíp ú̲ʔs ne} : /wislipoʔósna/ 'snow-shovel
(object case)' ({wislíp} 'shovel' s-class;
{ne} objective 532)

‖ú̲ʔs‖:

{wislíp ú̲ʔs} : /wislipóʔs/ 'snow-shovel'

‖-ŧ̓ú̲ʔs‖:

{cuk̓é·ymi ú̲ʔs} : /cuk̓eymiŧ̓óʔs/ 'bone instrument
for scraping the inner pine bark used for
food' ({cuk̓é·ymi} 'get bark' s-class)

{nwe·s} 'place of ...ing': ‖niwe·s‖ after a c-class consonant-final theme; ‖inwe·s‖ after an s-class consonant-final theme; ‖nwe·s‖ elsewhere.

‖niwe·s‖:

{ʼé·ʔys nwe·s} : /ʔé·ʔysniwe·s/ 'heaven,'
'Happy Hunting Ground' ({ʼé·ʔys} 'be happy'
c-class)

‖inwe·s‖:

{ʼé̲·lik nwe·s} : /ʔá·likinwa·s/ 'fireplace'
({ʼé̲·lik} 'make fire' s-class)

‖nwe·s‖:

{ʼîte̲myé̲· nwe·s} : /ʔitamyá·nwa·s/ 'store,'
'town' ({ʼîte̲myé̲·} 'sell' s-class)

{tesi·n} 'place of ...ing' is found in one example.

{wepté· tesi·n} : /wepté·tesi·n/ 'place for feathering arrows' ({wepté·} 'feather arrows' s-class)

{éhe} 'place of ...ing' is found in one example.

{'ú·yi éhe} : /ʔuyéhe/ 'starting place' ({'ú·yi} 'begin,' 'start' s-class)

{sí·mey} 'one incapable of ...ing': ‖cí·mey‖ after a c-class theme; ‖sí·mey‖ elsewhere.

‖cí·mey‖:

{le̲me̲mt sí·mey} : /lamamtcí·may/ 'impatient person' ({le̲me̲mt} 'be patient' c-class)

‖sí·mey‖:

{c̓í·q sí·mey} : /c̓iqsí·mey/ 'deaf-mute,' 'quiet person' ({c̓í·q} 'talk' s-class)

{eʔyé·ʔy} 'one incapable of ...ing': ‖ʔné·ʔy‖ after a c-class theme; ‖eʔyé·ʔy‖ or ‖eʔyé·y‖ elsewhere.

‖ʔné·ʔy‖:

{siwlé· eʔyé·ʔy} : /siwleʔné·ʔy/ 'one unable to swim' ({siwlé·} 'swim' c-class)

‖eʔyé·ʔy‖:

{we ké̱yk eʔyé·ʔy} : /wakaykaʔyá·ʔy/ 'unrinsed' (of clothes), 'unsifted' (of sand) ({we} 'with implement'; {ké̱yk} 'clean' s-class)

‖eʔyé·y‖:

{nekí eʔyé·ʔy} : /nekeʔyé·y/ 'unthinking person' ({nekí} 'think' s-class)

{tpes} 'one who is unwilling to ...' is found in one example.

{mî̱c̓í· tpes} : /mic̓í·tpas/ 'one who does not want to understand,' 'stubborn person' ({mî̱c̓í·} 'hear' s-class) cf. /mic̓isí·may/ 'one who does not understand (a language),' 'deaf-mute'

{tekey} 'object for ...ing' is found in the following two examples.

{wix̣s ʔú tekey} : /wix̣cʔútekey/ 'buffalo robe to sit on,' 'cushion' ({wix̣s} 'sit'; {ʔú} meaning uncertain, c-class)

{ʼisé̱·pe tekey} : /ʔisá·ptakay/ 'parfleche' ({ʼisé·pe} 'put in a parfleche' c-class) {tp̓es} 'object for ...ing': is found in one example.

{kícuy ʼíte tp̓es} : /kicú·y̓itetp̓es/
'purse' ({k̓ícuy} 'money,' 'metal'; {ʼíte}
'put in' s-class)

{ʼew} 'characterized by ...ing'

{hením ʼew} : /hením̓ew/ 'lazy man' ({henim}
'not to go' c-class)
{ʼîkú·y tim ʼew} : /ʔikú·ytim̓ew/ 'honest man'
({ʼîkú·y} 'be honest'; {tim} 'speak' s-class)

{iʔn} 'one that is ...ed'

after a stressed s-class theme with final ‖i‖
and before {+} ....‖ʔn‖
after a stressed s-class theme with other
finals and before {+} ....‖iʔn‖
after a stressed s-class theme elsewhere .....‖iʔs‖
after an unstressed vowel-final s-class
theme and before {+} ....‖ʔí·n‖
elsewhere after an s-class theme and before
{+} ....‖yí·n‖
after a c-class theme and before {+} ....‖niʔn‖
elsewhere after a c-class theme ....‖niʔs‖

{iʔn} is not found after an unstressed s-class theme and not before {+}.

‖ʔn‖:

{qêqé·wi iʔn} : /qeqé·wiʔn/ 'drunk' ({qêqé·wi} 'drink' s-class)

‖iʔn‖:

{we ké̲yk iʔn} : /wakáykiʔn/ 'sifted (sand)' ({we} 'with implement'; {ké̲yk} 'clean' s-class)

‖iʔs‖:

{sepé· pîyúx̣te iʔn ʼé̲yn} : /cepé·pyux̣tiʔsʔayn/ 'for a pie' ({sepé·} causative prefix 620; {pîyúx̣te} 'place in between' s-class; {ʼé̲yn} 'for' 534)

‖ʔí·n‖:

{ye̲x̣se̲ iʔn} : /yax̣saʔí·n/ 'poured over' ({ye̲x̣se̲} 'spill' s-class)

‖yí·n‖:

{he̲·ní iʔn} : /hanyí·n/ 'made,' 'manufactured' ({he̲·ní} 'make' s-class)

‖niʔn‖:

{ʼé̲·tim k̓í·w iʔn} : /ʔa·timk̓í·wniʔn/ 'Gen. O. O. Howard' (< 'arm cut') ({ʼé̲·tim} 'arm'; {k̓i·w} 'cut' c-class)

‖niʔs‖:

{ʼé̲·tim k̓í·w iʔn ne} : /ʔa·timk̓í·wniʔsna/ 'Gen. O. O. Howard (object case)' ({ne} object case suffix 532) {t} '-ing'

after a vowel-final c-class theme and before {+}..‖n‖

elsewhere after a vowel-final c-class theme ...... ∅

after a consonant-final c-class theme ....‖in‖

after an s-class theme ....‖t‖.

Examples:

‖n‖:

{pí· we·p ci?ye̲w t} : /pí·wapci?yawn/ 'war'

({pí·} reciprocal prefix 620; {we·p} 'with hand or paw'; {ci?ye̲w} 'kill' c-class)

∅ :

{pí· we·p ci?ye̲w t pe} : /pí·wapci?yawpa/

'during the war' ({pe} 'at the time of' 534)

‖in‖:

{tûk^{W}e lí·k t} : /tukelí·kin/ 'hunting'

({tûk^{W}e} 'hunt'; {lí·k} 'move,' 'go' c-class)

‖t‖:

{nekí t} : /né·kt/ 'thinking,' 'idea'

({neki} 'think' s-class)

{t̉ípec} (desiderative suffix)

after a c-class theme and before {+} ....‖n̓ípec‖

elsewhere after a c-class theme ....‖ni?pé·c‖

after an s-class theme and before {+ }........‖t̉ípec‖

elsewhere.....................................‖t̉ipé·c‖

Examples:

‖n̓ípec‖:

{łuk łípec} : /łuxn̓ípec/ 'one who likes to talk,' 'gossiper' ({łuk} 'gossip' c-class)

‖niʔpé·c‖:

{ciklí· łípec wi s e} : /cikli·niʔpé·cwise/ 'I want to go home' ({ciklí·} 'turn' c-class; {wi} 'do' 622.1)

‖łípec‖:

{'iné· kú· łípec} : /ʔineku·łípec/ 'one given to drinking' ({'iné·} reflexive prefix 620; {kú·} 'drink (with a reflexive prefix)' s-class)

‖łipé·c‖:

{hi ciklí· tu̲q łípec wi s e} : /hickili·toqłipá·cwisa/ 'he is anxious to return' ({tu̲q} 'back' s-class)

{łic} 'one that does,' 'one that is characterized by ...ing': ‖'ic‖ or ‖'is‖ after a c-class theme; ‖łic‖ elsewhere.

‖'ic‖:

{tillé̲·p łic} : /tillá·p̓ic/ 'lonesome' ({tillé̲·p} 'be lonely' c-class)

‖’is‖:

{se̲yqí t̓ic} : /sayq̓ís/ 'beautiful' ({se̲yqí}
'be beautiful' c-class)

‖t̓ic‖:

{’îlé̲·twi t̓ic} : /ʔilatwí·t̓ic/ 'tiresome'
({’îlé̲·twi} 'be tired' s-class)

{R} 'one that is characterized by ...ing'

{R ké̲yk} : /kayxkáyx/ 'clean' ({ké̲yk} 'be clean'
s-class)

{R tí·pit} : /ti·pití·pit/ 'smooth'
({tí·pit} 'be smooth')

The second type of deverbative themes may be summarized as follows:

sT: gvT < ʔé·t >.

General verb themes (gvT) are described in 622.1.

530. Substantive inflection.

The following five classes of suffixes occur as inflectional elements in constituency with substantive themes:

class	subclass	number of members	occurs with					
			nT	nuT	kT	ppT	dT	aT[1]
< nim >		1	x	x	x	x	x	x
< ne >		1	x	x	x	x	x	x
< k >	k	1	x	x	x	x	x	
	kek	1	x				x	
	ki	1	x	x	x	x	x	x
	kin̓ik	1	x		x	x	x	
	hí·nek	1	x					
	le̲ykin	2	x		x			
	ike	2					x	
	wecet	1	x				x	
< ’é̲yn >	’é̲yn	1	x		x	x	x	
	hí’n	1	x		x	x		
	mé	1	x	x			x	
	pe	1	x	x	x	x	x	
< e >		2			x			

---

[1] nT, nuT, kT, ppT, dT, aT are substantive themes having nS, nuS, kS, ppS, dS, aS as constituents respectively. nT also stands for an sT having a verb stem as a constituent.

531. < nim >. The single member of this class is {nim} (possessive-nominative) indicating either the possessor of an object or the performer of the action of the verb.

{nim}

with general nouns: ‖m‖, ‖im‖, ‖nm‖, ‖nim‖

as ‖m‖ after a thematic suffix, e.g., {ciq̓é̲·m qe̲l nim} : /ciq̓á·mqalm/ 'dog' (possessive-nominative);

as ‖im‖ elsewhere after ‖n‖, e.g., {qí·wn nim} /qí·wnim/ 'old man' (possessive-nominative);

as ‖nm‖ elsewhere after a vowel, e.g., {píswe nim} : /piswé·nm/ 'stone' (possessive-nominative);

as ‖nim‖ elsewhere, e.g., {lé̲·qec nim} : /laqá·snim/ 'mouse'

with kinship terms: ‖em‖, ‖im‖, ‖pim‖

as ‖em‖ with the first group (510.3) and with {neʔ} 'my,' or {ʼim} 'your (sg.),' e.g., {neʔ tú̲·t nim} : /naʔtó·tam/ 'my father' (poss-nom);

as ‖im‖ elsewhere after ‖p‖, e.g., {píyep nim}: /piyé·pim/ 'elder brother' (possessive-nominative);

as ‖pim‖ elsewhere, e.g., {pe· ʼí·c nim} : /piké·pim/ 'mother' (possessive-nominative)

with personal pronouns: ‖ním‖, ‖ím‖, ‖m‖, ‖im‖

as ‖ním‖ after {ʼipí} 'he, she, it,' e.g., {ʼipí nim} : /ʔipním/ 'his,' 'he';

as ‖ím‖ after {ʼi·m} 'you (sg.),' e.g.,

{'í·m nim} : /ʔimím/ 'your (sg.),' 'you (sg.)'
as ‖m‖ after {me} (plural suffix), e.g.,
{'í·m me nim} : /ʔimé·m/ 'your (pl.),' 'their,' 'you (pl.),' 'they'
as ‖im‖ elsewhere, e.g., {'i·n nim} : /ʔí·nim/ 'my,' 'I'

with demonstratives: ‖m‖, ‖ím‖
as ‖m‖ after {kí·} 'this,' e.g., {kí· nim} : /kínm/ 'this' (possessive-nominative);
as ‖ím‖ after {k$\underline{u}$} 'that,' e.g., {k$\underline{u}$ nim} : /koním/ 'that' (possessive-nominative)

with adjectives: ‖nim‖
{'icwé·ys nim} : /ʔicweʔí·snim/ 'cold' (possessive-nominative)

Occasionally allomorphs of {nim} for general nouns occur with kinship terms, possibly indicating an analogical formation, e.g., {pe· 'í·c nim} : ‖piké·nm‖ : /piké·nm/ 'mother,' instead of /piké·pim/.

A possible indication of the preceding morphophonemic segment as the conditioning factor with general nouns may be in the following freely alternating doublets:

‖cé·qet‖ : /cé·qet/ 'blackberry'
‖ceqé·t nim‖ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ ‖ceqé· nm‖ : /ceqé·tnim/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /ceqé·nm/ 'blackberry' (possessive-nominative)
‖'$\underline{é}$·wit‖ : /ʔá·wit/ 'widow'
‖'$\underline{e}$wí·t nim‖ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ ‖'$\underline{e}$wí· nm‖ : /ʔawí·tnim/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /ʔawí·nm/ 'widow' (possessive-nominative)

532. < ne >. The single member of this class is {ne} (objective) indicating the object of the verbal action.

{ne}

with general nouns: ‖né‖, ‖e‖, ‖ne‖

as ‖né‖ after {ke̲le̲} 'that much,' e.g., {ke̲le̲ ne} : /kalaná/ 'that much' (object);

as ‖e‖ after ‖l‖ or ‖n‖, e.g., {qí·wn ne} : /qí·wne/ 'old man' (object);

as ‖ne‖ elsewhere, e.g., {cé·qet ne} : /ceqé·ne/ 'raspberry' (object)

with numerals: ‖íne‖, ‖ine‖, ‖ne‖

as ‖íne‖ after {t} (neutral classifier) preceded by {pú·tim} 'ten,' e.g., {pú·tim t ne} : /pu·timtíne/ 'ten' (object);

as ‖ine‖ elsewhere after {t}, e.g., {lep t ne} : /lepítine/ 'two' (object);

as ‖ne‖ elsewhere, e.g., {lep we ne} : /lepúʔne/ 'two (people)' (object) ({we} personal classifier)

with kinship terms: ‖ep‖, ‖ne‖

as ‖ep‖ with group 1 or 2b (510.3) and with {neʔ} 'my,' or {ʼim} 'your (sg.),' e.g., {neʔ qe̲lé̲c ne} : /naʔqalácap/ 'my paternal grandfather' (object);

as ‖ne‖ elsewhere, e.g., {qe̲lé̲c eʔc ne} : /qaláca ʔcna/ 'paternal grandfather' (object) with personal pronouns: ‖né‖, ‖e‖, ‖né·n‖, ‖en‖

as ‖né‖ after {ʼipí} 'he, she, it' and before {+}, e.g., {ʼipí ne} : /ʔipné/ 'him, her, it';

as ‖e‖ elsewhere before {+}, e.g., {ʼí·n ne} : /ʔi·ne/ 'me';

as ‖né·n‖ elsewhere after {ʼipí}, e.g., {ʼipí ne k̓e} : /ʔipné·nk̓e/ 'him/her/it also';

as ‖en‖ elsewhere, e.g., {ʼí·n ne k̓e} : /ʔí·nenk̓e/ 'me too'

with demonstratives: ‖ye‖, ‖yé‖

as ‖ye‖ after {kí·} 'this,' e.g., {kí· ne} : /kínye/ 'this' (object);

as ‖yé‖ after {ku̲} 'that;' e.g., {ku̲ ne} : /konyá/ 'that' (object)

with adjectives: ‖ene‖

as ‖ene‖ everywhere, e.g., {kúckuc ne} : /kúckucene/ 'small' (object)

533. < k >. The ten members of this class, mostly with locative or instrumental meanings, are as follows:

{k} 'to,' 'upto,' 'than,' 'against,'-th'(with numerals).

with numerals: ‖k‖, ‖kipk‖, ‖ípk‖, ‖ipk‖

as ‖k‖ after {k̓úyc} 'nine' or {eʔéptit} 'ten times,' e.g., {k̓úyc k} : /k̓uʔícx/ 'ninth';

as ‖kipk‖ after {hú·sus} 'hundred times,' e.g., {pú·tim hú·sus k} : /pu·tmú·suskipx/ 'one thousandth' ({pú·tim} 'ten');

as ‖ípk‖ after {né̱·qc} 'one' or {pé̱·x̣e̱} 'five' followed by {t} (neutral classifier), e.g., {pé̱·x̣e̱ t k} : /pa·x̣atípx/ 'fifth';

as ‖ipk‖ elsewhere, e.g., {lep t k} : /lepítipx/ 'second' ({lep} 'two')

with non-numerals: ‖pk‖, ‖k‖

as ‖pk‖ after a vowel, e.g., {ʼé̱·le̱ k} : /ʔá·lapx/ 'against fire' ({ʼé̱·le̱} 'fire');

as ‖k‖ elsewhere, e.g., {mé·x̣sem k} : /mex̣sé·mx/ 'to mountain' ({mé·x̣sem} 'mountain').

{kek} 'in the direction of ...'

as ‖kek‖ everywhere, e.g., {né·we kek} : /newé·kex/ 'toward Lolo Creek' ({né·we} 'Lolo Creek, Idaho').

{ki} 'in the language of ...,' 'at the time of ...,' 'on account of ...,' 'in comparison with ...,' 'about ...' (of a subject matter), 'by means of ...,' 'than!: ‖kí‖ after {ku̱} 'that'; ‖ki‖ elsewhere, e.g.,

{ku̱ ki} : /konkí/ 'with that'

{su̱·yé̱· pe we timt ki} : /so·yá·po·tímtki/ 'in English' ({su̱·yé̱·} 'the white,' {pe}

'place of ...,' {we} personal classifier,
{timt} 'language')

{kin̓ik} 'from ...': ‖í·k‖ after {ku̲} 'that'; ‖ik‖ after {kí·} 'this'; ‖pkin̓ik‖ after ‖ʔ‖, ‖k‖, ‖q‖ or a vowel; ‖kin̓ik‖ elsewhere.

‖í·k‖ :

{ku̲ kin̓ik} : /koní·x/ 'from that'

‖ik‖ :

{kí· kin̓ik} : /kínix/ 'from this'

‖pkin̓ik‖ :

{cemí·tk kin̓ik} : /cemitéxpkin̓ix/ 'from huckleberry' ({cemí·tk} 'huckleberry')

‖kin̓ik‖ :

{neʔ tú̲·t nim kin̓ik} : /naʔtó·tamkin̓ix/ 'from my father'

In two instances of place names, ‖kin̓ik‖ is found after a vowel:

{we̲ʔlé̲we̲ kin̓ik} : /waʔlwá·kin̓ix/ 'from Wallawa, Washington'

{le̲mé̲te̲ kin̓ik} : /lamtá·kin̓ix/ 'from Whitebird, Idaho'

With personal pronouns, ‖kin̓ik‖ is found after a thematic suffix and ‖kin̓í·k‖ elsewhere, e.g.,

{ʼí·m nim kin̓ik} : /ʔimímkin̓ix/ 'from you (sg.)'
{ʼí·m kin̓ik} : /ʔimkin̓í·x/ 'from you (sg.).'

The last two were given as possible free alternants in a text.

{hí·nek} 'even ...'

{pí·ps hí·nek} : /pipsí·nex/ 'even a bone'
{we̲swé̲snu hí·nek} : /waswasnohí·nax/ 'even a chicken' ({we̲swé̲snu} 'chicken')

{le̲ykin} 'in the vicinity of ...'

{lé̲·qe̲ le̲ykin} : /lá·qalaykin/ 'near a pine tree' ({lé̲·qe̲} 'pine tree')
{sík̓em le̲ykin} : /sik̓á·mlaykin/ 'near a horse' ({sík̓em} 'horse')

{pípem} 'among ...'

{lé̲wtiwe· pípem} : /lawtiwa·pípam/ 'among friends' ({lé̲wtiwe·} 'friend')

{ike} 'at ... side': ‖ike‖ after {kí·} 'this'; ‖iké‖ after {ku̲} 'that,' e.g.,

{kí· ike} : /kínike/ 'on this side'
{ku̲ ike} : /koniká/ 'on that side'

{met} 'at the time of ...'

{kí· met} : /kí·met/ 'at this time'

{wecet} 'because of ...': ‖wecé·n‖ after {ku̲} 'that'; ‖wecet‖ elsewhere, e.g.,

{ku̲ wecet} : /konwacá·n/ 'therefore'

{’îtú· wecet} : /ˀitú·wecet/ 'why' ({’îtú·} 'what')

534. < ’é̲yn >. The four members of this class are ambivalent in that they occur either as thematic affixes or inflectional elements.

{’é̲yn} 'for the sake of ...': ‖’yé̲yn‖ after {ku̲} 'that' followed by {me} (plural suffix); ‖’ye̲yn‖ elsewhere after demonstratives; ‖é̲yn‖ ~ ‖’é̲yn‖ after ‖s‖; ‖’é̲yn‖ ~ ‖’e̲yn‖ ~ ‖-’e̲yn‖ elsewhere.

‖’yé̲yn‖ :

{ku̲ me ’é̲yn} : /konmaˀyáyn/ 'for those'

‖’ye̲yn‖ :

{kí· ’é̲yn} : /kín̓yayn/ 'for this'

‖é̲yn‖ :

{pískis ’é̲yn} : /piskisáyn/ 'for door'

‖’é̲yn‖ :

{ciq̓é̲·m qe̲l ’é̲yn} : /ciq̓a·mql̓áyn/ 'for dog'

‖’e̲yn‖ :

{tuʔúynu ’é̲yn} : /toʔynóʔayn/ 'for tail'

‖-’e̲yn‖ :

{’é·l eʔc ’é̲yn} : /ʔé·leʔc̓ayn/ 'for paternal grandmother'

{hí·ʼn} 'with...': ‖hí·ʼn‖ ~ ‖hi·ʼn‖, e.g.,

{pe· tú̲·t hí·ʼn} : /pistí·n/ 'with father'

{hé̲·se̲s hi·ʼn} : /hasá·siʔn/ 'nitty'

({hé̲·se̲s} 'louse egg')

{mé} 'from ...'

after {k̓ú·seyn̓} 'Montana' or {ku̲} 'that' : ‖emé‖

after {té·kin} 'meadow' : ‖’mé‖

after a theme with final ‖m‖ : ‖e‖ ~ ‖’é‖

elsewhere : ‖me‖ ~ ‖mé‖

‖emé‖ :

{k̓ú·seyn̓ mé} : /k̓useyn̓emé/ 'from Montana'

‖’mé‖ :

{té·kin mé} : /tekin̓mé/ 'from meadow'

‖e‖ :

{’ínwim mé} : /ʔinwí·me/ 'from last year'

({’ínwim} 'year')

‖'é‖ :

{mé·x̣sem mé} : /mex̣sem̓é/ 'from mountain'

‖me‖ :

{nipéhe mé} : /nipehéme/ 'from Graves Creek, Idaho'

‖mé‖ :

{'e̲łpé̲we̲wi mé} : /ʔałpawawimá/ 'from Alpowa, Washington'

{pe} 'at,' 'in,' 'at the time of ...'

after {kí·} 'this':	before {+}	:	‖e‖
	before {ník}	:	‖ey‖
after {ku̲} 'that':	before {+}	:	‖é‖
	before {ník}	:	‖ey‖
after {ník} or {'í·m} 'you (sg.)'		:	‖pé‖
elsewhere		:	‖pe‖

‖e‖ :

{kí· pe} : /kíne/ 'here'

‖ey‖ :

{kí· pe ník} : /kíneyníx/ 'at this very spot'

{ku̲ pe ník} : /konayníx/ 'at that very spot'

‖é‖ :

{ku̲ pe} : /koná/ 'there'

‖pé‖ :

{né̲·qc ník pe} : /na·qcnipá/ 'at the place of only one'

‖pe‖ :

{tú̲hu̲n pe} : /tohónpa/ 'in leggings'
({tú̲hu̲n} 'trousers,' 'leggings')

535. < e >. The two members of this class are:

{e} (junior vocative suffix) occurs with the four kinship terms denoting grandparent-grandchild relationship and indicates that the vocative refers to the younger referent of the reciprocal system.

The four examples are:

{qe̲lé̲c e} : /qaláca/ 'son's child!'(a man speaking)
{pîlé̲q e} : /piláqa/ 'daughter's child!' (a man speaking)
{’é·l e} : /ˀé·le/ 'son's child!' (a woman speaking)
{qé̲·c e} : /qá·ca/ 'daughter's child' (a woman speaking)

{eˀ} (senior vocative suffix) occurs with twelve kinship terms and indicates the senior referent.

{qe̲lé̲c eˀ} : /qalácaˀ/ 'paternal grandfather'
{pîlé̲q eˀ} : /piláqaˀ/ 'maternal grandfather'
{’é·l eˀ} : /ˀé·leˀ/ 'paternal grandmother'

536. The substantive constructions in which the inflectional suffix classes above participate are:

Ss = subject substantive

Ss : sT [nim]

Example:	sT	< nim >
	{'ipí	nim}
	‖'ip	ním‖
	/ ʔipním /	
	he	

So = object substantive

So : sT [ne]

Example:	sT	< ne >
	{'ipi	ne}
	‖'ip	né‖
	/ ʔipné /	
	him	

Sl = locative substantive

Sl : sT k/'é̲yn

Examples:	sT	< k >	sT	< 'é̲yn >
	{tiwélqe	ki}	{ku̲	pe}
	‖tiwélqe	ki‖	‖ku̲n	é‖
	/ tiwélqeki /		/ koná /	
	on account of the enemy		at that place	

At = attributive

At: sT [nim]

Example: sT < nim >

{'ipí nim}

‖'ip ním‖

/ ʔipním /

his

I = interjection

I: sT e

Example: sT < e >

{qe̲lé̲c eʔ}

‖qe̲lé̲c eʔ‖

/ qaláca ʔ /

paternal grandfather!

600. VERB

Verb stems are discussed in 610 and verb themes are discussed in 620.

610. Verb stems.

There are two verb stem classes.

610.1 General verb stems (gvS) : one or two general verb root morphemes, or a general verb root morpheme plus a preceding general noun root morpheme.

The two main variables in the allomorphy of monomorphemic verb stems are stress and canonical forms.

The two major types of verb stems, in terms of the first variable noted above, are stressed and unstressed types, the latter with two subtypes.

A stressed verb stem occurs always with a stress, and ends in either a consonant or an unstressed vowel, e.g.,

{têqí·k} 'come down' s-class
  ‖têqí·k s e‖ : /teqí·kse/ 'I am coming down'
  ‖têqí·k s e qe̲‖ : /taqí·ksaqa/ 'I came down'
{tí·we} 'smell bad' c-class
  ‖tí·we c e‖ : /tí·wece/ 'I smell bad'
  ‖tí·we c e qe̲‖ : /tí·wacaqa/ 'I smelled bad'

Members of the unstressed type are represented by some stressed and some unstressed allomorphs, and may be further divided into two subtypes: {hipí} type and {he̱ní·} type.

{hipí} type is characterized by final stressed ‖í‖ in an allomorph before {s} class marker and {e} singular suffix, and by unstressed allomorphs elsewhere, e.g.,

{hipí} 'eat' s-class
‖hipí s e‖ : /hipíse/ 'I eat'
‖hip s é· qe̱‖ : /hipsá·qa/ 'I ate'
‖hip úʔ‖ : /hipúʔ/ 'I will eat'
{hekí} 'see' c-class
‖hekí c e‖ : /hekíce/ 'I see'
‖hek c é· qe̱‖ : /hakcá·qa/ 'I saw'
‖'e hek n úʔ‖ : /ʔe·xnúʔ/ 'I will see it'

{he̱ní·} type is characterized by final stressed vowel in an allomorph before {s} and {e}, {uʔ} indicative future suffix, or {uʔqe̱} conditional past suffix, and by unstressed allomorphs elsewhere, e.g.,

{he̱ní·} 'make' s-class
‖he̱ní· s e‖ : /hani·sa/ 'I make'
‖he̱ni s é· qe̱‖ : /hanisá·qa/ 'I made'
‖he̱ní yuʔ‖ : /haníyoʔ/ 'I will make'

The following shows the suffixal allomorphs determined by the two stem types and subtypes discussed above.

	after stressed stem	after unstressed stem	
		{hipí}	{he̲ní·}
{e} singular (not before {+})	‖e‖	‖é·‖	‖é·‖
{i} plural	‖i‖	‖í·‖	‖í·‖
{uʔ} indicative future	‖yuʔ‖ ‖uʔ‖	‖úʔ‖	‖yuʔ‖ ‖uʔ‖
{e̲q} conditional present	‖e̲q‖	‖’é̲·q‖	‖’é̲·q‖
{uʔqe̲} conditional past	‖yuʔqe̲‖ ‖uʔqe̲‖	‖úʔqe̲‖	‖yuʔqe̲‖ ‖uʔqe̲‖
{te} frequentative present	‖te‖, ‖te·‖	‖té·‖	‖té·‖
{qe̲qe̲} frequentative recent past with {i}	‖yeʔniqe̲‖ ‖eʔniqe̲‖	‖yeʔní·qe̲‖	‖yeʔní·qe̲‖
{qe̲ne̲} frequentative remote past with {i}	‖yenixne‖ ‖enixne‖	‖ení·xne‖	‖ení·xne‖

When certain prefixes occur with an unstressed stem, a stressed allomorph of the prefix ocurs if the prefix can be represented by a stressed allomorph. In such cases the stem allomorph before {s} and {e} is without the final ‖í‖. Furthermore, an unstressed set of suffixal allomorphs occur, e.g.,

‖we̲qe lpí s e‖ : /waqalpísa/ 'I hug'
({we̲qi} 'in arms,' {’înpi} 'seize')

‖'ipné we̲qe lp t‖ : /ʔipnó·qalpt/ 'to fold arms' ({'ipné·} third person singular reflexive prefix, {t} gerundial suffix; lit. 'to hug himself')

‖pí· we̲qe lp s i k‖ : /pí·waqalpsix/ 'we are hugging each other' ({pí·} reciprocal prefix, {i} plural suffix, {k} indicative present)

The canonical alternation may be found stem-initially or stem-finally, the former is found in all types of stems while the latter is found only in {hipí} and {he̲ní·} types.

The stem-initial alternation is as follows: $C_1VC_2C_3$ after {+} and $C_1C_2VC_3$ elsewhere.

‖ciklí·k s e‖ : /ciklí·kse/ 'I return'

‖hi ckilí·k s e‖ : /hickilí·kse/ 'he returns' ({hi} third person subject prefix)

‖titwe̲tí· s e‖ : /titwatí·sa/ 'I tell a story'

‖hi ttiwe̲tí· s e‖ : /hittiwatí·sa/ 'he tells a story'

The stem-final alternation is as follows: $C_1C_2\acute{V}(\cdot)$ before {s} and {e}, and $C_1\acute{V}C_2$ before {t}.

‖we 'ínpí s e‖ : /weʔnpíse/ 'I am singing' ({we} 'with mouth,' {'ínpí} 'seize')

‖we ʼînip t‖ : /we?nípt/ 'to sing'

‖tekpí s e‖ : /tekpíse/ 'I dip out water'

‖tekíp t‖ : /tekípt/ 'to dip out water'

‖x̣e?pí c e‖ : /x̣e?píce/ 'I crawl'

‖x̣e?ép in‖ : /x̣e?épin/ 'crawling'

l-stems. There is a group of stems, which have ‖l‖ (or ‖n‖) - Ø alternation stem-initially. In general, allomorphs without ‖l‖ (or ‖n‖) occur after stops and spirants, while those with ‖l‖ occur after vowels and semivowels. There are some exceptions. Semantically, members of this group indicate some locative-directional ideas.

Forms with ‖l‖	occurs after	Forms without ‖l‖	occurs after	meaning
lé̲hse̲	V, m, w, q	é̲hse̲	t, k, q, s	up
léhne	V, y	éhne	k, q, s, y	down
léhyek	V	éhyek	k, s, n	upstream
lewí·k	V	ewí·k	t	downstream
leylé·k	w, y, V	eylé·k	k, k^w, q, s, n	into
léht	V	éht	k, q, n	out

Examples:

‖lé̲hse̲‖ ‖hi qûqlé̲hse̲ ye‖ : /hiqqoláhsaya/ 'she galloped up' ({qûqú·} 'gallop,' {e} indicative indefinite past)

‖é̲hse̲‖	‖wîs é̲hse̲ s e‖ : /wisáhsasa/ 'I am moving up' ({wîs} 'move,' 'travel')
‖léhne‖	‖wîle léhne c e‖ : /wileléhnece/ 'I am running down' ({wîlé·} 'run')
‖éhne‖	‖wîs éhne c i k‖ : /wiséhnecix/ 'we are moving down'
‖léhyek‖	‖hi ʼîpsqi léhyek s e‖ : /hiˀpsqiléhyekse/ 'he is walking upstream' ({hi} third person subject prefix, {ʼîpsqi} 'walk')
‖éhyek‖	‖wîs éhyek t‖ : /wiséhyekt/ 'to go upstream'
‖lewí·k‖	‖hi wîse lewí·k e‖ : /hiwselewí·ke/ 'she moved downstream'
‖ewí·k‖	‖we̲t ewí·k s e‖ : /watawí·ksa/ 'I wade downstream' ({we̲t} 'wade')
‖leylé·k‖	‖hi wx̣si léylek s e‖ : /hiwx̣siléylekse/ 'he sits in' ({wix̣s} 'sit,' ‖leylé·k‖ alternates with ‖léylek‖)
‖eylé·k‖	‖hi tûk^{w} eylé·k s e‖ : /hitkuylé·kse/ 'he dives in' ({tûk^{w}} 'dive')
‖léht‖	‖ʼîye léht s e‖ : /ˀiyeléhtse/ 'I am coming out of water' ({ʼîye} 'afloat,' 'in swimming')
‖éht‖	‖ʼînek éht s e‖ : /ˀinekéhtse/ 'I am taking out' ({ʼînek} 'carry')

Compound verb stems are of three types, (1) adverbial prefix + verb root, (2) verb root + verb root, (3) noun root + verb root.

The first type of compound stem is very common, the manner of action being expressed by the adverbial prefix, and the general direction or scene of action by the root. There are 139 adverbial prefixes.

Examples:

{wîlé·} 'run'

‖wîlé· keʔy k s e‖ : /wilé·keʔykse/ 'I am running' ({keʔéy} general locomotion, {k} suffix of uncertain meaning)

‖wîlé· q̓uyim k s e‖ : /wilé·q̓uyimkse/ 'I am running to the top' ({q̓uyím} 'to the top')

‖wîlé· wewiti s e‖ : /wilé·wewitise/ 'I am running downstream' ({wewí·ti} 'downstream')

‖wîlé· welu· s e‖ : /wilé·welu·se/ 'I am running down to the river' ({wé·lu·} 'down to the river')

‖wilé· yewne c e‖ : /wilé·yewnece/ 'I am running over (e.g., hills, humps)' ({yéwne} 'over')

{ʼîpsqí} 'on foot'

‖ʼîpsqí keʔy k s e‖ : /ʔipsqíkeʔykse/

'I am walking'

{kîpí·} 'trace (e.g. footprints)'

‖ʼe kîpí· keʔy k s e‖ : /ʔekpí·keʔykse/

'I am tracing' ({ʼe} third person object prefix)

{qîsím} 'in anger'

‖qîsím keʔy k s e‖ : /qisímkeʔykse/

'I am going away in anger'

{qûqú·} 'gallop'

‖hi qûqú keʔy k s e‖ : /hiqqúkeʔykse/

'he is galloping'

{sîwí} 'swim'

‖sîwí keʔy k s e‖ : /siwíkeʔykse/ 'I am swimming'

{tú·k̓e} 'with a cane-like object'

‖tú·k̓e keʔy k s e‖ : /tú·k̓ekeʔykse/

'I am limping with cane'

Examples of the second type of compound stem are:

{ʼînpí} 'seize, catch' + {ciklí·} 'turn'

‖ʼînpí s e‖ : /ʔinpíse/ 'I catch'

‖ciklí· c e‖ : /ciklí·ce/ 'I turn'

‖’înp ciklí· tu̲q i m e‖ : /ʔinpciklí·toqimą/
'I came back to get it' ({tu̲q} 'back,'
{i} plural suffix, {m} motion toward the
speaker or to the second person, {e}
indicative indefinite past)

{’êwí·} 'shoot' + {tîwí·k} 'follow'

‖’êwí· s e‖ : /ʔewí·se/ 'I shoot'
‖tîwí·k c e‖ : /tiwí·kce/ 'I follow'
‖’e ’êwíye tîwik c e‖ : /ʔeʔwíyetwikce/
'I shoot as I chase it' ({’e} third person
object prefix)

A bound root morpheme may occur as the second member of a compound stem. {te̲mé̲·w} 'be in excess,' which does not occur after {+}, but occurs immediately before suffixes, is an example.

{c̓í·q} 'speak' + {te̲mé̲·w} 'be in excess'

‖c̓í·q c e‖ : /c̓í·qce/ 'I talk'
‖c̓iq te̲mé̲·w n‖ : /c̓iqtamá·wn/ 'I talked
too much' (‖n‖, an allomorph of {s}
class marker)

The third type of compound stems, which show a kind of noun incorporation, appears to be rare and often occurs with nominalizing suffixes.

Examples of noun root + verb root:

{qilílu·} 'raw hide' + {wé̲wye̲} 'beat'
‖qilílu·‖ : /qilílu·/ 'raw hide'
‖wé̲wye̲ c e‖ : /wáwyaca/ 'I beat'
‖qillú· we̲wye̲ c e‖ : /qilló·wawyaca/ 'I sing a departing song for warriors' (literally 'I beat raw hide')

{wé̲lc} 'knife' + {ʼíte} 'put in'
‖wé̲lc‖ : /wálc/ 'knife'
‖ʼíte s e‖ : /ʔitése/ 'I put in'
‖we̲lc ʼíte t̓es‖ : /walc̣̓ítat̓as/ 'scabbard' (‖t̓es‖, an allomorph of {eʔs} 'an object for ...ing')

{ʼé̲·tim} 'arm' + {k̓í·w} 'cut'
‖ʼé̲·tim‖ : /ʔá·tim/ 'arm'
‖ʼe̲·tim k̓í·w niʔn‖ : /ʔa·timk̓í·wniʔn/ 'General O. O. Howard' (literally 'arm-cut') (‖niʔn‖, an allomorph of {iʔn} 'one that is ... ed')

The following may be considered an example of a verb stem consisting of a noun root and a bound verb root.

{tiwé·t} 'shaman' + {tim} 'speak'
‖tiwé·t‖ : /tiwé·t/ 'shaman'
‖tiwetí· tim t‖ : /tiwetí·timt/ 'dreamer religion' (literally 'shaman-speaking')

610.2 Copulative verb stems (cvS).

The single member of this class is {wé·} 'be,' 'possess,' e.g.,

/hiwé·ke so·yá·po·/ 'he was a white man'
({hi} third person subject prefix; ‖wé·k‖, an allomorph of {wé·}; ‖e‖ an allomorph of {ne} indicative remote past; {su̲·yé̲·} 'the white')

/ˀewé·ke ˀiwé·pne/ 'he had a wife'
({ʼe} third person object prefix; {ʼîwé·p} 'wife'; {ne} object case suffix 532.).

A copulative verb stem is always monomorphemic.

620. Verb themes (vT).

Each of the above stem classes is defined by its occurrence in special thematic constructions. These constructions include classes of verb affixes which are shown below. The thematic affixes occur only with general verb stems.

621. Thematic affix classes.

All the suffixes have at least two morphologically conditioned groups of allomorphs: an s-group and a c-group. The verb stems and thematic suffixes may be labeled as to which group of allomorphs they occur with, the s-class or the c-class.

Prefixes:	class	subclass		number of members
	< pí· >	pí·	(reciprocal)	1
		ʼiné·	(reflexive)	5
	< wi >		(distributive)	1
	< sepé· >		(causative)	2
Suffixes:				
	< e̲tk >		(aspectual)	21

Examples of thematic prefixes:

< pí· >

The two subclasses of this class are reciprocal and reflexive prefixes.

The single member of the first subclass is {pí·} (reciprocal): ‖pí·‖ ~ ‖pi·‖ ~ ‖pi‖, e.g.,

‖pí·‖:

{pí· te?nwé· s i k} : /pi·te?nwesix/ 'we are talking to each other' ({te?nwé·} 'talk')

‖pi·‖:

{pí· te yú̲·x̣u̲? s i k} : /pi·tayó·x̣o?six/ 'we are warning each other' ({té·} 'by speech' adverbial prefix, {yú̲·x̣u̲?} 'caution,' 'wait')

‖pi‖:

{pí· titwe̲tí· u?} : /pittiwatíyó?/ 'we'll tell story to each other' ({titwe̲tí·} 'tell story,' {u?} future indicative).

{pi·} occurring with a plural suffix as in examples above indicates that the actor is animate, and elsewhere that a natural phenomenon is involved, e.g.,

/pí·wewkunise/ 'they meet' (of rivers, mountains)

/pí·wewkunisix/ 'they meet' (of people)

/pí·wyu·yce/ 'they separate' (of trails)

/pi·wyu·ycix/ 'they separate' (of people)

The five members of the second subclass are:

{'iné·}, first person singular reflexive: ‖'iné·‖ ~ ‖'iné‖ ~ ‖'ilé·‖.

‖'iné·‖:

{'iné· sepelú·k s e} : /ʔiné·sepelu·kse/
'I hide myself' ({sepelú·k} 'hide')

‖'iné‖:

{'iné· wepe lí·k s e} : /ʔinú·pelikce/ 'I dress'
({wepe} 'dress'; {lí·k} 'be,' 'go')

‖'ilé·‖::

{'iné· té· 'îlé̲·twi s e} : /ʔilá·taʔlatwisa/
'I am tired from speaking' ({té·} 'by speech';
{'îlé̲·twi} 'tire')

{'imé·}, second person singular reflexive: ‖'imé·‖ ~ ‖'imé‖.

‖'imé·‖:

{'imé· sepelú·k s e} : /ʔimé·sepelu·se/
'you hide yourself'

‖'imé‖:

{'imé· wepe lí·k s e} : /ʔimú·pelikce/ 'you dress'

{'ipné·}, third person singular reflexive: ‖'ipné·‖ ~ ‖'ipné‖ ~ ‖'ipne‖.

‖'ipné·‖:

{'ipné· sepelú·k s e} : /ʔipné·sepelu·kse/
'he hides himself'

‖’ipné‖:

{’ipné· wepe lí·k s e} : /ʔipnú·pelikce/

'he dresses'

‖’ipne‖:

{’ipné· wîlé· keʔéy k eʔí} : /ʔipnewilekeʔykeʔí/

'car' ({wîlé} 'move quickly'; {keʔéy} 'move';

{k} suffix of uncertain meaning; {eʔi} agentive

suffix; literally 'self-fast-move-er')

{nemé·}, first person plural reflexive: ‖nemé·‖ ~ ‖nemé‖.

‖nemé·‖:

{nemé· sepelú·k s i k} : /nemé·sepelu·ksix/

'we hide ourselves'

‖nemé‖:

{nemé· wepe lí·k s i k} : /nemú·pelikcix/

'we dress'

{’imemé·}, second and third person plural reflexive: ‖’imemé·‖ ~ ‖’imemé‖.

‖’imemé·‖:

{’imemé· sepelú·k s i k} : /ʔimemé·sepelu·ksix/

'you hide yourselves,' 'they hide themselves'

‖’imemé‖:

{’imemé· wepe lí·k s i k} : /ʔimemú·pelikcix/

'you (pl.) dress,' 'they dress'

< wi > The single member of this class is {wi} (distributive): ‖wí·‖ ~ ‖wí‖ ~ ‖wi‖.

‖wí·‖:

{wi cilú· s e} : /wí·cilu·se/ 'I cook them separately' ({cilú·} 'cook')

‖wí‖:

{ʼe wí· hekí i k} : /ʔewíhekitx/ 'look each one over!' ({heki} 'see'; {i} plural suffix; {k} imperative)

‖wi‖:

{ʼe né·s wí· weʔnikí s} : /ʔené·swiweʔniks/ 'I named them one by one' ({né·s} plural object prefix; {weʔnikí} 'name')

< sepé· > The two members of this class are {sepé·} (singular causative), and {sé·p} (plural causative).

{sepé·}: ‖sepé·‖ ~ ‖sepe‖ ~ ‖cepé·‖ ~ ‖cepe‖.

‖sepé·‖:

{sepé· c̓é̲ʔk s e} : /sapá·ċ̓aʔksa/ 'I cause it to hang'

‖sepe‖:

{pí· sepé· twe 8 i k} : /pi·sepetwecix/ 'we are mixing it' ({twe} 'be together')

‖cepé·‖:

{cepé· p̓é̱y k s e} : /capá·p̓ayksa/ 'I wring it
dry' ({p̓é̱y} 'drain,' 'become dry')

‖cepe‖:

{ʼe cepé· x̣éʔp s e} : /ʔecepex̣éʔpse/ 'I put
it underneath' ({x̣éʔp} 'go under')

{sé·p}: ‖sé·p‖ ~ ‖sep‖ ~ ‖cé·p‖ ~ ‖cep‖.

‖sé·p‖:

{sé·p c̓é̱ʔk s e} : /sá·pc̓aʔksa/ 'I cause them
to hang'

‖sep‖:

{sé·p tequ·yí·k s e} : /septequ·yí·kce/
'I cause them to be known' ({tequ·yí·k}
'be known')

‖cé·p‖:

{ʼipné· wîs sé·p cú̱ʔu̱mk s e} : /ʔipnawscá·pcoʔomksa/
'he gathers them up' ({cú̱ʔu̱mk} 'rake')

‖cep‖:

{sé·p te̱klé̱y k s e} : /captakláyksa/ 'I
exchange them by mistake' ({te̱klé̱y} 'trade')

The thematic suffixes, represented by both s- and c-group allomorphs, are themselves either of the s- or the c-class. For example, {e̱tk} 'as an object goes by' is represented by ‖e̱tk‖ after an s-class verb stem and by ‖ne̱tk‖ after a c-class verb stem. {e̱tk} is of the s-class.

Examples of thematic suffixes:

< e̲tk > This class has 21 members, generally aspectual in meaning. The allomorphs and class affiliations of these thematic suffixes are:

	meaning	after an s-class stem	after a c-class stem	class
1. {e̲tk}	as the object passes by	‖e̲tk‖	´] ‖ne̲tk‖ -] ‖né̲·tk‖	s
2. {ce}	remote	--	‖ce‖	c
3. {é·ce}	on, upon	´] ‖ece‖ -] ‖é·ce‖	--	s
4. {eni·k}	trail behind	‖eni·k‖	--	c
5. {e’·yik}	move in order to..., move around	e] ‖yik‖ -V] ‖yé·yik‖ C] ‖é·yik‖ -] ‖eʔyik‖	‖né·yik‖ ‖neʔyik‖	s
6. {ey}	benefactive, affective	(1)e] ‖ʔy‖ -V] ‖yé·y‖ ´C] ‖ey‖ -] ‖é·y‖ (2)e] ‖ʔny‖ -] ‖eʔny‖	‖neʔy‖ ‖neʔny‖	s

´] : after a stressed verb stem

-] : elsewhere (-V] : after a verb stem ending in a vowel other than the preceding)

i/e/C/V] : after a verb stem ending in ‖i‖/‖e‖/consonant/vowel

(1) : before {s e}, {te̲q}, {tetu}, {qe̲}, {k}
(2) : before inflectional suffixes {e}, {uʔ}, {s}, {t}

	meaning	after an s-class stem	after a c-class stem	class
7. {í·k}	inceptive	‖í·k‖	‖nik‖	s
8. {k}	(uncertain)	--	‖k‖	s
9. {kik}	away from here	‖kik‖	‖nikik‖	s
10. {né·pi·k}	be prevented from	--	‖né·pi·k‖	s
11. {qe̲w}	right through	‖qé̲·w‖ ‖qe̲w‖	‖neqé̲·w‖ ‖neqe̲w‖	c
12. {su̲?}	competitive	‖sú̲?‖	--	s
13. {té·}	go away to	‖té·‖ ‖te‖	--	c
14. {tet̓é·}	intentional	‖tet̓é·‖	‖tet̓e‖	s
15. {tne̲q̓i}	completive	‖tne̲q̓i‖	‖ne̲q̓i‖	s
16. {tu̲q}	reversative	‖tu̲q‖	‖tu̲q‖	s
17. {twe}	commitative	‖twe‖	--	c
18. {t̓uyu}	negative	--	‖t̓uyu‖	s
19. {ú·}	directional	‖ú·‖	‖nú·‖	s
20. {ú·kini}	as someone comes	‖ú·kini‖	‖nú·kini‖	s
21. {wi}	return from	‖wi‖	‖wi‖	s

{etk} 'as an object goes by'

‖etk‖:

{hi temé· sitk etk uʔ} : /hitamá·sitkatkoʔ/ 'he will lasso as you go by' ({temé·} 'throw'; {sitk} 'encircle'; {uʔ} future)

‖né·tk‖:

{hi weh etk s i k} : /hiwahná·tksix/ 'they barked as we went by' ({weh} 'bark')

‖netk‖:

{’é·y̓s etk s e} : /ʔá·y̓snatksa/ 'I am happy to see it pass' ({’é·y̓s} 'be happy')

{ce} 'remote'

{pe· nim tiwí·k ce uʔ} : /pé·mtiwikcenuʔ/ 'they will see them leave (from a place away from here)' ({pe·} 'he/they ... him/them'; {nim} 'see'; {tiwí·k} 'follow') cf. /pé·mtiwixnuʔ/ 'they will see them leave (from here)'

{é·ce} 'on,' 'upon'

‖é·ce‖:

{wix̣s lí·k é·ce s e} : /wix̣sliké·cese/ 'I am sitting on something' ({wix̣s} 'sit'; {lí·k} 'do,' 'assume a position') cf.

/wix̣slí·kse/ 'I am sitting'

‖ece‖:

{teʔépe lí·k é·ce s e} : /teʔépelikecese/
'I put something down upon something'
({teʔépe} 'lie') cf. /teʔépelikse/
'I put something down'

{ení·k} 'trail behind'

{hipí ení·k s e} : /hipení·kse/ 'I eat after
others' ({hipí} 'eat') cf. /hipíse/ 'I eat'

{e·̓yik} 'move in order to ...,' 'move around'; repetitive

‖yik‖:

{hi we· letp̓é· e·̓yik s e} : /hiwe·letp̓é·yikse/
'he is bumping around' ({hi} 'he/she/it';
{we·} 'swiftly'; {letp̓é·} 'run into things')
cf. /hiwe·letp̓é·se/ 'he runs into things'

‖yé·yik‖:

{ʼe mî̲c̓í· e·̓yik s e} : /ʔamc̓iyá·yiksa/ 'I came
to hear'it' ({ʼe} 'him/her/it'; {mî̲c̓í·} 'hear')
cf. /ʔamc̓í·sa/ 'I hear it'

‖é·yik‖:

{ʼînpí e·̓yik s e} : /ʔinpé·yikse/ 'I go to take
something' ({ʼînpí} 'seize') cf. /ʔinpíse/
'I take something'

‖e?yik‖:

{ʼé̲·c e·̓yik:s e} : /?á·ca?yiksa/ 'I go in from another,' 'I go out and in' ({ʼé̲·c} 'go in') cf. /?á·csa/ 'I go in'

‖né·yik‖:

{ʼe hekí e·̓yik s e} : /?e·xné·yikse/ 'I go around looking' ({hekí} 'see') cf. /?e·kíce/ 'I see it'

‖ne?yik‖:

{x̣í·c̓em e·̓yik s e} : /x̣í·c̓emne?yikse/ 'I go being angry' ({x̣í·c̓em} 'be angry') cf. /x̣í·c̓emce/ 'I am angry'

{é·y} (benefactive, affective) indicates an action beyond the expected sphere of the subject, and means '(do something) for the benefit of (someone),' 'dare (to do something),' '(do something) damaging to (someone).'

‖?y‖:

{ʼe tîtú̲·le̲ é·y s e} : /?attó·la?ysa/ 'I forget his' ({tîtú̲·le̲} 'forget') cf. /?attó·lasa/ 'I forget it'

‖yé·y‖:

{he̲·ní é·y s e} : /haniyá·ysa/ 'I make it for someone' ({he̲·ní} 'make') cf. /ha·nísa/ 'I make it'

‖é·y‖:

{'înpí é·y s e} : /ʔinpé·yse/ 'I buy (from someone)' ({'înpí} 'seize') cf. /ʔinpíse/ 'I take'

‖ey‖:

{'e 'é̲·̂lik é·y s e} : /ʔaʔálikaysa/ 'I make fire for him' ({'é̲·̂lik} 'kindle fire') cf. /ʔaʔáliksa/ 'I make fire'

‖neʔy‖:

{hité·me é·y s e} : /hité·meneʔyse/ 'I am reading for someone' ({hité·me} 'read') cf. /hité·mece/ 'I am reading'

‖ʔny‖:

{tîtú̲·le̲ é·y e} : /titó·laʔnya/ 'I forgot his' ({e} indicative indefinite past) cf. /titó·laya/ 'I forgot'

‖eʔny‖:

{pe· 'îniki é·y e} : /pé·ʔnikeʔnye/ 'he put (someone else's)' ({'îniki} 'place,' 'put') cf. /ʔinikíse/ 'I put'

{í·k} indicates that the action is about to begin.

‖í·k‖:

{piním í·k s e} : /pinmí·kse/ 'I am going to sleep' ({pinim} 'sleep') cf. /pinímse/ 'I am asleep'

‖nik‖:

{téˀwye í·k s e} : /téˀwyenikse/ 'I am settling down to live' ({téˀwye} 'live') cf. /téˀwyece/ 'I am living'

{k} of uncertain meaning occurs after a stem when one of the following adverbial prefixes is found as one of the stem-constituents: {ʼîle}, {ʼînek}, {ʼîpé·} 'with fist,' {ʼị̂pé·} 'due to smoke,' {ʼîpsqí}, {cú·ye}, {ké·}, {múx̣c}, {nîké·}, {qûqú·}, {sîlé·w}, {sîwí}, {té·}, {té·l}, {têx̣}, {tiˀwele}, {tiyé·}, {tûk^{w}ele}, {tûk^{w}é·p}, {tulé·}, {we}, {weˀlé·}, {we·le}, {we·p}, {wepé·}, {we̲qí}, {wé·w}, {wêyé·}, {wîle·}, {wîs}, {wîti·}, {wú·l}, e.g.,

{hi ʼîle tehém k s e} : /hiˀletéhemkse/ 'it is dark from smoke' ({ʼîle} 'in the fire'; {tehém} 'be dark') cf. /hitehémce/ 'it is dark'

{ʼînek pé̲y k s e} : /ˀináhpayksa/ 'I am bringing it' ({ʼînek} 'carry'; {pé̲y} 'come') cf. /páyca/ 'I am coming'

{sîlé·w x̣í·c̓em k s e} : /siléwx̣ic̓emkse/ 'I am angry to see it' ({sîlé·w} 'see'; {x̣í·c̓em} 'be angry') cf. /x̣í·c̓emce/ 'I am angry' {kik} indicates remoteness of the starting point of an action, or contituity of an action (usually away from the speaker).

‖kik‖:

{hi kú· kik e} : /hikú·kike/ 'he went from a point away from here' ({kú·} 'go')
cf. /hikûye/ 'he went from here'

‖nikik‖:

{’e tîwí·k kik e} : /ʔetwíxnikike/ 'I followed it on' ({tîwí·k} 'follow')
cf. /ʔetwí·xne/ 'I followed it'

{né·pi·k} indicates that the action is prevented by something. The absence of allomorphs after an s-class stem in the present corpus may be fortuitous.

{wîlé· li̱·k né·pi·k s e} : /wilalixná·pi·ksa/ 'I am running away hindered' ({wîlé·} 'run'; {li̱·k} 'go') cf. /wilalí·kca/ 'I am running away'

{qe̱w} indicates an action performed without interruptions.

‖qe̱w‖:

{hi ’îse súʔp qe̱w s e} : /hiʔcasóʔpqawca/ 'he cuts it with a knife in a hurry' ({’îse} 'with knife'; {súʔp} 'cut') cf.

/hiʔcesúʔpse/ 'he cuts'

‖qé̲·w‖:

{'înpí qe̲w s e} : /ʔinpqá·wca/ 'I grab as I go' ({'înpí} 'seize') cf. /ʔinpíse/ 'I grab'

‖neqe̲w‖:

{le̲ʔé̲m qe̲w s e} : /laʔámnaqawca/ 'I empty it right through' ({le̲ʔé̲m} 'exhaust') cf. /laʔámca/ 'I finish it'

‖neqé̲·w‖:

{'e hekí qe̲w s} : /ʔa·xnaqá·wn/ 'I see it as I go by' ({hekí} 'see') /hekíce/ 'I see it'

{su̲ʔ} indicates that an action is performed in competition with someone else, e.g.,

{'e wîs tuk lé̲hse̲ su̲ʔ s e} : /ʔawstokahsóʔsa/ 'I shoot up against (someone)' {wîs} 'travel'; {tuk} 'shoot'; {lé̲hse̲} 'up') cf. /wistokáhsasa/ 'I shoot upward'

{té·} indicates that one moves to another location for an action.

‖te‖:

{'îpé·t̓e té· s e} : /ʔipé·t̓etese/ 'I go to scrape' ({'îpé·t̓e} 'scrape') cf. /ʔipé·t̓ese/

'I scrape'

‖té·‖:

{'înpí té· s e} : /ʔinpté·se/ 'I go to take'
({'înpí} 'seize') cf. /ʔinpíse/ 'I take'

{tet̓é·} indicates an action which is to take place in the immediate future, or the intention of the subject to perform an action.

‖tet̓e‖:

{pi· 'e̲mk tet̓é· s i k} : /piʔamktat̓así·x/
'we are going to be gathered' ({pi·} reciprocal prefix; {'e̲mk} 'gather') cf.
/píʔamkcix/ 'we are gathered'

‖tet̓é·‖:

{tiʔkí tet̓é· s e} : /tiʔnkitet̓é·se/
'I may die any minute' ({tiʔnkí} 'die')
cf. /tiʔnkíce/ 'I die'

{tne̲q̓i} indicates that an action is completed.

‖tne̲q̓i‖:

{wîs 'lé̲hse̲ tne̲q̓i e} : /wisáhsatnaq̓iya/
'I finished traveling up' ({wîs} 'move';
{lé̲hse̲} 'up') cf. /wisáhsaya/ 'I traveled up'

‖ne̲q̓i‖:

{pi· we·p ci?ye̲w tne̲q̓i e} : /pí·wapci?yawnaq̓iya/ 'they are through with fighting' ({we·p} 'with hand or paw'; {ci?ye̲w} 'kill') cf. /pí·wapci?yawna/ 'they were fighting'

{tu̲q} indicates a movement back toward the original point of reference.

‖tu̲q‖:

{wé·yik tu̲q s e} : /wá·yiktoqsa/ 'I am crossing back' ({wé·yik} 'go across') cf. /wé·yikse/ 'I am crossing over'

{ciklí· tu̲q s e} : /ciklí·toqsa/ 'I am turning back' ({ciklí·} 'turn') cf. /ciklí·ce/ 'I am turning around'

{twe} indicates that an action takes place in association with another person.

{hi tú·qi twe s e} : /hitú·qitwece/ 'he smokes with someone' ({tú·qi} 'smoke (pipe)') cf. /hitú·qise/ 'he smokes'

{t̓uyu} indicates negation.

{hi c̓í·q t̓uyu s e} : /hic̓í·qt̓uyuse/ 'he is not speaking' ({c̓í·q} 'speak') cf. /hic̓í·qce/ 'he speaks' {ú·} indicates that an action is directed toward an object or goal.

‖ú·‖:

{’îniki ú· s e} : /ʔinikú·se/ 'I put something for ...' ({’îniki} 'put') cf. /ʔinikíse/ 'I put something'

‖nú·‖:

{hi pé̲y ú· s e} : /hipaynó·sa/ 'he comes to see someone' ({pé̲y} 'come') cf. /hipá·yca/ 'he comes'

{ú·kini} 'indicates that an action takes place as an object approaches the subject.

‖ú·kini‖:

{’e ’înpí ú·kini s e} : /ʔen̓pú·kinise/ 'I take it as it comes' ({’înpi} 'seize') cf. /ʔen̓píse/ 'I take it'

‖nú·kini‖:

{pe· we·p ciʔye̲w ú·kini s e} : /po·pciʔyawnó·kinisa/ 'he kills him as he comes' cf. /pó·pciʔyawca/ 'he kills him'

{wi} indicates that an action is completed and the subject is returning to the point of origin.

{’imí wi s e} : /ʔimíwise/ 'I am returning from digging roots' ({’imí} 'camp to dig roots') cf. /ʔimícix/ 'we are camping for digging roots'

{wi} may occur after {té·}, e.g.,

{’e hekí té· wi s e} : /ʔe·kté·wise/ 'I am returning after going to see it' ({hekí} 'see') cf. /ʔe·kté·se/ 'I go to see it'; /ʔe·kíce/ 'I see it'

622. Construction of verb themes.

The varying internal structures of the verb theme (vT) are described in the following sections. The elements surrounding the stem class markers are references to the preceding chart of affixes.

622.1 General verb theme (gvT). The two types of general verb themes are: (1) those with general verb stem (gvS) as a constituent, and (2) those with substantive stems (sS) as a constituent.

gvT:	pí·	wi	sepé·	gvS	e̱tk
1.		x	x	x	
2.	x	x		x	
3.	x			x	x

Examples:

1. {wi sepé· x̣éʔp} *in* /ʔene·swicepex̣éʔpsene/
'I put them underneath separately' ({ʼe} third person object prefix; {ne·s} plural object prefix; {x̣éʔp} 'go under'; {s} class marker; {e} singular subject prefix; {ne} indicative remote past)

2. {ʼimemé· wi te̱klé̱y} *in* /ʔimama·witkaláyna/
'they changed clothes' ({te̱klé̱y} 'exchange')

3. {pí· c̓í·q ú·} *in* /pic̓ix̣nú·six/ 'we are arguing over it' ({c̓í·q} 'talk')

In addition to the preceding is the second type of general verb themes which is denominative. The following class of special suffixes enter into such verb theme construction:

< hí· >. The five members of this class are:

{hí·} 'put on,' 'go up to (?)': ‖hí·‖ ~ ‖hi‖, e.g.,

‖hí·‖:

{tú̱hu̱n hí· s e} : /tohoní·sa/ 'I put on trousers' ({tú̱hu̱n} 'trousers')

‖hi‖:

{ke̱pú̱· hí· s e} : /kapó·hisa/ 'I put on coat' ({ke̱pú̱·} 'coat')

{'înek tú̱·ye̱m hí· s e} : /ʔinaxtoyá·misa/ 'I carry it to the top' ({tú̱·ye̱m} 'summit')

{né·nek} 'become'

{lé̱wtiwe· né·nek s e} : /lawtiwa·ná·naksa/ 'I become a friend' ({lé̱wtiwe·} 'friend')

{yé·k} 'go to get'

{cé·qet yé·k s e} : /ceqetyé·kse/ 'I go to get blackberries' ({cé·qet} 'blackberry') {é·w} 'become characterized by'

{té̲sq é·w s} : /tasqá·ws/ 'I became fat'
({té̲sq} 'grease,' 'fat')

{wi} 'act as,' 'do': ‖wí·‖ ~ ‖wi‖, e.g.,

‖wí·‖:

{ʼiyéq̓is wi s e} : /ʔiyeq̓iswi·se/ 'I fight'
({ʼiyéq̓is} 'hot')

‖wi‖:

{qepsíʔs wi s e} : /qepsiʔíswise/ 'I do evil'
'I sin' ({qepsíʔs} 'bad')

The general verb themes with substantive stem as a constituent may be summarized as follows:

gvT: nS/aS < hí· >.

All five members of < hí· > class occur with general noun stems (nS), and {wi} may also occur with adjective stems (aS).

622.2 Copulative verb theme (cvT). Copulative themes are always coterminous with copulative verb stems (cvS):

cvT: cvS.

Example:

{wé·} i̲n̲ /hiwé·ke/ 'he was' ({hi} third person subject prefix; ‖e‖, an allomorph of {ne} indicative remote past 638.5)

630. Verb inflection.

The following four classes of prefixes and four classes of suffixes occur as inflectional elements in constituency with verb themes:

Prefixes:

class		number of members
< hi >	(subject/object prefixes)	2
< pe· >	(subject and object prefix)	1
< pe >	(plural subject prefix)	1
< ne·s >	(plural object prefix)	1

Suffixes:

< s >	(class marker suffix)	1
< e >	(number suffixes)	2
< m >	(locative suffixes)	2
< k >	(tense-modal suffixes)	14

631. < hi > class.

The two members of this class are {hi} and {ʼe}.

{hi} (third person subject prefix) : ‖hí·‖ before {wé·} 'be' followed by {s} and {+}; ‖hi‖ elsewhere, e.g.,

‖hí·‖:

{hi wé· s} : /hí·wes/ 'he is'

‖hi‖ :

{hi titwe̲tí· s e} : /hittiwatí·sa/ 'he tells a story' ({titwe̲tí·} 'tell a story')

{hi ʼeíwí s e} : /heʔeíwíce/ 'he spends winter' ({ʼeíwí} 'spend winter')

{ʼe} (third person object prefix) indicates that the object is in the third person, or more specifically, that the object is either not closely related to the speaker or not in possession of the speaker. When an independent substantive is in the sentence as a referent, the object is marked by {ne} (532). {ʼe}: ‖ʼew‖ before ‖ʼV‖ or ‖hV‖; ‖ʼe‖ elsewhere.

‖ʼew‖:

{ʼe ʼîní· s e} : /ʔew̓ní·se/ 'I am giving it' ({ʼîní·} 'give')

{ʼe hí s e} : /ʔewíce/ 'I speak to him' ({hí} 'speak')

‖ʼe‖:

{ʼe wepe lí·k s e} : /ʔu·pelí·kce/ 'I dress up someone not closely related to me' ({wepe} 'dress'; {lí·k} 'be,' 'go,' 'assume a position') cf. /wepelí·kce/ 'I dress up (someone close to me, e.g., wife, child, horse)'

Exceptionally, ‖ʼe‖ occurs before {ʼêwí·} 'shoot (arrow)' and before {hekí} 'see.'

{ʼe ʼêwí· s e} : /ʔeʔwí·se/ 'I shoot at it'

{ʼe hekí s e} : /ʔe·kíce/ 'I see it'

632. < pe· > class.

The single member of this class is {pe·} indicating that the subject and the object are in non-identical third person. {pe·}: ‖pé·‖, ‖pe·‖ or ‖pe‖.

‖pé·‖:

{pe· wéwluq s e} : /pé·wewluqse/ 'he wants it' ({wéwluq} 'want') cf. /ʔewéwluqse/ 'I want it'

‖pe·‖:

{pe· titwe̲tí· uʔ} : /pa·ttiwatíyoʔ/ 'he will tell him a story' cf. /ʔattiwatíyoʔ/ 'I will tell him a story'

‖pe‖:

{pe· ʼînpí s e} : /peʔénpse/ 'he seizes him' ({ʼînpî} 'seize')

633. < pe > class.

The single member of this class is {pe} indicating the plurality of the subject. {pe}: ‖pe‖ ~ ‖pé·‖ ~ ‖pé‖.

‖pe‖:

{pe titwe̲tí· uʔ} : /pattiwatíyoʔ/ 'we will tell a story' cf. /pa·ttiwatíyoʔ/ 'he will tell him a story'

‖pé·‖:

{hi pe kú· s} : /hipé·kus/ 'they just left' ({kú·} 'go')

‖pé‖:

{’e pe we·p ciʔye̲w k ki} : /ʔapó·pciʔyawnki/ 'we killed him' ({we·p} 'with hand or paw'; {ciʔyew} 'kill'; {k} indicative present; {ki} 'away from the speaker')

634. < ne·s > class.

The single member of this class is {ne·s} indicating the plurality of the object. {ne·s}: ‖né·c‖ ~ ‖nec‖ before ‖’‖; ‖né·s‖ ~ ‖nes‖ elsewhere.

‖né·c‖:

{’e ne·s ’înpi s e} : /ʔené·č̓inpse/ 'I seize them'

‖nec‖:

{’e ne·s ’e̲cúʔ s e} : /ʔanač̓acóʔsa/ 'I go into them' ({’e̲cúʔ} 'go in') cf. /ʔacóʔsa/ 'I go in'

‖né·s‖:

{ʼe ne·s mî̲c̓í· s e} : /ʔaná·smic̓isa/ 'I hear them' ({mî̲c̓í·} 'hear')

‖nes‖:

{hi ne·s titwe̲tí· uʔ} : /hinastitwatíyoʔ/ 'he will tell us a story'

{ʼe ne·s titwe̲tí· uʔ} : /ʔanastitwatíyoʔ/ 'I will tell them a story'

635. < s > class..

The single member of this class is {s} (class marker). {s} does not occur with the following tense-modal suffixes: frequentqtive present, imperative (without locative suffixes). {s} has the following allomorphs:

Environments	after s-class verb theme	after c-class verb theme
before I	‖s‖	‖c‖
before II	‖s‖	C] ‖in‖, -] ‖n‖
before III	‖t‖	‖n‖
before IV	0	‖n‖
before V	0	C] ‖ne‖, -] ‖n‖
before VI	0	C] ‖ni‖, -] ‖n‖

Environments (Arabic numerals refer to the tense-modal suffixes in 638.):

I: tense-modals 1, 4, 5, 8

II: tense-modal 2 (without locative suffixes)

III: tense-modal 7

IV: tense-modals 2 (with locative 1), 3 (without locatives, or with locative 1), 6, 9, 11, 12 (with plural), 13 (with plural), 14 (with locative 1)

V: tense-modals 12 (with singular), 13 (with singular)

VI: tense-modals 2 (locative 2), 3 (with locative 2)

Examples:

‖s‖ (before I):

{hipí s e} : /hipíse/ 'I eat' ({hipí} 'eat')

‖c‖ (before I):

{hekí s e} : /hekíce/ 'I see' ({hekí} 'see')

‖s‖ (before II):

{hi pe· kú· s} : /hipé·kus/ 'they just left' ({kú·} 'go')

‖in‖ (before II):

{wú·y s} : /wú·yin/ 'I just escaped' ({wú·y} 'run away')

‖n‖ (before II):

{hi hí s} : /hihín/ 'he just said' ({hí} 'say')

‖t‖ (before III):

{'e 'îpt́é· s e̲q} : /ʔaʔpt́á·tax̣/ 'I could hit him' ({'îpt́é·} 'hit')

‖n‖ (before III):

{'e tîwi·k s e̲q} : /ʔatwí·xnax̣/ 'I would have gone with him' ({tîwi·k} 'accompany, follow')

‖n‖ (before IV):

{hi pe pé̲y s m} : /hipapáynim/ 'they have come' ({pé̲y} 'arrive')

‖ne‖ (before V):

{'e hekí s qe̲qe̲} : /ʔá·xnaqaqa/ 'many times you may have seen it' ({qe̲qe̲} frequentative past)

‖n‖ (before V):

{ʼîpsqí lé̲· s qe̲qe̲} : /ʔipsqilá·nqaqa/
'I walked around' ({ʼîpsqí} 'on foot';
{lé̲·} 'move,' 'move around')

‖ni‖ (before VI):

{pe ciklí· s ki} : /peckilí·niki/ 'we went on
home' ({pe} plural subject prefix; {ciklí·}
'return'; {ki} 'away from the speaker')

‖n‖ (before VI):

{ʼe pe we·p ciʔye̲w s ki} : /ʔapó·pciʔyawnki/
'we killed it' ({ʼe} third person object
prefix; {we·p} 'with hand or paw'; {ciʔye̲w}
'kill')

636. < e > class.

The two members of this class are {e} and {i}.

{e} (singular) does not occur with tense-modal suffixes 2, 3, 6, 7, or 9, and shows the following allomorphy:

with tense-modal 1 (without locatives) ....‖e‖
with tense-modal 1 (with locatives), 4, or 5
  and after a stressed stem ....‖e‖
with tense-modal 1 (with locatives), 4, or 5
  and after an unstressed stem ....‖é·‖
with tense-modal 10 ....‖tu‖
with tense-modals 11, 12, 13, 14 .... ∅.

Examples:

‖e‖:

{hipí s e} : /hipíse/ 'I eat'

{tîwí·k s e m} : /tiwí·kcem/ 'you are following me' ({tîwí·k} 'follow,' 'accompany')

‖é·‖:

{ʼe hipí s e ne} : /ʔe·psé·ne/ 'I had eaten it'

‖tu‖:

{ʼé̲·t te tu} : /ʔá·ttato/ 'I go in and out' ({ʼé̲·t} 'go out'; {te} frequentative present)

{i} (plural) does not occur with tense-modal suffixes 2, 3, 6, 7, or 9, and shows the following allomorphy:

with tense-modals 1, 4, 5, 8 and after a stressed stem	‖i‖
with tense-modals 1, 4, 5, 8 and after an unstressed stem	‖í·‖
with 10	‖ʔnik‖
with 14 (without locatives) after a vowel, or with 14 (with locatives)	‖tk‖
with 14 (without locatives) after a consonant	‖itk‖
with 11, 12, or 13	Ø

Examples:

‖i‖:

{hi té·ʔwye s i k} : /hité·ʔwyecix/ 'they dwell' ({té·ʔwye} 'dwell')

‖í·‖:

{hipí s i k} : /hipsí·x/ 'we eat' ({hipí} 'eat')

‖ʔnik‖:

{’e hekí e·̓yik te i} : /ʔe·xné·yikte·nix/ 'we go to see him many times' ({hekí} 'see'; {e·̓yik} 'move in order to ...' 620; {te} frequentative present)

‖tk‖:

{wepté· i} : /wepté·tx/ 'put feather on!' (to pl.) (e.g., on arrows) ({wepté·} 'put feather on')

‖itk‖:

{’é̲·c i} : /ʔá·citx/ 'go in!' (to pl.) ({’é̲·c} 'go in')

637. < m > class.

The two members of this class are {m} and {ki}. {m} (locative 1) indicates an action toward the speaker (with second or third person subject), or an action toward the second person (with first person subject).

The allomorphs are:

with tense-modals 1, 3(after a vowel-final s-class theme), 4 (with singular), 10 (with singular), 14 (after a vowel-final s-class theme) .... ‖m‖

with tense-modal 4 (with plural) .... ‖nm‖

with tense-modal 6 .... ‖kum‖

with tense-modals 2 (after a consonant-final s-class theme, or after a c-class theme), 3 (after a consonant-final s-class theme, or after a c-class theme), 14 (after a consonant-final s-class or after a c-class theme) ..... ‖im‖.

Examples:

‖m‖:

{tîwí·k s e m} : /tiwí·kcem/ 'you are following me' ({tîwí·k} 'accompany,' 'follow')

‖nm‖:

{ʼe wîyé· hekí s i m qe̲} : /ʔawyá·kcinmqæ/ 'we were looking at it as we came' ({wîyé·} 'as one moves'; {hekí} 'see'; {qe̲} indicative recent past)

‖kum‖:

{hi ʼé̲ˀt uʔ m} : /haʔátoʔkom/ 'he will come out' ({uʔ} indicative future; {ʼé̲ˀt} 'move out')

‖im‖:

{hi pe pé̲·y s m e} : /hipapá·ynima/ 'they arrived here' ({pé̲·y} 'arrive')

{ki} (locative 2) indicates a motion away from the speaker. The allomorphs are:

with tense-modal 1 or 2 ....‖ki‖

with tense-modal 3 ....‖kik‖

with tense-modal 4 ....‖nqe̲‖

with tense-modal 5 ....‖nqiq‖.

Examples:

‖ki‖:

{pe wé·yik ki} : /pewé·yixki/ 'we crossed over (to the other side)' ({wé·yik} 'cross')

‖kik‖:

{hi ciklí· tu̲q kik e} : /hickilí·tox̣kika/ 'he went on back' ({ciklí·} 'turn'; {tu̲q} 'back'; {e} indicative indefinite past)

‖nqe̲‖:

{’e hekí s e ki qe̲} : /ˀa·kcá·nqaqa/ 'I have been to see him' ({qe̲} indicative recent past)

‖nqiq‖:

{’e hekí s i ki e} : /ˀa·kcí·nqiqa/ 'we have been to see him (long ago)' ({e} indicative indefinite past)

638. < k > class.

This class has 14 members generally indicating tense and modes.

638.1 {k} (indicative present) covers actual events of the present:

after {i} (plural) and with a locative (637)..‖n‖
elsewhere after {i} (plural).................‖k‖
elsewhere .... ∅

Examples:

‖n‖:

{hi té·ʔmik s i k m} : /hité·ʔmiksinm/
'they came down' ({té·ʔmik} 'go down')

‖k‖:

{hi té·ʔmik s i k} : /hité·ʔmiksix/
'they move down'

‖∅‖:

{hi té·ʔmik s e} : /hité·ʔmikse/ 'he moves down'

638.2 {indicative perfect} (to be abbreviated as {IP}) is morphophonemically zero.

{wú·y s IP} : /wú·yin/ 'I just escaped'

{IP} is used to describe an action just completed, or to constitute a hortatory construction with {ke},

/kex ʔehékin/ 'let me see'

638.3 {e} (indicative indefinite past) is used to describe an action that was completed at any time in the past. {e}: ‖ye‖ after a vowel; ‖e‖ elsewhere.

‖ye‖:

{titwe̲tí· e} : /titwatíya/ 'I told a story'

‖e‖:

{pe· hipí e} : /pehípe/ 'he ate it'
({hipí} 'eat')

638.4 {qe̲} (indicative recent past) is used to (1) describe an action that was completed earlier on the same day or up to a few days prior to the time of speech, or to (2) describe an incomplete action.

{titwe̲tí· s e qe̲} : /titwatisá·qa/
'I told a story (this morning, yesterday, a few days ago)'

{ʼîní s e qe̲} : /ʔinisá·qa/ 'I was giving it to you (but you did not take it)' ({ʼîní} 'give')

638.5 {ne} (indicative remote past) is used to describe an action completed in a time that precedes the area covered by {qe̲} 638.4, especially to tell myths.

{têqe pé̲y s i ne} : /taqapáycina/ 'we dropped in (last year)' ({têqe}'briefly'; {pé̲y} 'come')

638.6 {uʔ} (indicative future) is used to describe an action in future time, and future conditions, e.g.,

/c̓alawí hiwekúʔ táʔc lé·heyn watí·sx, ka·ʔí·n kiyúʔ./ 'If it is fine tomorrow, I will go.' ({c̓e̲le̲wí} 'if'; {hi} third person subject prefix; {wé·} 'be'; {hi wé· uʔ} : /hiwekúʔ/; {té̲ʔc} 'good'; {lé·heyn} 'day'; {we̲tí·sk} 'tomorrow,' 'yesterday'; {ʼí·n} 'I'; {kú· uʔ} : /kiyúʔ/, {kú·} 'go')

{uʔ} : ‖yuʔ‖ after a vowel; ‖úʔ‖ elsewhere after an unstressed theme; ‖uʔ‖ elsewhere.

‖yuʔ‖:

{he̲ní· uʔ} : /haní·yoʔ/ 'I will make' ({he̲ní·} 'make')

‖úʔ‖:

{ʼe hipí uʔ} : /ʔe·púʔ/ 'I will eat it' ({hipí} 'eat')

‖uʔ‖:

{pe té·ʔwye í·k uʔ} : /petéʔwyenikuʔ/ 'we are going to settle down to live' ({pe} plural subject prefix 633; {té·ʔwye} 'dwell'; {í·k} inceptive suffix 620)

638.7 There are three morphemes that are used to describe conditions contrary to fact: {e̲q} conditional present, {ne̲q} conditional perfect, {uˀqe̲} conditional past. {ne̲q} occurs very infrequently. {e̲q} and {uˀqe̲} are used interchangeably, as noted in the four examples below. The name such as conditional present in this case is for identification of the morphemes rather than for accurate description of their uses. All four sentences below mean 'if he came yesterday, I would have seen him.'

1. /c̓alawí hipá·ynoˀqa ˀipí watí·sx, ka· ˀa·xnóˀqa./
2. /c̓alawí hipá·ynoˀqa ˀipí watí·sx, ka· ˀa·kín̓ax̣./
3. /c̓alawí hipá·y̓nax̣ ˀipí watí·sx, ka· ˀa·xnóˀqa./
4. /c̓alawí hipá·y̓nax̣ ˀipí watí·sx, ka· ˀa·kín̓ax̣./

({c̓e̲le̲wí} 'if'; {pé̲·y} 'come'; {ʼipi} 'he/she/it'; {we̲tí·sek} 'tomorrow,' 'yesterday'; {ke̲·} 'and,' 'then'; {hekí} 'see')

Sentence 2 was given as the "best."

{e̲q} : ‖ʼé̲·q‖ or ‖ʼe̲q‖ after an unstressed stem; ‖e̲q‖ elsewhere.

‖ʼé̲·q‖:

{hi wé· s e̲q} : /hiwat̓á·x̣/ 'it would have been'

‖ʼe̲q‖:

{ʼe hekí s e̲q} : /ˀa·kín̓ax̣/ 'I would have seen him'

‖e̲q‖:

{ʼe ʼîpt̓é· s e̲q} : /ˀaˀpt̓á·tax̣/ 'I could hit him' {ne̲q} : ‖’ne̲q‖ after an unstressed stem; ‖ne̲q‖ elsewhere.

‖’ne̲q‖:

{kú· s e ne̲q} : /kosá·ʔnaẋ/ 'I would be doing'
({kú·} 'do')

‖ne̲q‖:

{’e kú· ú· s e ne̲q} : /ʔakiyó·sanaẋ/
'you would have been advancing toward it'
({’e} third person object prefix; {kú·}
'go'; {ú·} directional suffix)

{uʔqe̲} is used, besides the conditional expression noted above, to describe the capability or potentiality of an action on the part of the subject, and to describe an action in interrogative and negative statements, e.g.,

/ʔí·n ʔa·xnóʔqa./ 'I can see.' ({’i·n} 'I';
{heki} 'see'; {’e hekí s uʔqe̲} : /ʔa·xnóʔqa/)
/we·t ʔa·xnóʔqa./ 'can you see it?' ({we·t}
question particle)
/we·ɬu ʔa·xnóʔqa./ 'I can not see it.'
({we·ɬu} 'no,' 'not')

{uʔqe̲} : ‖yuʔqe̲‖ after a vowel; ‖úʔqe̲‖ elsewhere after an unstressed stem; ‖uʔqe̲‖ elsewhere. This may be further analysed in {uʔ} and {qe̲}.

‖yuʔqe̲‖:

{’e ’îpɨ́é· s uʔqe̲} : /ʔaʔpɨ́á·yoʔqa/
'I could hit him' ({’îpɨ́é·} 'hit')

‖úʔqe̲‖:

{’e hekí s uʔqe̲} : /ʔa·xnóʔqa/ 'I would have
seen him'

‖uʔqe̲‖:

{pe wîs leylé·k uʔqe̲} : /pawsayná·koʔqæ/
'we could go in' ({pe} plural subject prefix;
{wîs} 'travel,' 'camp'; {leylé·k} 'into')

638.8 The four morphemes describing frequentative or customary actions are: {te} frequentative present, {q} frequentative indefinite past, {qe̲qe̲} frequentative recent past, and {qe̲ne̲} frequentative remote past.

{te} : ‖té·‖ after an unstressed stem; ‖te‖ elsewhere.

‖té·‖:

{’e hekí te e} : /ʔe·kté·tu/ 'I see him always'

‖te‖:

{’é̲·t te e} : /ʔá·ttato/ 'I go in and out'
({’é̲·t} 'go out')

{q} : ‖eʔnik‖ after {i} (plural suffix); ‖q‖ elsewhere.

‖eʔnik‖:

{cepeʔ lé· s q} : /cepeʔlé·neʔnix/ 'we used to work' ({cepeʔ} meaning uncertain; {lé·} 'move,' 'move around')

‖q‖:

{hi qûqú· lé̲· s q} : /hiqqolá·nx̣/ 'he was in the habit of galloping around' ({qûqú·} 'gallop'; {lé̲·} 'move around')

{qe̲qe̲} shows the following allomorphy:

with {e} (singular) .... ‖qe̲qe̲‖

with {i} (plural)

after a stressed vowel-final stem .... ‖yeʔniqe̲‖

after an unstressed consonant-final stem. ‖eʔní·qe̲‖

elsewhere .... ‖eʔniqe̲‖

Examples:

‖qe̲qe̲‖:

{ʼîpsqí lé̲· s e qe̲qe̲} : /ʔipsqilá·nqaqa/ 'I used to walk around' ({ʼîpsqí} 'walk')

‖yeʔniqe̲‖:

{qiní· s i qe̲qe̲} : /qiniyaʔniqa/ 'we used to dig' ({qini·} 'dig')

‖e?ní·qe̲‖:

{hi kú· s i qe̲qe̲} : /hikya?ní·qa/ 'they used to go' ({hi} third person subject prefix; {kú·} 'go')

‖e?niqe̲‖:

{hi wú·y s i qe̲qe̲} : /hiwò·yna?niqa/ 'they used to run away' ({wú·y} 'run away')

{qe̲ne̲} shows the following allomorphy:

with {e} (singular) ....‖qe̲ne̲‖
with {i} (plural)
    after a stressed vowel-final stem.........‖yenixne‖
    after an unstressed consonant-final stem..‖ení·xne‖
    elsewhere ....‖enixne‖

Example:

‖qe̲ne̲‖:

{pé·x̣wi s e qe̲ne̲} : /pá·x̣wiqana/ 'I used to steal (but not any more)' ({pé·x̣wi} 'steal')

‖yenixne‖:

{té·l wewí·ti s i qe̲ne̲} : /telwewitiyenixne/ 'we used to run downstream' ({té·l} 'run,' 'gallop'; {wewí·ti} 'downstream')

‖ení·xne‖:

{hipí s i qe̲ne̲} : /hipení·xne/ 'we used to eat'

638.9 {k} (imperative) is used to make directive statements. {k} shows the following allomorphs:

with {e} (singular) and without locatives
after an s-class theme ending in ‖i‖..........‖k‖
after an s-class theme ending in other vowels.‖y‖
after an s-class theme ending in a consonant.. ∅
after a c-class theme ending in {té·}620...... ∅
after a c-class theme ending in a vowel,
‖y‖, ‖w‖ or ‖l‖................................‖n‖
elsewhere......................................‖in‖
elsewhere...................................... ∅.

Examples:

‖k‖:

{titwe̲ti· e k} : /titwatíx/ 'tell a story!'
(to one person) ({titwe̲ti·} 'tell a story')

‖y‖:

{'e tîtú̲·le̲ e k} : /ʔattó·lay/ 'forget it!'
(to one person) ({tîtú̲·le̲} 'forget')

∅ : (after an s-class theme)
{wîlé· keʔéyk e k} : /wilé·keʔyx/ 'run!'
({wîlé·} 'run'; {keʔéyk} 'go')

∅ : (after a c-class theme)
{'îpsqi léhne e k} : /ʔipsqiléhne/ 'walk down!'
(to one person) ({léhne} 'down')

‖n‖:

{hí e k} : /hín/ 'speak!' (to one person)
({hí} 'speak')

‖in‖:

{'e hekí e k} : /ʔehékin/ 'look it over!'
(to one person) ({hekí} 'see')

Ø : (with {i} plural)

{'e wi hekí i k} : /ʔewíhekitx/ 'look over
each one of them!' (to more than one person)
({wi} distributive prefix)

Ø : (with locative)

{kú· s m e} : /kú·m/ 'come!' (to one person)
({kú·} 'go'; {m} toward the speaker)

{kú· s m i} : /kú·mtx/ 'come!' (to more than
one person)

639. Inflectional suffix complex and verb constructions.

639.1 Inflectional suffix complex (isc).

Of the four classes of inflectional suffixes, < m > class (locative) is optional, and the rest are obligatory. The order of the four suffix classes varies depending on the tense-modal element involved.

Tense-modals	Reference	s	k	m	e	m	k	m
1. indicative present	638.1	x			x		x	[x]
2. indicative perfect	638.2	x			∅		x	[x]
3. indicative indef. past	638.3	x			∅	[x]	x	
4. indicative recent past	638.4	x			x	[x]	x	
5. indicative remote past	638.5	x			x	[x]	x	
6. indicative future	638.6	x			∅		x	[x]
7. conditional present	638.7	x			∅		x	
8. conditional perfect	638.7	x			x		x	
9. conditional past	638.7	x			∅		x	
10. frequentative present	638.8	∅	x		x			[x]
11. frequentative indef. past	638.8	x			x		x	
12. frequentative recent past	638.8	x			x		x	
13. frequentative remote past	638.8	x			x		x	
14. imperative	638.9 {	x			x		x	
		∅		x	x		x	

∅ : non-occurrence

[ ] : optional

For tense-modals 6, 10 and 14, the position of the optional class of locatives is based on locative 1 (637) alone; for the tense-modal 5, it is based on locative 2 (637) alone. Locatives, particularly locative 2, occur infrequently.

Of the fourteen tense-modal suffixes, five (2, 3, 6, 7, 9) occur without singula-plural distinction. For these five tenses, the number distinction is indicated by the presence or absence of the plural subject prefix (633). Accordingly, if the paradigm is completely filled out, the theoretically possible inflectional suffix combinations are 2 (number of members of < e > class) x 3 (possibilities of locatives: locative 1, locative 2, no locatives) x (14 - 5) + 3 x 5 = 69. In the present corpus, only 39 combinations are found possibly due either to infrequency of certain combinations or skewed paradigm.

The distribution of the 39 combinations are:

tense-modals	no locatives		locative 1: {m}		locative 2: {ki}	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. indicative present	x	x	x	x	x	x
2. indicative perfect	x		x		x	
3. indicative indef. past	x		x		x	
4. indicative recent past	x	x	x	x	x	
5. indicative remote past	x	x				x
6. indicative future	x		x			
7. conditional present	x					
8. conditional perfect	x	x				
9. conditional past	x					
10. frequentative present	x	x	x			
11. frequentative indef. past	x	x				
12. frequentative recent past	x	x				
13. frequentative remote past	x	x				
14. imperative	x	x	x	x		

639.2 The verb constructions in which the inflectional affix classes above participate are:

Vg = general verb

Vg : [hi] [pe] [ne·s] gvT isc

(isc = inflectional suffix complex 639.1)

Example: < hi > < pe > < ne·s > gvT < s > < e > < k >

{ hi pe ne·s qe̲ʔé̲n s e }

‖ hi pe ne·s qe̲ʔé̲n n e ‖

/ hipana·sqaʔánna /

they respected us

Vg : [pe·] gvT isc

Example: < pe· > gvT < s > < e > < k >

gvS < e̲tk >

{ pe· kú· ú· s i ne }

‖ pe kiy ú· s i ne ‖

/ pekiyú·sine /

they went to them

Vg : [hi] sT

Example: < hi > sT

{ hi té̲ʔc }

‖ hi té̲ʔc ‖

/ hitáʔc /

it is good

Vc = copulative verb

Vc : [hi] cvT isc

Example:	< hi >	cvT	< s >	< e >	< k >
	{ hi	wé•	s		}
	‖ hí•	we	s		‖
	/	hí•wes			/
		he	is		

700. PARTICLES

710. Particle stems.

There are fifteen stem classes

class	examples of members	meaning
710.1 adverbial modifiers	{q̓u̲}	awfully, terribly
	{’u}	very
710.2 comparatives	{qétu}	more
	{tu̲·sk}	more
710.3 relative	{ke}	which, that etc.
710.4 indefinite	{kú?}	maybe, possibly
710.5 negatives	{ce̲?ye̲}	not (to possess)
	{we·t̓u}	no, not
	{we·c̓u}	no longer
	{mi?s}	not
710.6 coordinating connectives	{ke̲·}	and
	{mét̓u}	but
	{’e·tu}	then
	{ke̲wé̲}	then
	{we̲q}	and

class	examples of members	meaning
710.7 subordinating connectives	{’inekí·k}	although
	{’etke}	because
	{c̓e̲le̲wí}	if
	{qu̲ʔc}	as soon as
	{qece}	if, even when
710.8 question particle (Q)	{we·t}	(question marker)
710.9 interrogatives	{míne}	where
	{me̲c}	how much
710.10 final particle	{neʔé}	isn't it?
710.11 hortatory (H)	{ke}	let me/us
710.12 prenominal	{’iske}	like
710.13 interjectory	{’e·hé}	yes
710.14 adverbial particles	{we̲tí·sk}	yesterday, tomorrow
	{wé̲·qu̲}	now
	{c̓e̲ʔé̲}	exactly
	{ké̲ʔle̲}	just
	{qece}	even
	{kúnk̓u}	always
	{kuʔús}	thus
710.15 pronominal	{’é·}	you (sg.)

720. Suffixes.

Suffixes occur with the following stems: relative {ke}, indefinite {kúʔ}, negative {míʔs}, question particle {we·t}, interrogatives {míne} and {me̲c}, adverbial particle {qece}, and pronominal {ʼe·}. The two kinds of suffixes are pronominal and plural suffixes. The latter is found with {ʼe·} 'you (sg.)' and the former with the rest.

721. Pronominal suffixes.

The pronominal suffixes of particles are in two major sets: (1) one indicating only the subject, and (2) the other indicating both subject and object.

721.1 The subject suffix set has the following membership and allomorphs:

	types:	1a	1b	2a	2b
{k}	1st person sg.	e·k	kek	·k	k
{m}	2nd person sg.			m	m
{nm}	1st person pl.	e·nm	ke·nm	·nm	nenm
{pem}	2nd person pl.			pem	pem

The set 1a occurs with {míʔs} 'not' and {we·t} question particle; 1b with {míne} 'where' and {me̲c} 'how much'; 2a with {qece} 'even, even when' and {ke} relative;

2b with {kú?} 'maybe, possibly.'

{k} may occur with a plural subject morpheme in the same sentence, e.g., /wé·te·x kusí·x/ 'do we go?' ({we·t} question particle; /kusí·x/ 'we go'). In such a case, the second person is not included in the 'we.' When the second person is included, {nm} is used.

Examples of type 1a:

‖e·k‖:

/mí?se·x ?í·n manma?í kiyú?./ 'I cannot go' ({mí?s} 'not'; {'í·n} 'I'; {me̲nme̲?í} 'how,' 'in any way'; {kú·} 'go'; {u?} future 638.6)

‖e·nm‖:

/mi?se·nm nú·n manma?í pekiyú?./ 'we cannot go in any way.' ({nú·n} 'we'; {pe} plural subject prefix)

The type 1a does not occur with second or third person subject:

/mí?s ?í·m manma?í kiyú?./ 'you (sg.) cannot go in any way.'

/mí?s ?ipí manma?í hikiyú?./ 'he cannot go in any way.'

/mí?s ?imé manma?í pekiyú?./ 'you (pl.) cannot go in any way.'

/miʔs ʔimé manmaʔí hipekiyú̲ʔ./ 'they cannot
go in any way.'

Examples of type 1b:

‖kek‖:

/mínekex wé·s./ 'where am I?' ({míne} 'where')

‖ke·nm‖:

/míneke·nm wisí·x./ 'where are we?'

In the following examples, {k} is represented by freely alternating ‖kek‖ and ‖e·k‖:

/mackex we kícuy./ 'how much money do I have?'
({me̲c} 'how much'; ‖we‖ an allomorph of {wé·}
'be'; {kícuy} 'metal,' 'money')

/mace·x we kícuy./ 'how much money do I have?'

Examples of type 2a:

‖·k‖:

/qece·x ʔí·n kú·se./ 'even I am going.'
({qece} 'even')

‖m‖:

/qecem ʔí·m kú·se./ 'even you (sg.) are going.'

‖·nm‖:

/qece·nm nú·n kusi·x./ 'even we are going.'

||pem|| :

/qecepem ʔimé kusi·x./ 'even you (pl.) are going.'

Examples of type 2b:

||k|| :

/kúʔx we·t kiyúʔ./ 'I might go.' ({kúʔ} indefinite; {we·t} meaning uncertain; {ku·} 'go'; {uʔ} future 638.6)

||m|| :

/kúʔm we·t kiyúʔ./ 'you (sg.) might go.'

||nenm|| :

/kúʔnenm we·t pekiyúʔ./ 'we (including you) might go.'

||pem|| :

/kúʔpem we·t pekiyúʔ./ 'you (pl.) might go.'

721.2 The subject-object suffix set has the following membership and allomorphs:

	types:	3a	3b
{k}	1st person sg.	e·k	k
{m}	2nd person sg.		m
{nm}	1st person pl.	e·nm	nm
{pem}	2nd person pl.	epe	pe (before {mek}) pem (elsewhere)
{mek}	1st person subject and 2nd person object	mek (after {pem}) emek (elsewhere)	mek

{pem} in 3a is found only before {mek}. {k}, {m}, {nm} and {pem} are found either as the subject or the object. {mek} indicates that the subject is in the first person and the object in the second person.

The subject-object pronominal suffixes are used to express the following combinations of subject and object. In the following notation, 2s-1p, for example, indicates that the morpheme is used when the subject is second person singular and the object is first person plural.

{k}: 1s-3s, 1s-3p, 3s-1s, 3p-1s

{m}: 2s-1s, 2s-1p, 2s-3p, 3s-2s, 3p-2s, 2s-3s

{nm}: 3s-1p, 1p-3s, 1p-3p, 3p-1p
{pem}: 3s-2p, 2p-1s, 2p-3s, 2p-1p, 2p-3p, 3p-2p
{mek}: 1s-2s, 1p-2s
{pem}{mek}: 1s-2p, 1p-2p

The set 3a occurs with {we·t} question particle; and 3b with {ke} relative particle.

Examples of type 3a:

‖e·k‖:

/we·te·x ʔetwí·kce./ 'Shall I go with him?'
({ʼe} third person object prefix 631;
{tîwí·k} 'accompany,' 'follow')
/we·te·x ʔené·stiwikce./ 'Shall I go with them?'
({ne·s} plural object prefix 634)
/we·te·x hitwí·kce./ 'Would he go with me?'
({hi} third person subject prefix 631)
/we·te·x hitwí·kcix./ 'Would they go with me?'

‖e·nm‖:

/we·te·nm hitwí·kce./ 'Would he go with us?'
/we·te·nm ʔetwí·kcix./ 'Shall we go with him?'
/we·te·nm ʔené·stiwikcix./ 'Shall we go with them?'
/we·te·nm hiné·stiwikcix./ 'Would they go with us?'

‖emek‖:

/we·temex tiwi·kce./ 'Shall I go with you (sg.)?'

/we·temex tiwí·kcix./ 'Shall we go with you (sg.)?'

‖epe mek‖:

/we·tepemex tiwí·kce./ 'Shall I go with you (sg.)?'

/we·tepemex tiwí·kcix./ 'Shall we go with you (pl.)?'

Examples of 3b:

‖k‖:

/kex ka· ʔew̓níye tí·ʔmes/ 'when I gave him the book ...' ({ké̲·} 'and' and means 'when' with {ke}; {ʼîní·} 'give'; {tí·ʔmes} 'book')

/kex ka· ʔené·c̓niye tí·ʔmes/ 'when I gave them the book ...' ({ne·s} plural object prefix 634)

‖m‖:

/kem ka· ʔiní·me tí·ʔmes/ 'when you (sg.) gave me the book ...' ({m} locative 1, 637)

/kem ka· né·c̓nime tí·ʔmes/ 'when you (sg.) gave us the book ...'

‖nm‖:

/kenm ka· hiné·c̓niye tí·ʔmes/ 'when he gave us the book ...'

/kenm ka· ʔepeʔníye tí·ʔmes/ 'when we gave him the book ...' ({pe} plural subject prefix 633)

‖pem‖:

/kepem ka· peʔniye ti·ʔmes/ 'when you (pl.) gave me the book ...'

/kepem ka· ʔepeʔniye ti·ʔmes/ 'when you (pl.) gave him/them the book ...'

‖mek‖:

/kemex ka· ʔiníye tí·ʔmes/ 'when I gave you (sg.) the book ...'

/kemex ka· peʔníye tí·ʔmes/ 'when we gave you (sg.) the book ...'

‖pe mek‖:

/kepemex ka· ʔiníye ti·ʔmes/ 'when I gave you (pl.) the book ...'

/kepemex ka· peʔníye ti·ʔmes/ 'when we gave you (pl.) the book ...'

722. Plural suffix.

The single plural suffix {tk} occurs after {ʼé·} 'you (sg.),' e.g.,

/ʔimė ʔé·tx panáhpaykoʔ/ 'you (pl.) will bring it'

730. Particle constructions.

The question word (QW) and hortatory word (HW) have the following constructions:

QW: Q PS
HW: H PS.

In the above notatin Q is question particle, H hortatory particle, PS pronominal suffixes. Examples are given in 821.

CHAPTER THREE

800. SYNTAX

810. The tactic units of the sentence are:

I (interjections)
C (connectives)
At (attributives)
S (subjects)
O (objects)
L (locatives)
Vc (copula)
Vg (general verbs)
Vp (possessive verbs).

These are described in order in the sections which follow.

811. Interjections (I).

The following are members of interjections:

1. Interjectory particle (710.13).
2. A construction involving the class of vocative suffixes, < e > (535): I: sT e (536).

812. Connectives (C).

The two subdivisions of this unit are: (1) coordinating and (2) subordinating connectives.

812.1 The coordinating connectives (Cc) are coterminous with the class listed in 710.6 as coordinating connective particles.

812.2 The subordinating connectives (Cs) are:

1. Subordinating connective particles in 710.7.
2. A construction involving a relative particle (710.3) with appropriate pronominal suffixes (721), e.g.,

{ke ke̲·}	'when'
{ke ku̲ pe}	'where''at which place'
{ke míne}	'where''at which place'
{ke mi k}	'where''to which place'
{ke kuʔús}	'as'
{ke ki wé̲yl}	'as long as'

813. Attributives (At).

The following are found as constituents of attributives:

1. substantive themes (sT) in which general noun stems (nS), numeral stems (nuS), demonstrative stems (dS), or adjective stems (aS) occur as constituents. These substantive themes are At1, At2, At3, and At4 respectively.
2. a substantive theme followed by < nim > 531 (At 5).
3. a substantive theme with < ’é̲yn > 534, or < k > 533 (At 6).

4. a substantive theme in which a verb theme (vT) and < ’e·t > occur as constituents (At7).
5. an adverbial modifier 710.1 (At8).
6. a construction of a substantive theme and a comparative particle 710.2 (At9).
7. a construction with an indefinite particle 710.4 (At10).
8. a construction with a prenominal particle 710.12 (At11).
9. an adverbial particle {kuˀús} 'thus' (At12).

814. Expanded substantive themes (esT).

In this section, constructions involving substantive themes (sT) 520 as heads and extending over more than one morphological word, namely, expanded substantive themes (esT) will be discussed.

While all six subclasses of substantive stems - general noun stems (nS), numeral stems (nuS), kinship term stems (kS), personal pronoun stems (ppS), demonstrative stems (dS), and adjective stems (aS) - occur as heads in substantive themes, in an expanded substantive theme a dS or aS does not occur as head of construction.

814.1 Expanded general noun themes seldom involve more than six morphological words. The expansion is mostly regressive, however, frequently in personal names (with

At7 or At7, cf. 813) a head may precede, for example,

esT: sT At4

/ʔiceyé·ye ʔapsí·n/ 'Coyote With-Flint'

(/ʔáps/ 'flint')

esT: sT At7

/wiyetené·t ʔilp̓ílp/ 'Red Sun' (/ʔilp̓ílp/ 'red')

For other expansions to the right, see examples with At6, At11 and At12 below. In some cases the order is not rigid, e.g.,

esT: At1 At5 sT $\overset{f}{\sim}$ At1 sT At5

/yox̣ ʔipním ʔiní·t/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /yox̣ ʔiní·t ʔipním/

'that house of his' (/ʔipním/ 'his'; /ʔiní·t/ 'house')

Other examples are:

esT: At1 sT

/titó·qan ʔiwé·pne/ 'Indian wife'

esT: At2 sT

/pá·x̣lo· háham/ 'five men'

esT: At3 sT

/kí· ʔískit/ 'this road'

esT: At4 sT

/ʔilx̣ní·we titó·qan/ 'many Indians'

esT: At5 sT

/ʔipním niyáʔc/ 'his child'

esT: sT At6

/wapayataʔwá·t Angusx/ 'assistant to Aŋgus'

esT: At7 sT

/qeqé·wit̓es kú·s/ 'whiskey' ({qeqé·wi} 'be drunk'; {kú·s} 'water')

esT: At8 sT

/q̓o qí·wníx/ 'very old man' ({qí·wn} 'old man')

esT: At9 sT

/qétu himé·q̓is wé·tes/ 'bigger land' ({himé·q̓is} 'big')

esT: At10 sT

/kúʔ mac ʔiní·t/ 'some house'

esT: sT At11

/ná·qc hekípe ʔiske cicámox/ 'one looking like negro' ({né̱·qc} 'one'; {hekípe} 'seem'; {ʼiske} 'as, like'; {cicé̱muk} 'negro')

esT: At5 At4 sT

/ʔipním kúckuc miyáʔc/ 'his small child' (/kúckuc/ 'small')

esT: At2 At1 sT

/naqc hí·k̓ay lálx/ 'a cup of coffee' ({hí·k̓e̱y} 'cup'; {lé̱lk} 'coffee')

esT: At8 At9 sT

/q̓o qétu táʔc tiwé·t/ 'much better medicineman' ({té̱ʔc} 'good'; {tiwé·t} 'medicineman') esT: At3 At4 At7 sT

/kí· ta?sníx sa·pi·kí?n wálc/ 'this awfully sharp knife' ({se̲·pi·ki?n} 'sharp')

esT: At4 At7 At5 sT

/?iléx̣ni qiyá·w̓is ?imé·snim núkt/ 'much dry deer meat'

esT: At10 At8 At4 sT A12

/kú? mac q̣̓o ta?sníx cú·yem ku?ús/ 'some very good fish like that'

814.2 Expanded numeral themes.

The numeral system of the language is multiplicative and quinary-decimal. The multiplicative and quinary systems are indicated by affixes within morphological word boundaries, and are dealt with in 520 (pp. 76f.). Therefore, all the digits, 20, 300, 5000 etc. are covered under sT with nuS as the head. The others such as 21, 310, 5432 are expressed by expanded numeral themes. A connective particle {we̲q} (710.6) participates in this construction.

esT: nuT {we̲q} nuT

/pú·timt wax̣ ná·qcwa/ 'eleven (men)'

Along with the expanded numeral theme, there is a constructional doublet /pú·timwe wax̣ ná·qcwa/ 'eleven (men)' with classifiers occurring with each word in concord.

814.3 Expanded kinship term themes involve only personal pronoun stems with {nim}, e.g.,

esT: At5 kT

/ʔipním píst/ 'his father'

This construction provides the language with the possibility of doublets, e.g., /naʔtó·t/ 'my father' and /ʔí·nim píst/ 'my father.' The latter periphrastic form is more frequently used in a figurative, rather than factual father-son relationship, e.g., in religious usage.

814.4 Expanded personal pronoun themes occur only in the following form:

esT: ppT At2

/nú·n lepúʔ/ 'we two.'

815. Subject (S) and object (O).

The simple or unexpanded subject has an optional {nim} 531 and the simple object has an optional {ne} 532 as one of the constituents, the other being a substantive theme (sT), i.e.,

S: sT [nim]

O: sT [ne].

The subject with {nim} is found when the verb occurs with {hi} 631 or with {pe·} 632. Elsewhere, the subject is without {nim}. The object with {ne} is found when the verb occurs with {ʼe} 631 or {pe·} 632. Elsewhere, the object is without {ne}.

The expanded subject and object are:

S: esT [nim]
O: esT [ne].

Besides, the object may be expanded in the following way.

O': O Vf

/ʔipné hiweʔnpíse/ 'him singing' (literally 'him he-sings') as in /ʔí·n ʔamc̓íya ʔipné hiweʔnpíse/ 'I hear him singing'

816. Locatives (L).

The following occur as members of the locative class.

1. adverbial particles 710.14, e.g.,

/watí·sx/ 'tomorrow,' 'yesterday'
/wá·qo/ 'now'
/kaʔla/ 'just'

2. a substantive theme (sT) or an expanded substantive theme (esT) with < ʼé̲yn > 534, or < k > 533, e.g.,

/piké·pe/ 'at mother's' (/píke/ 'mother')
/matníʔski kú·ski/ 'with boiling water'
({mé̲t} 'boil'; {kú·s} 'water'; {ki} 533)

3. a verb theme with < ʔe·t > class of suffixes (523.2), e.g.,

   /ʔú·yit/ 'at first' ({'ú·yi} 'begin')

4. a construction involving a prenominal particle as one of the constituents (710.12), e.g.,

   /ʔiske ʔá·la/ 'like fire' ({'é̱·le̱} 'fire')

   /káʔla ʔiske wé·qit/ 'just like rain'
   ({ké̱ʔle} 'just' 710.14; {wé·qi} 'rain (vb.)')

5. a construction involving an indefinite particle {kúʔ} 710.4, e.g.,

   /kúʔ masɨ/ 'I don't know how long' ({me̱sɨ} 'how long') as in /kúʔ masɨ kú·se/ 'I am going away for indefinite length of time'

6. a numeral theme with {éhem} 'times' (521.2), e.g.,

   /mitáham/ 'three times'

7. a construction involving a relative particle (710.3), and {kuʔús} 'thus,' e.g.,

   /ke kuʔús téhes/ 'like ice' ({téhes} 'ice')

8. a construction with adverbial modifier {q̓u̱} (710.1) and adjective themes, e.g.,

   /q̓o ʔilx̣niníx/ 'very much' ({'iléx̣ni} 'much,' 'many'; {ník} intensifier 521.2)

9. a negative particle (710.5) or a construction involving a negative particle, e.g.,

   /wé·t̓u/ 'not'

/wé·t̓u manmaʔí/ 'not in any way'

10. a pronominal particle with optional plural suffix (722), e.g.,

/ʔé·/ 'you (sg.)' in /wí·ce ʔé·/ 'you are crying'

11. a verb theme with one of the following two suffixes: {ʼ} (locative formant 1), {ʔyi} (locative formant 2), e.g.,

/hipstú·y̓/ 'enough' ({hipstú·y} 'be satiated')

/weceʔyí/ 'on horse back' ({wé·ce} 'ride a horse')

817. Finite verbs (Vf).

The finite verbs may be divided into general verbs (Vg), copula (Vc) and possessive verbs (Vp).

817.1 General verbs (Vg).

The simple or unexpanded verbs are found in three types of construction (639.2):

Vg : [hi] [pe] [ne·s] gvT isc

Vg : [pe·] gvT isc

Vg : [hi] sT.

Expanded general verb includes one obligatory general verb, an optional general verb in the same person, number, and tense-modes, and optional objects.

Vg' : Vg Vg

/hiʔpsiléhnecem hikú·tecem/ 'he came down to get water' (literally 'he-came-down he-came-after-water')

/kú·tx wilelí·kitx/ 'run away!' (to more than one person) (literally 'go! run!')

Vg' : Vg Vg O

/ʔipsqilí·kcene wiyeʔénpsene kapó·/ 'I walked carrying coat' (literally 'I-walked I-carried coat')

Vg' : Vg O Vg

/hicapá·ƛaq̓yawya hú·kux hihínaq̓iya/ 'he finished drying hair' (literally 'he-dried hair he-finished')

Vg' : Vg O

/ʔiné·ku·ye konyá/ 'I drank that'

Vg' : Vg O O

/hiʔníye ʔí·ne leʔéptit wax̣ ná·qc waʔwá·łam/ 'he gave me twenty-one trout' ({leʔéptit we̲q né̲·qc} 'twenty-one,' {we̲ʔwé̲·łe̲m} 'trout')

Vg' : O Vg

/mitáw̓na hiná·swalawqaqa/ 'he hanged three'

Vg' : O O Vg

/sík̓em tító·qana hiná·spax̣oyqana/ 'he stole horses from Indians' (literally 'horse from-Indian he-stole')

Vg' : O_1 Vg O_2 (O_1 and O_2 constituting an expanded object)

/konmaná hiná·swalawqaqa yú?cmene/ 'he hanged those poor ones' (literally 'those he-hanged poor (pl. obj.)')

817.2 Copula (Vc).

The copulative verb construction is:

Vc : [hi] [pe] vcT isc.

A copula is not expanded.

817.3 Possessive verb (Vp).

A possessive verb (Vp) has a copula and an object without {ne} as constituents.

Vp : Vc O

/?ú·s lepit mamá?yac/ 'he has two children'

820. The clause (CL).

A clause is preceded by silence, {,}, or {.} and followed by either of the latter two, and contains one obligatory verb (Vg, Vc, or Vp), and optional subject and locatives.

There are following types of clauses:

(1) general clause (CLg) CLg : [S] Vg [L]

(2) copulative clause (CLc) CLc : [S] Vc S [L]

(3) possessive clause (CLp) CLp : [S] Vp O [L]

A subject in a copulative clause always occurs without {nim} 531, and a subject in a possessive clause always occurs with {nim}.

CL : CLg + CLc + CLp

Examples:

CLg : Vg

/hiwi·ne/ 'he cried'

CLg : S Vg

/ʔí·n wí·ne/ 'I cried'

CLg : Vg S

/ha·níya Chpaman/ 'Chapman made'

CLg : S Vg L

/ʔí·nk̓e ʔehípe laʔám̓/ 'I too ate all'

CLg : S Vg L L

/kú·s hiwé·lece ʔiléx̣ni wé·qitkin̓ix/
'water runs high from rain'

CLg : Vg L

/ʔamc̓í·sa ċí·qipx/ 'I heard the talk'

CLg : L Vg

/kú·mtx wiskeʔéynimtx kiné·px/ 'come here!'
(Vg : Vg Vg)

CLg : L L Vg

/kí· kulé·wit tax̣c píʔamxnoʔ/ 'we'll soon
have a meeting this evening'

CLc : Vc S

/hi·wes qí·wn/ 'he is an old man'

CLc : S Vc S

/há·ma hí·wes qí·wn/ 'the man is an old man'

CLc : Vc S S

/hí·wes há·ma qí·wn/ 'the man is an old man'

CLc : Vc S L L

/hí·wes ˀicwéys ke kuˀús téhes q̓o tayamí·nax/ 'it is cold like ice even in summer'

CLc : S L Vc S

/Chapman káˀlo hiwé·ke so·yá·po·/ 'Chapman was just a white man'

CLp : Vp

/ˀú·s lepít mamáˀyac/ 'he has two children'

CLp : S Vp

/ˀí·nim we·s kí· wé·tes/ 'this is my land'

821. The derivative clause.

The two types of derivative clauses are:

(1) interrogative clause (CLi) CLi : QW CL

Examples:

/wé·te·x kú·se/ 'can I go?'

/wé·temex lálk̓iní·se/ 'shall I give you coffee?'

(2) hortatory clause (CLh)   CLh : HW CL

Examples:

/kex kú·s/ 'let me go'

/ke·mex ʔí·n ʔínis/ 'let me give you'

In a hortatory clause, the verb is most frequently in the indicative perfect 638.2.

822. The dependent clause (CLd).

In a dependent clause (CLd), any of the clauses may occur in constituency with a subordinating connective (Cs) 710.7.

CLd : Cs CL

/qéce ʔim̓tó·tapmaʔá pó·pciʔyawna/ 'even when they killed your fathers'

/ʔetke we·s waqí·ma/ 'because I am old'

/ka ká· hinúxne/ 'when he died'

/ke mípx pekiyúʔ/ 'whereever we will go'

/ke kuʔús ʔipelí·kt hiʔlé·sece/ 'as a thunder rolls'

/ke kiwáyl kí· té·mux hiwekúʔ/ 'as long as this footprint will be here'

830. The phrase (Ph).

The following construction types are phrases.

831. Interjectory phrase (IPh). I (811) followed by {,} or {.}.

/ʔe·hé./ 'Yes.'

/qalácaʔ./ 'Grandfather!'

832. General phrase (GPh). S, O, or L followed by {,} or {.}.

/wé·t̓u./ 'No.'

/pá·ʔys wé·t̓u neʔé./ 'Perhaps not, huh?'

840. The sentence (SEN).

One of the two immediate constituents of a sentence is {.} (which in tern may be in IC with a final particle 710.10), the other being one of the following:

841. The minor sentence. Any phrase noted above.

SEN: IPh.

/ʔe·hé./ 'Yes.'

SEN: GPh.

/ʔimé·cteʔqeni·n./ '(man's name).'

842. The major sentence. Any construction with an obligatory clause (CL), or derivative clause, and optional dependent clause (CLd) and phrases (Ph).

SEN : CL.

/hiwɨ·ne./ 'He cried.'

/hiná·swalawqaqa mitá·w̓na ʔetke./
'He hanged three already.'

SEN : IPh CL.

/ʔe·hé, qoʔc ʔiná·taʔlatwisa./
'Yes, I am already tired from talking.'

SEN : GPh CL.

/wá·qo, hiné·steqekiyu·six./
'Now, they are after us.'

SEN : CL CLd.

/ʔi·n ʔeslé·wqitwece há·cwala, ka ká· ʔimé hiʔnak̓aksix hípt./ 'I watch the child, while they are gathering food.' CL and CLd in this sentence are reversable.

SEN : CLd CL.

/ʔinekɨ·x ʔipɨ hiwé·ke wilekeʔykeʔwé·t, mét̓u c̓awɨ·n wé·t̓u ʔipním hiʔpé·twixne ʔi·ne./
'Even though he was a runner, he was unable to overtake me.'

When more than one CL occurs in a sentence, one of the constituents may be a coordinating connective (Cc) 710.6.

SEN : Cc CL Cc CL.

/ká· wá·qo pu·q̓ú·pe pipísne ka· ʔipí hiʔnekéhte té·pul./ 'He broke the bone and took out the marrow.'

850. Concord and agreement

851. Concord. When morphologically appropriate, affixal elements occur distributively with every member in a substantive expansion, with the exceptions noted in expanded substantive themes (esT).

With {kin̓ik} 'from' 533:

/koní·x ʔiní·ttalamkin̓ix/ 'from the roof of that house' (literally 'from-that from-house-roof')

With {nim} (possessive-nominative) 531:

/kúckucnim mamayaʔásnim k̓ó·maynin/ 'children's disease' (literally 'small's children's disease')

With {ne} (objecttive) 532:

/ʔá·yatona sik̓é·mne/ 'mare (object case)' (literally 'female (object case) horse (object case)'

With {pe} 'at' 534:

/konyá yaʔwí·cpa kú·spe/ 'in that cold water'
(literally 'in-that in-cold in-water')

852. Agreement. When there is an objective prefix {ʼe} (631), or subject-object prefix {pe·} (632) in the finite verb, the object in the sentence occurs with an object suffix {ne} 532, e.g.,

/tiwí·kce kí· ʔískit./ 'I am following this road.'
/ʔetwi·kce kínye ʔiskíne./ 'I am following this road.'
/sayqíca miyáʔc./ 'I admire a child (mine).'
/ʔasayqíca miyaʔásna./ 'I admire a child (his).'

When three persons are involved expressed by an affective or benefactive suffix {é·y} 620 in the finite verb, the following agreement is observed.

/ki·met ka· pó·pciʔyawcana miyaʔásna kúksnim./
'Then they killed Cook's son.'
/kí·met ka· pó·pciʔyawnaʔysana kúksne miyáʔc./
'Then they killed Cook's son' (they dared to, they went so far as to, they killed his son causing him to suffer)

900. TEXT WITH ANALYSIS

The following is the opening section of a long text on the Nez Perce War of 1877, as told by Mrs. Agnes Moses (1868?-1960). Mrs. Moses was one of the last monolingual speakers of this language. Her text is selected as indicative of the state of the language relatively little influenced by English. The analysis was made posthumously with the assistance of Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson.

910. Phonemic transcription.

1. ʔú·yitiwc̓é·ye pí·wapciʔyawn ha·níya cépmin.
2. mitá·w̓na hiná·swalawqaqa hími·snim hú·sus ka·
ʔiceyé·ye ʔapsí·sna ka· ná·qc ʔattó·laʔysa. 3. cépmin
káʔlo hiwé·ke so·yá·po·. 4. cépmin konmaná hiná·swalawqaqa
káʔlo lilk̓úx yúʔcmene. 5. ʔiwé·pneki hiná·ssiyawna.
6. káʔla tító·qan ʔiwé·pne ʔewé·ke, cépmin weʔnikí·n
so·yá·po·. 7. tá·mnaqahtq̓inm há·ma ʔewé·ke hími·snim
hú·sus.

920. Free translation.

1. At first the war started and Chapman[1] started it. 2. He hanged three men; Wolf's Head, Coyote With-Flint, and the third I have forgotten. 3. Chapman was just a white man. 4. Chapman hanged those poor ones for no reason. 5. Because of his wife he was suspicious. 6. This white man named Chapman had an Indian wife. 7. Wolf's Head was Tá·ʔmnaqahtq̓it's husband.

930. Analysis.

The text is given in phonemic, morphophonemic, and morphemic notations. Tactical classes and their constructions are indicated with reference to pertinent sections by numbers in parentheses.

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[1] This is probably Arthur I. Chapman, who fired at the Indians with the flag of truce (McWhorter 1940: 56) and was the official interpreter at Chief Joseph's surrender (Howard and McGrath 1941: 282).

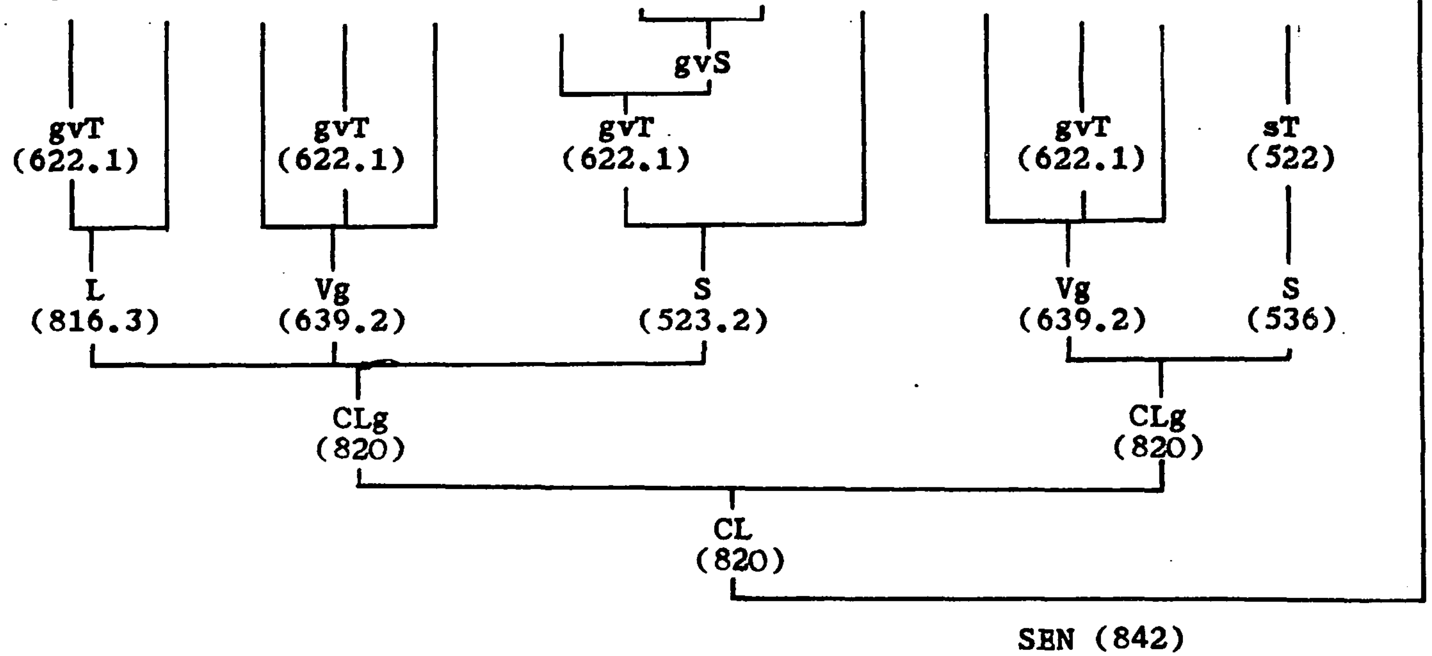
1. beginning it became war he made Chapman.

/ ?ú·yitiwc̓é·ye + pí·wapci?yawn + ha·níya + cépmin .

‖ 'ú·yi t hi wîc̓é· ye + pí· wep ci?ye̲w n + hi he̲·ní ye + cépmin .

{ 'ú·yi t + hi wîc̓é· e + pi· we·p ci?ye̲w t + hi he̲·ní e + cépmin .

< gvS ?é·t hi gvS isc pi· aprx* gvR ?é·t hi gvS isc nS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gvT (622.1)
gvT (622.1)
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L (816.3)
Vg (639.2)
S (523.2)
Vg (639.2)
S (536)
CLg (820)
CLg (820)
CL (820)
SEN (842)

* aprx: adverbial prefix

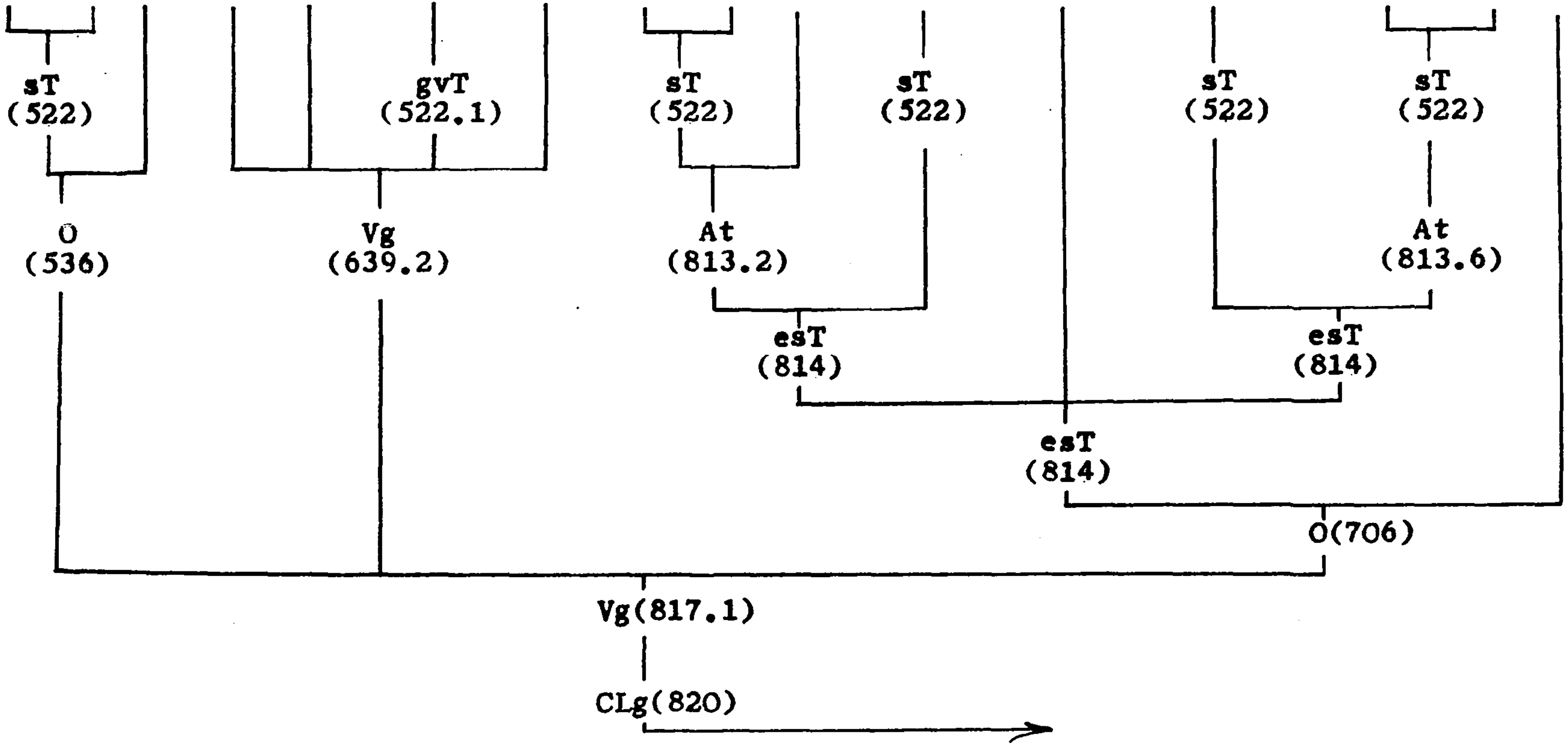
2. three he hanged Wolf's Head and Coyote With-Flint

/ mitá·ẃ̓na + hiná·swalawqaqa + hími·snim + hú·sus + ka· + ?iceyé·ye + ?apsí·sna

‖ mi̱té· ẃ̓ ne + hi né·s we̱le̱wqe̱q e + hím hi·s nim + hú·sus + ke̱· + ʼiceyé·ye + ʼe̱ps hí·s ne

{ mi̱té· we ne + hi ne·s we̱lé̱·wqe̱q e + hím hi̓·n nim + hú·sus + ke̱· + ʼiceyé·ye + ʼe̱ps hi̓·n ne

< nuS we ne hi ne·s gvS isc nS ʼé̱yn nim nS Cc nS nS ʼé̱yn ne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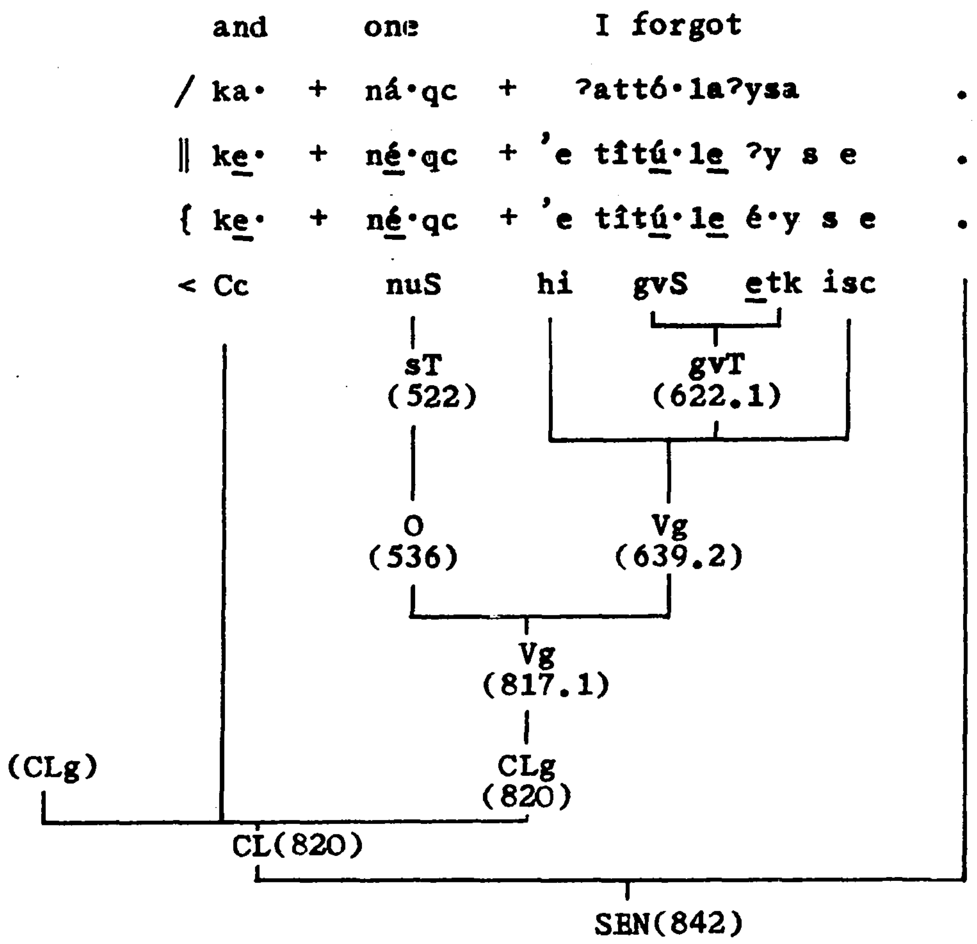
and one I forgot
/ ka· + ná·qc + ?attó·la?ysa .
‖ ke̲· + né̲·qc + ʼe tîtú̲·le̲ ?y s e .
{ ke̲· + né̲·qc + ʼe tîtú̲·le̲ é·y s e .
< Cc nuS hi gvS e̲tk isc
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Vg (639.2)
Vg (817.1)
(CLg)
CLg (820)
CL(820)
SEN(842)

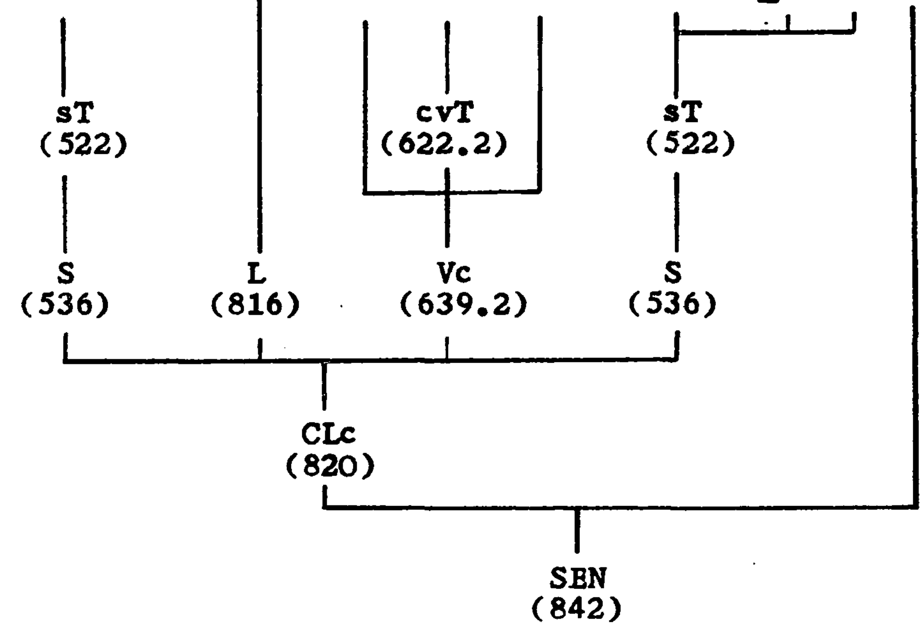
3. Chapman just he was white man

/ cépmin + káʔlo + hiwé·ke + so·yá·po· .

‖ cépmin + kéʔlu + hi wé· ke + su·yé· pe we :

{ cépmin + kéʔlu + hi wé· e + su·yé· pe we .

< nS hi cvS isc nS 'éyn we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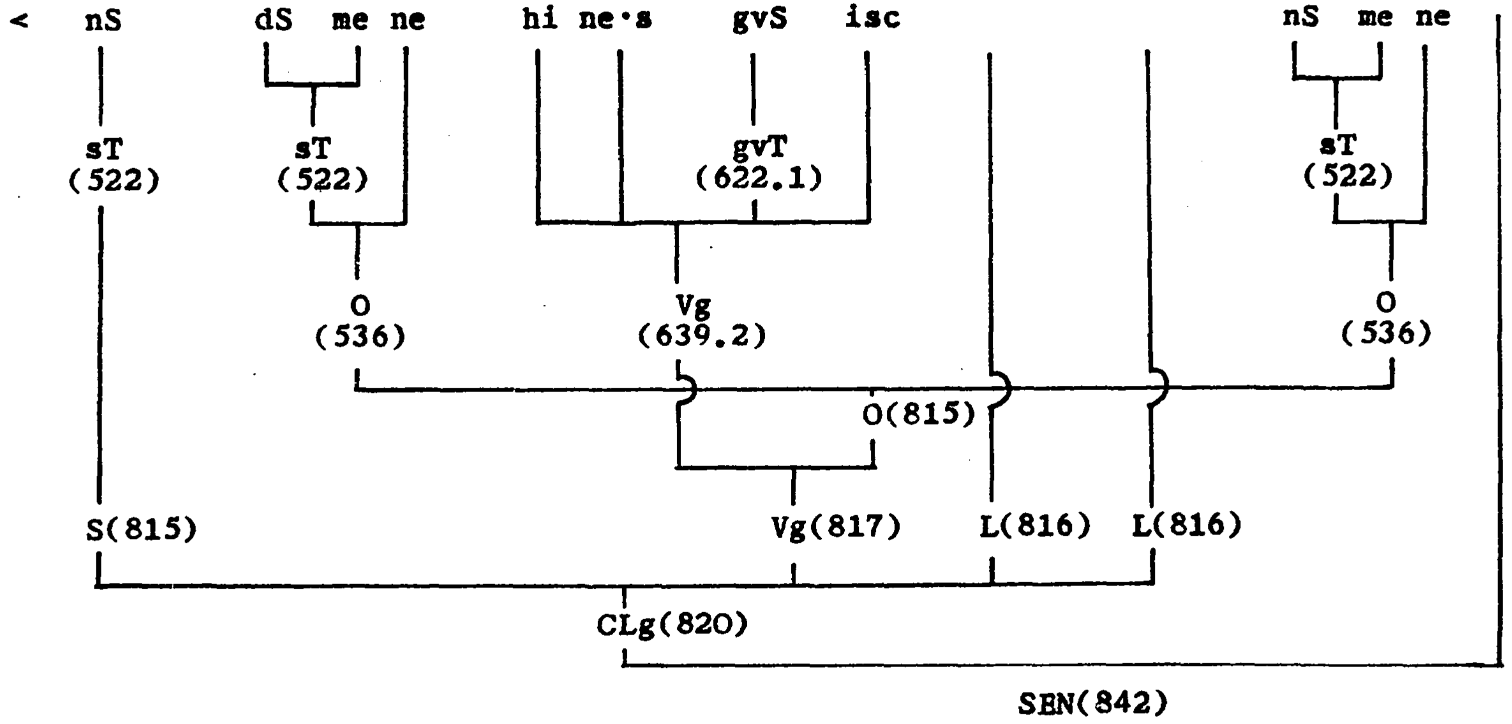
4. Chapman + those + he hanged + just + for nothing + poor(pl.)

/ cépmin + konmaná + hiná·swalawqaqa + káʔlo + lilḱúx + yúʔcmene .

‖ cépmin + ku̲n me né + hi né·s we̲le̲wqe̲q e + ké̲ʔlu̲ + lilḱúx + yúʔc me ne .

{ cépmin + ku̲ me ne + hi ne·s welé·wqeq e + ké̲ʔlu̲ + lilḱúx + yúʔc me ne .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L(816)
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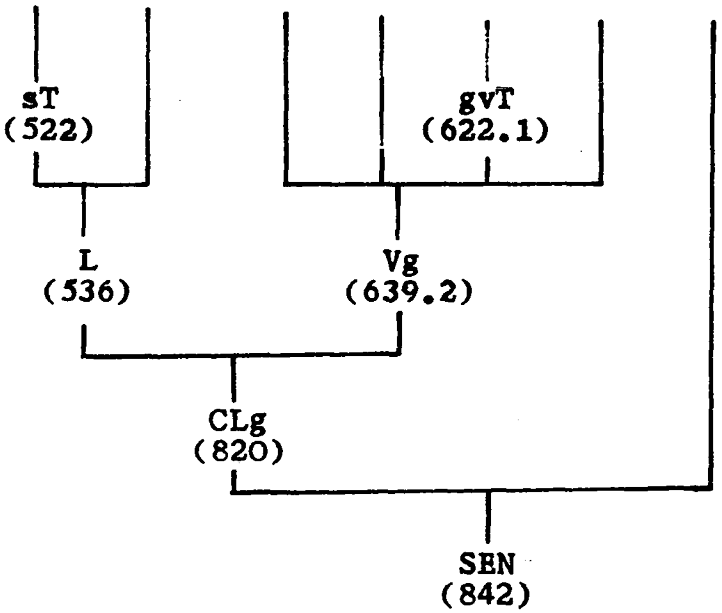
SEN(842)

5. because of wife he suspected

/ ?iwé·pneki hiná·ssiyawna .
‖ ʼîwé·pne ki + hi né·s siye̲w n e .
{ ʼîwé·p ki + hi ne·s siyé̲·w s e .
< kS k: hi ne·s gvS isc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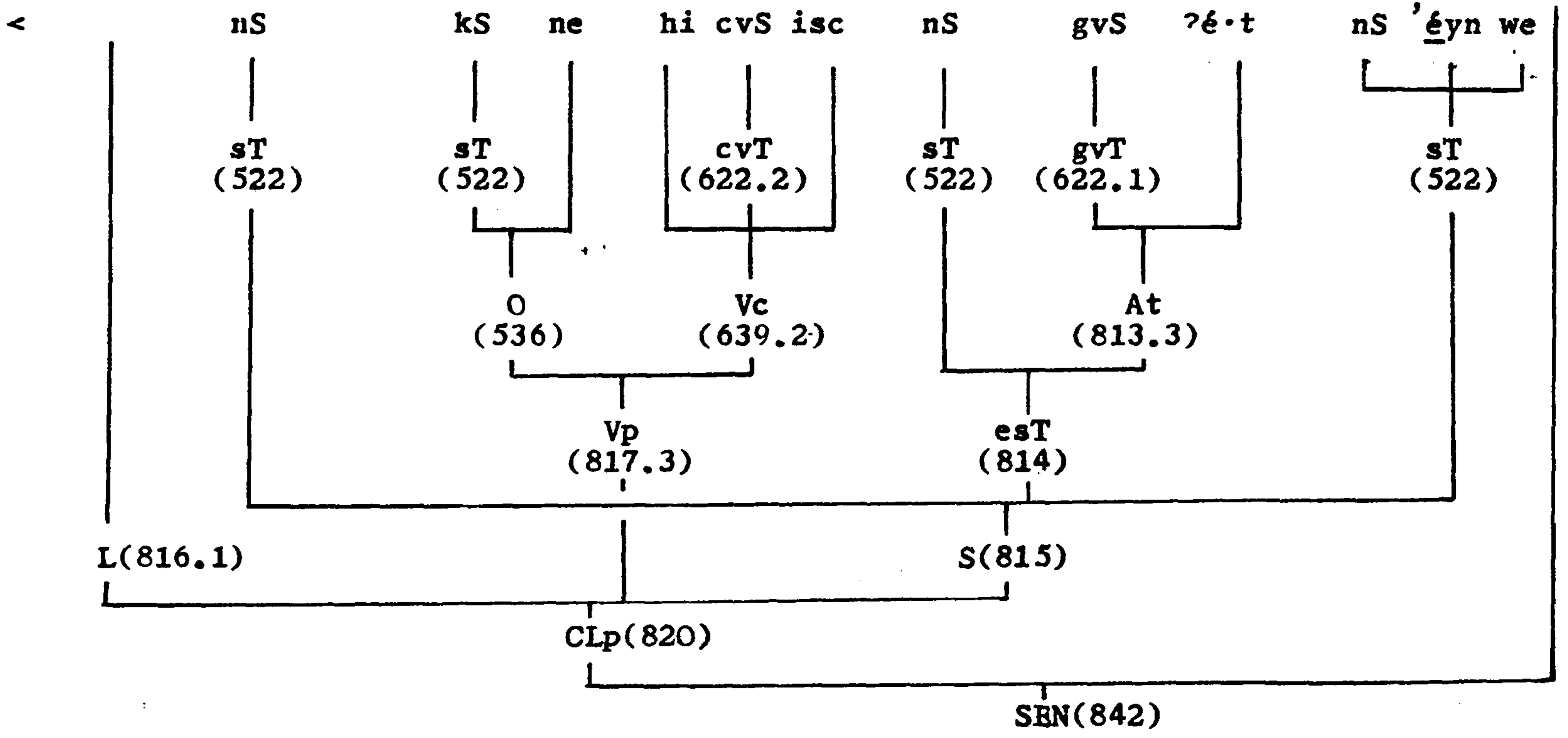
6. just Indian wife he had Chapman named white man

/ ká?la + titó·qan + ?iwé·pne + ?ewé·ke + cépmin + we?nikí·n + so·yá·po· .

‖ ké̲?le̲ + titú̲·qe̲n + 'îwé·p ne + 'e wé· ke + cépmin + we?nik í·n + su̲·yé̲· pe we .

{ ké̲?le̲ + titú̲·qe̲n + 'îwé·p ne + 'e wé· e + cépmin + we?nikí i?n + su̲·yé̲· pe we .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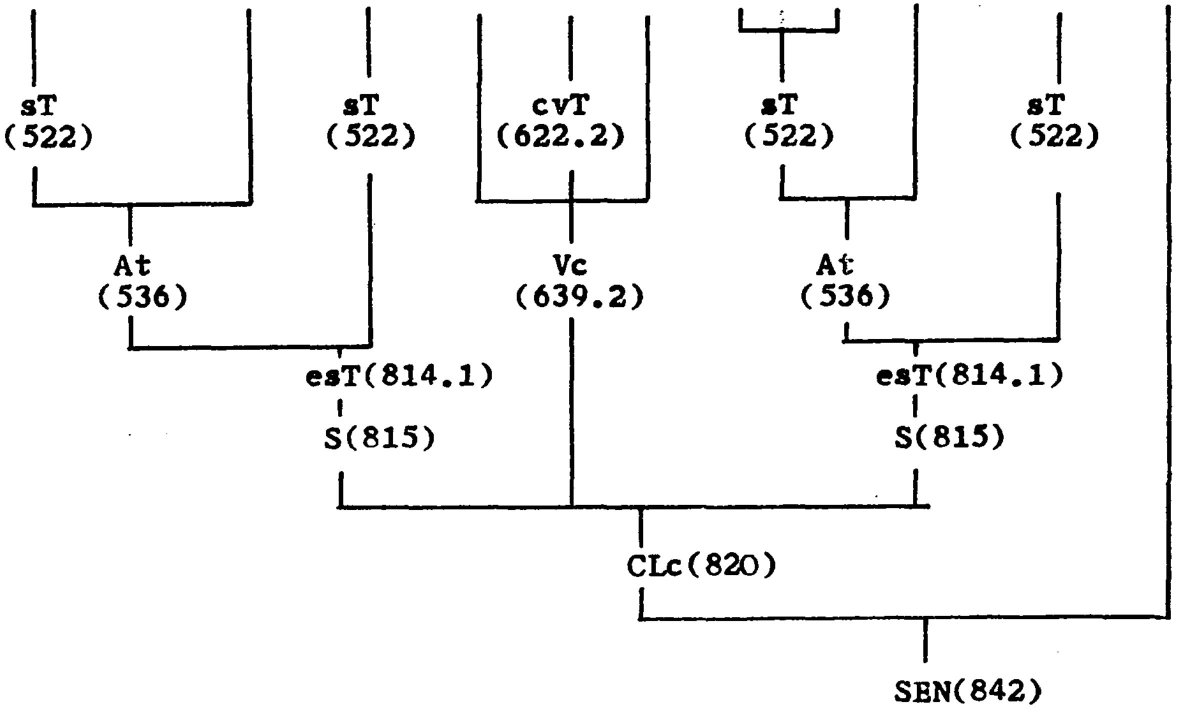
7. (personal name)'s husband was Wolf's head

/ tá·ʔmnaqahtq̓inm + há·ma + ʔewé·ke + hími·snim + hú·sus .

‖ té·ʔmneqehtq̓i nm + hé·me + ʼe wé· ke + hím hi·s nim + hú·sus .

{ té·ʔmneqehtq̓it nim + hé·me + ʼe wé· e + hím hi̓·n nim + hú·sus .

< nS nim kS hi cvS isc nS ʼéyn nim nS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