

The
Collected Works
of
Edward Sapir

Mouton
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X

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Collected Works
of
Edward Sapir

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Southern Paiute and Ute
Linguistics and Ethnography

Volume Editor
William Bright

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Edward Sapir, 1909

In glasses, with group at Mrs. Dodd's,
Uintah Ute Reservation, White Rock, Utah
J. Alden Mason peering from bushes.

(Courtesy of Sapir family)

Edward Sapir (1884-1939) has been referred to as “one of the most brilliant scholars in linguistics and anthropology in our country” (Franz Boas) and as “one of the greatest figures in American humanistic scholarship” (Franklin Edgerton). His classic book, *Language* (1921), is still in use, and many of his papers in general linguistics, such as “Sound Patterns in Language” and “The Psychological Reality of Phonemes,” stand also as classics. The development of the American descriptive school of structural linguistics, including the adoption of phonemic principles in the study of non-literary languages, was primarily due to him.

The large body of work he carried out on Native American languages has been called “ground-breaking” and “monumental” and includes descriptive, historical, and comparative studies. They are of continuing importance and relevance to today’s scholars.

Not to be ignored are his studies in Indo-European, Semitic, and African languages, which have been characterized as “masterpieces of brilliant association” (Zellig Harris). Further, he is recognized as a forefather of ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic studies.

In anthropology Sapir contributed the classic statement on the theory and methodology of the American school of Franz Boas in his monograph, “Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture” (1916). His major contribution, however, was as a pioneer and proponent for studies on the interrelation of culture and personality, of society and the individual, providing the theoretical basis for what is known today as humanistic anthropology.

He was, in addition, a poet, and contributed papers on aesthetics, literature, music, and social criticism.

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Preface

Volumes I-VI of *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir* consist, for the most part, of shorter papers; by contrast, Volumes VII-XV are devoted to longer works of monographic nature — grammars, dictionaries, text collections, and extended ethnographic accounts. Many of these were published by Sapir during his lifetime; others were edited by his students and published after his death; still others are now being edited and published for the first time. The organization of each individual volume in this latter group brings together, in most instances, works on a single language and culture; in a few volumes, however, the unifying element is one of linguistic family or of culture area.

Preparation of these monographic volumes has been aided by grants from the National Science Foundation (grant no. BNS-8609411), the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Sapir received his doctorate at Columbia University in 1908, and took up a position at the University of Pennsylvania. His first field work thereafter, in 1909, was in Utah, with the Uncompahgre and Uintah Utes. Back in Philadelphia in 1910, he obtained a much greater amount of data on a closely related dialect, the Kaibab variety of Southern Paiute, as spoken by Tony Tillohash, then a student at Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. The major publication which resulted from this work, Sapir's *Southern Paiute Language* — grammar, texts, and dictionary — was written in 1917, but not published until 1930–31; it is reprinted in the present volume. Permission for this reprinting has kindly been granted by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In addition, we publish here for the first time an English index to Sapir's Southern Paiute dictionary, prepared by Wick Miller, as well as ethnographic notes gathered by Sapir from his Ute and Paiute consultants, here edited and annotated by Catherine S. Fowler and Robert C. Euler. A topic index for the present volume has been prepared by Jane McGary.

The Editorial Board is grateful to Robert C. Euler, Catherine S. Fowler, Jane McGary, and Wick Miller for their participation in the preparation of this volume.

Editorial work on this volume was carried out by William Bright while a Research Fellow of the Center for the Study of Native American Languages of the Plains and Southwest, Department of Linguistics, University of Colorado, Boulder; thanks is given for the help of that institution.

Introduction

The Great Basin of the western United States was, aboriginally, occupied mainly by tribes who spoke languages of the Uto-Aztecan family, specifically of the Numic branch. In older literature, this branch is also referred to as "Plateau Shoshonean," and the term "Shoshonean" has been used for a putative larger grouping within Uto-Aztecan.

Within Numic, three divisions are generally recognized. The Western group includes language varieties labeled as Mono (or Monache) and Owens Valley Paiute, in eastern California — plus Northern Paiute in Nevada and Oregon, and Bannock in Idaho. Central Numic includes Panamint (or Koso) in California; Shoshone in Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming; and Comanche in the southern Plains. Finally, Southern Numic consists of Kawaiisu in California; Chemehuevi and Southern Paiute in southern California, Nevada, Utah, and northwestern Arizona; and Ute in Utah and Colorado.

The term "Paiute" itself, unfortunately, has no clear ethnic or linguistic reference; nevertheless, the term "Southern Paiute" is well established as referring to some sixteen Numic "bands" or subgroups which share a geographical center in southern Utah. (For a survey of Numic linguistics, see Miller 1986.) Among linguists, at least, it seems likely that the currency of the term "Southern Paiute" has been reinforced by its use in the title of one of Edward Sapir's most important works.

Sapir's research on Numic began with a field trip undertaken early in his career. After fieldwork on Wishram Chinook in 1905, on Takelma in 1906, and on Yana in 1907, Sapir completed his doctorate at Columbia University in 1908 and accepted a position at the University of Pennsylvania. In the summer of 1909, with his student J. Alden Mason, Sapir arrived in Utah to study Southern Numic speech, beginning with the Uncompahgre Utes at Ouray Reservation. Finding that few Indians there spoke adequate English, he soon moved to the Uintah Utes at White Rocks (see Sapir's letter to A. L. Kroeber dated 7 September 1909, in Golla 1984: 43). A brief report, "Some Fundamental Characteristics of the Ute Language," was published in 1910 (Sapir 1910c, reprinted in Volume V of *The Collected Works*).

Back at the University of Pennsylvania in 1910, Sapir hoped to find a Ute speaker at Carlisle Indian School near Harrisburg; instead, he

found Tony Tillohash, who spoke the Kaibab dialect of Southern Paiute. Tillohash moved to Philadelphia for four months, providing Sapir with much more comprehensive data than had been obtained on Ute (see Fowler and Fowler 1986). Four short papers resulted shortly thereafter: “Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology” (Sapir 1910d), “Two Paiute Myths” (1910f), “The Mourning Ceremony of the Southern Paiutes” (1912c), and “A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship” (1913c); these are reprinted in Volume IV of *The Collected Works*. However, the major descriptive result was Sapir’s *Southern Paiute Language* — a grammar, a text collection, and a dictionary — written in 1917, but not published until 1930–31. This work is reprinted in the present volume, along with a previously unpublished English index to the dictionary, prepared by Wick R. Miller.

Sapir’s work on Numic linguistics is noteworthy from three viewpoints in particular. First, his 1910 report on Ute described the typical Numic phonological alternation of voiceless stops ($p\ t\ k\ kw$), voiced stops ($b\ d\ g\ gw$), voiced fricatives ($\beta\ r\ \gamma\ \gamma w$), and voiceless fricatives ($\varphi\ R\ \chi\ \chi w$): in his work on Southern Paiute, Sapir not only found the same alternation, but also confirmed Tony Tillohash’s intuitive awareness of the relationship. Reported in Sapir’s famous article, “La réalité psychologique des phonèmes” (1933c, in Volume I), this finding remains one of the paradigmatic examples of modern phonological theory. Second, Sapir’s Numic data made possible a historical study, “Southern Paiute and Nahuatl” (1913f and 1915i) — his first important work in the comparative/historical study of American Indian languages, and a pioneering application in the New World of the Neogrammarian methodology established in the Indo-European field. All subsequent activity in comparative Uto-Aztecan linguistics is founded on this work of Sapir’s. Third and finally, the Southern Paiute grammar itself has come to be recognized as a monument of American descriptive linguistics: a model of accuracy, clarity, thoroughness, and insight which later scholars have striven to emulate.

In addition to data on language, Sapir collected ethnographic information from his Numic consultants, and organized these materials with eventual publication in mind. The resulting manuscripts had an “underground” existence after Sapir’s death, being consulted by several ethnographers. They have at last been edited for publication in this volume, by Catherine S. Fowler and Robert C. Euler, whose introductory essay explains the detailed circumstances.

Little has been published on the Southern Paiute language since Sapir's day; however, there is significant work on the Ute dialect of southern Colorado by Goss (1972) and Givón (1979, 1980); and on Chemehuevi by Press (1979). There is an unpublished dissertation on Southern Paiute by Bunte (1979); see also Bunte (1986) and Bunte and Franklin (1988). Proposals for the reanalysis of Sapir's data on Southern Paiute phonology have been published by Harms (1966), Rogers (1967), Chomsky and Halle (1968: 345–351), Lovins (1972), Cairns (1978), and Franklin and Bunte (1980). Manuscript vocabularies for a number of Numic dialects, collected by J. W. Powell during his nineteenth-century expeditions, are given by Fowler and Fowler (1971).

Important ethnographic sources include Stewart (1942) for both the Ute and the Southern Paiute, Kelly (1964) for the Southern Paiute, and Smith (1974) for the Ute. Volumes on Chemehuevi ethnography and oral literature have been published by Laird (1976, 1984). Recent surveys of ethnographic and historical information are provided by Kelly and Fowler (1986) for the Southern Paiute, and by Calloway et al. (1986) for the Ute.

Southern Paiute, a Shoshonean Language

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PREFACE.

The following sketch of Southern Paiute, which was completed in December, 1917, is offered as a contribution to the scientific study of the Shoshonean languages. Whether or not it proves to be fairly typical of the whole group in phonologic and morphologic respects must be left to future research.

My first field acquaintance with Shoshonean linguistics was gained in a short trip during August and September of 1909 among the Northern Utes of Uintah Reserve, Utah. This trip was undertaken, with the collaboration of Dr. J. A. Mason, under the auspices of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. A number of Ute texts were secured, supplemented by considerable grammatical information. To extend and deepen the insight into Plateau Shoshonean linguistics then obtained it seemed advisable, indeed necessary, to undertake further researches. Hence arrangements were made by the late Dr. G. B. Gordon, Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, with the authorities of the Indian school at Carlisle to have one of their Paiute students, Tony Tillohash, put at my disposal for the ethnologic and linguistic study of his tribe. I worked with Tony, who proved to be an excellent informant, in Philadelphia from February to May of 1910. A series of texts, much supplementary grammatical material, a large number of songs, and considerable ethnological information were obtained. The Paiute linguistic data proved so much superior to the Ute which I had previously secured that I have decided in this sketch to limit myself to the former. Moreover, there is enough phonetic, lexical, and morphologic difference between Ute and Southern Paiute to render the attempt to describe both at the same time confusing. I hope to publish a briefer sketch of the Ute language at some future date.

The present volume is to be followed by a series of Southern Paiute and Ute texts and by a Southern Paiute vocabulary. It is a great pleasure to recall the unflagging patience and helpfulness of Tony Tillohash and the kindness with which Dr. Gordon did all that lay in his power to make these studies possible. My thanks are due Miss Jane McHugh, the Secretary and at that time Acting Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and the authorities of the Museum for permission to have these Paiute studies published by the

American Academy of Arts and Sciences. To Professor Franz Boas I owe a special debt of gratitude for arranging with the Bureau of American Ethnology that I prepare the present paper, later transferred to the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and for his more recent efforts in enlisting the interest of the Academy in the publication of my Southern Paiute manuscripts.

EDWARD SAPIR.

*University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.,
April 14, 1929.*

SOUTHERN PAIUTE, A SHOSHONEAN LANGUAGE.

§ 1. *Distribution and Literature.*

The Shoshonean dialect that is more particularly treated in this paper is Kaibab Paiute, spoken in southwestern Utah and northwestern Arizona. The name Kaibab is an Anglicized form of the native *qa'iva-vtci* "mountain-lying, plateau." The Kaibab Paiutes are only one of a large number of tribes or bands in southwestern Utah, northwestern Arizona, southern Nevada, and southeastern California that have been loosely grouped together as Paiute proper or Southern Paiute. The linguistic differences found in the speech of the various Paiute bands are slight. Paiute itself belongs, according to Kroeber's terminology, to the Ute-Chemehuevi branch of Plateau Shoshonean, a branch that includes, besides the Paiute dialects, the Ute dialects of western Colorado and most of Utah, Kawaiisu (spoken in south-central California), and Chemehuevi (spoken in southeastern California along the Colorado; the Chemehuevi are probably nothing but a Paiute band that have been subjected to strong Yuman influences). It is doubtful if even the geographically extreme Ute-Chemehuevi dialects, say Uncompahgre Ute and Chemehuevi, are not mutually intelligible with considerable ease. The two other branches of Plateau Shoshonean are Shoshone-Comanche (including Shoshone proper, Comanche, Gosiute, and Shikaviyam, spoken in California) and Mono-Paviotso (including Mono, Northern Paiute or Paviotso, "Snake" of eastern Oregon, and Bannock). Southern Paiute and Northern Paiute should be carefully distinguished; they are not dialects of the same language, but distinct and mutually unintelligible languages. Indeed, Ute-Chemehuevi differs from both Shoshone-Comanche and Mono-Paviotso in important morphological as well as phonetic respects. Thus, pronominal elements are suffixed (or enclitically affixed) in Ute-Chemehuevi, but prefixed (or proclitically affixed) in the other two branches of Plateau Shoshonean.

The Shoshonean languages, according to Kroeber, comprise four groups: the Plateau Shoshonean languages; Tübatulabal or Kern River, spoken in south-central California; Hopi; and a group of southern Californian languages comprising the Serrano dialects, the dialects of the San Luiseño-Cahuilla branch, and the Gabrielino

dialects. The phonetic, lexical, and morphologic differences between these four groups of Shoshonean languages are evidently considerable. All the Shoshonean languages, taken as a unit, comprise the northernmost representative of the Uto-Aztekan stock. This stock includes, besides Shoshonean, Nahuatl or Aztec and the Sonoran or Piman languages spoken in the long stretch of country between the Mexican state of Jalisco and the Rio Gila (among these languages are Cora; Huichol; Yaqui-Opata-Cahita-Tarahumare; Pima-Papago-Tepehuane-Tepecano). So far as is at present known, the Uto-Aztekan languages are not genetically related to any other American languages.

The published material dealing with the Ute-Chemehuevi dialects is scanty. We have some sketchy material of Kroeber's;¹ a phonetic study of Southern Ute by J. P. Harrington;² and a brief abstract on Ute by Sapir.³ Some linguistic material on Southern Paiute is also contained in Sapir's *Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology*.⁴ A comparative treatment of Uto-Aztekan, primarily from the point of view of Southern Paiute, is given in Sapir's *Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztekan*.⁵

PHONOLOGY (§ § 2-16).

VOWELS (§ § 2-8).

§ 2. *Fundamental Vowels.*

Southern Paiute recognizes five primary or organically distinct vowels. These are *a* (as in German *Mann*); *i* (as in French *fini*), which interchanges freely with *ι* (as in English *fin*); *u* (open as in English *put*, rarely close as in French *bout*), which interchanges freely

¹ A. L. Kroeber, *Notes on the Ute Language* (American Anthropologist, n. s., 1908, pp. 74-87); notes on Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu (pp. 256-262) in *Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 8, no. 5, 1909).

² J. P. Harrington, *The Phonetic System of the Ute Language* (University of Colorado Studies, vol. VIII, 1911, pp. 199-222).

³ E. Sapir, *Some Fundamental Characteristics of the Ute Language* (American Anthropologist, n. s., 1910, pp. 66-69).

⁴ Journal of American Folk-Lore, 1910, pp. 455-72.

⁵ Part I (Vowels): Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N. S., X, 1913, pp. 379-425; Part II (Consonants): American Anthropologist, N. S., 1915, pp. 98-120, 306-328, also in Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N. S., XI, 1919, pp. 443-488. Part III, to be devoted to morphology, is still due.

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SAPIR

<i>qanu-va-ntuγwa-</i>	house-to	<i>qan'vā-ntuγwa-müçï</i>	to their own house
		<i>ivä'tcï', ivé'tcï'</i>	way off, early
<i>U'qwap-i-manti-</i>	wood-from, some wood	<i>U'qwa'p-im-ánti, -m-entï</i>	some wood
<i>pi(y)a-</i>	mother	<i>piyü'ruγwaçï</i>	to his own mother;
		<i>piyé'ni</i>	my mother

Much less frequently *a*, standing between a syllable with *i* and a following *y*, may be still further palatalized to close *e*:

<i>aiva(i)ya-</i>	companion	<i>a'ive(y)aywüayA</i>	his companions
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(b) *Dulling to α*. Dulling to α (like *u* of English *but*) is extremely common, particularly in unaccented syllables. It seems to take place chiefly before or after nasal consonants (*m*, *n*, η):

<i>-γa-nti-</i>	being	<i>'ontcō'γχantï</i>	with one eye lacking
<i>-n-a-</i>	verbal abstract suffix	<i>ra'va'n-αni</i>	what I shall dig
<i>m^wa-γa-</i>	that (anim.)	<i>m^wαη'a'qA</i>	that is the one

(c) *Labialization*. Rather infrequently *a* is darkened to ω (acoustically midway between *a* and ω) in partial assimilation to an ω of the preceding or following syllable; this ω was not always carefully distinguished in recording from ω :

<i>qaa'mpïts·</i>	grouse	<i>aγō'ηqωampïts·</i>	fir-grouse
<i>tōc-a-</i>	white > <i>tō'ca'-</i> ,	<i>t'hō'p-a(i)yαmpats·</i>	white-breasted, gull (also recorded as normal <i>tō'ca'p-a(i)yampats·</i>)
<i>tōha'-</i>	(§ 13, 1, b)		

Further labialization to ω takes place very frequently after labialized gutturals (*qw*, *γw*, *ηqw*), *wō* being often simplified to ω :

<i>-q-a-</i>	plural subject; combines with preceding <i>-ru-</i> to <i>-ru'qwa-</i> or <i>-RUqwa'-</i>	<i>nanti'navuruqwōp-ïγaiyayA</i>	several tracked him back and forth
<i>-γw'ai-</i>	to go in order to	<i>qwtca'γw'ōip-ïγa'</i>	went to defecate
<i>piyō'χwa-</i>	to drag	<i>piyō'χōm'maχa'</i>	while dragging along
<i>-vi-nayqwa-p-a-</i>	behind	<i>uv^wi-nayq(w)ōpA</i>	behind it
<i>-qwa'ai-</i>	to go	<i>payi'k-wō'ōip-ïγa'</i>	went home

(2) MODIFICATIONS OF *i* (alternating with *ι*, more rarely *e*):

(a) *Diphthongization to ai, ɔi*. This occurs pretty regularly after gutturals (*q, γ, ηq*) immediately preceded by *a* and *ɔ* respectively. *ai* is quite frequently heard as *äi, ei* or as ^ə*i, ʻi* with rather fleeting glide-like *a* or *ε*; ^ʻ*i* is sometimes heard still further reduced to *ĩ* (see *b*). After *a* + labialized guttural *i* > *ai* may be labialized to *ɔi, ʻi* (cf. 1, c). These diphthongs are not treated as organically such, but regularly count in accentual phenomena as simple vowels (see § 9). Examples are:

<i>paγi-</i> to walk (e. g. in <i>pa'x:ɪqwa'ai-</i> <i>tca-ηA</i> he went away)	<i>paγa'ihqwa'ai'</i> walks off; <i>paγäi'-n^uNU^xqwɪp'ĩγa'</i> started to walk; <i>paγ^ʻi'-q-wa'^a</i> go away; <i>paγi'n-a-ηwĩnu-p'aγi-yi</i> cloud stands up and walks (sixth and seventh syllables)
<i>-γi-</i> durative iterative suffix	<i>qu'pa'ra-γeiĩk'ai'</i> several pop one after another
<i>tcaq'i-</i> to stop (rolling)	<i>tca^xqa'ip'ĩγa'</i> stopped rolling; <i>tca^xqi'yĩaq-A</i> it stops
<i>tsɪηwaxɪ-</i> to stick in several (e. g. in <i>tsɪηwa'x:ɪkaiyiam'</i> they are stuck in)	<i>tsitsi'ηwaxaimipĩγaini'</i> all kept on as though stuck; <i>tsɪtsɪηwax^əi'-p'ĩγain-i'</i> all went in as though stuck; <i>tsɪηwa'xi'</i> sticks several in
<i>mam-a'acaγwi-</i> old woman	<i>mam-a''acaγwɔits'</i> , <i>-caγwɔits'</i> old woman
<i>tɔγi-, tɔγwi-</i> just, precisely	<i>tɔγɔ'iaruq-wa-x:ɪ</i> right under it; <i>tɔγɔ'it-uγwanU</i> midnight

tɔγɔ'i- not infrequently even loses its *i* and appears as *tɔγɔ'-* (e. g. *tɔγɔ'mA'cüηwɪYU* TEN), but such recorded forms as *tɔγ^wi'anaruq-wA* RIGHT UNDER HIM and *tɔγ^əi'm-ava'ana* RIGHT ABOVE THAT prove clearly that the second *ɔ* is inorganic.

(b) *Dulling to i, ĩ*. After *ts*, *i* is regularly dulled to *i*, a high unrounded "mixed" vowel (to use Sweet's terminology) that sounds acoustically midway between *ι* and *ĩ*. It has been often recorded simply as *ι*, sometimes also, though exaggeratedly, as *ĩ*. Examples are:

<i>-tsi-</i> diminutive	<i>tɪŋga'nwĩatsĩaφĩ</i> his own little cave (obj.)
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-tsi- gerund	<i>pA^rqa'ηutsi'ηWA</i> having killed him; <i>pñ-n'ava'tsi'q-WA</i> being about to lie down and watch it
tsi- with the point of a stick-like object	<i>tsiyu'm'muxxevyini</i> is poking me; <i>tsi'n'k'ipĩγa'</i> stuck (one object)

More rarely *i* is gutturalized to *ĩ*, *i* after guttural consonants (*q*, *γ*, *x*, *ηq*), cf. (a) above:

-xu- to come in order to	<i>tñna'xĩyĩayA</i> he comes to punch
-q-i- hither	<i>ya'q'ĩyayqA</i> bring it
waq-i- hither + -ηki- to come	<i>WA^rq'ĩηkiχuαηA</i> as he came

(c) *Consonantizing before nasals.* When standing before *n* or *ŋ* and coming after *ts* (sometimes modified to *t*, see §13, 7, a), less often after *q*, *i* not infrequently loses its vocalic character altogether and assimilates to the following nasal, becoming syllabic *ŋ* or *ɣ* (cf. English *kα'zŋ* from *cousin*):

-tsi- gerundive + -ni- I	<i>qa'va'tsŋni</i> being about to sing, I
-tsi- diminutive + -ni- my	<i>wi'tsi't'ŋni</i> my great-grandchild

(d) *Consonantizing to y.* Rather infrequently the combination *i* + vowel, via *i* + glide *y* + vowel, simplifies to *y* + vowel, e. g.:

<i>i(y)ä'nu-</i> present here	<i>yä'nu-</i>
compare <i>u(w)a'nu-</i> PRESENT THERE	> <i>wa'nu-</i> (see 5, a).

(3) MODIFICATIONS OF *ĩ*:

(a) *Assimilation to i.* Not too frequently an *ĩ* is assimilated to the *i* of a following syllable or, as *i*, to an immediately following *y*. Long *ĩ* is then apt to dissolve to *ĩi*, *ĩ¹*. Examples are:

<i>tĩ'ηwĩ-</i> to be in a hurry	<i>tĩ'ηwɛn-i'</i> hurriedly
<i>qwĩĩ-</i> to take	<i>qwĩ'qwĩ''i'</i> takes several times (<i>< qwĩq-wĩ''i-yĩ-</i>)
-mĩ- after	<i>ɥn'k'ayumĩ'ts-</i> after they had done so (<i>< -mĩ-tsi-</i>)
<i>ĩv^wĩ-</i> hortatory adverb	<i>ĩv^wi'n'ia'a</i> hurry up thou! <i>ĩv^wi'yani</i> go ahead ye me! (contrast <i>ĩv^wi'ni</i> go ahead thou me!)

tĩηwi-n'ia-, *ĩv^wi-n'ia-* and *ĩv^wi-ya-* regularly so appear, never with second *ĩ*, *ĩ*.

(b) *Palatalization to i, ι*. After *c* and *tc*, *ī* often loses its extreme backward articulation, passing into *i* and even (at least so frequently recorded) *ι*. This secondary *ι*, however, must never be confused with primary *i*, *ι*; unlike it, e. g., it cannot palatalize guttural or dental consonants (see § 13, 4; § 13, 3). Examples are:

<i>cīnaŋwavi-</i> coyote	<i>cina'ŋwaφI, cina'ŋwaφI</i> coyote
<i>watcī-</i> to put	<i>watc'm'map'īγa'</i> (he) put while going along
<i>pītcī-</i> to arrive	<i>pī'pī'tcūkī</i> arriving

Note, e. g., that if the *-tc-* of the last form were primary, not modified from *-tcī-*, it would have changed the participial *-rī* to *-tcī* (see § 13, 3).

Dental consonants (*t, r, nt, n*) also frequently modify an immediately following *ī* to *i, ι*. Indeed an *i* or *ι* following *t, r,* or *nt* is practically always modified from an original *ī*, as an old primary *i* has regularly assimilated these consonants (see § 13, 3). Examples are:

<i>nīŋwī'a-</i> part of body	<i>nīŋwī''a(i)yaŋA</i> parts of his body (obj.)
<i>tīq'a-</i> to eat	<i>tī'tī'q'a(i)yīnI</i> I eat several times
<i>marīn'a-</i> to chase	<i>mam'a'rīnap'īγa'aīŋWA</i> several chased him

Less frequently *yī* becomes modified to *yι, yι*; e. g. *pa(i)yī-* TO RETURN > *pa(i)yι-, pa(i)yι-*. As might be expected from its position, *ī* is best preserved after guttural consonants, e. g. *paγī''* FISH.

(c) *Dulling to ī*. If *ī* is frequently recorded by students as an obscure *ū*, the nuance *ī* tends to be heard as an obscure *ö*. It is possible, indeed, that *ī* is pronounced with slight inner rounding, as it appears chiefly in labial surroundings. It is a "wide" vowel, *ī* being "narrow"; it is probably also slightly lower in articulation than *ī*. Though *ī* is a difficult vowel to define, it represents a nuance clearly distinct from that of *ī*. Acoustically it may be described as a duller form of *ī*, tending to be heard both as *u* and *α*.

After labial consonants (*p, v, mp, m*; less often *w*) the change of *ī* to *ī* is regular, less regularly before them:

<i>pī-</i> relative pronoun	<i>pīv^wa''</i> wherein
<i>-vī-</i> one's own	<i>qanī'aφī</i> one's own house (obj.)
<i>-mpī-</i> plant suffix	<i>γγs'mpī</i> fir

mïyï- gopher
ïmpn'nä- to paint

mïyï'ηqanwï gopher house
ïmpn'näi' paints

Rarely *qwï* simplifies to *qï*:
qwi'(i)'nu-k'ai- to strut out
one's breast

qï'(i)'Nɪk'aaï' struts out (his)
breast

This is analogous to the change of *qwa* to *qwo*, *qo* (see 1, c).

(d) *Labialization*. When coming before a nasal consonant followed by a labial consonant or vowel (e. g. *mp*, *ηw*, *ηu*), *i*, in its frontal modification *ï*, is further developed to a corresponding slightly rounded vowel *ü*, acoustically midway between *i* and the true high-front-rounded *ü*. Our *ü* is probably only inner-rounded and not articulated as far front as the standard *ü*; often it sounds like a rapid diphthongal *iü* or *iü*. Examples are:

tïmpa- mouth
patcï- daughter
mïä-'γantï- mountain divide

tïmpa'nü my mouth
patcü'ηwïanηÄ his daughters
mïä-'γantümpa' at mountain
divide

pa(i)yï- to return
fi- stone (e. g. in tïŋqa'nü, tŋqa'nü
cave)

pa(i)yü'ηU pï'γa' returned
tïmpï'ts stone

A somewhat similar quality, yet slightly more rounded and retracted, probably equivalent to the standard *ü* (high-mixed-rounded-wide), sometimes develops from *ï* (see c above) before nasal + guttural or labial or before nasal + *i*:

pïŋqa- habitually
pï- relative pronoun
pïn-i- to see

püŋqa- habitually
püŋwa'ntux-wÄ on whom
pün-i'p'ï'γa' saw

This quality was generally recorded as simply *ü* (too far front) or *ï* (too far back). For practical purposes *ï* does well enough.

A still stronger degree of labialization is attained by *ï* when it stands before *v^w* or *ηw*. This quality has been generally recorded as *u*, i. e. *u*, but it is rather flabbier in sound than the true rounded open *u* (varying with *o*). Examples are:

am-ï- they
ma-vï- clothes

am-u'v^w'antux-wÄ upon them
ma-'v'uŋwÄ his clothes

The same modification occurs in *ηwï*, which frequently loses its *w* (cf. 1, c; 3, c), before *ηw* or *m*:

- <i>ŋwī</i>	animate plural	<i>a'ivaiajuŋwa'aiφī</i>	with his own companions; <i>naγī'm·ajuŋuc·u</i> strangers-to-each-other you (pl.) (< <i>naγīm a-ŋwī-ŋwī-c·u-</i>)
- <i>ŋwī-</i>	you (pl.) subjective	- <i>ŋumi-</i>	you (pl.) objective (< - <i>ŋwī-mi-</i>)

(e) *Assimilation to ɔ*. This and the following modification (f) differ from the labializations spoken of under (d) in that they represent complete and regularly occurring assimilations. Before a syllable containing *ɔ*, *i* appears assimilated to *ɔ*:

wiγī- vulva + *ɔ'paq·i-* *NA* hole *wīγɔ'ɔ'paq·iNA* vagina
qarī'n·impī- saddle + *tɔ'tsi-* head *qarī'n·impɔRɔtsid'* saddle horn

Less regularly *i* is assimilated to a preceding *ɔ*:

-*nīmi* our (exclusive) *aγɔ'nōmi* our tongue

(f) *Assimilation to u (o)*. Before a syllable containing *u (o)*, *i* assimilates to *u (o)*:

<i>tīγavī-</i>	deer hide	<i>tīγi'avuru-</i>	to make a deer hide
<i>cuwa'p·itci-</i>	to wake up (intr.)	<i>cuwa'p·itcu'ui-</i>	to wake up (tr.)
<i>am·i-</i>	they	<i>am·u'ura'</i>	towards them;
		<i>am·v·wα'mi</i>	in front of them
		(< <i>am·i-</i> + <i>-uwa'mi-</i>)	
- <i>yī-</i>	present tense + <i>-ru'a-</i> inter-	<i>puwa'ru'a(i)yuru'αni</i>	am I be-
	rogative		coming a medicine-man?

This assimilation takes place also after a syllable containing *u (o)*:

- <i>ru</i>	to make + <i>-yī-</i> present tense	<i>a(i)ya'ruyuni</i>	I make a turtle
- <i>γīm·aŋwit·uγwa-</i>	away from	<i>uγu'm·aŋwit·ux·WA</i>	away from it
- <i>yī-</i> + <i>-noa-</i>	modal enclitic	<i>uwa't·uγwat·u'a(i)yon·oA</i>	somebody is walking in that direction

Only infrequently does *i* fail to assimilate to *u*. This seems to occur sometimes when a glottal stop separates the vowels, e. g.

nī'u'nantux·WA OPPOSITE TO ME; *yī'u-*, *yū'u-* LEG, more often *yū'u-*, *yo'o-*.

(g) *Consonantizing before nasals*. This takes place, though less frequently, under the same circumstances as the analogous consonantizing of *i* (see 2, c above), but after a *c*:

'ac'äntu'i- to like

'ä'c'äntu'i- to like

(4) MODIFICATIONS OF ə:

(a) *Semi-unrounding*. Between two *a*-vowels an ə is sometimes semi-unrounded and dulled in quality to a sound approximating that of *a* itself. This quality appears to be identical with that of the *ω* referred to above (1, c). Examples are:

-əγät·uγwa- around

aw'äγät·ux·wA around it

əa- back

pI^zk'a'wäγäip'ïγa' had a sore
back

(b) *Palatalization*. Rather infrequently we find ə palatalized or "unlouted" to a true ö (mid-front-rounded, probably "wide") after *y*:

(i)yövi- mourning dove

(i)yö'vücuA'tsüwü little mourn-
ing doves

In Ute ö (both wide and narrow varieties) is found as the regular correspondent of Southern Paiute ə (e. g. Ute öä'phi SALT: Southern Paiute əa'phi).

(c) *Assimilation to u*. Sporadically ə is assimilated to an *u* of the following syllable:

pəwə- several travel

pəru'q·Up'ïγa' several started out

The compound form -*puru-*, like certain other examples of ə-*u* alternation, belongs rather to vocalic "ablaut" than to the purely phonetic phenomena here discussed (see § 17, 7, a).

(5) MODIFICATIONS OF *u* (alternating with *o*):

(a) *Consonantizing to w*. Passage into the corresponding semi-vowel *w*, when standing before a vowel, sometimes takes place:

u- demonstrative stem

w'a'xava'q·wA into it

ui-ηwa-γantī-, oi-ηwa-γantī- can-
yon

w'ηwäγantīmpaηwI in a canyon

(b) *Assimilation to i*. An unaccented *u* is rarely assimilated to an *i*, *i* of the following syllable:

-c·u- enclitic element "also"

ym^wu'RUXqwa·γät·uäc·in·i' as
though under them too
(-c·un·i' was also recorded)

(c) *Unrounding to i*. An unrounded *u*, i. e. *ü*, sometimes develops after *iy* or before *y*, also quite frequently immediately before *i*. This secondary *i* may be further developed to *i*, *ι* (see 3, b). Examples are:

<i>tsi-</i> with the point of a stick +	<i>tsi'(y)l'm'uxwip'ïyaiyayA</i>	kept
<i>yum'mu-</i> to poke		poking him
<i>-ciyaywa-n'oa-</i> would that	<i>-ciyaywa-(ciyaywa-</i> <i>-ciyaywa)n'oa-</i>	
<i>-t'ui-</i> causative suffix	<i>pïm't'uk'a'</i>	caused to see
<i>kwit'u-</i> anus + <i>yoyö-</i> to copulate with	<i>kwit'ï'ïwöyöt'ï'</i>	anus-copulating place, passive pederast

(d) *Assimilation to i*. Between two *ï-* vowels, *u* is rarely assimilated to *ï* (*ü*):

<i>ta'ï-</i> shirt + <i>-ru-</i> to make	<i>ta''irüñqïp'ïyaiA'qaayA</i>	made it into a shirt for him
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(e) *Opening to ə*. Before, less frequently after, an *a*, *u* is sometimes broadened out to an open *ə*:

<i>ua-</i> demonstrative + <i>-ya-</i> objective	<i>'əa'ia</i>	modal adverb
<i>-ru'a-</i> interrogative	<i>iv'ïyuntar'əani</i>	did I take a drink?
<i>-'urai-</i> toward	<i>ayə''ərai'p'ïya'</i>	went towards him
<i>moyoa-</i> soul	<i>məyö'aφi</i>	soul

As the last example shows, two successive *o-* vowels both tend to develop to *ə* when one of them is so modified (cf. f).

An original *u* (*o*) tends to become opened to *ə* before and after *-γ-*. This is particularly true of the group *-uγu-* (*-oyö-*), which seems to develop regularly to *-əyö-*; e. g. *yoyö-* TO COPULATE WITH, *təyö'aφi* RATTLESNAKE. Sometimes comparison with Ute, in which primary *ə* appears as *ö* (Ute *ə* is an open form of *u*, *o*), is necessary in such cases to determine whether Paiute *ə* is primary or developed from *o*.

(f) *Assimilation to ə*. An *u* (*o*)-vowel assimilates to *ə* before a syllable containing *ə*:

<i>to-</i> black	<i>to''əvan'nanqA</i>	black goose;
	<i>to'p'ə'tən'ï'εkəntïu'ï'</i>	like something black and spherical
<i>kwit'u-</i> buttocks	<i>kwit'tə'ə'paq'ïp'ï</i>	anus
+ <i>əp'aq'ïp'ï-</i> hole		

Infrequently *u* is assimilated to *ɔ* by the *ɔ* of a preceding syllable (contrast 4, c):

manɔ- all + *-q'u-* objective *manɔ'q'(w)ɔ-* (also heard as
manɔ'q'u-)

(g) *Consonantizing before nasals.* Infrequently *u* loses its vocalic nature when standing between *q* and *ŋ*, appearing as syllabic *ŋ* (cf. 2, c; 3, g):

-q'u- subordinating suffix + *yö'utcuAtsiŋa·q·ŋŋumi* being-a-
-ŋumi- you (pl. obj.) little-mourning-dove you (pl. obj.)

§ 4. Quantitative Vocalic Changes.

(1) **VOCALIC CONTRACTION.** Long, less often short, vowels sometimes result from the contraction of two short vowels or of a long and a short vowel. The vowels may be either of the same or of different qualities. We shall take up the examples according to the quality of the resulting product.

(a) *Vowels contracting to a· (a).* The most common source of a contracted *a·* is *a + a*:

-nteu'a- interrogative + *aŋa-* he *a'nteu'a·ŋA* that-inter.- he
-nteu'a- + *-aq'a-* it *imi'nteu'a·q·A* thou-inter.- it
-ya- objective + *-aŋa-* his *tümpa'(i)ya·ŋA* his mouth (obj.)
-xwa- preterit suffix + *-aŋa-* *ya'a'ixwa·ŋA* he died
-n'a- verbal noun suffix + *-aŋa-* *ɔra'n'a·ŋA* which he dug up
-m(y)a- usitative + *-aq'a-* it *NA'ci'm'wiamiya·q·A* keeps for-
getting it

Less commonly *a·* results from *a· + a*:

-mpa- future + *aŋa-* he *pA^xqa'ŋq'ŋumpa·ŋ'am·unt* he will
kill thee for me
qa- to sing + *-aq'a-* imperative *qa'q·A* sing!
enclitic

Often, but not necessarily, *aï* contracts to *a·*:

tümpa- mouth + *ïŋap·ï-* what *tümpa'ŋap·ï* bit and bridle
enters
paï- perfectly *pa'ŋqu'ɔq·ɔiteï* perfectly round
and hollow

Also *ia* is not infrequently heard as *a*, *a*:

- <i>ηwä</i> -	animate plural + - <i>a</i> -	ob-	- <i>ηwa</i> -, - <i>ηwa</i> -
	jective		
- <i>yi</i> -	present tense + - <i>ηa</i> -	he	- <i>ya</i> <i>ηA</i>
- <i>ηqi</i> -	indirective		<i>kɛ'ηqa</i> · <i>p</i> · <i>A</i> don't laugh!
	+ - <i>a'</i> <i>p</i> · <i>a</i> -	negative	

An *au*, itself usually contracted from *a* + *u* (see b), is sometimes further contracted to *a* before *qw*, *ηw*, or *p* the labial vowel *u* being absorbed, as it were, into the following labialized consonant but leaving its quantitative value behind in the lengthening of the preceding *a*. Examples are:

<i>na-uηwai</i> -	to hang oneself	<i>na'</i> <i>ηwai</i> χ <i>wa</i> ' <i>ai</i> ' <i>i</i>	go hang thyself!
<i>niv^wa-uηwa</i> -	to snow	<i>niv^wa'</i> <i>ηwa</i> <i>p</i> · <i>i</i> γ <i>a</i> '	it snowed
<i>nauq-wiηqi</i> -	to fight	<i>na'</i> <i>q</i> - <i>wiηqi</i> -	

(*< na-γuq-wi-ηqi*-, see § 13, 5, b)

(b) *Vowels contracting to ai, au.* This results when organically distinct *a* and *i*, or *u*, combine:

<i>quna</i> -	fire + - <i>i'ni</i> -	possessed	<i>quna'</i> <i>i'ni</i> <i>ar</i> <i>ηwA</i>	our (inclus.)
			fire (obj.)	
<i>ma</i> -	that + - <i>up</i> · <i>a'</i> -	in (such a)	<i>ma'</i> <i>up</i> · <i>a'</i> <i>a</i>	in that way
		way		

A long *a* + *i* also contracts to *ai*. This is because organically long diphthongs are not allowed in Southern Paiute. E. g.:

<i>ci'pu'v^wa</i> -	cold water + - <i>in'ni</i> -	<i>ci'pu'v^wai</i> <i>n</i> - <i>ints</i> χ <i>aim</i> · <i>i</i>	is wont
	possessed		to have cold water

Apparently *a* + *u* (*o*), however, remains as disyllabic *a-u*, e. g.:

<i>qava</i> -	horse + - <i>up</i> · <i>ana</i> -	like	<i>qava'</i> <i>op</i> · <i>anani</i>	I (am) like a horse
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Had *qavau*- resulted, the above form would have been *qava'upanani* (see § § 8, 2, a; 10, 1).

(c) *Vowels contracting to i, ι; i.* The *ii*, *iu*, *u* which sometimes results from an original *ui* (see § 3, 5, e) is sometimes heard still further reduced to *ι*:

- <i>tui</i> -	causative suffix	<i>na'</i> <i>a'</i> <i>i</i> · <i>ip</i> · <i>i</i> γ <i>a</i> '	made a fire
- <i>r'ui</i> -	to become	<i>tu</i> γ <i>wa'</i> <i>r</i> · <i>iy</i> <i>up</i> · <i>i</i> γ <i>a</i> '	it got dark

Rarely *yī* advances beyond *yi*, *yu* (see § 3, 3, b) to contracted *i*:
 -*ŋqī*- indirective + -*yī*- present *tʊʷqwi'aŋqīr'on'i'* art thou
 tense ashamed of me?

A long *i*, not infrequently heard simply as *i*, *ι*, appears as a contracted product of *i* + *i*:

qī·vi- locust + -*in'i*- possessed *qī'vni* my locust
qani- house + -*i'ni*- possessed *qani'ni* my house

(d) *Vowels contracting to ī, ī̄.* A contracted *ī̄* sometimes results from *ī* + *ī*, itself sometimes reduced from *ī̄yī* (see § 13, 5, b):

tī̄yīv'ī- friend *tī'v'īa·ŋA* his friend (obj.)

Rarely does *ī̄* result from *ī* + *u*, which normally gives *v* < *u* + *u*:

nī̄- I + -*u(w)a'mi*- in front of *nī'wa'mi* in front of me

(e) *Vowels contracting to īi.* This diphthong sometimes results from *ī* + *i*, *ī̄* + *i*, or *ī̄yī* (for loss of *γ*, see § 13, 5, b):

cv·yī- sugar + -*i'ni*- possessed *cv'χīi'ni* my sugar
tī̄yīa- deer *tī'ianvquaφi* deer meat; *pa-rī'ia*- elk (lit., water-deer)

(f) *Vowels contracting to ɔ̄, ɔ̄.* The contracted product *ɔ̄* results from either *ɔ* + *ɔ̄*, assimilated from *u* + *ɔ̄* (see § 3, 5, f):

u- demonstrative stem *ɔ'aγit·ux·wA* around it
 + -*ɔaγit·uγwa*- around

or from *ɔ̄* + *u*:

pɔ̄- trail + -*up'a'* through *pɔ'a'p'a'a* through the trail

Ordinarily, however, the *u* in the latter case keeps its distinctiveness, e. g. *pɔ'xupa'a* THROUGH THE TRAIL.

The *ɔa*, *ɔa'* which sometimes appears as a broadened form of original *ua* (*oa*), *ua'* (*oa'*) (see § 3, 5, e) appears also contracted to *ɔ̄*, *ɔ̄'*:

-*r'ua*- interrogative *pua'r'uava-r'on·ixain·i'* it looks
 as though I shall become a
 medicine-man

-*r'ua*- + -*aya*- he *ya'a'iva·n·iar'ɔ̄·γaxain·i'* it looks
 as though he will die

u(w)uu- yonder + -*aya*- *u(w)a'nɔ̄ŋA* up there he

(g) *Vowels contracting to əi*. This diphthong sometimes results from ə + i or ə + i, ə being itself sometimes a broadened form of u after a (see § 3, 5, e):

<i>pə-</i> trail + <i>-in'ni-</i> possessed	<i>pə(·)ə'in'nini</i> my trail (for əə <ə- see 2, b below)
<i>purau-</i> flour + <i>-in'ni-</i>	<i>pura'əin'nini</i> my flour

(h) *Vowels contracting to o·, v·*. The u + u that is frequently found contracted to o· (v·) is either primary or assimilated from i + u (see § 3, 3, f). Examples are:

<i>um^wu-</i> they (invisible) + <i>-u(w)-</i> <i>a'mi-</i> in front of	<i>um^wv·'wα'mi</i> in front of them
<i>amī-</i> they (visible) + <i>-u(w)a'mi-</i>	<i>amo'wa'mi</i> in front of them
<i>nam'i-</i> first + <i>uv^wit·u-</i> to sing a song	<i>nam·o'v^wit·v'pīγα'</i> sang the first song

(i) *Vowels contracting to ui*. This diphthong sometimes results from u + i or v· (o·) + i:

<i>tuγ(w)v-</i> to cache + <i>-in'ni-</i> possessed	<i>tuγ(w)v(·)'in'nini</i> my cached things
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(2) VOCALIC LENGTHENING. Several phonetic phenomena may be conveniently grouped under this head.

(a) *Secondary lengthening*. Very characteristic of Southern Paiute, as contrasted with Ute, is the secondary lengthening of organically short vowels. This seems to take place, strangely enough, more often in unaccented than in accented syllables; it occurs with particular frequency in initial syllables, though found also medially. The lengthening has neither morphological nor mora-determining (§ 9) significance. Where advisable to indicate its inorganic character, the mark of length is enclosed in parentheses, e. g. *a(·)*. Examples are:

<i>ma-</i> that	<i>ma(·)va'aiγU</i> from there
<i>piηwa-</i> wife	<i>pi(·ⁱ)ηwa'ni</i> my wife
<i>qura-</i> neck	<i>qu(·)ra'(i)ya·ηA</i> his neck (obj.)
<i>tuγwa-</i> night	<i>tv(·)γwa'vai'</i> through the night
<i>əa-</i> back + <i>-va'na-</i> on	<i>ə(·)'a·va(·)'uαni</i> on my back
<i>ta-</i> with the feet	<i>nīv^wa'ta(·)maγα·p·i'γα'</i> went out to test depth of snow with the feet

-vaŋwi- in *qan'va(·)ŋwɪt·umananŋqwa* out
from inside the house

That, to take the last two examples, we are really dealing with organic *ta-* and *-vaŋwi-* respectively, is proved not only by the testimony of the overwhelming preponderance of *ta-* and *-vaŋwi-* in other forms but also by the treatment, as regards unvoicing, of the vowels following the *a(·)*. A primary two-moraed *a·* would have demanded the incorrect forms: **nīv^wa't·a·maŋa·i'pīŋa'* and **qan'va·ŋwɪtuma·nanŋqwa* (see § 10, 1).

(b) *Pseudo-diphthongal or -triphthongal treatment of long vowels (and diphthongs)*. Any long vowel, less frequently secondarily lengthened vowel, may be pseudo-diphthongized, i. e. weakly rearticulated: *a[·]*, *i[·]*, *i[·]*, *v[·]* (*o[·]*, *o[·]*), *ɔ[·]*. Examples will meet us frequently, so none need be listed here. All organically long vowels, whether resulting from contraction or not, may be broken up into two short vowels or even a short and a long vowel or a long and a short vowel; e. g. organic *a·*, *a[·]* may be further heard diphthongized to *aa*, *aa'*, *a'a*. Throughout *aa* and *a'* are to be considered as phonetic equivalents, similarly for other vowels (e. g. *yī'* or *yī'* DOORWAY). Examples of broken-up long vowels are:

-tca- preterit tense + *-aya-* he, *təna't·uɛtcaanano* some one
him struck him; *ovi'nti'qay'wuntca-*
a·ŋa he turned into wood
qv·p·aya- to spill water out of the *quv'·p·anap'īŋa'aik·wa* (he) let
mouth it spill out of (his) mouth

Analogously, organic diphthongs may be pseudo-triphthongized; e. g. *ai* > *aai*, *ɔi* > *ɔai*, *au* > *aaui*. Even secondary lengthening of the first vowel is sometimes found: *ɔ(·)ɔi* < *ɔi*. Examples of pseudo-triphthongs are:

-pīŋai- remote past *sətsi'ŋv·pīŋaaic·v* again peeped
out
-'urai- towards *anə''uraaic·v* towards him again
qəɔ'i'na- several fall down *qəɔ'i'na·p'īŋa'* (line) fell right
down
pəi- chest *pəɔ'i·fɪ*, *pəɔ'i·fɪ* chest
yauq·wi- (sun) sets *yaa'uq·win·a* setting

(c) *Rhetorical lengthening of vowels*. Final vowels, instead of being elided (see § 7, 1) or unvoiced (see § 8, 1, a), are sometimes,

for reasons of rhetorical emphasis, lengthened and generally followed by a glottal stop:

<i>i'ηA</i> this one	<i>iηa''^a</i> this one
<i>u'mA</i> with it	<i>um^wa''^a</i>
<i>kwi'tu'nI</i> my anus	<i>kwi'tun·i''ⁱ</i>
<i>-n·i(y)a-</i> like	<i>c'ina'ηwa(·)vni·ya''^a</i> like coyote
<i>iva'ηwI</i> in here	<i>ivaηwε''ⁱ</i>
<i>tv'p·(w)i,</i>	<i>tv·p''^{wi}·, tv·p·i''</i> (vocative)
<i>tv'p·(w)I</i>	
personal name	

A final *-a'* is also sometimes rhetorically lengthened to *-a'a'*:

<i>u^wa'icampa'a</i> that only thou	<i>u^wa'icampa'a'</i> enough for thee!
	shut up!

Medial vowels are also sometimes lengthened for rhetorical reasons:

<i>qa'tcU</i> not	<i>qa'tcU</i> not so!
<i>u(w)a'nU</i> yonder	<i>uwε' + nU</i> way over there

§ 5. *Glide Vowels.*

Inorganic vowels frequently develop as glides before certain consonants. These glides are often heard as full vowels, sometimes as very weak vowels that may be appropriately written as superiors. It will be convenient sometimes, to avoid ambiguity, to indicate the glide by means of a parenthesis. The *a* and *o* which appear as glides before *i* after a guttural consonant preceded by *a* or *o* have been already spoken of (see § 3, 2, a).

(1) GLIDE *i*. This appears very frequently, one might almost say regularly, before *y* after all vowels but *i* itself. The resulting diphthong, however, always sounds briefer, less sustained, than the organic *i-* diphthong; it does not count as two morae (see § 9) nor can it be pseudo-triphthongized (see § 4, 2, b). Examples are:

<i>na-ya·p·a-</i> to appear, look like	<i>na(i)ya'p·a·ηUp'īγa'</i> appeared
<i>pu't·cutcuγwa-</i> to know + <i>-yī-</i>	<i>pu'tcu'tcuγwa(i)'yiq·wA</i> knows it
present tense	
<i>pa·yī-</i> to return	<i>pa(i)yü'ηUp'īγa'</i> returned
<i>a·p'ü-ηu-</i> to fall asleep	<i>A'p'ü'ih'i(i)yāηA</i> he is falling
	asleep

In the last example the *u* of *-ŋu-* is unrounded before the glide *i* (see § 3, 5, c).

Here belongs also the not too common appearance of an *i*- glide after *ī* (*i*) or *ɔ* before a syllable with *i* (chiefly before *-ni-* or *-tsi-*); cf. the occasional assimilation of *ī* to a following *i* (§ 3, 3, a). Examples are:

<i>pīnu-</i>	to see		<i>pīnu'k:aiɩ'ĩɩa'</i>	saw
<i>mi(y)ɔ-</i>	at a distance	+ <i>-tsi-</i>	<i>miɩɔ''tsi-</i>	at a little distance
	diminutive			

(2) GLIDE *u*. This glide sometimes appears after *a* before labialized spirants or nasals (*ɣw*, *xw*, *ŋw*); before *-ɣu-*, *-xu-*; and before *-vī*. It also appears after *ī* before *v*. The *u*- diphthong resulting is inorganic (cf. above under 1). Examples are:

<i>qava-</i>	horse	+ <i>-ɣwacɩ-</i>	tail	<i>qava'(u)xwA'cväixU</i>	horse-tail	
				hair		
<i>uŋwa-</i>	he	+ <i>-ŋwantuɣwa-</i>	from	<i>uŋwaq'(u)ŋwantuxWA</i>	from him	
<i>-vaŋwi-</i>	in			<i>uv^wq'(u)ŋwifĩ'</i>	being in it (obj.);	
				<i>qanc'va(au)ŋwɩ</i>	in the house	
				(<i>aa</i> < <i>a</i> < <i>a</i> , see § 4, 2, a)		
<i>ampaɣa-</i>	to talk	+ <i>-ɣu-</i> ,	sub-	<i>ampa'ɣa(u)xU</i>	while talking	
			ordinating suffix			
<i>-ya-</i> ,	<i>-ia-</i>	objective	+ <i>-φī</i>	one's	<i>pA'tca'ia(u)φī</i>	his own moccasins
		own	< <i>-vī-</i>		(obj.)	
<i>nī-</i>	I	+ <i>-va-</i>	at	> <i>-φA</i>	<i>ni'(u)φA</i>	at me
<i>tīva-</i>	pine-nut				<i>tī'(u)φA</i>	pine-nut

(3) PROTHETIC *u*-. Before an initial labialized *m* (*m^w*, see § 14, 3, b) a prothetic *u*, ^u is frequently found:

<i>m^wa-</i>	that		<i>(u)m^wα'ni</i> ,	^u <i>m^wα'ni</i>	in that way;
			<i>(u)m^wa'nī</i> ,	^u <i>m^wa'rī</i>	that (in-
					animate)

§ 6. Nasalization of Vowels.

Nasalized vowels are fairly frequent in Southern Paiute, less so than in Ute. They arise from two entirely distinct sources. They are either reduced forms of vowels + *ŋ*; or they are due to the assimilating influence of an immediately preceding or following nasal consonant.

(1) NASALIZATION AS REDUCED FORM OF η . Reduction of vowel + η to nasalized vowel occurs fairly often in rapid speech in Southern Paiute; far more frequently in Uintah Ute, where it tends to become the norm (particularly when the vowel is followed by ηw); and regularly in Uncompahgre Ute, where η does not occur at all. Examples are:

<i>aŋa-</i> he + <i>-ŋwantuŋwa-</i> at	<i>a'ŋwantuxwa</i> at him ($a < a + a$)
<i>c̄inaŋwavi-</i> coyote	<i>cina'wafi</i> coyote
<i>uŋwai-</i> to hang	<i>uwa'iz̄k̄aiχwa'^a</i> go and hang!
<i>na-</i> reflexive + <i>-uŋwai-</i>	<i>na^awa'ip'iyā'</i> hung himself (for loss of <i>u</i> , see § 4, 1, a)

(2) INORGANIC NASALIZATION. This occurs frequently before or after *m*, *n*, η , or ηw :

<i>ɥ'mai'</i> yes
<i>m̄im'ŋwax̄ni</i> one of you
<i>maq'ymŋ'wait-i</i> never saying that
<i>c̄ina'ŋwafi</i> coyote
<i>ʊ^zqwi'ym'</i> like an arrow
<i>m̄in̄'c-ɪp̄iyā'</i> turned around
<i>ɔ(·)n̄s't·A'c̄iaŋɥ</i> early in the morning
<i>q'ŋwa</i> he (invisible)
<i>p̄iŋqa'NU^zqwiχai'</i> keeps calling on
<i>paq'^aaŋwa</i> his aunt ($< paa- + -'ŋwa-$)
<i>NU^zqwi'm'miqi'</i> runs along

(3) NASALIZED BREATH. A final or medial breath (including its development to *x*), generally representing the unvoicing of a vowel (see § 8), when following a nasal consonant or a nasalized vowel, is itself sometimes heard as nasalized (represented as $\bar{\cdot}$):

\bar{q}_i' interjection of surprise
<i>cim^w'iχqai'im̄i</i> left them ($< c̄imw'ia-$)

Sometimes the nasalized breath has definite vocalic timbre, is a voiceless nasalized vowel, in other words:

<i>na(·)vi'aŋw am̄i</i> mother-and-daughter they

Somewhat infrequently a final nasalized breath has been observed unpreceded by a nasal element. It is barely possible that this is

the remnant of a "nasalizing" force of the stem or grammatical element (see § 16, 3):

-*va*-ⁿ at (e. g. -*va*-*nti*- being at) -*va*' at (more often heard as -*va*')

§ 7. *Elision of final vowels.*

Final vowels are never, except in poetry and in certain infrequent cases also in prose, preserved as such. They are either wholly or partly unvoiced (see § 8, 1), or else they are entirely elided or quantitatively reduced. The latter processes are operative before words beginning with a vowel (a glottal stop or breathing preceding an initial vowel does not take away from the vocalic beginning).

(1) ELISION OF FINAL SHORT VOWELS. A final short vowel of the ideally complete form of the word is lost, without qualitative or quantitative trace, before a word beginning with a vowel. A preceding consonant is syllabified directly with the beginning vowel of the next word; e. g. *aruγwa a'ip'ïγa'* TO-HIM SAID becomes *aruγw a'ip'ïγa'*, syllabified *a-ru-γwa'ip-ï-γa'*. Examples are:

- <i>aq'a</i> - it + <i>o''u</i> then	<i>ïv''i'aq o''u</i> go-ahead-it then!
<i>qa'iva-ya</i> - mountain (obj.)	<i>qa'ivay uru'q-watux-wA</i> towards the mountain
<i>wi'ci'avia</i> - feathers (obj.)	<i>wi'ci'avi u'mA</i> on the feathers
<i>paa'irami</i> - our (dual inclus.)	<i>paa'iram uγwA</i> our aunt
aunt + <i>uγwA</i> animate singular article-pronoun	
<i>cina'ηwavi</i> - coyote	<i>cina'ηwaw av'p'ïγa'</i> coyote was lying
<i>aya'n'i</i> - in what way	<i>aya'n' ani'ntci</i> how doing
<i>muru''i</i> - blanket	<i>muru'' ari</i> the blanket
+ <i>ari</i> inanimate article- noun	
<i>'i'tci</i> - this	<i>'i'tc aro''amu'</i> this is wont to be
<i>saywa'χari</i> - being blue	<i>saywa'χar uru''ap'ïγa'</i> was blue
- <i>yi</i> - present tense + <i>a'ïφi</i> now	<i>puη'wi'ηqiy a'ïφi</i> makes a peep- ing noise now
- <i>cu</i> - again	<i>a'ip'ïγaaic imi'ntcux-wA</i> said again to thee

A final glottal stop protects the preceding vowel from elision, but the murmured echo which so often follows the glottal stop is, of course, elided before a following initial vowel:

<i>-up'a'</i> (^a) through	<i>ma'up'a' un'ηuts</i> through there then
<i>iv^wi'</i> (^t) go ahead!	<i>iv^wi' imi</i> go ahead thou!

Very rarely do forms turn up with elided vowel + glottal stop, the latter being then absorbed in a preceding consonant, e. g. *ma'up' un'ηuts* THROUGH THERE THEN.

(2) REDUCTION OF FINAL LONG VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS. A final long vowel or a diphthong loses its second mora before a word beginning with a vowel, i. e. the long vowel is shortened, while the second vowel of the diphthong is lost without trace:

<i>-va-</i> at	<i>mava' un'ηuts</i> there then
<i>uq-wi'yv-</i> arrow	<i>U^zqwi'yu arī</i> the arrow
<i>a'ip'iyai-</i> said	<i>a'ip'iyai um^wu'rux·wA</i> said to them
<i>-qai-</i> perfective	<i>ts·pi'ηUqwa aηa'v'antux·wA</i> has appeared on him (for <i>w</i> of <i>-qwa</i> see § 14, 3, c)

A final short vowel, reduced as above, may combine into a long with the vowel of like quality that begins the following word; e.g. *ts·pi'ηUqwa^aη'a'v'antux·wA*.

(3) RETENTION OF FINAL VOWELS. The above rules do not apply to monosyllables, which retain their second mora:

<i>pa-</i> water	<i>pa' arī</i> the water
<i>o-</i> arrow	<i>o' arī</i> the arrow
<i>qwau-</i> off, away	<i>qwau aγi'm·aηvit·ux·wA</i> off away from it

Before *ai-*, *'ai-* TO SAY subjective independent personal pronouns keep their final vowel. There is probably some morphological reason back of this usage. Examples are:

<i>imi-</i> thou	<i>imi' 'aik·A</i> thou sayest
<i>nīm^wi-</i> we (exclus.)	<i>ta'·^ampiniyaηw nīm^wi' 'aik·ami'</i> we (excl.) are tired of what you (pl.) say

The same rule applies to subjective independent personal pronouns before *an·i'·k·a-* TO DO, except that third personal pronouns (at least animate singulars) lose their final vowel and insert a glottal stop before the verb (cf. enclitic *-aηa'ηa-* < *-aηa-* + *-aηa-*, § 41, 1, e):

(4) IRREGULARITIES. Very rarely do we find a final diphthong or long vowel completely elided:

-p'ïγai-	remote past	tï'nti ^z qap'ïγ	uwa'ηwantï'	ate well
				from her;
		a'ip'ïγ	a'ifaputs-	said
				young man
uv ^w a-	there	v'+v ^w	a'ip'ïγa'	"yonder," (he)
				said

A final *ηw*, after elision of the originally following vowel, unites with an initial ' of the next word into *η'w*:

anu'a-ηwa-	what he (inv.)	+ 'ai-	anu''aη'w	a'imu'	what he is wont
	to say				to say

§ 8. *Vocalic unvoicing.*

Vowels are unvoiced (indicated in our orthography by corresponding small capitals) in two circumstances: when final in absolute position or before a word beginning with a consonant (not including ' or '); and initially or medially under certain conditions to be defined below.

(1) UNVOICING IN FINAL POSITION. The final unvoicing may be either complete or partial, according to the nature of the final vowel and the element preceding it. We must distinguish between final short vowels and long vowels or diphthongs.

(a) *Treatment of short vowels.* A final completely unvoiced vowel always sounds distinctly breathy in quality and may, indeed, be appropriately defined as aspiration with the vocalic timbre of the originally voiced vowel. Very frequently the breath alone is heard, the timbre not being always distinctly perceptible; *i* and *u* are the clearest of the timbres, while unvoiced *a* and *ï* are not always easy to detect. Where the timbre of the voiceless vowel is obscure, a mere ' is used. A vowel or nasal (*m*, *n*, *η*) preceding the unvoiced vowel remain unaffected, though often the latter part of the nasal is also voiceless. More rarely the nasal too is heard completely unvoiced. A stopped consonant (including *tc*) becomes a strongly aspirated surd (e. g. -*pi* > -*p'i*, indicated more simply as -*pi*). After a *q* or *ηq*, the final breath is sometimes sharpened to a glide ^z (e. g. -*aq'a* > -*aq'A*, -*aq'* or -*aq'^zA*, -*aq'^z*); after an anterior palatal *k̄* or *ηk̄*, this glide is palatalized to a ^z (as in German *ich*; e. g. *a'ik̄'a*-SEVERAL SAY > *a'ik̄'A*, *a'ik̄'.* or *a'ik̄'^zA*, *a'ik̄'^z*). Examples are:

-ri-a-	participle (objective)	qu'tca'q'arīA, -rī' being light-gray (obj.)
-ni-a-	numeral suffix	ma(:)n'u'nīA, -ni' all
mɔcɔa-	pubic hair	Mɔ'cɔ'A pubic hair
-ma-	with	a'mA with it
-ni-	my	qani'nī, qani'n' my house
-na-	verbal abstract noun suffix	a'ik'ava'nA, -van' what (several) will say
-aŋa-	his	qani'aŋA, -aŋ' his house
-ŋu-	momentaneous suffix	ivi'ŋu to take a drink
-u(w)a'mi-	in front of	qani'u(w)α'MI in front of the house
-p'i-	body-part suffix	piy'i'p'i heart
-nī-	participial	uw'a'a'nī being there
-q'a-	plural subject	tī'qa'q'A several eat
pitci-	to arrive	pi'tci to arrive

After spirants and rolled consonants (*v*; *s*; *c*; *γ*; *r*) the unvoiced vowel in turn unvoices the consonant, if not already unvoiced. It is itself not typically isolable as a separate element but appears generally as a definite vocalic timbre of the unvoiced spirant; i. e. such an orthography as *-cV* is to be interpreted as a long *c* with simultaneous lip-rounding as for *u*. However, the independent vocalic quality as subsequent to the consonant release is also frequently heard, e. g. in *-φI* < *-vi-*. Frequently the vocalic timbre is hardly perceptible. The unvoiced forms of *v*, *γ*, and *r* are respectively *φ*, *x*, and *R*; final *-s*, *-c*, and *-x* are always long. A final *-tsi-* regularly becomes *-ts'*. Examples are:

-vi-	body-part suffix	taja'φi knee
-va-	at	aŋa'φ(A) at him
-vī-	one's own	qani'a(u)φ(i) one's own house (obj.)
wara-	edible seeds	wa'R(A)
-ru-	to make	wana'RU to make a rabbit-snare
-c'u-	again	a'ip'i'γaaic'U said again
-v'a'γi-	over	qani'v'a'x:I over the house
-γu-	subordinating suffix	tA'ci'p'a(u)x'U when it was evening
-ntsi-	nominal suffix	nīŋwīnts' man, Indian

After a glottal stop preceded by a vowel, a final vowel is only

partly reduced in voice. It does not lose its voice altogether but becomes a "murmured" vowel (indicated by superior vowels):

<i>aru'a-</i> to be	<i>nī' aru'^a</i> I am
<i>-t'u'i-</i>	<i>təγə'qwitu'ⁱ</i> to cause to run
<i>taq'wi'o-</i> roasting tray	<i>tA²quw'^o</i>

Sometimes the murmured vowel is heard assimilated in quality to the vowel preceding the glottal stop:

<i>aru'a-</i> to be	<i>aru'^u</i> (generally <i>aru'^a</i> , <i>aru'^a</i>)
<i>tiv^wic'i'a-</i> to pay	<i>tiv^wic'ⁱ</i>

If the word ends in a consonant + glottal stop + vowel (or, what amounts to the same thing, consonant + vowel + glottal stop; see § 15, 2), the final vowel appears fully voiced and followed by the glottal stop + a murmured rearticulation or "echo" of the vowel (cf. § 7, 1, end). Such syllables are two-moraed (see § 9). The "echo" is not always clearly perceptible. Examples are:

<i>-n'ni-</i> continuative suffix	<i>yni'k'an'ⁱ</i> several keep doing
<i>paγa'η'wi-ni</i> my bowstring	<i>paγa'ηw'ⁱ</i> bowstring
<i>-up'a-</i> through	<i>ma'up'a'^a</i> through there

There is, however, a distinction in treatment between a glottal stop that belongs properly to the final syllable, as in the above examples, and one that, though it may actually appear in it, is not organically of it but belongs properly to some part of the word preceding the final syllable or is an accessory element (see § 15, 1). In the latter case, the final vowel is unvoiced (better, probably, whispered; cf. 2, a, end); indeed, a preceding nasal is in such cases apt to be more completely unvoiced (whispered) because of the presence of the glottal stop. Such syllables are one-moraed (see § 9). Examples are:

<i>-n'na-</i> momentaneous	<i>tsk'a'p'in'NA</i> to cut something (cf. <i>tsk'a'vniA</i> to be cutting)
<i>-²-mi-</i> thy	<i>qanu'²mi</i> , <i>-²MI</i> (more frequently <i>qa-nu'²imi</i> , see § 15, 2, a) thy house

(b) *Treatment of w + short vowel.* In words ending in a labialized consonant (*qw*, *ηqw*, *γw*, *ηw*) + short vowel, both the *w* and the vowel are unvoiced (unvoiced *w* is indicated as *w*). The preceding *q* then becomes aspirated, *γ* a lengthened *x*. Examples are:

<i>ivi'y'iq-wa-</i> drinks it (inv.)	<i>ivi'y'iq-wA</i>
<i>pa·n·a'ηqwa-</i> down	<i>pa·n·a'ηqWA</i>
<i>-ruγwa-</i> to	<i>uŋw'u'rux·wA</i> to them
<i>-raŋwa-</i> our (incl. plur.)	<i>pi·vi'araŋwA</i> our mothers
<i>-vaŋwi-</i> in	<i>qani'vaŋwI</i> in the house
<i>-ηwī-</i> animate plural	<i>nīηwī'ntsijwī</i> men, Indians

(c) *Treatment of y + short vowel.* A final *y* + short vowel become unvoiced to *ɣ* + voiceless vowel (*ɣ* is much lighter than *ch* of German *ich*). Ordinarily, however, the *ɣ* becomes a mere breath merged in the following voiceless vowel. If the vowel preceding the *y* is *a*, *ɔ*, *i*, or *u*, a clear *i* or *i* is generally heard as voiced glide. The timbre of the final vowel is least clear if reduced from *i*; hence, final *-yī-* appears normally as *-i'*, *-i'* after all vowels but *i*, after which merely *-'* is ordinarily heard. Examples are:

<i>-q-a-</i> plural subject + <i>-ya-</i> plural imperative	<i>qa'q·ai'(ɣ)A</i> , <i>-q·ai'</i> sing ye!
<i>mi(y)ɔ-</i> far off	<i>mi'(ɣ)ɔ</i>
<i>'axava(i)yu-</i> in among	<i>a'a'xavaiɣU</i> in it
<i>co-yu-</i> the other one	<i>co'ɣU</i>
<i>-m'mua-</i> moving along + <i>-yī-</i> present tense	<i>ɣɔ'yam'mua'</i> runs along
<i>-ηu-</i> momentaneous + <i>-yī-</i>	<i>ivi'ηui'</i> takes a drink
<i>-t'i-</i> passive + <i>-yī-</i>	<i>ivi't·uiŋʉti'is</i> is caused to drink
<i>pitci-, pitci-</i> to arrive + <i>-yī-</i>	<i>pitci'is</i> arrives; <i>cu(w)a'- pitci'</i> wakes up (lit., nearly arrives)
<i>pa'an·i-</i> to be high + <i>-yī-</i>	<i>pa'a'n·i'</i> is high

A long *a* or an *ai* before final *y* + vowel (and, indeed, before *y* + vowel generally) are practically indistinguishable phonetically, owing to the *i*-glide after *a* and the tendency of *a* and *ai* to break up into *ua* and *aai* respectively (see §§ 5, 1; 4, 2, b). Both appear as *aai*, *ai*, or, very characteristically before final *y* + vowel, as *a.i*, a true diphthong in which the *a* and *i* melt lazily into each other. Hence a final *-ai'* < *-a(i)-yī-* is acoustically quite distinct from *-ai'*, *-a.i'* < *-a-yī-* or *-ai-yī-*; the former *-ai'* is sharp, the latter somewhat languishing in character, though not necessarily so long as to deserve the orthography *-a.i'*. Examples are:

<i>pa-</i> water + <i>-ya-</i> objective	<i>pa'a'iA</i> , <i>pa'a'i'</i> , <i>pa'.i'</i>
<i>pai-</i> three + <i>-yu-</i> numeral suffix	<i>pa'a'iyU</i> , <i>pa'ai'</i> , <i>pa'.i'</i>
<i>tavai-</i> to set fire to brush + <i>-yī-</i>	<i>tava'.i'</i> sets fire to brush

Final *-au-* is treated like *-a-* + *-u-*, i. e. the *-u-* is unvoiced (see a above):

purau- flour *pura'u*

(f) *Treatment of monosyllables.* All monosyllables, except those ending in *-ai-*, sustain no loss of mora. They end in free breath or, if the stem ends in a glottal stop, take on a "murmured" echo vowel:

<i>pa-</i> water	<i>pa'</i>
<i>pə-</i> trail	<i>pə'</i>
<i>qəu-</i> off	<i>qəu'u'</i>
<i>nī', nī-</i> I	<i>nī''i'</i>

A final *-ai-* in monosyllables becomes *-a'*:

ma(a)i- to find *maq'*

(g) *Special developments.* A final breathing or voiceless vowel is lost as such before a word beginning with a voiceless vowel or voiceless *y* or *w* (see 2 below). In such cases the voiceless ending of the first merges, in a sort of crasis, with the voiceless beginning of the next. Particularly noteworthy is the formation of voiceless labialized consonants "across" words. Thus, *-p'i + a' > -p'a'* (*p'* is here a strongly aspirated surd); *-ŋwi + i' > -ŋwi'i'*; *-q'a + w'a' > -q'wa'*; *-ŋwa + w'a' > -ŋwa'a'*. Examples of such mergings are:

<i>taŋwa</i> we + <i>a'pü-</i> to sleep	<i>ta'ŋwa'a'pü'i'</i> we sleep
<i>-q'u</i> objective + <i>wi'tən'u-</i> to shake	<i>ma(·)nə'q-witə'n'izpü'ya'aik'wa</i>
out	shook them all out
<i>taŋwa</i> we + <i>wa'teü'ŋwi-</i> four	<i>taŋwa'teü'ŋwiyum'un'i'</i> we four

Not infrequently a final breathing or voiceless vowel is completely lost before a word beginning with a consonant, particularly if that consonant is identical or homorganic with the consonant preceding the unvoiced vowel. A germinated or nasalized consonant (see § 12, 2, a; § 16) results:

<i>miyö'nva</i> far away + <i>paŋ(a)i-</i> to go	<i>miyö'nva paŋa'ik'w'ai'</i> goes off far away
<i>aŋa'iəc'u</i> him + <i>əna'ŋwəv'</i> coyote (obj.)	<i>aŋa'iəc:əna'ŋwəv'</i>
<i>um^wv'^wə'mi</i> in front of them + <i>m'i'vU</i> far off	<i>um^wv'^wə'mi'vU</i> in front of them far off
<i>nī'aq'a</i> I-it + <i>qwi'quwi'i'</i> takes several times	<i>nī'aq'wī'quwi'i'</i> I take it several times

qa''nam thy singing *qa''nam pu'teu'teuγwai'* under-
stands thy singing

A final voiceless *-t* is voiced again to *-i* as a glide to a following *y-*:

qī'aywɪ yesterday *qī'aywɪ ya''a* died yesterday

(2) UNVOICING IN NON-FINAL POSITION. Under certain accentual conditions to be defined below (see § 10, 1) a short vowel or the second mora of a long vowel or diphthong loses its voice in initial or medial position before a geminated unvoiced consonant (*p*; *t*; *q*; *qw*; *s*; *c*; *t-s*, *t-c*). Here we shall deal only with the manner of such unvoicing.

(a) *Treatment of short vowels.* Short vowels are unvoiced as in final position (see 1, a-c) with the same effect on preceding consonants. The breathy quality, however, of these non-final unvoicings is even greater than in final position. Hence a moment of free untimbred breath (indicated as *'-*) is generally audible after the unvoiced vowel proper and before the consonantal closure; before guttural stops (*q*, *qw*), less frequently before other stops, this *'-* develops to a weak guttural spirant (indicated *-x-*), which has palatal timbre after *i* (indicated *-x̣-*, a very brief but sharp *x̣* sound as in German *ich*). Such a breath-glide may also occur under appropriate conditions finally before a word closely linked with the preceding; e. g. *pa'.iA^{x̣} qarī'riA* OF-WATER SITTING (obj.), OF THE LAKE. A nasal (*m*, *n*) preceding the voiceless vowel is completely unvoiced (*M*, *N*) when initial and generally half-voiced (*mM*, *nN*) when medial; an initial *y* becomes completely unvoiced (*γ-* is acoustically like *-x̣-*, only inclined to be less spirantal in quality). *-ni-*, when unvoiced, often appears as *n^{x̣}*, the *-i-* palatalizing the *n* (see § 13, 4) and unvoicing to a spirantal *x̣*. As in final position, the vocalic timbre is not always very clear; e. g. *-c-i-* often unvoices to *-c'-*, *-γα-* to *-x'-*, *-si-* to *-s'-*. Examples are:

<i>ap'i-</i> to sleep	<i>A'pī'i'</i> sleeps
<i>tac'p'a-</i> evening	<i>tA'e'p'a(u)x-U</i> when it was evening
<i>aq-a</i> it	<i>A^{x̣}qa'naγqwəp'A</i> near it
<i>maγwa'va-</i> to creep	<i>maγwa'φAqa(i)yīamī</i> they are creeping
<i>to'q-wa-</i> to be black	<i>to'q-wA'qaγU</i> several become black
<i>ayqa'γα-</i> to be red	<i>ayqa'x'qaγU</i> several become red

<i>kwip-a'</i> - to beat, hit	<i>kwɪ'pa'ni</i> beat me!
<i>pik-a'</i> sore	<i>pɪʔka'məʔ</i> sore-handed
<i>tsip-i'</i> to appear	<i>ts:p'u'ɣU p̄i'ɣa'</i> appeared
<i>-əa'ɣut-uɣwa-</i> around	<i>aŋa'əax-tux-wA</i> around him
<i>wiq-a'm'mi-</i> to cover	<i>wi'qa'm'muŋunteca-ŋani</i> I covered him
<i>tira'c-iq-wa-</i> to come to a standstill	<i>tira'c:qwaʔs</i> having come to a standstill
<i>po't-əq-wa-</i> to be round	<i>po't-əʔqwar̄i</i> being round
<i>puc-a'ɣai-</i> to look for	<i>pU'ca'ɣaip-i'ɣa'</i> looked for
<i>-yu-c-ampa-</i> although	<i>a'iYUcampanŋwA</i> although he said
<i>yuq-u'</i> fawn	<i>YUʔqu'ts</i> fawn
<i>muq-wi'xa-</i> to call on	<i>p̄iŋqa'MUʔqwi'xai'</i> keeps calling on
<i>müt-i'ŋwa-</i> point of hill	<i>mü'ti'ŋwA</i>
<i>qa'-n-a-</i> singing	<i>qa'nNA'cuw a'i p̄-i'ɣa'</i> still-his-own-singing said
<i>nuq-wi'</i> to stream	<i>NUʔqwi'nti</i> stream
<i>paɣ(a)'i-</i> to go + <i>nuq-wi'</i> to stream, run	<i>pa(·)'ɣa'(i)nʔqwi p̄-i'ɣa'</i> started off on way

Note, in the last example, the curious merging of original $-\gamma(a)i'nu-$ to $-\gamma a'(i)nʔ-$ for normally expected $-\gamma a'in.NUʔ-$.

Rarely *i* develops a parasitic *s* or *ts* before a following *ts* or *tc*; e. g. *ta'p-i^{ts}tcaq-aip-i'ɣa'* (THEY) WERE TIRED.

Unvoiced vowels directly following other vowels quite frequently sharpen to a secondary $-x-$. This happens most frequently with $-u-$ (normally unvoiced to $-U-$, $-U'$, $-Uʔ-$), which then appears as $-x(\cdot)U-$, $-xU-$, $-ux(\cdot)U-$ (with glide $-u-$).

Examples are:

<i>cim^wi'a-</i> to leave	<i>cim^wi'xqwa^ai p̄i'ɣa'</i> left to start away ($-x-$ < $-Aʔ-$)
<i>-up-a'</i> through	<i>pina's-iɣax-U pa'aφi</i> through his own legs; <i>po'^xU pa'^a</i> through the trail; <i>*m^wa'uxU pa'^a</i> through there

After η , as well as after q and ηq (cf. 1, a), *u* frequently develops to $ʔU$ or simply $ʔ$:

(b) *Treatment of long vowels.* Under the appropriate phonetic conditions the second mora of a long vowel is unvoiced. It is treated precisely like a short vowel of the same quality (see a). Particularly frequent is the development of the voiceless part of a long vowel to *x*. Examples are:

<i>ciri'ya-t'ui-</i> to frighten	<i>cī'cū'ri'ya'tuiyini</i> frightens me several times
<i>tuɣwa-</i> fire goes out	<i>tuɣwa'pīya'</i> fire went out
<i>mantea-</i> to put one's hands + - <i>qai-</i> resultative	<i>mantea'A^xqa'</i> to hold out one's hands
- <i>r'ɔ'</i> - (< - <i>r'ua'</i> -) interrogative + - <i>aq-a-</i> it > - <i>r'ua-q-a-</i>	<i>uwa'va-n'iar'ɔxwqaxain'i</i> it looks as though it will rain (for - <i>w-</i> see § 14, 3, e)
<i>tɔ'aya-q'arī-</i> to sit watching	<i>tɔ'ayaq'arīpīya'</i> sat watching
- <i>mī-</i> after	<i>uni'γumī'tsaiŋA</i> having done so to him
<i>ma-</i> with the hand + <i>pɔ'tɔq'wa-</i> to be round	<i>uia'm'avɔx'tɔq'wAqainA</i> what had been hand-rounded out of mud (<i>uia-</i>)
<i>ma-</i> + <i>to-q'wa-</i> to stretch	<i>ma(·)ro'O^xqwa(i)y'ūq'wA</i> (I) stretch it
<i>səri'k-i-</i> Salt Lake	<i>səri'^xkijvut-ux'wA</i> to Salt Lake

The rule for glottally affected syllables having a long vowel is parallel to that of short-voweled syllables (see a). A reducible second mora is unvoiced if the glottal stop belongs properly to the preceding syllable (see -*ciri'ya-* above), but retained intact if the glottal stop inheres in its own syllable, e. g.:

- <i>'a'-</i> , - <i>a'-</i> not to be	<i>qanqa'mīa'q'ut-u'ac'ampA</i> though others are not jack-rabbits (not, as one might expect, * <i>qanqa'-</i> <i>mī'a.A^xqu-</i>)
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Examples occur, however, in which the glottalized long vowel is broken, the reducible second mora appearing as a murmured vowel (cf. 2, a, end), e. g.:

kwi't-u- anus + -*up'a-* through *kwi'tu''u'p'a-ni* through my anus

(c) *Treatment of diphthongs.* The *i* or *u* of a diphthong, if in a reducible mora, loses its voice and undergoes the developments

already given (see a). Thus, *au* becomes *av*, *av'*, *av^x*, *a^xv*; *ai* becomes *ai*, *a(i)^x*, generally with *i*- glide as *aii*, *ai'*, *ai(i)^x* (the *-ai-* here is extremely brief, better written *aⁱ*). Examples are:

<i>uŋwa'i-k'ai-</i> to be hanging	<i>uwa'i^xka'</i>
<i>piya'i-</i> to be left over	<i>piyai'pi^xya'</i> was left over
<i>mava'i-t'ivan'ia-</i> to a distance	<i>ma(·)va'^xtivan'i'</i>
<i>im^w'i-</i> several arrive	<i>im^w'i1pi^xya'</i> several arrived

For treatment of *-au-*, see 2, a. Note that non-final *ai* is treated differently from final *ai*; e. g. from *pini'k'ai-* TO SEE are formed *pini'ka'* TO SEE and *pa-v'ni'ka1pi^xya'* SAW WATER.

The reduced *-i-* or *-u-* of a glottalized diphthong is "murmured," e. g.:

<i>aq-ɔ'(ɔ)i-</i> several sleep	<i>A^xqo''i1pi^xya'</i> several slept
<i>-q'wa'(a)i-</i> off	<i>ei^mw'i^xqwa'aⁱ1pi^xya'</i> left in going off

Nevertheless, full unreduced vowels were generally recorded in such cases (cf. 2, a, end), e. g.:

<i>ya'(a)i-</i> to die	<i>pA'pa'q'a(i)ya'ai1p'üya'</i> kept groaning with pain (lit., dying of pain)
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SYLLABIC STRUCTURE AND ACCENT (§ § 9-11).

§ 9. *Syllables and moras.*

Every Paiute syllable consists, properly speaking, of a vowel (long or short) or diphthong preceded, or unpreceded, by a consonant (e. g. *u-*, *o-*, *ai-*, *pī-*, *to-*, *pai-*); or of such a primary syllable stopped by a nasal consonant (*m*, *n*, *ŋ*) that is itself followed by a stopped consonant or *w* (e. g. *aŋ-qa-*, *ain-tcī-*, *tīŋ-qa-*, *va'n-tī-*, *nīŋ-wī-*). It is somewhat doubtful whether vowels followed by geminated consonants are to be considered as ending their syllable or not (e. g. *ap'ü'i-* as *a-p'ü'i-* or *ap-p'ü'i-*). Morphology and the unvoicing of vowels before geminated stopped consonants (see § 10) suggest the former; direct phonetic observation apparently the latter. It is quite possible, as suggested by etymology, that *ŋw* also is best considered as belonging to the following syllable (c. g. *nī-ŋwī-* < **nī-mī-*). A syllable may be either entirely voiceless or only so in its second

mora (e. g. *A'*-, *ai'*-, *-q'A-*, *-q'ai'*-); see § 8. A glottal stop may be found at the beginning or end of a syllable, or in the middle of it (e. g. *-n'ni-*, *-n'i-*, *-ni'*-; *-p'a-*, *-p'a'*-, *-pa'a-*, *-pá-*, *-pa'*-); see § 15, 2.

Of greater phonologic importance than the division of a word into syllables is that into units of length, moras. The vowels are to be taken as the measures of these moras. Every organic short vowel (voiced or unvoiced) counts for one mora; every long vowel or diphthong (voiced or partly unvoiced) for two. Syllabically final nasals do not affect the mora as quantitative unit. By way of illustration, *qanú'va'ntux·wA* has six moras (*qa-* + *-u* + *-va-* + *-an-* + *-tu-* + *-x·wA* < *-ɣwa-*); *a'iyucampa·ɣani* has eight (*a-* + *-i-* + *-ɣu-* < *-yu-* + *-cam-* + *-pa-* + *-a-* + *-ɣa-* + *-ni* < *-ni-*). The first, third, fifth moras, and so on, will be styled uneven moras; the second, fourth, sixth, and so on, even moras.

It is very important to note that all inorganic increments and losses have no effect on the mora-construction of the word. Secondary lengthening of short vowels, pseudo-diphthongization, glide vowels, shortening of long vowels or diphthongs all have no effect. Thus, *qa(:)nú'va(au)ɣwI* < *qanú'vaɣwI* has four, not seven, moras; on the other hand, *mam·a''(a)ɣú'wa·n·iar'oni* WILL (THEY) LOSE ME? < *mam·a''ɣú'wira·n·iar'uani* has thirteen, not eleven, moras. Long vowels resulting from contraction of long + short vowels, however, count as ordinary long vowels (e. g. *-va-* + *-aq-a-* gives *-va·q-a-*, counting for three, not four, moras). Similarly, vowel + diphthong results in a two-moraed diphthong (e. g. *ma-* + *-ai-* gives *mai*, *maai-*, counting for two, not three, moras). In other words, no three-moraed syllables are found.

A glottalized syllable with long vowel or diphthong counts for two moras; e. g. *ya'(a)i-* TO DIE is two-moraed like *ya(a)i-* TO HUNT, *-v(a)'a-* of *qanú'v(a)'ami* AT THY HOUSE two-moraed like *-va-* of *qanú'va·ni* AT MY HOUSE. A glottalized syllable with short vowel counts for two-moraed if the glottal stop is inherent (cf. § 8, 1, a, end; 2, a, end; § 15, 1) (e. g. *sa'a-* TO BOIL; *-n'ni-*, *-ni'i-* continuative; *'a-* of *'a'-t-i-* GOOD). Otherwise the glottal stop has no effect on the quantitative value of the syllable. Thus, *-pa'a-* of *nampa'ami* THY FOOT is one-moraed, like *-pa-* of *nampa'ni* MY FOOT; contrast two-moraed *-p'a-* of *a'up·aŋqip̄iɣa'* CAME ALONG THROUGH IT. The external syllabification does not matter. Both one-moraed and two-moraed glottalized syllables may appear broken or truly monosyllabic; e. g. *-up'a-* or *-up'a'a-* THROUGH (two-moraed *-p'a-*), *qanú'p̄'im̄i* or *qanú'p̄'ĩm̄i* THEIR OLD CAMP (one-moraed *-p̄'i-*). A glottal stop com-

ing between two distinct vowels, whether these form a true diphthong or not, does not add a mora to either; e. g. *-tu'i-* and *-ru'a-* are both two-moraed, not three-moraed. An initial vowel preceded by a glottal stop, not belonging to the preceding word, or, what is equivalent, an initial broken vowel, is always two-moraed; e. g. ⁽ⁱ⁾*i'*- or *i'i'*- of *i'i'p-i-*, ⁽ⁱ⁾*i'**p-i-* TO DRINK REPEATEDLY is two-moraed (contrast ²*i-* of *nü' iwi'ŋu* I DRINK, which is one-moraed). *m^wa'-* THAT also counts as a two-moraed syllable; it is apparently related to *ma'-* THAT AS IS ⁽ⁱ⁾*i'*- THIS to *i'* THIS (see § 43).

§ 10. *Accent.*

In Southern Paiute accentuation is governed primarily by moras, not syllables. The fundamental law of accentuation is a *law of alternating stresses*. According to this all odd moras are "weak" or relatively unstressed, all even moras are "strong" or relatively stressed. The theoretically strongest stress of the word comes on the second mora. Hence, all words beginning with a syllable containing an organic long vowel or diphthong or an inherent glottal stop are accented on the first syllable; e. g. *pa'v'a:xI* OVER THE WATER, *ma(a)'ik-ainani* WHAT I SAID, ^(a)*a't-iŋqani* GOOD HOUSE. On the other hand, all words beginning with a syllable containing an organic short vowel, inherently unglottalized, are accented on the second syllable, unless the second syllable is final and therefore unvoiced, in which case the main stress is thrown back on the first syllable; e. g. *mava'a:xI* OVER THAT, *qa(·)ni'ntcui'* BUILDS A HOUSE, *qa(·)'ni* HOUSE. Actually the main stress is sometimes, but not at all frequently, heard displaced to another than the theoretically justified syllable, but this displacement is as secondary and inorganic as the secondary lengthening of short vowels. Aside from the final mora, which is always unvoiced, only a weak mora may be unvoiced.

(1) UNVOICING UNDER THE LAW OF ALTERNATING STRESSES. We may now state the full law of non-final unvoicing. Aside from the next to the last mora, which is always preserved intact (owing to the unvoicing of the following mora), every weak mora standing before a geminated stop (*p; t; t c, t s; q, k; q w, k w*) or sibilant (*c, s;* postvocalic sibilants are always to be understood as geminated) loses its voice. A diphthong or long vowel can be partly unvoiced only when its second mora is weak, as its first mora, if weak, is protected from unvoicing by the vocalic second mora; similarly, a short-

voweled syllable with inherent glottal stop is always preserved, as it can not lose both its moras. The weak second mora of an inherently glottalized long vowel or diphthong or a weak-moraed vowel separated from an immediately preceding vowel by a glottal stop is either preserved or, at most, "murmured" (see § 8, 2, a, end; b, end; c, end). The law of alternating stresses necessarily means that there is a constant alternation of voiced and unvoiced (or murmured) vowels in non-final syllables of related words. Examples are:

<i>tcaq·(a)i-tsi-</i> younger brother	<i>tcaʔq(a)'its·</i> younger brother: <i>nantica'q·(a)i-tsiŋwi</i> brothers to each other
<i>paq·a-</i> to kill	<i>paʔqa'i'</i> kills: <i>tivʷa'q·ai'</i> kills game (- <i>vaq·a-</i> < <i>paq·a-</i> , see § 16, 1)
<i>-yu·c·ampa-</i> although -ing	<i>tivʷa'q·aŋwai'yuc·ampa</i> though not killing game: <i>qu'qwi'ŋ'wai-yucampa</i> though not shooting
<i>-ŋwit·uŋwa-</i> toward	<i>uŋu'm·aŋwit·ux·wa</i> away from it: <i>nani'n'naŋwitux·wa</i> towards different directions (- <i>n'na-</i> counts for two moras)
<i>pu·c·aŋai-</i> to look for + <i>-p·i'ŋai-</i> remote past	<i>pu'ca'ŋaip·i'ŋa'</i> looked for: <i>nampu'c·aŋaip·i'ŋa'</i> looked for trail
<i>təʔq·wi-</i> to run	<i>təʔq·wituiŋwa</i> cause him to run: <i>tə'tə'x·quiyini</i> I run repeatedly (< <i>tətə'ə'qəwi-</i>)

(2) EFFECT OF LAW OF ALTERNATING STRESSES ON GLOTTALIZED VOWELS. As we shall see later (§ 15, 2, a), a broken vowel (e. g. *a'a*) constantly alternates with the types ' + vowel and vowel + '. To a considerable extent, though not with absolute regularity, these variations tend to adjust themselves to the law of alternating stresses. The group *v'v*¹ tends to preserve that form, or its close variant *v'v'* (or *v'*), if the (first) *v* is in a strong mora, but the form 'v (or ''v) if in a weak one. In the latter case the ' may appear immediately before, after, or welded with the preceding consonant. Initially after a consonant -*v'v-* is usual. The form *v'v* applies both to one-moraed groups broken from *v* and to primary two-moraed groups. Examples of alternation are:

¹ In formulae of this sort *v* stands for vowel, *c* for consonant.

-ya-	plural imperative + ' . .	tɔɣɔ'qwiya ¹ amī, -ya ¹ amī ¹	ye 2
mī-	dual subject > -ya'amī-		run: iwi'y'amī ye 2 drink
-na-	verbal noun + ' . . .mi-	ampa'γana ¹ amī, -na ¹ amī	thy
	thy		talking: qa''namī thy singing
tɔ'ɔ'p'i-, -tɔ'ɔmpi-	hole (tɔ'ɔ- is	mov ¹ i'tɔ'mpi	nose-hole
	two-moraed)		
' . . .γwa-	him (invis.)	pA ² qa'ηumpa ¹ anWA	will kill him:
		pA ² qa'q'uηWA	give him a lick-
			ing
wa'a'-	cedar	w(a)'a'pI	cedar tree
sa'a'-	to boil	s(a)'a'pI	boiled; mush
mo'ɔ'-	hand	m(ɔ)'ɔ'φI	hand

A parallel alternation is to be observed in the case of glottalized diphthongs. Thus, *a'(a)i* appears either, with strong first mora, as *a'ai* (or *a'i*), or, with weak first mora, as *'ai*. Examples are:

-ηw(a)'ai-	together with	pavi'tsiηwa ¹ aiφī	with his own
			elder brother:
-γw(a)'ai-	to go (in order to)	imi'ηw'ai ¹ mpa'	shall go with thee
		wara'xani'χwa'aiχa'	going to
			collect grass seeds: pitci'γw'ai ¹ -
		p'i'γa'	arrived
tiv ¹ i'c'ir(a)'ai-	to tell a lie	tiv ¹ i'c'ira ¹ a.i'	tells a lie: tī'tī-
		φ ¹ i'c'ir'a.i'	tells lies several
			times (-a.i' < -ai-yī-)

Frequently, also, a weak-moraed vowel, particularly *a* or *i*, is elided before a glottal stop followed by a different vowel, e. g.:

wī'a' penis	w(ī)'a'pI penis
-------------	-----------------

An initial (v)'v'- is either a broken v- (e. g. *a'a't'i-*, (^a)*a't'i-* GOOD) or contracted from v- + 'v-. There is no phonetic or mora-quantitative difference between the two types. Examples of contracted initial (v)'v'- are:

u- that + -'urai-	toward	u'u'ra', (^u)u'ra'	toward it
a- that + -'axavateuγwa-		a'a'xavateuxWA, (^a)a'xavateu-	
	right into	xWA	right into it.

(3) APPARENT VIOLATIONS OF LAW OF ALTERNATING STRESSES. There are several purely delusive violations of the law of alternating

¹The ' indicates a secondary stress on a strong mora.

stresses that are due to such inorganic processes as pseudo-diphthongization or glides; e. g. in *tcA'tca'p·ayaitcA^zqainA* (ITS) HAVING BEEN TORN TO PIECES, *-yai-* is developed from *-yi-* (see § 3, 2, a) and thus counts for only one mora. On the other hand, in an example like *tī'ηq·A^zqarī* to run away hard, the short vowel of *tī'-* is only secondarily shortened from a two-moraed *tī-* (cf. *tī·'nłəyog·wI* TO RUN HARD). A few errors are sure to have crept in also; e. g. *A'tī'x·Iqarīp·īya'* SAT NURSING, no doubt either misheard or misdictated for *A'tī'x·Iqarīp·īya'*.

Aside from such only apparent examples, there are, however, certain cases (apart from *m^wa'*- THAT, already specified) of initial short-voweled and non-glottalized syllables that seem to count for two moras and hence to bear the main stress. Of these, *tī'c·ampA* ALWAYS is evidently to be explained by reference to its less frequently heard variant *ī'tī'c·ampA*. Less easy to explain are:

<i>ī'-</i> in vain	<i>ī'p·in·in'ni'</i> looks around in vain
<i>tī'ra-</i> desert, incomplete	<i>tī'RA'cin'auχaiva·nī</i> shall be desert-dog; <i>tī'rauq·wūāφī</i> his own unfeathered arrow

tī'ηwī- HURRIEDLY is regularly so accented (except as adverb *tīηwī'n A*), but counts for two, not three, moras; e. g. *tī'ηwīRiqamuyani* I ALWAYS EAT QUICKLY. Judging by *tī'-* < *tī'-* (see above), *ī'-* may be really shortened from *ī'-*. As for *tī'ra-*, there has evidently been some contraction, as we find *pa-rī'yara·va'* OUT IN THE RAIN (lit. WATER-DESERT-AT), but *tī'ra·va'* OUT IN THE OPEN.

An interesting group of violations, or apparent violations, of the law of alternating stresses is embraced by forms with secondarily lost reduplicating syllable with voiceless vowel (cf. *tī'c·ampA* < *ī'tī'c·ampA* above). Such forms alternate with, though less frequent than, intact reduplicated forms. Examples are:

<i>pitēi'-</i> to arrive	<i>(pI')pī'tcīpīya'</i> arrived
<i>pī-tī'na-</i> to follow with one's eye	<i>(pī'')pī'tinap·īya'</i> followed with (their) eyes
<i>pA^zqa'ηUpīya'</i> one killed (one person)	<i>(pA^z)pa'q·aηup·īya'</i> several killed (one person)
<i>tīv^wl'p·ī</i> country	<i>(tī'')tī'φ^wIpūayaI' pūāφī</i> their form- er countries

From *pV'tcu'tcuγwa-* TO KNOW are sometimes formed *pV'tcu'tcuγwa-* as substitute for reduplicated *pV'pu'tcu'tcuγwa-* (e. g. *wī'l'p·v·tcu-*

tcuɣwa- TO KNOW HOW TO DANCE); and, by haplology, *putcuɣwa-* (e. g. *qa'p·u'tcuɣwa't·ui-* TO TEACH HOW TO SING < *qa'p·u'tcu'tcuɣwa't·ui-*).

An initial *i-* is sometimes lost before a following organic *y*. This also brings about an only apparent violation of the law of alternating stresses.

iyə'vi- mourning dove *yö'vi-*
(cf. Ute *aiö'vi-*)

This is different from the consonantizing of prevocalic *i* and *u* to *y* and *w* respectively (see § 3, 2, d; 5, a), where there is no real loss involved. Initial *i* of *iyĩr* INDEED is frequently elided (see § 60, 3), e. g.:

a'ia·ŋ iyĩr that-he indeed (said) *a'ia·ŋ gĩr*
-χain·ia- too + *iyĩr* *nĩni'aχwa'χain·i χĩr* of me too
indeed

§ 11. *Loss of one or more moras.*

All the losses referred to in § 10, 2 and 3, are, in a sense, only apparent, as they do not influence the original rhythmic framework of the word. Fundamental alternations of mora-structure are, however, also found, which follow the law of alternating stresses. Certain words lose a mora in some, not necessarily all, compounds, generally when occurring as the first element of a compound. Certain suffixed elements, also, alternate between a longer and a shorter form.

Particularly common is alternation between a primary long and a reduced short vowel. Examples are:

<i>pa-</i> water	<i>pa-</i> in compounds: <i>pa-rĩ'ia-</i> elk (lit., water-deer); <i>pa-γĩ'u-</i> fish; <i>pa'-sə'rərəitci</i> waterfall; <i>pa-ŋw'aφĩ</i> mud at bottom of water
<i>o-</i> arrow	<i>u-</i> in compounds: <i>u-ru'q·u-</i> to fix an arrow; <i>u-γu'n·a-</i> quiver (lit., arrow-bag)
<i>tĩ-</i> up	<i>tĩ-</i> : <i>tĩna'ŋqwa</i> upward, from the west
<i>wĩ'c'a-</i> feather	<i>wĩ'c'a-</i> : <i>wĩ'c'a'sivai-</i> to scrape a quill smooth

An element containing a diphthong or two vowels in immediate juxtaposition sometimes loses the second vowel, e. g. *-yai-* TO HAVE: participial *-ya-nti-* HAVING (see § 25, 6, a); *-qai-* perfective: participial *-q'a-nti-* HAVING -ED (see § 25, 6, d); *-mia-* usitative: *-mi-* (see § 30, 10).

A post-consonantal vowel may also drop out, in which case the preceding consonant also disappears or, if a nasal, may leave its trace in the "nasalizing" power of the stem. Examples are:

<i>u-yu'n-a-</i> quiver	<i>un'a'-:</i> <i>un'a'vīya-</i> to put away a quiver
<i>tīγ'a-vī-</i> deer-hide (γ probably inorganic in origin, see § 14, 1)	<i>tīa'vī-:</i> <i>tīa'vīra'</i> deer-hide shirt
<i>in'i'-</i> what (person, animal)?	<i>im-pī'-</i> what (thing)?
<i>pa'a'n-i-</i> to be high	<i>pa'a-n-:</i> <i>pa'a'nti-</i> high
<i>-v'ana-</i> upon	<i>-v'an-tuγwa-</i> on to
<i>naγwa'-</i> trail, track	<i>na-n-:</i> <i>nantī'na-</i> to follow one's track; <i>nampu'c'ayai-</i> to look for tracks
<i>nīγwī-</i> person	<i>nī-n-:</i> <i>nīmpi'γwaφi</i> somebody else's wife; <i>nīγqa'n'φi</i> somebody else's house; <i>nīntu'angī-</i> to give birth to one; <i>nī'cī'-m'wīa-</i> to let a person go

Even cases of the complete loss of two contiguous moras are found, e. g.:

<i>tīγ'a-</i> deer	<i>tī-:</i> <i>tīv'a'q'a-</i> to kill game
<i>uru''a-</i> carrying strap	<i>uru-:</i> <i>ɔ'tea'uru</i> strap by which water-jar is carried

CONSONANTS (§ § 12-16).

§ 12. *Survey of consonants.*

A large number of consonants is found in Southern Paiute, but as with the vowels, they reduce to a comparatively small number of primary consonants. Before taking up consonantal processes in detail, we shall give a descriptive table of consonants actually found.

	Unaspirated Stops	Aspirated Stops	Voiced Spirants	Voiceless Spirants	Affricatives	Voiced Nasals	Voiceless Nasals	Voiced Rolled	Voiceless Rolled
Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>pʰ</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>ɸ</i>		<i>m</i>	<i>M</i>		
Labial (rounded)	<i>pʷ</i>	<i>pʷʰ</i>	<i>vʷ, w</i>	<i>ɸʷ, wʰ</i>		<i>mʷ</i>	<i>mʷ</i>		
Dental Alveolar	<i>t</i>	<i>tʰ</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>ts; tsʰ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>R</i>
c-Palatal				<i>c</i>	<i>lc; tcʰ</i>	<i>ɲʷ</i>			
Anterior Palatal	<i>k</i>	<i>kʰ, kʰʰ</i>	<i>ɣ, ʁ; y</i>	<i>ʃ; ʃʰ, ʃʰʰ</i>		<i>ŋ</i>			
Anterior Pal- atal Labial- ized			<i>ɣʷ, ʁʷ</i>	<i>(ʃʷ)</i>					
Back Palatal	<i>k, q</i>	<i>kʰ, qʰ</i>	<i>ɣ, ʒ</i>	<i>x; ʰ</i>		<i>ŋ</i>			
Back Palatal Labialized	<i>kw, qw</i>	<i>kʷ, qʷ</i>	<i>ɣw, ʒw</i>	<i>xʷ</i>		<i>ŋʷ</i>	<i>ŋʷ</i>		
Glottal				<i>h; ʰ</i>					

(1) PRIMARY CONSONANTS. This rather elaborate scheme is based on only twelve, at most thirteen, primary consonants: *p*; *t*; *k* (*q*); *kw* (*qw*); *s* (*c*); *ts* (*tc*); *m*; *n*; *ŋ*; *w*; *y*; *ʰ*; possibly also initial *h*-(').

(2) SURVEY OF CONSONANTAL DEVELOPMENTS. We shall give here a rapid survey of consonantal developments, showing the relation of the consonantal forms actually found (including several not listed above) to the primary consonants.

(a) *Unvoicing*. The aspirated stops (*pʰ*; *pʷʰ*; *tʰ*; *kʰ*, *kʰʰ* —generally written *kʰʰ*; *kʰ*, *qʰ*; *kw*, *qw*), written simply *p*, *t*, and so on, before voiceless vowels (e. g. *pi*, *ti*); the aspirated affricatives (*tcʰ*, *tsʰ*), written *tc*, *ts* before voiceless vowels (e. g. *tci*); most of the voiceless spirants (*ɸ*; *ɸʷ*; *w*; *ʃ*; *ʃʰ*, *ʃʰʰ*; *x*; *xʰ*; *xʷ*; *ʰ*); the voiceless or partly voiceless nasals (*M*, *mM*; *mʷ*; *N*, *nN*; *ŋw*); and the voiceless rolled *R* are all developed from the corresponding unaspirated or voiced forms, or as glides, in connection with the unvoicing of moras (see § 8). It is unnecessary to detail these developments here.

The unaspirated stops and affricatives occur as such only initially before a voiced vowel and medially after an unvoiced vowel (e. g. *pitci*-, *A'piti*-); otherwise they are either "nasalized" (e. g. *ampaɣa*-,

aintci-; see § 16, 3) or "geminated" (e. g. *tivwaqa-*, *i'ipi-*; see § 16, 2). Aspirated stops and affricatives may also be nasalized or geminated (e. g. *q'a*, *nti*). The typical unaspirated stop or affricative is probably an "intermediate" when nasalized, geminated, or medial after a voiceless vowel (in which case it is always geminated in origin; see § 10, 1); and a true surd when initial before a vowel. However, it is difficult to be certain as to these two modes of articulation. The "intermediate" quality is most certain after nasals before voiced vowels and in the release of unaspirated geminated stops and affricatives. It is possible that the attack of the geminated stop and affricative is a true surd.

(b) *Spirantization*. All spirants (except *s*, *c*; *w*, *w*; *y*, *r*; *ʃ*, *ʒ*, *ʕ*; *h-*, *'-*) and rolled consonants (*r*, *ʀ*) are developed from stopped consonants (see § 16, 1); *ɣw* (*ɣ*) is either "spirantized" from *m* (see § 16, 1) or developed from intervocalic *w* (see § 13, 2). *v* (*ϕ*) is bilabial in articulation; for *v^w* (*ϕ^w*) see § 14, 3, b. *r* (*ʀ*) is lightly trilled, apparently in typically alveolar position, probably modified slightly by its tendency to take on vocalic timbres; it was never heard as *d*. *ɣ* is either fully voiced (as in North German *Tage*) or intermediate (*χ*); for *ɣ* see below.

(c) *Geminated or long consonants*. For geminated stops and affricatives see (a) above. Intervocalic *m*, *n*, *ɣ*, and *s*, *c* are very frequently heard long. It is highly probable that this, particularly for *m*, *n*, and *s*, *c*, is their etymologically typical form and that original Shoshonean intervocalic short *m*, *n*, and *s*, possibly also *ɣ*, have disappeared as such. Long *x*, *x^w* (*x^w*), *ʃ* generally occur as developments of *ɣ*, *ɣw*, *ɣ* in voiceless positions (see § 8), rarely intervocalically (see § 13, 5, c).

(d) *Glottalized consonants*. For glottalized stops and affricatives (e. g. *p'*, *q'*, *tʕ*) and nasals (*m'm*, *n'n*, *ɣ'w*) see § 15, 2, b.

(e) *Anterior palatals*. Aside from *y* (and its voiceless development *r*), anterior palatals (including labialized anterior palatals) develop from back palatals (and labialized back palatals); see § 13, 4.

(f) *Rounded labial consonants*. Aside from *w* (and its voiceless development *w*), these are all developed from ordinary labial consonants; see § 14, 3, b.

(g) *Alternation of k and q*. By *q* is meant a back palatal stop of moderately velar articulation. Its average position, as determined

by such a group as *aq-a*, is distinctly further back than our English *k-* position in *cold*, yet not so decidedly velar in character as *q* of such a language as Kwakiutl. Its greatest degree of velarity is reached in such examples as *qo'oi-* and *tɔɔqwi-*, i. e. before and after *o*. We shall use *q* and *qw* after all vowels but *i*, when followed by any vowel other than *i*. Before *i* the back palatal becomes distinctly more forward in articulation, about like the *k-* sound of English *cold* or perhaps even *can*; this position is here normally designated as *k*, *kw*. After an *i* the *k* becomes an anterior palatal (see e above). Positions analogous to *k* (*kw*) and *q* (*qw*) are doubtless to be found also in the spirants γ (χ , x), γw (χw , xw). Thus, γ of *tɔɔq'qwi-* is certainly more velar than γ of *tii'ya-*. However, these phonetic distinctions have here been neglected.

(h) *Alternation of s and c.* These two sibilants are respectively pronounced as in English *sip* and *ship*, except that *c* tends to approach a quality intermediate between the true *s* and *c*. There is some sporadic interchange between *s* and *c*, as between *ts* and *tc*, but on the whole they are used with considerable distinctness according to vocalic position. For secondary assimilations see § 13, 8.

Initially, *s* is regularly used before *a*, *i*, and *o*; *c* before *ï* (which often develops to *i*, *ɛ*; see § 3, 2, b) and *u*. Examples are: *sa-* RAW, *san'a-* GUM, *sa'a-* TO BOIL, *saywa-* BLUE, *sayw(ɛ)ia-* BELLY, *saywa-* SAGEBRUSH; *siyu-* NAVEL, *siku-* SQUIRREL, *siva-* TO WHITTLE, *siu-* GRAVEL, *si'i-* TO URINATE; *so-a-* TO SOUND LIKE FLOWING WATER, *soo-* LUNG, *soɔo-* MOIST GROUND, *soɔ'ik'i-* BRAINS, *so'r'oa-* ARM-PIT, *so'tsi-* TO PEEP; *cii-* SQUAW-BUSH, *cim'ia-* TO LET GO, *cinümpi-* VULVA, *ciri'ya-* TO BE SURPRISED, *c'i-i-* BLOSSOM; *cu(w)a-* TO EAT UP; NEARLY, *cu-* ONE, *cumai-* TO THINK OF, *cururuin'na-* SMOKE-HOLE, *cu(w)ai-* TO BE GLAD. These rules are only infrequently violated, e. g. *caɔwa-*, less frequent form of *saywa-* BLUE; *co'ya-* TO BEND, *co'u-* TINDER.

Medially, both preceding and following vowel must be considered. Before *a*, *ï*, and *u*, *c* regularly appears, regardless of what vowel precedes the sibilant, e. g. *ma'a-caywa-* BRUSH-BLUE, GREEN (contrast *saywa-* above), *quic'a-* TO SPARK, *qic'avi-* HAWK, *tc'a-* white, *oc'a-* CARRYING-BASKET, *pu'ay'ai-* TO LOOK FOR, *paru'ca-* VIRGIN RIVER; *quac'i-* TO BE RIPE, *aic'i-* BUTTERFLY, *yiv'c'iap'i* LONG-LEAVED PINE SAPLING, *tiv'c'ira'ai-* TO TELL A LIE, *tv'c'iaq'an'i* BROWN; *aɔac'u-* HE, *'ic'u-* LONG AGO, *itc'u-* THIS ALSO, *mæ'oi-* MUSTACHE, *qut'uc'u-* GIANT. Only rarely does *s* appear before medial *a*, e. g. *qam'i'saywaxya:tsɔɔant'i* HAVING A JACK-RABBIT STOMACH. The anal-

ogy of a simplex in *sa-* may explain many of these cases. Before *i*, *s* regularly appears if *i* or *a* precedes, but *c* if *i*, *u*, or *ɔ* precedes, e. g. *tümp^wi'siγaχantī* ROCK HAVING A CRACK; *as'i-* ROAN-COLORED, *as'ia-* SURFACE, *qwas'i-* TAIL, *t'ra'si-* POTATOES; *äic'i-* BASKET (*-c'i-* not < *-c'ä-*, as shown by assibilation of *t* to *tc* in *äic'itcu-* TO MAKE A BASKET, see § 13, 3), *añ'w'ic'i-* TO SNEEZE (*-c'i-* < *-c'i-*, not *-c'ä-*, as shown by palatalized *k* in plural *añ'w'ic'ka-*, see § 13, 4); *nən'ɔc'i-* TO DREAM, true *-i-*, cf. plural *nən'ɔ'c'ka-*); *v'qu'c'ix'a'* NOCK (true *-i-*, as shown by palatalized *χ*). Of these *-as'i-* tends to vary with less frequent *-ac'i-*, e. g. *ta-na'c'ix'a-* CLEFT IN HOOF (cf. *pi-na's'ix'a-* BETWEEN ONE'S LEGS), *ta'pa'c'kai-* WAS SENSELESS (perhaps *-a's'i-* tends to become *a'c'i-*, but *-as'i'* to remain). Before *ɔ*, *s* seems to be regular if *a* or *i* precedes, while both *s* and *c* have been found when *ɔ* precedes, e. g. *pa's'ɔ'rɔɔitci* WATERFALL; *pis'ɔ-* CHILDREN; *ɔs'ɔrəwi-* TO SNORE, *qoc'vü-* TINDER.

The rule is far simpler for the use of *tc* and *ts*. The former is regularly employed before *a*, *i*, *ɔ*, and *u*; the latter only before *i* (which then often develops to *i*, see § 3, 2, b). These rules apply both initially and medially. Examples are: *tea-* WRINKLED, *MA'tca'ianqi-* TO REACH FOR; *tciγa-* DUCK, *itci-* THIS; *tcöi-* BEAD, *qi'tc'χwä.i'* CHEWS; *tcuxwi-* TO APPROACH, *patcu'q'u* BEAVER; *tsip'i-* TO APPEAR, *tət'si-* HEAD. There is a slight tendency for *ts* to appear before *a* medially and before *ɔ* both initially and medially, e. g. *mantsaywuna-* TO THROW DOWN SEVERAL OBJECTS; *gatsɔa-* (also *gatsɔa-*) TOP, *tsəvi-* SHOULDER. As for quality, *tc* and *ts* are not as clearly distinct as are *ch* and *ts* of English *church* and *hats* respectively, *ts* in particular tending to an intermediate point of articulation; *tc* is probably purest before *i* and *u*, also when developed from *t* (see § 13, 3).

§ 13. Consonantal processes.

(1) OCCURRENCE OF *h*, ' . Only such cases are here considered as are not due to unvoicing of moras (see § 8).

(a) *Initial Aspiration*. Certain words that begin with a vowel are frequently heard preceded by aspiration, e. g. *ai-*, 'ai- TO SAY; demonstrative *a-*, *ai-*, 'a-, 'ai- (see § 43), whence *an'i-*, 'an'i- TO DO; *atci-*, 'atci- BOW. Comparison with other Shoshonean dialects suggests that in part, at least, these initial aspirations are the representatives of a Shoshonean *h-*; e. g. *ayä-*, less frequently 'ayä- WHAT?: *Agua Caliente haxa* WHO? Initial ' is found also in certain interjections, e. g. 'q SURPRISE; 'aa'ik·w1 OH! Initial ' does not function as a consonant,

hence does not prevent elision (see § 7); e. g. *a'i* *ɿr* 'a'imɿ THAT INDEED THOU SAYEST, not *ɿr*.

(b) *Developed from -s-, -c-*. This sporadic development occurs only medially, never in a final syllable. The *-h-* is strongly aspirated and seems to be particularly common after a voiceless vowel, e. g.:

<i>imɿ'acampA</i> thee only	<i>imɿ'hampA</i>
<i>mam'a''caɣwɔits</i> old woman	<i>mam'a''haɣwɔits</i>
<i>qɿ'ca'p'ai-</i> to sup	<i>qɿha'p'ai-</i>
<i>tɔ'ca'-</i> white	<i>tɔha'-, t'ha'-</i>
<i>pɿnɿ'ɿw'aq'ʊcu'ɿwA</i> while he not still sees	<i>pɿnɿ'ɿw'aq'ho'ɿwA</i>
(negative <i>-ɿw'a-</i> counts for two moras)	

(c) *Inorganic -'*. Rarely is an inorganic *'-* introduced before a voiced consonant or glottal stop. It may take on the timbre of the preceding vowel. Examples are:

<i>cɿna'ɿwaɸɪ</i> coyote	<i>cɿna'ɿwaɸɪ</i>
<i>''m^wa'icampa'a</i> enough thou	<i>''m^wa'icampaA'a'</i> (see § 4, 2, c)
<i>mam'a'rɿna-</i> several pursue	<i>maAma'rɿnaq'ʊpɿɿaɿc.'ʊɿwA</i> again (they) pursued him

(2) *POSTVOCALIC w*. An intervocalic *-w-* is ordinarily a glide (see § 14, 3, a). When an initial *w* comes, by derivation or compounding, to stand after a vowel, it regularly becomes nasalized to *-ɿw-*:

<i>wa'aɿi-</i> to shout	<i>tɿ'ɿwa'aɿi-</i> to give a good shout
<i>wɿn-</i> to stand	<i>yaɿwɿ'ɿwɿnɿχa'</i> while standing and holding
<i>waɿχa-</i> to have a council	<i>na'vɿwaɿχapɪ</i> council (of chiefs)
<i>wA'tcɿ'-</i> to catch up with	<i>cu(w)a'ɿwA'tcɿp'ɿɿa'</i> nearly caught up with
<i>w(')itsi'</i> - bird	<i>tɿ'raɿ'wɿntsi'its</i> horned lark (lit., desert bird)

This rule does not operate, however, when *w* becomes intervocalic by reduplication:

<i>wɿɿi-</i> vulva	<i>wɿwɿ'xɿA</i> vulvas (obj.)
<i>waya-</i> several enter	<i>wawa'xɿpɿɿa'</i> all entered

wīn'ai- to throw
wa'a'tciγi- to whoop

wīwī'n'nai- several throw down
wa'wa'a'tciγi- to whoop several
 times

Exceptional is also *a'γa-wantcī-* TO HIDE, lit. TO PUT (*watcī-*) IN HIDING, perhaps dissimilated from *a'γa-ηwantcī-*, itself nasalized from *a'γaηwatcī-* (see § 16, 3). Its reduplicated forms are partly *a'γa-ηwanηwantcī-* (e. g. *a'γaηwanηwantcīqaiwa'* SEVERAL SHALL KEEP HIDDEN), partly *a'γaηwa'watcī-* (e. g. *a'γaηwa'watciyīni* HIDES ME SEVERAL TIMES); see § 58, 4, e.

(3) ASSIBILATION OF DENTALS. No dental consonant, aside from *n*, *i*, e. *t* and its derivatives *t'*, *r*, *R*, is, with very few exceptions, found before *i*. Comparison with other Shoshonean or Uto-Aztekan dialects shows that an original Shoshonean *ti* became assibilated to *tsi*, e. g. noun ending *-tsi-*: Tūbatulabal and Southern Californian *-t*. Further, comparison shows that an original Shoshonean *ati* not only, in Southern Paiute, assibilates the *t* but also shifts the *i* to *ī*, whence *atcī*. Most Plateau dialects have *atī* in these cases, e. g.:

Shoshonean **ati* bow
 > Bankalachi *a'li-t*,
 Shikaviyam *ε'īdi*,
 Mono *eti*

S.P. *atcī-*

Shoshonean **pati* daughter
 > N. Paiute *padī*

S.P. *patcī-* (original Shoshonean
**patī* would have become **parī-*)

Hence S. Paiute *atsi* represents an old Shoshonean *atsi* with primary *ts*; e. g. contrast primary *patsi-* OLDER SISTER (cf. Cora *hatsi* OLDER BROTHER; Cora *h* often < *p*) with *patcī-* < **pati* DAUGHTER.

There are a small number of cases of true *-ri-* (not *-ri-* < *-rī-*; § 3, 2, b), but these may well represent a group of loan-words taken in subsequently to the operation of the above law, e. g. *mori-* BEAN; *sari-* DOG; *qīri'n'nanqa-* SPARROW-HAWK.

Belonging to a distinct and probably more recent stratum than the primary *ts*, *tc* and the *ts*, *tc* developed from *t* before original *i* are examples of *tc* that arise whenever a non-geminated *t*, that would ordinarily be spirantized to *r* (see § 16, 1), stands after an *i*. In this stratum, which constitutes a living process, *t-* and *-r-*, *-tc-* constantly interchange. Examples are:

-rī- participle (§ 25, 6, a)
-ru- to make (§ 26, 1, d)

ivi-tcī- drinking
na-γa'a'tcu-tcu- to turn oneself into
 a rat

-ru'a-	interrogative (§ 19, 2, f)	pavi'-tcu'a-ni	my brother?
-ruγwa-	to (§ 50, 4, 30)	sari'tc-tcu·wA	to the dog
taŋwa-, -raŋwa-	we (inclusive; § 39; § 40)	qa'q'aχai-tcaŋwA	we, while singing
tami-, -rami-	we 2 (inclusive; § 39; § 40)	qa'χai-tcamt	we 2, while singing
tua-, -rua-	child	piχi'-tcu(w)a-ts-	little pig

When *i* is preceded by a nasal consonant, the *-t-*, *-r-* develops to *-ntc-* (see § 16, 3), e. g. *qani-ntcu'a-* HOUSE?

Geminated *-t-*, it should be carefully noted, does not assibilate to *-tc-* after *i*, but remains, e. g. *tümp^wi'-t-u-* TO MAKE A STONE; *na'a'i-t'v'p^wik:Uqwa'* HAS BURNT UP.

Nasalized *-nt-* also is regularly unaffected by a preceding *i*; e. g. *ov^wi'ntō'tsūga'* WOODEN-HEADED, *ov^wi'ntuv^wa·n·i'* WILL MAKE WOOD, *ov^wntu'αŋuntca·ŋA* HE BECAME A STICK. There is, however, a tendency for such cases of *-nt-* to become assibilated to *-ntc-*; e. g. *o(w)i'p'intcu-* to make a canyon (< *oi'p-iⁿ*, see § 16, 3). In such cases the theoretical *-nt-* is sometimes even replaced by the "spirantal" form *-tc-*; e. g. *ovi'tcuq·wA* UNDER THE STICK (but also *ov^wntuq·wA*).

After *ai-* TO SAY, *-t-*, *-r-* develops to *-ntc-*, not *-tc-*, e. g. *ai-ntcī-* SAYING. On the other hand, usitative *-mi-* (§ 30, 10) changes a following *-t-*, *-r-* to *-nt-*, not *-ntc-*, e. g. *ai-mi-nti-* BEING WONT TO SAY; cf. *-γα-nti-* HAVING < *-γai-* TO HAVE (§ 25, 6, a), *-q'a-nti-* HAVING -ED < perfective *-q'ai-* (§ 25, 6, d). There are historical antecedents involved here which can be unraveled only by comparative evidence.

(4) PALATALIZATION. An *i* palatalizes a following *k-* sound, less frequently a dental or back-palatal nasal (*n*, *ŋ*). Acoustically this is manifested as a *y-* like affection of the consonant. It is indicated, in the case of back-palatals, by the symbol for anterior articulation (e. g. *k̟*, sounding approximately like *ky*); by a superior ^y in the case of *n*.

The *n^y* (approximately like Russian "soft" or mouillé *n*) appears most often between two *i-* vowels, particularly when the second is unvoiced, e. g. *ma'a'in^yi-* TO TOUCH, *ma'a'in^yi^zkanti* HAVING TOUCHED.

The palatalized *ŋ* (approximately like French *gn*, possibly more posterior in articulation) is not very common, as the combination *-iŋ-* occurs only infrequently, e. g. *iŋa-* HE HERE.

The palatalized *k-* sounds are *k̟* < *k*, *q̟*; *k̟^z* (written *k^z*) < *k'*, *q'*; *χ̟*, *χ̟* < *γ*, *χ*; *χ̟* < *x*; *γw̟*, *χw̟* < *γw*, *χw*. *x̟* is practically identical with *ch* of German *ich*. *γ̟* is very close to *y*, but more spirantal in quality (less open or vocalic), possibly a shade less anterior in articulation.

lation; it was practically never misheard as *y*. *χ* is midway, in point of voicing, between *γ* (of which it is merely a variant) and *g*.

Examples of palatalized *k*- sounds are:

- <i>γai</i> -, - <i>χai</i> -	subordinating suffix	<i>avi'χa'</i>	lying; <i>a'ichaic·u</i>	as soon as (he) said
- <i>qai</i> -	to have	<i>muw^wi'k·a'</i>		to have a nose
<i>qari</i> -	to sit	<i>p̄iwi'k·ari</i> -		to sit and look
- <i>qai</i> -	resultative suffix	<i>uḡwa'ik̄aiḡiγa'</i>		was hanging
- <i>γu</i> -, - <i>χu</i> -	subordinating suffix	<i>iwi'χu(w)αḡa</i>		when he drank
- <i>γw(a)'ai</i> -	to go	<i>im̄i'ixw'aiḡiγa'</i>		several arrived

Rather infrequently is an initial *q*- palatalized to *k̄*- by the final *-i*, *-l* of the preceding word; e. g. *wv^wa'ḡwi k̄am'ntcuvqwaiaφi* THEREIN HIS-OWN-MADE-HOUSE.

(5) TREATMENT OF *γ*. The back-guttural *γ* is apt to undergo various modifications, aside from unvoicing (§ 8), palatalization (4 above), and labialization (§ 14, 3, c).

(a) *Stopping to g*. In poetry *γ* is not infrequently stopped to *g* (the sonant correspondent of *q*). In prose this occurs when a final *-ḡ* of the preceding word comes, by elision of an initial vowel (see § 10, 3, end), to stand immediately before the *-γ*-, e. g. *a'ia·ḡ ḡiR*

THAT-HE INDEED > *a'ia·ḡ ḡiR*.

(b) *Weakening or loss of γ*. An original *γ* is sometimes weakened to a glide *ɾ* or even entirely lost before or after an *u*- vowel, more often after an *i*- vowel. Vocalic contractions may then result (see § 4). Examples are:

<i>na-γu'q-wi-ḡi</i> -	to fight (lit., to shoot at each other < <i>quq-wi</i> - to shoot)	<i>na^wu'q-wiḡi</i> -, <i>na^wuq-wiḡi</i> -		
<i>γauγwi</i> -	to enter	<i>ya^wγwi</i> -		
<i>tīγia</i> -	deer (- <i>γ</i> - may be glide, however; see § 14, 1)	<i>tī^wi'iaRi^wqαφi</i>	deer-meat	
<i>tīγi'vī</i> -	friend	<i>tī^wvīni</i>	my friend	
<i>-tīγa-n·ia</i> -	adverbial element	<i>mava'i^wt^wan·i'</i>	way off; <i>u'u'-raintian·i'</i>	close towards it
<i>tuγu</i> -	up (e. g. <i>tuγu'ntux·wA</i> upward)	<i>*tīγi</i> -, <i>*tīγi</i> -	> <i>tī</i> -, <i>tīi</i> -	up

(c) *Unvoicing to x in voiced position.* Even before a voiced vowel γ is sometimes heard not merely as an intermediate χ , with which it varies frequently, but as a fully unvoiced x (or lengthened $x\cdot$); similarly $\gamma > \grave{x}$. This sharpening seems to be frequent after an accented a , particularly in the neighborhood of a glottal stop, e. g.:

- <i>aγava-yu-</i>	right among	<i>a'a'xavaiγU</i>	right in there
- <i>γi-</i>	to come in order to	<i>γu'(w)a'xyamī</i>	come to take them away
- <i>γw(a)'ai-</i>	to go in order to	<i>γa.'axwa'a</i>	go to fetch; <i>γu'(w)-a'x-w'aiwä'</i> shall go to bring (them); <i>wara'x-ani-'xwa'a</i> go to (another) house for grass-seeds (<i>wara-</i>)
- <i>γum'a-</i>	male	<i>na(·)γa'x'ym-ay'waqU</i>	together with mountain-sheep buck (obj.)
<i>iya'vaγa-</i>	to fear	<i>iya'vaxan'namI</i>	whom you feared

(6) VOCALIZATION OF SEMIVOWELS. The semivowels y and w are sometimes opened up to the corresponding vowels i and u (ə). Forms with glide *-i-* (§ 5, 1) are transitional; e. g. *-aya-* > *-a(i)ya-* > *-aia-*. Examples of *-y-* > *-i-* are:

<i>nampa'-ya-γA</i>	his foot (obj.)	<i>nampa'ia-γA</i>
<i>naγa-</i>	anger + <i>y(a)'ai-</i> to die of	<i>naηa'i'ai-</i>
	> <i>naηa'y'ai-</i> to be angry	

After an i , the $i < y$ apparently disappears as such, fusing with the preceding vowel, e. g.:

<i>tuqwi-</i>	shame + <i>y(a)'ai-</i>	<i>tu'qwi''ai-</i>	to be ashamed
<i>tsu-</i>	with the point + <i>γauγwi-</i>		
<i>tca-</i>	to cause several objects to enter	<i>tsia.'uγwtcAπi'γa'</i>	caused (them) to go in by pushing with the point (§ § 4, 1, a; 13, 5, b)

A w immediately following a back-palatal stop or η is sometimes opened to u or still further, before a , to $ɔ$ (cf. development of *-wa-* to *-wɔ-*, *-ɔ-*; § 3, a, 3), e. g.:

- <i>ntcuq-w(-ruq-w) avi''</i>	under lies	<i>imi'ntcuq-u avi''</i>	lies under thee;
		<i>aruq'ɔ avi''</i>	lies under it
' <i>ani''ayw'aik-zA</i>	what-he said? >	' <i>ani''ay'ɔ aik-zA</i>	
	- <i>η'wai-</i> (§ 7, 4, end)		

(7) SIMPLIFICATION OF CONSONANTS. Here are grouped together a number of consonantal simplifications or partial losses of characteristic quality, found chiefly in sentence phonetics.

(a) *Simplification of affricatives.* A final *-ts-* (< *-tsi-*) or, less often, *-tcī* is sometimes reduced to *-t-*, *-t'* before a word beginning with a dental (*t*, *n*), less frequently before a word beginning with a labial, e. g.:

<i>ʔnʹʔuts</i> then	<i>ʔnʹʔut·nəntsʹk·ʊpʹiγaʹ</i> then flew off; <i>ʔnʹʔutʹ·maŋaʹiac·ʊ</i> then him
<i>tivʷiʹts</i> very	<i>tivʷiʹt·tuγwaʹrʹuŋʊpʹiγaʹ</i> it got very dark; <i>tivʷit·nʷvʷaʹuŋwapʹi-γaʹ</i> (it) snowed very much
<i>-pantcī</i> kinds of	<i>man·ɔʹqʷəpantʹ·paʹaʹvŋw amʹ</i> all the kinds of animals
<i>iʹtcī</i> this	<i>iʹt·iʹqaʹ·qʹA</i> eat this! (< <i>iʹtcī iʹiʹqaʹ·qʹA</i>)

An internal *-ts-* is sometimes reduced to *-t-ŋ-*, *-tŋ-* before *n* (see § 3, 2, c):

<i>wʹtsʹt·sni</i> my great-grandchild	<i>wʹtsʹt·ŋ(n)ʹi</i>
<i>naʹaʹintsʹtsnʷA</i> like a girl	<i>naʹaʹintsʹtŋnʷA</i>

(b) *Assimilation of -R to n-*. This happens only rarely, e. g.:

<i>yuʹun ar(i)</i> my leg	<i>yuʹun an nantsʹnʹaŋqʹix·i</i> come and joint my leg
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(c) *Loss of labialization.* Before an *u* or *ɔ* of the following word a final *-qw-*, *-γw-*, *-ŋw-* is apt to lose its *w* (cf. simplification of *wɔ* < *wa* after back-palatal stops to *ɔ*; § 3, 1, c). Examples are:

<i>-raŋw(a-)</i> we	<i>ivʷiʹraŋ ʔnʹʔuts</i> let us then
<i>-ʹqʷ(a-)</i> it	<i>aŋaʹʹqʹ·uʷvʷaiʹ</i> who is it then?
<i>pinaʹŋqw(a-)</i> soon	<i>pinaʹŋqʹ·oʹu</i> soon so

Final *-xw* sometimes melts with following *qw-* to *-qʷw-* (cf. § 8, 1, g), e. g.:

<i>i(y)εʹt·ux·wA qwauʹ</i> hither off	<i>i(y)εʹt·uqʷauʹ</i>
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(8) ASSIMILATION OF SIBILANTS. When two successive syllables contain sibilants of different articulation (*s*, *ts*; *c*, *tc*; see § 12, 2, h),

-vā-tsi- future gerund (§ 55, 1, a) aγa'nwā'tsutsaywa' thou, intend-
 + -tca- preterital enclitic ing to act how, didst—him?

(f) *Assimilation of c—ts to s—ts.* Evidence for this seems to be rather scanty. An example is mīnī's'īts· SEVERAL HAVING RETURNED < mīnī'c'ι-.

(g) *Unassimilated forms.* The frequent sequence *tc—ts* seems normally to remain unaffected, e. g. qa'iva'vūtcutsiywī KAIBAB PAIUTES (lit., MOUNTAIN-LYING PEOPLE, PLATEAU PEOPLE). When the *ts* is final, however, assimilated *tc—tc* seems to be not uncommon, e. g. Uqu'v'ūtcac' BUG (sp.).

Sporadic unassimilated forms for the assimilated types enumerated above also occur.

§ 14. *Glide consonants.*

Consonantal glides are frequent after the high vowels (*i*, *ī*, *u*). The semivowels *y* and *w* act as glides after *i* and *u* respectively, *γ* after *ī*. A weakly articulated *γ*, such as the *γ*- glide always is, is really a high-back unrounded semivowel, corresponding to *ī* precisely as *w* does to *u*.

(1) *GLIDE γ.* This glide, often represented as *ɣ* when only weakly articulated, is rather common between a primary *ī* and a following vowel. Even *ī*·, when resolved to *īī* (see § 4, 2, b), may develop to *īγī*, *īγī*. Examples are:

īa- to plant	īγa'p·I planted, corn
pīa- relative	pīγa'n·I my relative
nīa'-rī- wind	nγa'rī
-yī- present tense + -amī- them	na'(i)yīγamīn·I I call them
yīī- doorway	yīγī'va' at the doorway
tīī'a- deer (e. g. pa-rī'ia- water-deer, elk)	tīγī'a- deer (generally so heard)

Curious is nī'u(γw)a'm·I IN FRONT OF ME, in which -γ- is a glide consonant after *ī*, -w- after *u* (see 3 below).

(2) *GLIDE γ.* This occurs very frequently between *i* (*ι*) and a following vowel, e. g.:

qwac·ι- tail + -aγ·A his	qWA'ci'yayγA his tail
pu'ι- eye + -'ai- not to have	pu'ι'y'ait·ī having no eyes

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tümp^wi(a-) rock (obj.) + uru'- tümp^wi'y uruq·wA under the rock
q·wA under it

Sporadically a weakly articulated *y* (indicated ^w) occurs initially before *i*; e. g. *u'i'mi* THOU < *i'mi*.

(3) GLIDE *w*. Labial glides are very frequent and are found in three distinct groups of cases.

(a) *Glide w between vowels*. After a primary *u* (*o*) a *w*, indicated as ^w if weak, often slips in before an immediately following vowel. If the second vowel is voiceless, the *w*-glide is unvoiced to *w*. Examples are:

<i>tua-</i> son	<i>tuwa'tsunI</i> my son
- <i>γu-</i> subordinating suffix + - <i>ηa-</i>	<i>iwi'χuwαηA</i> when he drank
he	
<i>pu'i</i> eye	<i>pu'^wi-</i>
- <i>u(w)it·uγwa-</i> before	<i>nö'(w)itux·wA</i> before me

The use of *-w-* as glide seems incidentally to serve as criterion of the difference between a true *ui* diphthong and a dissyllabic *u + i*. Thus, with *-u(w)i't·uγwa* above contrast causative *-t·ui-* with diphthongal *ui* (rarely, if ever, *uwi*).

(b) *Rounded labials*. Bilabial consonants (*p*, *p'*, *v*, *φ*, *m*) are normally pronounced with unrounded lips. Under certain conditions, however, they are pronounced with *w*-position of the lips. This position may bring about a slight ^w-glide between the labial and the following vowel. Several groups of cases are to be noted.

Initially *m^w-*, sometimes heard exaggerated into ^w*m^w-* or even *um^w-*, is found in demonstrative two-moraed *m^wa'-*, *m^wa'-*, THAT (see § 43); possibly this *m^wa'-* is developed from an older *uma'-* > *um^wa'-* (see below). An initial *m^w-* also sometimes develops before an immediately following *i*; e. g. *m^wi'm^wi-* YE.

A medial *-m^w-* develops regularly after primary *i*, *ï*. When the vowel following the *-m^w-* is unvoiced, the ^w-glide is also unvoiced (^w). Examples are *nïm^wi-* WE (exclu.); *cin^wïa-* TO LET GO; *ti'm^wa-* TO ROAST; *ani'ntcïm^w i'mï* (ARE) DOING THESE (ANIM.); *co'v^wantïm^wï* OTHERS; *m^wi'm^wI* YE.

A medial *-m^w-* also often develops after *u(o)*, e. g.:

u- demonstrative + *-ma-nï-* being *um^wα'ntï* therefrom
at, from

u- + animate plural *-m̄i-* *ɥm^wu-* they
-ŋu- momentaneous suffix + *-m̄i* *wa'a'ŋɥum^wi* is wont to shout
 usitative

Medial *-p-*, *-mp-* are frequently rounded to *-p^w-*, *-mp^w-* (unvoiced *-p^w-*, *-mp^w-*) after *u* or *i*. This seems to take place particularly before *i*, whose timbre contrasts most clearly with that of *p^w*. Examples are *tümp^wi-* ROCK (*tü'mp^wi*); *tu'p^wi-* TO BE LEFT OVER; *tu'p^wa'q*-** TO EMERGE; *um^wi'c*-*acamp*-** JUST FOR FUN.

After *i* or *u*, *v* is inner-rounded. The result, written *v^w*, is not *v* + *w*- glide but a bilabial *v* with inner rounding, a sound acoustically midway between *v* and *w*. It is phonetically related to *w* very much as *ɣ* is to *y*. Before voiceless vowels *v^w* is unvoiced to *ɸ^w*. Examples are *tiv^wa'ts* WOLF, *niv^wa'tcu*-*wa* TO ME, *tiv^wi'ts* VERY, *iv^wi'* GO AHEAD!, *ni'u^wɸ^wi* AT ME; *uv^wa'i'a*-*x*-*i* OVER IT, *qani'ntcu*-*a*-*n*-*i'* WILL MAKE A HOUSE, *oɸ^wi* THEN.

(c) *Labialization of k-sounds.* Labialized *k-* sounds (*qw*, *q^w*, *ɣw*, *xw*) are either primary or arise secondarily by the intrusion of a *w*-glide due to a preceding *u* (*o*) or *ɔ*. Examples of labialized *k-* sounds due to *u* (*o*) are:

<i>-ŋu-</i> momentaneous suffix +	<i>ts-pi'ŋUqwa'</i> has appeared
<i>-q'ai-</i> perfective	
<i>tiv^wi-ŋu-</i> to ask + <i>-ŋqai-</i> sub-	<i>tiv^wi'ŋuqwa'aiŋwa</i> as (he) asked
ordinating suffix	him (for breaking of <i>-ŋqwai-</i>
	to <i>-ŋqwa'ai-</i> see § 15, 2, a)
<i>tiv^wi-ŋu-</i> + <i>-q<i>-</i>a-</i> plural subject	<i>tiv^wi'ŋUqwai'</i> several ask; abso-
	lute <i>tiv^wi'ŋuq<i>-</i>wa</i>
<i>uŋwa'c<i>-</i>u-</i> he + <i>-ɣain<i>-</i>ia-</i> too	<i>uŋwa'c<i>-</i>uɣwain<i>-</i>ia</i> he too
<i>o-</i> arrow + <i>-ɣai-</i> to have	<i>o'ɣwairätci</i> wont to have an
	arrow
<i>qo-</i> + <i>-ɣa-</i> to make a sound	<i>qo'x<i>-</i>wa<i>-</i>pi'ɣain<i>-</i>i'</i> there was a
	whirring sound as of wings

Examples of *k-* sounds labialized by preceding *ɔ* are:

<i>aɣɔ-</i> tongue + <i>-ŋqai-</i> to have	<i>aɣɔ'ŋqwa'</i> to have a tongue
<i>nɔ-</i> to carry on one's back + <i>-ɣi-</i>	<i>nɔ'ɣwui</i> come to carry me on
to come in order to	(your) back!
<i>nɔ-</i> + <i>-q<i>-</i>i-</i> to come —ing	<i>nɔ'q<i>-</i>wi</i> to come carrying on
	one's back

An initial ' is rarely labialized to 'w, xw by the final i, i of a preceding word; e. g. *tʰoʷiʷi xwaiʰ* BULRUSHES (obj.) THEM < *tʰoʷiʷi ʰaiʰ*.

§ 15. *The Glottal Stop.*

(1) TYPES OF GLOTTAL STOP. Glottal stops occur very frequently in Southern Paiute. They are rarely exaggerated in articulation, however, and are often quite easily missed. The glottal stop may function as an integral element of a stem (e. g. *ʰayu-* TO BE GOOD, *saʰa-* TO BOIL) or grammatical element (e. g. *-ɣwʰai-* TO GO IN ORDER TO, *-nʰni-* continuative); as in itself a grammatical process occurring alone (e. g. dubitative *-ʰ*, § 19, 2, n; *-ʰ-* to indicate momentaneous activity, § 53, 2, a, 3), with such grammatical processes as gemination and reduplication (§ 53, 2, b; § 58, 3 and 4) or in connection with certain enclitics, chiefly pronominal (e. g. *-ʰ . . . -mi-* THY, THEE); in certain circumstances to separate vowels brought together by composition (§ 16, 2); in final position after perfective *-(n)tca-* and *-ɣwa-* and after independent personal pronouns preceding verbs of doing and being (§ 5, 3). The last group of cases may be considered as inorganic or non-functional. The first group of cases may be defined as involving an "inherent" glottal stop, the second and third an "accessory" glottal stop. The distinction is important phonetically, inasmuch as a syllable containing an "inherent" glottal stop counts for two moras whether its vowel is short or long, while a short-voweled syllable with "accessory" glottal stop counts for only one mora (see § 8, 1, a, end; 2, a, end; § 9, end). Outwardly these two types of glottal stop are identical, but they probably belong to quite distinct historical strata, the "accessory" group no doubt representing a later development or influencing of the word form. Rarely there is evidence to show that an "inherent" glottal stop may arise by way of compensation for the loss of a vowel. This seems to be true, at least, of *naʰŋwaʰ-tsiŋwī* FATHER ABD SON (< reciprocal *na-* + *-ŋwoʰAtsi-*, spirantized form (see § 16, 1, end) of *-moʰa-t-si-* FATHER), *nanaʰŋwaʰ-t-siŋwī* FATHERS AND SONS (< plural reciprocal *nanaʰ-* + *-ŋwoaʰ-t-si-* < *moaʰ-t-si-*).

(2) MOVABILITY OF GLOTTAL STOP. A puzzling and often disconcerting peculiarity of the glottal stop, apart from initial and final position, is its movability. The phonetic consciousness attaches it to a certain syllable, but within that syllable it may shift about with considerable freedom. In part this movability is conditioned

by accentual factors (§ 10, 2), but much of it is purely optional. The glottal stop may even spill over into the end of or body of the preceding syllable or into the beginning of the following syllable. Thus, the syllable *-y'ai-* TO DIE of such a word as *taɣv'-y'ai-k'a-* SEVERAL ARE THIRSTY may appear with its ' immediately preceding its own syllable (*-'y'ai-*); immediately following its initial consonant (*-y'ai-*); it may appear immersed in stops, affricatives, or nasals — see b below); breaking the first vowel of the diphthong (*-ya'ai-*); from this type of glottal affection may develop a glottalized vowel, see a below, e. g. *-yāi-*); making a hiatus between the two vowels of the diphthong (*-ya'i-* or *-ya'i-* with murmured *i*); closing its syllable (*-yāi-*); or glottally affecting the initial consonant of the following syllable (*-yāik'a-*). Hence it might be more appropriate to speak of the glottal affection of a syllable than of a glottal stop. The type *y'ai-* or *ya'ai-* may be considered the norm.

(a) *Broken vowels and diphthongs.* Broken vowels are extremely frequent. They are due to either an inherent glottal stop (e. g. *si'i-* TO URINATE) or to the secondary operation of an accessory one (e. g. *qani'imī* THY HOUSE < *qani-* HOUSE). Either the first or second part of the broken vowel may be stressed or relatively stressed; the unstressed part, particularly if second, tends to be murmured (*a'a* > *a''a*, *a'a'* > *a'a'*). The type *a'a'* is particularly frequent in initial position, the type *a'a* in final position. A broken diphthong is one whose first vowel is broken (e. g. *a'a'ura'*, *a'a'ura'* TOWARDS IT < *a-* IT + *'u'ra'* TOWARDS).

Examples of vowels and diphthongs broken by an accessory glottal stop are:

<i>paa'</i> - aunt + <i>-'</i> . . . <i>mi-</i> thy	<i>paa'amī</i> thy aunt
<i>-p'iyai-</i> remote past	<i>qarī'p'iyāaimī</i> they two sat
<i>-na-</i> verbal noun suffix + <i>-'</i> . . .	<i>ampa'γana'aŋwa</i> his talking
<i>ŋwa-</i> his	
<i>-q'ai-</i> resultative suffix + <i>-'</i> . . .	<i>pīni'k'a'aik'wa</i> see it
<i>q-wa-</i> it	

(b) *Glottalization of consonants and vowels.* A glottalized consonant may be defined as a welding of the consonant or, more rarely, vowel with a glottal stop into a composite sound of unified acoustic effect. Only the stopped consonants, *m*, *n*, and *ŋw* form such glottalized units; in the case of the other consonants, the ' immediately follows or precedes (e. g. *-y'i-* or *-y'i-* < *-y'i-* present tense + accessory ').

A glottalized *m* or *n* is simply a long nasal interrupted for a moment by glottal closure: *m'm*, *n'n*; in glottalized *ηw* the ' slips in between the *η* and *w*: *η'w*. The glottalized stops and affricatives (*p̣*, *ṭ*, *q̣*, *q̣w*, *tc̣*, *tṣ*) are pronounced with simultaneous oral and glottal closure. The release of the two closures is simultaneous also. This makes them far more difficult to perceive than the snappy glottalized consonants ("fortes") of so many other American languages, in which the glottal release is subsequent to that of the oral closure. Glottalized consonants result from either an inherent or accessory glottal stop; the glottal stop of the glottalized consonant generally belongs to its own syllable, sometimes to a following syllable, less often preceding one. Examples are:

<i>tca'aiḵ'ai-</i> to hold + <i>-yī-</i> present tense + ' . . . <i>q-wa-</i> it	<i>tca'a'iḵ'ai'yīq-wA</i> holds it
<i>-q'ai-</i> perfective + <i>-n-a-</i> verbal noun + ' . . . <i>ηwa-</i> his	<i>tin'ayqīq'ai'n'naηwA</i> his having told to (him)
<i>uw^wit-u-</i> to sing a song + <i>-m'mia-</i> , <i>-m'ī'a-</i> along	<i>uw^wi't'u'mai'</i> sings along
<i>-v'antuγwa-</i> on	<i>'am-u'v'antux-wA</i> on them

The movability of the glottal stop is well illustrated in the forms *nī-cī'tcaηwa'ī-χa'* TEASING A PERSON, *cī'tca'η'waiyīaηA* TEASES HIM, *cī'tca'ηwaiḵ'γa'aimī* FOOLED THEM.

By a glottalized vowel, e. g. *á*, is meant one that is articulated while continuously interrupted by a rapid series of weak glottal stops or, probably more correctly, cordal tightenings that approximate glottal closure. Sometimes the glottalized vowel sounds like a fairly definitely articulated "glottal *r*," at other times it seems to correspond to what German writers on phonetics term "Presstimme." The glottalized vowel may occur as an abbreviated substitute for the broken vowel or as an anticipatory glottal affection immediately preceding a more sharply articulated glottal stop, e. g. *pīni'ḵ'aiḵ'īá^a* DID NOT SEE.

(c) *Over-glottalization*. What is morphologically a single glottal stop often manifests itself twice or even three times in the course of a word. Several examples have already illustrated this. Further examples are:

<i>cu(w)a-</i> nearly + <i>-y'ai-</i> to die	<i>cu(w)a'(i)y'aiḵ'īγa'</i> nearly died
<i>uw^wa-</i> there + <i>-yu-</i> post-position	<i>uw^wá''(i)y'umū</i> there they
+ ' . . . <i>mī-</i> they	

qanintcu- to build a house + *nam'iča'nintcuxwa'*^a first go to
-χwa'ai- to go in order to build a house

The over-glottalization, though rarely, may even manifest itself in the immediately preceding word; e. g. *qa'nu u'a'xarux-wa* RIGHT THROUGH THE HOUSE (properly *qania-*, obj.); similarly *qa'nu' aura'* HOUSE TOWARDS IT < *qanu' a'u'ra'*, the glottal stop separating *a* and *u* being here so faint that it escaped perception, while the intrusive ' of *qa'nu* was distinctly audible.

In such an example as *-r'əŋ'a'amɪ* HE—THEE? the ' after *ŋ* is intrusive, caught, as it were, between the ' of interrogative *-r'ə-* and the ' of *-aŋa'-*, broken, by *-'* . . . *mi-* THEE, from *-aŋa-* HE.

(d) *Contraction*. On the other hand, two organically distinct glottal stops may, though far less frequently, merge into a single one; e. g.:

-p'a'na- on + *-'* . . . *mü-* they *tümp^{wi}'p'a'namü* on a stone they
-ru'a- interrogative + *-'* thou *-ru'^a* thou? (see § 40, 2).

§ 16. Treatment of Consonants in Composition.

A word must begin with either a vowel (which may be preceded by ') or one of the following nine consonants: *p*, *t*, *q* (*k*), *qw* (*kw*), *tc* (*ts*), *c* (*s*), *m*, *n*, ' . When these consonants, by the processes of derivation and composition, take up a medial position and are immediately preceded by a vowel, voiced or unvoiced, they assume, in part, one of three distinct forms. These are summarized in tabular form:

<i>Initial</i>	<i>Spirantized</i>	<i>Geminated</i>	<i>Nasalized</i>
<i>p-</i>	<i>-v-</i>	<i>-p'-</i>	<i>-mp-</i>
<i>t-</i>	<i>-r-(-tc-, -ntc-)</i>	<i>-t'-</i>	<i>-nt-</i> (rarely <i>-ntc-</i>)
<i>q-</i> (<i>k-</i>)	<i>-γ-</i>	<i>-q-</i> (<i>-k-</i>)	<i>-ŋq-</i> (<i>-ŋk-</i>)
<i>qw-</i> (<i>kw-</i>)	<i>-γw-</i>	<i>-qw-</i> (<i>-kw-</i>)	<i>-ŋqw-</i> (<i>-ŋkw-</i>)
<i>tc-</i> (<i>ts-</i>)	<i>-tc-, -ntc- (-ts-, -nts-)</i>	<i>-t'-c-</i> (<i>-t'-s-</i>)	<i>-ntc-</i> (<i>-nts-</i>)
<i>c-</i> (<i>s-</i>)		<i>-c'-</i> (<i>-s'-</i>)	
<i>m-</i>	<i>-ŋw-</i>	<i>-m'-</i>	(<i>-m'-</i>)
<i>n-</i>		<i>-n'-</i>	(<i>-n'-</i>)

The glottal stop undergoes no change; *c* (*s*) has neither spirantal nor nasalized development; *n*, at least as far as can be inferred from

Paiute itself, has no spirantal development; for *m* and *n* there is no distinction between nasalization and gemination.

Two factors are operative in the determination of the form that a consonant takes in medial position. In the first place, certain elements (suffixes and enclitics) always appear with consistently spirantized, geminated, or nasalized consonant, regardless of the stem or morphological element that precedes; e. g. *-γa-* durative suffix, *-q-u-* numeral objective suffix, *-ηqĩ-* indirective suffix TO, FOR. On the other hand, all stems and many suffixes appear in either two or, more often, three forms according to the nature of the preceding stem or suffix. The initial consonants of suffixes that appear in two distinct forms are either spirantized or, less frequently, nasalized; e. g. future *-va·n·ia-* (as in *ivi'va·n·ia-* WILL DRINK, *-q·ava·n·ia-* SEVERAL WILL —) and *-mpa·n·ia-* (as in *ivi'ηumpa·n·ia-* WILL TAKE A DRINK, *ivi'm·impa·n·ia-* WILL BE WONT TO DRINK). As a rule, the nasalization in this class of elements is due to the presence of a nasal in the preceding syllable. Much more typical is threefold alternation, which affects all stems and many suffixes. Here the deciding factor is the nature of the preceding stem or suffix, which, as far as a descriptive analysis of Paiute is concerned, must be credited, as part of its inner form, with an inherent spirantizing, geminating, or nasalizing power (respectively indicated, where necessary, as *-s*, *-g*, and *-n*). Thus, the same adjectival verb suffix appears in spirantal form in *anqa'-γa-* TO BE RED, geminated in *qu'tca'-q-a-* TO BE GRAY, and nasalized in *pai'-ηqa-* TO BE SMOOTH; the stems may be respectively indicated as *anqa'-s*, *qu'tca'-g*, *pai'-n*. On the other hand, the element *-γa-*, *-q-a-*, *-ηqa-* is consistently spirantizing (schematic form *-qa'-s*), e. g. in participial *anqaγa-rĩ-*, *qu'tca'q-a-rĩ-*, *pai'ηqa-rĩ-*. The participial *-rĩ-* is itself capable of appearing in geminated (*-t-ĩ-*) and nasalized (*-nti-*) form as well under the appropriate circumstances (e. g. *-'ai-t-ĩ-* NOT HAVING, *nu²qwi'-nti-* STREAMING). Thus, for purposes of derivation and composition one needs to know always whether a given stem or suffix is one that spirantizes, geminates, or nasalizes. As to the historical background of these processes, Paiute itself reveals comparatively little. A thorough study of comparative Shoshonean linguistics would probably make them historically intelligible.

(1) SPIRANTIZATION. It is plausible, from what comparative evidence is available, that spirantization arose typically when an element or stem whose initial consonant represents no process of contraction was affixed to an element or stem whose final vowel

represents its original ending. Original ungeminated stops and *-m* regularly became spirantized between vowels. There is some comparative evidence to show that *c* (*s*) and *n* originally alternated with *-ʹ* and zero respectively as their spirantal developments, but this is not deducible from Paiute itself and so does not concern us. "Spirantized" *-tc-*, *-ts-* can be most convincingly differentiated from geminated *-t-c-*, *-t-s-* by the failure of weak moras to lose their voice before it. The secondary *-tc-* *-ntc-* arising from a theoretical *-r-* (ungeminated *-t-*) have already been discussed (see § 13, 3). Examples of *-v-*, *-r-* (*-tc-*; after syllable with nasal, *-ntc-*), *-tc-* (after syllable with nasal, *-ntc-*), *-ts-* (after syllable with nasal, *-nts-*), *-ɣ-*, and *-ɣw-*, as results of spirantization are:

<i>na</i> ^{-s} reciprocal + <i>pavi-</i> elder brother	<i>nava'vɥwï</i> brothers
<i>ma</i> ^{-s} with the hand + <i>-patcï'a-</i> to fasten	<i>mava'tcï'ai'</i> fastens
Shoshonean <i>*(h)ipi-</i> to drink (cf. Mono <i>hibi-</i>)	<i>ivi-</i> to drink
<i>ai</i> ^{-s} new + <i>täi'</i> ^ɛ shirt	<i>äi'raï'</i> ^ɛ new shirt
<i>cu(w)a</i> ^{-s} nearly + <i>tUpv'ik-u-</i> to be used up	<i>cu(w)a'RUP^wik-U^pïɣa'</i> was nearly used up
Shoshonean <i>*kafi-</i> to sit (cf. Hopi <i>gatö</i>)	<i>qari-</i> to sit
<i>iyəvi</i> ^{-s} mourning dove + <i>tua-</i> child	<i>iyəvtcuatc'</i> little mourning dove
<i>qan-i</i> ^{-s} house + <i>tua-</i>	<i>qan-i'ntcuats'</i> little house
<i>a</i> ^{-s} quietly + <i>tca'aiḱ'ai-</i> to hold	<i>a'tca'aiḱ'a'</i> to hold quietly
<i>na</i> ^{-s} reciprocal + <i>tcaq'aitsu-</i> younger brother	<i>nantca'q'aitsɥwï</i> brothers
<i>-p-i</i> ^{-s} past + <i>-tsu</i> ^{-s} diminutive	<i>qa'p'ütsɥxa'</i> a little fellow sang
<i>tɥqan</i> ^{-s} cave + <i>-tsu-</i> diminutive	<i>tɥqa'nuntsɥa</i> little cave (obj.)
<i>qan</i> ^{-s} house + <i>-kai-</i> to have	<i>qan'ḱai-</i> to have a house
<i>ci</i> ^{-s} squaw-bush + <i>qaitcəx-U</i> hat	<i>ci'ɣaitcəx-U</i> woman's basket cap
Shoshonean <i>*maka-</i> to give (cf. Mono <i>maki</i>)	<i>maɣa-</i> to give
<i>nam-i</i> ^{-s} first + <i>qwaviyu-</i> to camp over night	<i>nam-i'ḱwaviyu-</i> to camp over night first
<i>qaiwa</i> ^{-s} mountain + <i>qwi^wcu</i>	<i>qa'ivaɣwi^wcu^wari'</i> mountain peak
<i>v^wari'</i> peak	

Shoshonean **tuka-* night (cf. *tuɣwa'nU* night
Luiseño *duku-mit*)

While the spirantizations illustrated above are live processes, that of *m* to *-ŋw-*, though abundantly enough illustrated in the material, seems to have spent its force, as in the more evident compounds and derivatives *-m-* is used even after spirantizing stems and elements; e. g. *na-m'a'ŋwicava'amü* TWO SHALL PUSH EACH OTHER (cf. *na-s* above), *p̄ŋqa'muntun'l'kai'p'ĩɣa'* KEPT LYING COVERED UP (< *p̄ŋqa-s* CONTINUOUSLY). Sometimes *-m-* and *-ŋw-* forms are distributed in other than a purely phonetic manner. Examples of *-ŋw-* < *-m-* are:

<i>moa-</i> father	<i>na'ŋ'wA'tsiŋwü</i> father and son
<i>maɣa-</i> to give	<i>naŋwa'ɣa-</i> to pay (lit., to give each other)
<i>ma-s</i> with the hand + <i>-m̄n'ic-i-</i> to turn, roll over	<i>ma-ŋwü'n'ic-i-ŋq̄i-</i> to roll one over
<i>ta-m'ĩ''una-ŋq̄i-</i> to dig out by poking with one's foot	<i>ma-ŋwü''una-ŋq̄i-</i> to dig out with one's hands
<i>m''im-</i> you (plur.)	<i>-ŋw̄im-</i> , <i>-ŋum-</i> your, you (obj.) (as enclitic element, see § 40)
<i>-ma-</i> on	<i>-ŋwa-</i> on (with pronouns, see § 50, 4, 8)
<i>-mi-t-uɣwa-</i> to	<i>-ŋwi-t-uɣwa-</i> to (chiefly with pronominal stems, see § 50, 4, 14)
<i>-m̄i-</i> animate plural (see § 48, 1, a)	<i>-ŋw̄i-</i> animate plural (see § 48, 1, b)
Shoshonean * <i>tama-</i> tooth (cf. Fernandino <i>-tama</i>)	<i>taŋwa-</i> tooth
Shoshonean * <i>sama-</i> (cf. Gitane-muk <i>hama-t</i> grass, Cahuilla <i>samu-t</i>)	<i>saŋwa'-φi</i> sagebrush
Shoshonean * <i>tam̄i</i> we (cf. Hopi <i>i-tam̄ö</i>)	<i>taŋwA, -raŋwA</i> we

(2) GEMINATION. As we have already seen, intervocalic *n* and *c* (*s*) are always geminated or long, regardless of etymological considerations; e. g. *MA'ci'q'uaiȳini* MY HANDS ARE COLD (cf. *ma-s* HAND above). Geminated *-m-* also has largely supplanted spirantized *-ŋw-* (see 1 above). How geminated intervocalic consonants arose is not clear. In part gemination is a grammatical process (e. g. *ivi-* TO DRINK < Shoshonean *ipi-*: *ʷi'p'i-* TO DRINK REPEATEDLY); see § 58, 4, a, c-f. In general, however, we can not yet tell what brought

about the geminating power of certain stems and elements and the presence of geminated consonants in the body of stems. The contrast between intervocalic geminated and ungeminated consonants is doubtless an original Shoshonean feature, as indicated by comparative evidence. Examples of *-p-*, *-t-*, *-t-c-*, *-t-s-*, *-q-* (*-k-*), and *-q-w-* (*-k-w-*), as results of gemination are:

<i>ta-^o</i> with the foot + <i>pantu-</i> to shake	<i>tA'pa'ntui'</i> shakes with the foot
<i>nə-^o</i> to carry on one's back	<i>nə'p'aɣai-</i> to carry from place to place; <i>nə'q'ava'</i> pack-horse
<i>i-^o</i> beforehand + <i>tīq-a-</i> to eat	<i>i't'i'qai'</i> eats beforehand
<i>tīna-^o</i> to hunt + <i>tīɣa-</i> to tell what to do	<i>tīna'Atiɣa-ri'</i> hunting-leader
<i>qī-^o</i> with the teeth	<i>qī'tcə'χw'a.i'</i> chews
<i>wat-ci'-</i> to catch up with	<i>wA'tci'ɣUpiɣa'</i> caught up with (contrast <i>watci'-</i> to put)
<i>wit-ca'-</i> to tie; <i>wit-ca'-</i> bee	<i>wi'tca'i'</i> ties; <i>wi'tca'-φl</i> bee (contrast <i>witca'-φl</i> calf of leg)
<i>qu-^o</i> with fire	<i>qu'tsl'k'iva'</i> will burn
<i>qī-^o</i> with the teeth + <i>qoi'na-</i> to take off one object	<i>qī'qo'i'nai'</i> takes off with the teeth
<i>pa(i)yu-^o</i> to return + <i>-ki-</i> hither Shoshonean * <i>tuk-u-</i> panther (cf. Luiseño <i>dukwu-t</i>)	<i>pa(i)yu'k'i'</i> comes back <i>tu'q-U</i> panther
<i>tsut-si'-^o</i> (reduplicated) with a point iteratively	<i>ts'tsi'k-wiyui'</i> scrapes wavy lines
<i>ta-^o</i> with the foot	<i>tA'xqwa.'a'q'ai-</i> to hold down with one's foot

There is some reason to believe, though the evidence is not conclusive, that geminating stems or elements followed by a stem beginning with a vowel insert a glottal stop; e. g. *i''A'püi-* TO SLEEP BEFOREHAND (see *i-^o* above). However, it is evident that elements differ about the treatment of their final vowel before vowels, some contracting, others inserting a '. Thus, both *ma-^s* and *ta-^o* combine directly with a following vowel; e. g. *maa'in-i-* TO TOUCH and *taa'in-i-* TO TOUCH WITH THE FOOT, *tauɣwai-* TO HANG BY THE FEET (cf. *uɣwai-* TO HANG). On the other hand, *tī(·)'ⁿ* WELL takes a ' after it; e. g. *tī''A'püi-* TO SLEEP WELL.

(3) NASALIZATION. Nasalized consonants occur intervocally as a result of the nasalizing power of a stem or element; as the result of reduplicating stems with interior nasal (e. g. *qanqa'n-i* HOUSES < *qan-i* HOUSE; see § 58, 2, d); and internally in stems and elements from obscure causes (in part these internal nasalizations may be due to the assimilatory influence of a preceding nasal: e. g. *naygava-ear* from Shoshonean **naka-*, cf. Hopi *nak've*, though elision of *-a-* in parallel Shoshonean **nanaka-*, cf. Gabriellino *-nanax*, may be a preferable explanation; yet internal nasalization sometimes appears where comparative evidence gives no apparent reason for it, e. g. *tuγu'mpa-* sky, cf. Möhineyam *duguba-t*, Gabriellino *tukupa-r*, yet also Tübatulabal *dogumba-l*).

Nasalized consonants that result from the nasalizing power of a preceding element may be grouped into three classes: 1. *-ntc-* (*-nts-*) that results from a *-tc-* (*-ts-*), original or itself developed from *-t-* (see § 13, 3), that is either inherently "spirantal" or rather ungeminated (e. g. *-tca-* preterital) or "spirantized" by a preceding stem or element, provided there is a nasal consonant in the syllable preceding the *-tc-* (*-ts-*) (this type is not properly "nasalized" at all, but is merely a secondarily nasalized development of the spirantized group; see 1 above); 2. nasalized stops (and affricatives) that alternate with spirantized, but not geminated, consonants and that seem to occur primarily, but not altogether, when the preceding syllable contains a *-ŋ-* or *-ɣw-* (e. g. agentive *-vi-*, *-mpi*, alternating in *no-vi-CARRIER*, *taŋa-mpi-* KICKER); 3. nasalized stops (and affricatives) that alternate with spirantized and geminated consonants. The primary cause for the nasalization in the last group is generally obscure. The presence of an interior nasal in the stem may be the cause in some cases (e. g. *taŋwa-n* TOOTH). Elision of a syllable containing a nasal is demonstrable in a small number of cases (e. g. *pa'a-n* TO BE HIGH, participle *pa'anti-*; cf. parallel *pa'an-i-*). In cases like usitative *-mia-*, *-mi-n*; *-kai-* TO HAVE, participle *-kanti-*; perfective *-qai-*, participle *-qanti-* one suspects Shoshonean **-mina-*, **-kani-*, **-qani-* with ungeminated *-n-*, which would disappear between vowels but assert itself as nasalization of the following consonant when the final vowel of the element is elided. Examples of nasalizing power are:

aγɔ-n tongue

aγɔ'mpi tongue; *aγɔntu-* to make
a tongue; *aγɔ'ŋqwai-* to have
a tongue

<i>nī-n</i> person (< <i>nīḡwī-s</i> , e. g. <i>nīḡwuru-</i> to make a man)	<i>nīmpīḡwa-</i> another's wife; <i>nīntu-aḡḡi-</i> to give birth to one; <i>nīḡqa'n'ɸi</i> somebody else's house
<i>ɔvi-n</i> stick, wood	<i>ɔv'mpaḡi'</i> wooden fish; <i>ɔvntu-</i> to make wood; <i>ɔv'ḡkani</i> wooden house
<i>-vi-n</i> agentive + <i>-kai-</i> to be <i>paḡ(a)i-n</i> to walk	<i>tān'avīḡkai-</i> to be a puncher <i>paḡ(a')impa'n'ia-</i> will go; <i>pa-ḡ(a')iḡki-</i> to come walking; <i>paḡ(a')iḡw'ai-</i> to walk off; <i>paḡ(a')impuru-</i> to walk from place to place

(4) VACILLATION IN USE OF CONSONANTAL FORMS. There is a certain amount of sporadic variation between spirantized and nasalized consonants, in part depending on nasal assimilation, but not altogether. Examples are:

<i>witsi''its</i> bird	<i>-ḡwntsī'its</i> in compounds (<i>-nts-</i> because of preceding <i>-ḡw-</i> < <i>-w-</i> ; e. g. <i>ɔa'ḡwntsī'its</i> yellow bird)
<i>watci-</i> to put	<i>a'ḡawantci-</i> to hide, put in hiding (probably secondarily dissimilated from <i>a'ḡawantci-</i>)
<i>MA'ci'tcompī</i> finger-nail <i>pīri'rī-</i> to hang on	<i>MA'ci'ntcompī</i> (alternative form) <i>pīnti-ḡu-</i> to hang on, <i>pīmpī-ntiki-</i> to hang on several times
<i>qau'ntcu-v'w'a'n'i'</i> will build a house	<i>o(w)i'p'ntcu-mpa'n'i'</i> will make a canyon (both with <i>-ntcu-</i> < <i>-tu-</i> to make; but note <i>qani-s:</i> <i>oip'i-n</i>)
<i>-mpītsi-</i> noun ending (see § 24, 1, g)	<i>-mpīntsi-</i> (rare form of <i>-mpītsi-</i> , e. g. <i>ina'mpīntsiḡwi</i> badgers)
<i>nara'q-witcumpa-</i> to be assembled together	<i>nara'q-wntcumpa-</i> (alternative form)

Less frequently an original nasalized consonant takes a spirantal form, e. g.:

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NU^xqwí'ntí stream (< *NU^xqwí'-n* *aŋqa'p·a-NU^xqwtcítciŋwí* red-stream-people (-*ntí-tsi-* doubly assimilated to -*tčítsi-*, for -*títsi-*, then -*tčítcí-*)
to flow)

Not infrequently also nasalized and geminated consonants interchange, e. g.:

tó'v'p·I hole *mov^wí't'vmp·I* nose-hole, nostril
tunqu't·vŋu- to become clumsy, *tuntu'q'untvŋu-* to become clumsy, heavy all over one's body (reduplicated; < *tuntunqu't·vŋu-* by interchange of nasalized and geminated positions)
powerless

NU^xqwí'mpaŋ(a)í- to run and *NU^xqwí'p·aŋ(a)ík·a-* several run and walk by turns (< *NU^xqwí'-n* to stream, run) and walk by turns

tümp^wí'n·aró'ŋqwantíA having *tümp^wí'n·aró'ŋqwat·íA* (alternative form)
stone-clothes (obj.)

In the last three examples an original nasalized consonant has become geminated, partly for assimilative, partly for dissimilative reasons. In the first example the geminated consonant probably represents the original form.

Finally, there is some vacillation also between spirantized and geminated consonants. A number of elements that are primarily spirantizing are geminating in certain isolated forms, e. g.:

ma-^s hand, *ma-^o*: *MA'pa'íya·vuφI* palm; *MA'tca'í'-aŋqí-* to reach for; *MA'pí'k·i-* to touch with the hand

mu-^s nose (e. g. *mu-róna-* to strike with one's nose), *mu-^o*: *MU'p^wí'k·iφI* mucus

Quite distinct from this group, which evidently constitutes an archaic stratum (thus, there is no verb -*pik·i-* without prefix), are examples of stems which are inherently spirantizing but are treated as geminating when compounded with stems that occur independently. It is particularly verb (including adjective) stems, followed by noun or verb stems, that are so treated. Thus, *aŋqa-^s* RED (cf. *aŋqa-ŋa-* TO BE RED, *aŋqa-r'ua-* TO TURN RED) acts like a geminating *aŋqa-^o* in such forms as *aŋqa'-p·aŋí* RED FISH, TROUT, *aŋqa'-q·ani* RED HOUSE.

Similarly, *ivi*-^s TO DRINK (cf. *ivi-γu*- WHEN DRINKING) forms *ivi'-p'a-γ(a)i*- TO DRINK WHILE WALKING. However, these tendencies are not consistently carried out. Thus, both *ayqa'-q-wica-rī* RED-FLASHING, LIGHTNING and *ayqa'-χwic-a-* TO FLASH RED are found. Such details are of merely lexicographic interest. The tendency to use geminated consonants in composition is probably due to the greater phonetic similarity thus brought about between a simplex and its compound. It is the first step towards the dulling of a consciousness of consonantal alternations and towards their development into mere historical survivals.

MORPHOLOGY (§ § 17-63).

§ 17. *Grammatical Processes.*

A number of distinct processes are in use in Southern Paiute for the expression of grammatical relations or for the formation of derivatives. Some of these are affixational processes, others internal changes of phonetic character. Seven processes may be recognized in all:

(1) COMPOUNDING OF STEMS (see § 18).

(2) ENCLISIS. By enclisis is meant the suffixing of certain elements to any word in the sentence, the resulting complex constituting a firm phonetic, but not a strictly formal, unit. Enclitic elements, except for some of the pronouns, never occur in other than enclitic form. In a "word" like *ivi'yuntcar'əant* DID I TAKE A DRINK? The preterital *-ntca-*, the interrogative *-r'əa-*, and the pronominal *-nt* I are enclitic elements, not true suffixes, the true "word," formally speaking, consisting only of *ivi'yu-* TO TAKE A DRINK (*ivi-* TO DRINK + momentaneous suffix *-yu-*). This is shown by the fact that the enclitic cluster *-(n)tar'əant* can be appended, without bringing about any strictly formal modifications, to a preceding word in the sentence; e. g. *qan'v'va'tear'əan ivi'yu* HOUSE-AT-PRETERIT-INTERROGATIVE-I DRINK- MOMENTANEOUS, DID I DRINK AT THE HOUSE? Phonetically the form DID-I-AT-THE-HOUSE? is a perfect unit, morphologically it is a word (*qan'v'va-* HOUSE-AT) plus a number of exteriorly segmented elements that have no independent existence. Enclisis is thus neither true suffixation nor juxtaposition of independent elements. It has the external characteristics of the former (including strict adherence to certain principles of order), the inner feeling of the latter. It is one of the most characteristic processes of Paiute, doubtless of

Plateau Shoshonean generally. Enclitics include pronominal elements (see § 40) and elements of temporal and adverbial force (see § 19).

(3) PREFIXATION (see § 20). A considerable number of elements is prefixed to stems; they consist chiefly of adverbial elements and instrumental prefixes. They have purely derivational, not formal, significance. In origin they are doubtless, at least in large part, independent stems that have lost their individuality and now appear only as first elements of compounds (with *qu-^o* BY MEANS OF FIRE, e. g., cf. independent *qun a-* FIRE).

(4) SUFFIXATION (see § § 23-37). This is the most important grammatical process of all. Under suffixes are included both derivational elements (e. g. agentive *-vi-ⁿ*, *-mpi-ⁿ*) and elements of strictly formal significance (e. g. objective *-a-*, *-ya-*; verb subordinating *-γai-*, *-q'ai-*, *-ηqai-*).

(5) REDUPLICATION (see § 58). As a formal process reduplication is always initial. Final reduplication occurs only in isolated words and has no formal or derivational function. There are several distinct types of reduplication. The ideas expressed by the process are chiefly those of distribution, iteration and momentaneous activity.

(6) CONSONANTAL CHANGES. These are quite apart from the mechanical changes undergone by consonants in composition (§ 16). Consonantal changes include:

(a) *Gemination* of stem consonants (see § 53, 2, b). The geminating of the consonant or consonants indicates generally momentaneous or semelfactive as contrasted with durative activity. It is also frequently found in connection with certain types of reduplication (see § 58, 3 and 4). Less commonly it is employed alone to give iterative force to the stem (see § 53, 2, b). Sporadic examples in noun derivation also occur, e. g. *aip'a-tsi-* BOY: *aiva-(p'itsu-)* YOUTH.

(b) *Glottalization*, the insertion of a more or less movable glottal stop in the body of a stem or suffix. This occurs most frequently in connection with certain types of reduplication (see § 58, 3 and 4). Like gemination, it is also used to express momentaneous activity and iteration (see § 53, 2, a). Gemination and glottalization tend to be associated or equivalent processes. This may eventually help to clear up the origin of the geminating power of certain stems (§ 16, 2).

(7) VOCALIC CHANGES. Certain vocalic interchanges are sporadic and of no functional significance; these may be survivals in part of older processes, in part they have sound-imitative value. Other vocalic interchanges are associated with definite alternations of function.

(a) *Sporadic interchanges.* An alternation of *a* (*a*) and *ɔ* (*ɔ*) is found in:

<i>pa-ra-xa-</i>	rain patters	<i>pɔɔ-xwa-</i>	sound of hail, horse's hoofs
<i>pa-nta-γa-</i>	to make a peeking noise	<i>pɔ-ntɔ-γwa-</i>	to sound like a thud

An *a* of the durative alternates with an *ī* of the iterative form of the stem in:

<i>ya-vaγai-</i>	to be afraid	<i>yīī-p-aq-ai-</i>	to be afraid several times
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ī and *ɔ* alternate in:

<i>-ñīγan-ia-</i>	adverbial affix (§ 60, 2, b)	<i>-tɔγɔn-ia-</i>	(rarer form of same)
<i>tcɔ-q-ɔq-ɔi-</i>	to sound like a punch- ing noise	<i>tcī-q-īq-īi-</i>	ditto

In the latter example the primary form *tcɔ-^o* WITH THE FIST (§ 20, 2) is assimilated to the *ī*-vowels of the stem; conversely, *-q-ɔq-ɔi-* may represent an assimilation of *-q-īq-īi-* to the *ɔ* of the prefix (see § 3, 3, e). Cf. also *pi-k-ik-i-* TO SOUND LIKE A SLAP ON THE BUTTOCKS (*pi-^o* WITH THE BUTTOCKS, § 20, 2), in which the same stem with *ī*-vowel seems to have become assimilated by the *i* of the prefix. Perhaps more frequent than any of these interchanges is that of *ɔ* and *u(o)*; this is apart from the purely phonetic interchanges already spoken of (§ 3, 5, e). Examples are:

<i>pa'-sɔ'rɔɔi-tcī</i>	waterfall	<i>curur'u-</i>	to make a noise of whirling down
<i>tɔŋqwa-</i>	one (bow) snaps	<i>to-q-wa-</i>	to stretch
<i>pɔɔ-</i> (<i>poru-</i>)	several travel	<i>-puru-</i>	(in compound verbs) to go back and forth
<i>tcɔ-a-</i>	white	<i>pa-ruc-a-</i>	Virgin River (lit., water-white)

<i>təp'a-q'i-</i> (tree) comes loose, <i>təvi-</i>	<i>tup^wa-q'i-</i> one object emerges,
<i>tcai-</i> (feathers) come out	pulls out, <i>tuv^wa-γ(a)i-tcai-</i> several objects emerge, come through

(b) *Functional interchanges.* Two types of interchange occur, a qualitative and a quantitative one. To the former belong the change of an *a*, *a'*, *ə*, or *u* of the singular verb stem to an *i* in the plural (§ 53, 1, b); the alternation of semelfactive *-i-* with durative or iterative *-a-* (§ 53, 1, c); and the alternation of active *-a-* with static or medio-passive *-i-* (§ 53, 1, d). The latter process, vocalic lengthening, is employed partly to indicate futurity, partly in certain continuative forms.

§ 18. *Compounding of Stems.*

Both compound nouns and verbs (including adjectives) may be freely formed in Paiute. A large number are in constant and idiomatic use, while new compounds can be constructed without difficulty. The process of compounding is evidently very much alive in Paiute. Triple compounds, i. e. compounds involving three independent stems, are by no means infrequent (e. g. *qava'(u)-xwA'ci-vāix·i* HORSE-TAIL-HAIR; *qitca'-r'i'ma-t'iv^wutcu-* BLOOD-ROAST-ASK FOR). Even quadruple compounds are not unknown. Nouns frequently lose an absolutive or classificatory suffix when compounded (e. g. *-tsu-*, § 24, 1, f; *-vi-*, *-p'i-*, *-mpi-*, § 24, 1, a and b; *-vū-* *-p'i-*, *-mpi-*, § 24, 1, d and e); e. g. *səγə'-φi* MOIST GROUND, *NA'-cə'γə'-ma'vi-* TO LIE COVERED OVER WITH EARTH.

(1) **COMPOUND NOUNS.** Compound nouns are most easily classified with reference to the nature of the first and second compounded terms. Triple and quadruple compounds are always morphologically binary, one or both of the terms being in turn compound. Thus, the examples given above are to be analyzed as HORSE-TAIL + HAIR and BLOOD-ROAST + ASK FOR. Noun stems, particularly in initial position, sometimes appear in abbreviated form; e. g. *nī-n* PERSON < *nīḡwī-s*, *na-n* TRAIL < *naḡwa-s*, *pa-s* WATER < *pa-s*. For *mə'ə-s* HAND is sometimes used *ma-s* (cf. verb prefix *ma-s*, § 20, 2). The qualifying element regularly precedes. Noun compounds whose second element is a participle or adjective, though logically substantival, are morphologically best interpreted as either verbs (adjectives) with incorporated noun subject or object (see 2, f below) or, more frequently, participial derivatives of such verbs (adjectives).

(a) *Noun + noun compounds.* These are extremely common. In many cases the primary force is given by the second noun, the first element of the compound merely modifying its range of significance. Examples are:

<i>tiv^wa'tsi-</i> wolf + <i>na-va'vi-ηwī-</i> brothers	<i>tiv^wa'tsinavavηwī</i> wolf-brothers, Wolf and his brother (Coyote)
<i>qwiyā'-(tsi-)</i> grizzly bear + <i>ma(u)mā'uts</i> young woman	<i>qwiyā'ma(u)mā'uts</i> grizzly-bear woman
<i>qava-^s</i> horse + <i>pa'n-a-^g</i> metal + <i>pat'ca-</i> moccasin	<i>qava'va'n-ap-at'ca</i> horseshoe
<i>ina-ⁿ</i> badger (absolute <i>ina'mpīts</i>)	<i>ina'n-īηwīηwī</i> badger people; <i>in-α'n-ia-φI</i> badger chief; <i>ina'-ηqwa-c-I</i> badger tail (absolute <i>qWA's'φI</i> tail)
<i>pi-p-uy'wa-^s</i> woodpecker + <i>tīγivī-</i> friend	<i>pi'p-uy'warixivīāηA</i> his woodpecker-friend
<i>san-a-^g</i> gum (absolute <i>san'a'p-I</i>) + <i>atēi-</i> bow	<i>san'a'atēi</i> gum bow
<i>ma-^g</i> hand (absolute <i>mō'ō'φI</i>) + <i>quna'φī</i> sack	<i>MA^gqu'naφī</i> glove
<i>nī-ⁿ</i> person (absolute <i>nī'ηwī,</i> <i>nīηwī'nts</i>)	<i>nīηqa'n-ιφI</i> somebody else's horse
<i>pa-^s</i> water (absolute <i>pa'·</i>)	<i>paγwī'aφī</i> water-oak; <i>paηwī'aφī</i> mud at bottom of water (< <i>wa'φī</i> mud)

Frequent also are "bahuvrihi" compounds, i. e. such as indicate that the noun referred to by the second element of the compound is possessed by an understood or specified person, animal, or object (cf. such English compounds as *hunchback*, i. e. HAVING A HUMPED BACK). Examples are:

<i>cīnaηwavi-ⁿ</i> coyote + <i>tō'si-</i> head (absolute <i>tō'tsi'φI</i>)	<i>cīna'ηwavintōts</i> coyote-headed, crazy-headed person
<i>qut-cu-ⁿ</i> buffalo + <i>taν-as-ιχα-</i> hoof cleft + <i>wīγi-ⁿ</i> vulva (absolute <i>wīγi'mpi</i>)	<i>qV'tcu'ntan-as-ιχαηwix'ī</i> (girl with a) vulva that is cleft like a buffalo hoof
<i>naγa-^s</i> mountain sheep + <i>nampa-^s</i> foot (absolute <i>nampa'φI</i>)	<i>naχa'nampa</i> mountain-sheep-foot (personal name)

None too frequently juxtaposition of phonetically independent

nouns occurs in lieu of composition, e. g. *qava'(u)xwA'civaiγ amī nava'viiwī* HORSE-TAIL-HAIR THEY BROTHERS, THE HORSE-TAIL-HAIR BROTHERS; *qava'ruwats piyu'p'its* HORSE-CHILD FEMALE, FILLY.

(b) *Noun + participle compounds.* As already remarked, such compound nouns are morphologically active or passive participles of verbs with incorporated nominal subjects or objects respectively. They function as true nouns nevertheless. Indeed, to only a slight extent can the verbs be freely used with the incorporated noun subjects, while participial derivatives of such verbs are very frequent. Moreover, in some cases the participle of these compounds has taken on a considerably specialized meaning, notably *qarī'-rī* SITTING (plural *yuywi'-tēi*), used in compounds to mean KNOLL, PEAK, ISLAND. Examples of compounds in which the noun is morphologically a subject of the verb implied by the participle are:

<i>qaiya-</i> mountain + <i>avi'-tēi</i> lying	<i>qa'iva-vitēi</i> mountain-lying, plateau, Kaibab Plateau
<i>vvi-</i> wood + <i>sa'ma'q-a-nti-</i> lying spread out	<i>vvi's'a'maq-antī</i> timber laid low on the ground
<i>aŋqəvi-</i> dried-up tree + <i>wini-rī-</i> standing	<i>a'ŋqəvīwini-rīA</i> dried up tree that was standing (obj.)
<i>pa-</i> , <i>pa-</i> water + <i>qarī'-rī</i> sitting (plur. <i>yuywi'-tēi</i>)	<i>pa'q-arīrī</i> , <i>paγa'rīrī</i> water-sitting, lake (plur. <i>paiyv'χwtēi</i>) lakes)
<i>-qarī'-rī</i> sitting, knoll, peak, clump, island	<i>maa'xarīrī</i> brush-sitting, timbered knoll, clump of woods; <i>qa'ivaχarīrī</i> mountain-sitting, mountain peak; <i>yiv^wl'ηkarīrī</i> pine peak, Mount Trumbull; <i>niv^wa'xarīrī</i> snow-sitting, snow covered peak; <i>γə'ηqwarīrī</i> fir-sitting, fir island
<i>-narīγwi-n-α-p'ī</i> being powerful, power-endowed	<i>nīηwī'narīγwi-n-αp'ī</i> person-power endowed, person endowed with unusual strength; <i>qv'tu'c-unarīχwi-n-αp'ī</i> giant-power-endowed, person endowed with gigantic power
<i>tava'c-u-p'ī</i> dried up (< <i>tavac-u-</i> it dries up)	<i>γə'ntavac-up'ī</i> fir-dried up, dried up fir

qwa'cū'-p'ī ripe (< *qwac-ī-* to *a'p'ərīc'ixwA'cū'p'ī* apple-ripen, be done) ened, ripe apples

Rarely the noun is found detached from its participle, e. g. beside objective *pa-γa'rīrīA*, *pa'-q-arīrīA* LAKE we have also *pa'īA qarī'rīA* WATER (obj.) SITTING (obj.).

Rather different from these examples in inner, if not outer, form are compounds in which the participle is freely used in a substantival sense. They are really ordinary noun + noun compounds, in which the logical emphasis is on the second element. Examples are:

NU^zqwī'-ntī stream (lit., flowing) *A'ta'n-U^zqwintī* sand stream (i. e. "stream with sandy bed," not "streaming, flowing sand")
ta^zqa'γa-ntī being flat, a "flat" *A'ta'RA^zqa'γantī* sand-flat (not "flat sand")

Very common are noun + participle compounds in which the noun is to be thought of as the object of the verb back of the participle. Here again the compound is functionally a noun, the logical emphasis being generally placed on the first element. Examples are:

tō'ō'ivī- bulrush + *ora-n-anī* my digging, my dug-up ones *tō'ō'ivōran-an UR* my-bulrush-dug it, the bulrushes that I dug up
paī-^o blood + *mantcaq-ai-n-a-* stretching out (one's) hands, hands stretched out *pa'mantcaq-ain-aφī* his own blood-hand-stretched out, his own bloody hands
tō'su- head + *fī'm^wa'-p-I* roasted *tō'tsī't-ī'm^wαp-I* head-roasted, roasted head
qan- house + *mama'x-aqat'-pi-* having been given (by many) *qanī'mamax-qat'puaηA* his house-given (by many), his house given (him) by many
piηwa- wife + *tv-ηwa'i-p'ī* picked up *piηwa'rv-ηwai'p'īni* my wife-picked up, my wife who has been picked up (by me)
qut-cu- buffalo, beef + *iyā'-p'ī* cut up and dried *qu'tcu'iyap'ī* dried beef

Such examples differ in inner form from compounds in which the noun is an ordinary incorporated noun object of an active participle, e. g. *tūmp^wl'-n-arō'ηqwa-ntī* STONE-WEARING, STONE-CLOTHES.

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(c) *Noun + adjective compounds.* Most adjectives are really verbs (predicative) or participles of verbs (attributive). There are, however, a few cases of true adjectives with nominal suffixes (e. g. *-mpĩ-*, *-tsi-*) which, in compounds, follow the noun they qualify, e. g.:

qani- house + *it'ü-mpĩ-* old *qani'it'ümpĩ* house-old, old house
wi'a-^o penis + *pi'to'p'i-t-* short *wi'a'p-i'to'p'its* penis-short, short penised ("bahuvrihi")

(d) *Noun + verb compounds.* Nouns which are compounded of a noun stem and a bare verb (or adjective-verb) stem are extremely uncommon. They seem to belong to the "bahuvrihi" type. Examples are:

wi'a-^o penis + *nɔ^zqo''mi* to bend (intr.) *wi'a'n'nɔ^zq'wɔ'MI* penis-bend, bent-penised (personal name)
pa-^s water + *tuc-a-* to be white (ordinarily *tɔc-a-*) *paru'cA* water-white, Virgin River

(e) *Verb + noun compounds.* These are fairly frequent, e. g.:

nɔ- to carry on one's back *nɔ'q'ava'* pack-horse; *nɔ's'ari-ts* pack-dog
yai- to hunt + *qava'* horse *yaa'ik'ava'* hunting horse
naγu'q-wi- to fight + *nun-i'a-viγwĩ* chiefs *naγu'q-wi-n-i'a-viγwĩ* fight chiefs, battle chiefs
yaγa- to cry + *uw^wi'aφĩ* song *yaγa'uw^wi'aφĩ* cry-song, song used in mourning ceremony
NA'sa''a- to boil oneself, sweat + *qa'ni* house *NA'sa''aq-anI* sweat-house

Here must be included compounds of adjective-verb stems and noun stems, which also are quite common, particularly in a "bahuvrihi" sense (sometimes nominalized by *-tsi-*, § 24, 1, f) and in verbal derivatives in *-kai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). Examples are:

piḱ'a-^o to be sore *pi'ḱa'χwit'ĩ* sore-buttocks (personal name); *pi'ḱa'm^o* sore-handed); *pi'ḱa'rɔts* sore-head(ed); *pi'ḱa'nampats* sore-footed (one)
piḱ'a-^o to be hard *pi'ḱa''aiA* hard-turtle, land turtle; *pi'ḱa'χunaφĩ* hard-bag, rawhide bag

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<i>aŋqa-</i> to be red	<i>aŋqa'p-aγi'</i> red-fish, trout; <i>aŋqa'- ra-φi</i> red-pole; <i>aŋqa'q-ani</i> red-house
<i>tɔc-a-</i> to be white	<i>tɔ'ca'p'aiyampa-ts</i> white-breast- ed (one), gull; <i>tɔ'ca'p'aiya-tsi- γanti</i> white-breast-having, gull
<i>tca-</i> to be wrinkled	<i>tca'χuw'a-χai-</i> to have a wrin- kled face; <i>tca'm'ɔ-χwai-</i> to have wrinkled hands

Under this heading may also be included nominalized participles based on verbs compounded of verb (or adjective) + verb, e. g. *aŋqa'q-wi'carī* RED-FLASHING, LIGHTNING; and nouns compounded of verb (or adjective) stems and participles that have substantial force to begin with, e. g. *aŋqa'p-a-NU²qwinti* RED-STREAM (*pa'NU²-qwi-nti* WATER-FLOWING, STREAM).

(f) *Participle + noun compounds.* This type of noun compound is not uncommon. Examples are:

<i>man-u-</i> all + <i>-va-nti-</i> future participle	<i>man'u'va-nti'p-a'atswiŋwī</i> all- kinds-of-animals that are destined to be
<i>nana'x-qa-nti-</i> being of different kinds	<i>nana'x-qanŋiŋqani</i> different kinds of houses
<i>s-iŋqwa'naiŋqwa-t-i-</i> being on the other side, the other	<i>s-iŋqwa'naiŋqwat-i-aiŋaviŋi</i> my other arm
<i>a'a'-t-i-</i> being good	<i>tiv'wi'ts at-uuw'iaia(u)φi</i> very his- own-good-song (obj.), his own very good song

The noun of the compound may, of course, itself be participial in form, e. g. *to'q-wari-NU²qwinti* BEING BLACK-STREAMING, BLACK STREAM.

(g) *Adjective + noun compounds.* Aside from adjective-verb stems and adjective-verb participles, true adjectives may also be used as the first, qualifying, elements of noun compounds, some of them (e. g. *aī-^s* NEW and *i-^o* OLD) being apparently found only in such compounds. Examples are:

<i>ma''-p-i-^s</i> little (absolute <i>ma''p-i- -ts</i>)	<i>ma''p'im'onts</i> little hand; <i>ma''- p-i'χanints</i> little house
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<i>pa·vī-n</i> clear + <i>pa·</i> water	<i>pa·vu'mpa'</i> clear water
<i>ai-s</i> new	<i>a'in·aŋwa·ŋA</i> his fresh tracks; ' <i>a'iv^w·iŋwa-vīts</i> newly-married one (< <i>piŋwa-</i> wife)
<i>i-s</i> old	<i>i'p·uŋquni</i> my old horse; <i>i'p·iāni</i> my old relative

Some adjectives may precede the nouns they qualify as independent terms, e. g. also *ma''p·i-ts· qa'ni* LITTLE HOUSE.

(h) *Numeral + noun compounds.* These are very common and comprise one of the typical methods of expressing numeral relations. For examples see § 59, 2, b.

(i) *Pronoun + noun compounds.* These are quite rare, including terms compounded with interrogative *in·i-s* WHAT KIND OF, WHICH and *qīma-s* OTHER, which has certain pronominal peculiarities (see § 39, 2). Examples are:

<i>in·i-s</i> what + <i>tīyivī-</i> friend	' <i>ini'ntcīyivīni</i> what friend of mine?
<i>qīma-s</i> other + <i>qani-</i> house	<i>qīma'χaniini</i> my other house

qīma- may also qualify as an independent pronoun, e. g. *qīma'ric·U qani'ni* MY OTHER HOUSE.

(j) *Adverb + noun compounds.* These also are rare. An example is:

<i>tanti'v^wai-</i> far west	<i>tanti'v^waiuv^w·iaφī</i> far-west songs, songs borrowed from western tribes
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(2) **COMPOUND VERBS.** Verbs compounded with other independent stems, particularly verbs and nouns, are extremely common in Paiute. Under compound verbs are, of course, to be included adjective-verbs and participles.

(a) *Verb + verb compounds.* A great many verb stems may be used as the second elements of compound verbs. As to their morphological force, they seem to fall into two groups, those whose action is to be thought of as contemporaneous or coordinate with that of the first verb stem (here belong particularly verbs of position and movement) and those upon which the first verb stem logically depends as a kind of object (e. g. TO WRITE-PRACTICE, TO PRACTICE WRITING).

It is not easy to draw a sharp line between the two groups. Not a few verb stems are used chiefly, if not entirely, as second elements of compounds. Some have become specialized in a quasi-formal significance (e. g. *-paiyi-* TO RETURN, also TO HAVE JUST DONE SO AND SO).

Among the former group are: *-avi-* TO LIE (sing.); *-m'ia-* SEVERAL GO, TRAVEL, GO IN ORDER TO; *-nuqwi-* TO RUN, START OFF; *-nu't-k'ai-* SEVERAL STAND; *-paγ(a)i-* TO WALK, in compounds generally WHILE ON ONE'S WAY; *-pa(i)yī-* TO RETURN, BACK; *-pan'aya-* SEVERAL RETURN; *-pitci-* TO ARRIVE; *-pin'i-* TO SEE, LOOK; *-puru-* TO GO ABOUT, FROM PLACE TO PLACE (cf. independent *pɔrɔ-* SEVERAL JOURNEY); *-qa-* TO SING; *-qari-* TO SIT (sing.); *-qwavi-* SEVERAL LIE; *-kwip'a-* TO HIT; *-waγwi* SEVERAL STAND; *-win'i-* TO STAND (sing.); *-yuywi-* SEVERAL SIT. Examples are:

<i>-avi-</i> to lie	<i>yni'avuxa'</i> while thus-do-lying, while lying as described; <i>tA'pa'-c-k'aiavi'</i> lies senseless; <i>ti'qa'-avik'ai'</i> several eat in lying position
<i>-m'ia-</i> several travel (not frequent as independent verb)	<i>tu(w)a'm'iap'iyā'</i> each gave birth while on their way; <i>qa'm'iap'iyā'</i> (they) sang while on their way, went in order to sing; <i>nonts'k'amiaγā'</i> as (they) flew along
<i>-paγ(a)i-</i> to walk	<i>qa'p'ay(a)ip'iyā'</i> (he) sang while on (his) way; <i>qavv'ηupax-i-piyā'</i> (they) stopped to camp while traveling
<i>-pa(i)yī-</i> to return	<i>ya'va(i)'yiq'wa</i> bring it back; <i>no'p'a(i)yik'ipiyā'</i> came back home carrying on (his) back
<i>-pitci-</i> to arrive	<i>ivi'vitci'</i> comes to drink; <i>tca-'a'ivutciχw'aip'iyā'</i> went and took hold of (her) as soon as (he) arrived
<i>-puru-</i> to go about	<i>a'ivurup'iyā'</i> said as (he) went here and there; <i>pax(a)'impuru-χwa'</i> while walking from one to another

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-qa-	to sing	<i>ʊ'cu'q-wiχa·p'īγa'</i>	whistled and sang, whistled a tune
-qari-	to sit	<i>pīn·i'k'arīχa'</i>	while sitting and looking; <i>qwitca'χarīp'īγa'</i> sat down and defecated
-waŋwi-	several stand	<i>qa'ŋwaŋwi'</i>	several stand and sing
-wīn·ī-	to stand (sing.)	<i>naŋqa't·caŋwūnup'īγa'</i>	stood and listened; <i>ampa'χaŋwīnī'</i> stands and talks

Some of the latter group of verb stems are: -*ampaγa-* TO TALK; -*maup'a-*, -*mauq'u-* TO FINISH, STOP (-*mauq'u-* only in compounds); -*maq'īŋ'wa-* TO TRY; -*muc'ui-* TO TRY; -*pai-* TO CALL UPON; -*pīn·i-* (n'ni-) TO LOOK AROUND FOR; -*put·cutcuγwa-* TO LEARN HOW; -*qora-* TO PUT OUT; -*tīγa-* TO PRACTICE, TRY; DIRECT, TALK ABOUT; -*tīŋwavaγa-* TO MAKE A NOISE OF; -*tīv^witcu-* TO ASK FOR; -*tīv^witcu'a-* TO LEARN HOW; -*tuc·uŋ'wi-* TO EXERCISE POWER. Examples are:

- <i>maup'a-</i> , - <i>mauq'u-</i>	to finish	<i>tī'qa'm·au'p'a</i>	be through eating; <i>tīγa'n·mauq'utsuaŋa</i> having finished butchering him
- <i>muc'ui-</i>	to try	<i>pi'p't'a'n'm'cu'</i>	tries to vomit
- <i>tīγa-</i>	to measure (as absolute verb)	<i>wī'l't'īγa'i'</i>	practices dancing; <i>kiya't'īχa·m'ip'īγa'</i> he always commanded a round-dance to take place; <i>pA^zqa'χw'ōitcīχa'χa'</i> talking of going to kill
- <i>tīŋwavaγa-</i>	to make a noise of	<i>ampa'riŋwavaŋai'</i>	sounds like talking; <i>mumpa't'iywavaŋai'</i> sounds like something rolling
- <i>tīv^witcu-</i>	to ask for	<i>tīχw'·n·at'iv^witcuχwai'iywa</i>	go and ask him to tell a story; <i>cīi'x·Ativ^witcup'īγaiyaŋa</i> asked him to go for squaw-bush
- <i>tuc·uŋ'wi-</i>	to exercise power	<i>ya'a'it'v'cuŋ'wiyīaŋani</i>	he exercises power upon me (so as) to (make me) die

The most noteworthy examples of compounded verb stems that have developed a non-concrete formal significance are illustrated below:

-paiyi-	to return > to have been doing so and so (sing.)	ivi'vaiyi' drink-returns, has been drinking; qa'vaiyuk'aiyi'angA he has sing-returned, he must have been singing
-pan'aya-	dit. (plur.)	pA'qa'vanayaya' (they) kill-returning, (they) having been killing
-pün'i-m'ia-	to look- be on one's way, to be on the lookout for > to be just about to	tī'qa'p'ünmai' is on the lookout to eat, is about to eat; ya'uq'wi-pünmi(y)ayoaqA when it was on the lookout to set, when the sun was about to set
-qari-	to sit > to keep on doing so and so, to be engaged in so and so	tī'qa'q'ari' eat-sits, keeps on eating; wün'chari' stand-sitting, one engaged in standing, one stationed (to keep watch in hunting)
-yuywi-	dit. (plur.)	wün'yuxwteimi stand-sitting (plur.), those stationed
-c'ua-ηu-	to finish eating > completion	ivi'c'uaηU to drink-finish, to drain
-tup'wi-k'u-	to be used up > completion	na'a'it'U'p'wik'Uqwa' has burn-been used up, has burnt up

Such a second verb-stem needs only to drop out of independent usage to take on the appearance of a suffix. This step has undoubtedly been taken more than once (see § 28).

Under the rubric of verb + verb compounds are to be included also compounds of adjective-verb stem and verb stem and of adjective-verb stem and adjective-verb stem. Examples of the former are:

paï-n	to be smooth	pa'ntA'cu'kwinqi to slip on something smooth
anqa-	to be red	anqa'χwicA to flash red; anqa'q'arai' paints the face (generally but not necessarily, red)
pa-saywa-s	to be water-gray + pünk'ai-	to see, look
saywa-s	to be gray + pür'i-i-	to hang down
saru-	to be hoarse + ampay-	to talk
		pa'saxwavi'nik'ai'p'iyain' looked water-gray in (his) eyes
		saxw'vir'i'-pa-ts blue-hanging-down spring
		saru'ampayai' talks hoarse

Examples of adjective-verb compounds consisting of adjective-verb + adjective-verb (or adjective-verb participle) are:

<i>to</i> - ^o to be black + <i>-m'unuq-wa-</i> to become round	<i>to</i> ' <i>m'unuq-wa-p'iyain-i'</i> became like black and round
<i>päi</i> - ⁿ to be smooth + <i>yua-γai-</i> to be level	<i>päi'yua-xa'</i> to be smooth and level
<i>to</i> - ^o to be black + <i>pa'n'nwa-</i> <i>γanfi-</i> being hollow	<i>to</i> ' <i>p'a'n-waγanti</i> being black and hollow
<i>-saγwa-γa-rī-</i> being blue	<i>A'si's-aγwayarī</i> roan-blue, very light blue; <i>qu'tca'c-aγwayarī</i> ashen-blue, light blue; <i>tu'c-a-</i> <i>γwayarī</i> black-blue, dark blue

(b) *Adjective + verb compounds.* Compounds of true adjectives (not merely adjective-verb stems), including participles, and verbs (or participles) are quite uncommon, except for compounds whose first element is *'a't-i-n* GOOD, e. g. *a't'impu'tcu'tcuγwap'iyā'aik-wa* WELL (HE) UNDERSTOOD IT; *a't'ümpaxqanUp'iyaiyanA* KILLED HIM GOOD AND HARD; *a't'inanqap'iyā'aik-wa* OR *a't'inanqap'iyā'aik-wa* HEARD IT CORRECTLY, CLEARLY; *a't'üwa'ajintci* GOOD-SHOUTING, GOOD SHOUTER. It is remarkable that in most of these examples *a't-i-n* and the following verb are treated as accentually distinct, i. e. the law of alternating stresses is broken. The doublets *-nanqap'iyā'aik-wa* and *-nanqap'iyā'aik-wa* shows the struggle between the force of analogy of the simplex and the regular operation of the phonetic law.

(c) *Pronoun + verb compounds.* Independent personal pronouns are not compounded with verbs. Under this heading, however, are included verbs compounded with quasi-pronominal *qīma-* OTHER (see § 39, 2) and verbs compounded of independent personal pronoun + *-ric'u'ai-n-a'ai-* TO PAY NO ATTENTION TO. Examples are:

<i>qīma-</i> other	<i>qīm-a'ntci'kwa-γwa'a</i> shall not be mixed up with others
<i>-ric'u'ai-n-a'ai-</i> to pay no atten- tion to	<i>nīru'cu'ain-a'a</i> pay no attention to me; <i>aγa'ri'cu'ain-a'a</i> pay no attention to him

The latter examples are just as readily explainable as verbalized pronoun + postposition (see § 50, 4, 29).

(d) *Numeral + verb compounds.* These are very uncommon. An example of a verb compounded with *naŋwa''^aq-u-ⁿ* BOTH (objective in form) is *naŋwa''^aq-ump^Aqanŋu* TO KILL BOTH (i. e. to guess correctly both bone-positions in hand game).

(e) *Adverb + verb compounds.* The adverbs here referred to may occur also independently. There is no real line of demarcation between them and specialized adverbial prefixes (§ 20). Examples are:

<i>nava'c-u-</i> in vain	<i>nava'cup^Aqanŋu</i> to kill in vain (note accentual irregularity, cf. b above).
<i>qatcu-</i> not + <i>-ŋai-</i> to become	<i>qatcu't-ŋaiyūnu</i> I not-become, I am becoming exhausted
<i>tī'ŋwī-^s</i> (. . . <i>n'ia-</i>) quickly	<i>tī'ŋwīŋqamyaŋu</i> I am wont to eat quickly; <i>tī'ŋwīna-vaip-ŋai-</i> <i>n'aq-wA</i> was gathering them up quickly

(f) *Noun + verb compounds.* These comprise examples of what is ordinarily known as noun incorporation. The absolutive or classificatory suffix of the noun is frequently lost in noun-verb compounds. The syntactic relation implied between the verb and its incorporated noun may be of various sorts. The incorporated noun may be an instrument; it may indicate similarity; it may function as a direct object; it may have local significance; it may function as the subject of the verb; it may be a predicate of the subject; or it may be a predicate of the object. Any of these relations may be, and more often is, expressed by properly syntactic or morphological processes. It is not possible to give a simple rule as to when noun incorporation is possible or required, whether, e. g., to say I TRAIL-SEEK OF I SEEK A TRAIL. There is a good deal of option in this matter, but many cases of incorporation are fixed by idiomatic usage. There is some tendency to express what might be called characteristic or generalized relations by syntactic means. Any general and valid rule, however, is hardly to be formulated.

(a) An *instrumental* function is illustrated in:

<i>taŋu-^o</i> thirst + <i>paq-a-</i> to be sore, to have pain	<i>taŋu'p^Aqa-</i> to be sore with thirst, to be thirsty
<i>aŋə-</i> tongue	<i>aŋə'rəwⁱ</i> licks

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<i>pua</i> - ^s "medicine" + <i>qwii</i> - to take	<i>pua</i> '(u)χwii' takes out (disease object) by means of "medicine"
<i>qwas</i> - ^u tail + <i>kwip</i> -a- to hit	<i>qwa</i> 's'xwi'pap'ixaiyaqA hit it with (his) tail
<i>a</i> - ^o horn + <i>ton</i> -a- to punch, strike	<i>a</i> 't'on'ap'iyā' struck at with (his) horns
<i>wii</i> - ^o knife	<i>wii</i> 't'on'ap'iyā' stabbed with a knife; <i>wii</i> 'ηwi'paq'm'NA to rip open with a knife

The verb *ya'ai*- TO DIE is idiomatically used with incorporated nouns of instrumental function to express various unpleasant psychic states, e. g. *tū'qwi*'-*y'ai*- TO BE ASHAMED; *naja*'-*i'ai*- TO ANGER-DIE, TO BE ANGRY; *tīγi*'(i)-*ya'ai*- TO HUNGER-DIE, TO BE HUNGRY.

(β) A few examples have been found in which the incorporated noun has *simulative* significance. It is quite doubtful if such can be considered as representing a distinct type. Examples are:

<i>ta</i> 'ci'ηwα- <i>mpi</i> coarse gravel	<i>ta</i> 'ci'ηwiyuntaqay'i' keeps changing color like gravel
<i>nampa</i> '-φi foot	<i>nampa</i> 'rīηwαyaxai' sounds like footsteps

(γ) The use of the incorporated noun as *direct object* is very common. Examples are:

<i>paγi</i> - ^s fish	<i>paγi</i> 'uriq'ai' eats fish
<i>qwō</i> 'a'- <i>p'i</i> tobacco	<i>qwō</i> 'a't'i'qai' tobacco-eats, smokes
<i>atci</i> - bow	<i>atci</i> 'p'iyava' shall put away bow (for future use)
<i>muv</i> ^w 'i'- <i>p</i> nose	<i>muv</i> ^w 'i't'cau'nai' scratches (his) nose
<i>nīηwi</i> - ^s person	<i>nīηwi</i> 'φUcaγai'ixwa' ^a go look for a person!
<i>vu</i> - ⁿ stick	<i>vu</i> 'ya-vaiyp'iyā' stick-bring-returned, brought back a stick
<i>pa</i> - ^s water	<i>pa</i> 'ru''umA to take water
<i>wantsi</i> - antelope	<i>wantsi</i> 't'inavuruχumi while I was chasing antelopes around

Some incorporated nouns appear in abbreviated form, e. g. *nī*-ⁿ as well as *nīηwi*-^s PERSON, *pa*-^s as well as *pa*-^s WATER. Examples are:

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<i>na-n</i> track, trail (absolute <i>naŋwa'-</i> <i>φl</i>)	<i>nantī'nai'</i> follows trail, tracks; <i>nampī'n'in-i'i'</i> looks for track; <i>nampu'c-aŋai'kup-i'ŋa'</i> started to look for a track
<i>nī-n</i> person (absolute <i>nī'ŋwī,</i> <i>nīŋwī'nts-</i>)	<i>nīntu'aŋqī-</i> to give birth to (a person); <i>nī'ci'm-w'īA</i> to let a person go
<i>pa-s</i> water (absolute <i>pa'.</i>)	<i>pa(i)yu'A'qi'</i> brings water

(δ) Less common is the use of the incorporated noun in a *local* sense. Examples are:

<i>tavi-</i> sun (poetic)	<i>tavi'aviŋa'</i> while lying in the sun
<i>pa-s</i> water	<i>pamī'ntek-w'aiva'</i> will turn up- side down in the water; <i>para'-</i> <i>n'iyi-tsiŋwī</i> people who stick their feet in the water (tribal name)
<i>-pA^xqa'ŋqī-</i> to have a pain	<i>tō'tsi'φA^xqaŋqīyīni</i> I have a head- ache; <i>mo^wu'pA^xqaŋqīyīni</i> I have a toothache
<i>qanu-s</i> house + <i>paŋi-</i> to walk	<i>qanu'vaŋi'nū'</i> visits around in the houses

(ε) Examples of the *subjective* use of the incorporated noun are:

<i>pa-s</i> water	<i>paŋu'nuyōŋwai'</i> water is boiling
<i>paŋī'n'a-s</i> fog, cloud + <i>qA^xqa'rī-</i> to settle, begin to sit	<i>paŋi'n-ax-qarīŋu'</i> would be- come foggy (lit., fog would begin to sit); <i>paŋī'n-aŋwīni-p-a-</i> <i>ŋeiŋī</i> cloud stands up and walks (poetic)
<i>tava-</i> sun	<i>tava'(i)yaŋq-wi'</i> sun sets; <i>tava''-</i> <i>maŋwīc-i'</i> sun rises
<i>m^wi'a't-ōŋō-</i> moon	<i>m^wa't-ōŋō'i'ai'</i> moon dies
<i>nīv^wa-</i> snow + <i>uŋwa-</i> to rain	<i>nīv^wa'uŋwava-n'iaqA</i> it will snow-rain, it will snow

More common than verbs with incorporated noun subjects are noun-functioning participles of such verbs (see 1, b).

(ζ) Examples of the use of the incorporated noun as a *predicate* of the subject are:

imi'ntca' pi'pi'tci thou-past arrive, you arrived
u(w)a'n-oyuntca paiyü'ηU over there-past return, has been there and
 returned from there

If a pronominal enclitic is used possessively with the preceding noun, the enclitic *-(n)tca-* follows (aside from *-φi* ONE'S OWN), e. g.:

mqa'n-intc aηA mompa'q-U father-my-past he roll-off, my father rolled
 off

but:

o'atsa-ηaφi qwüi' arrow-obj.-past- he-own take, he took his own arrow

With interrogative *ai-* (§ 44, 2, c) *-tca-* apparently refers to present time, e. g. *a'itcaηWA* WHERE IS HE? but there is probably an implied reference to the past, e. g. WHERE HAS HE (GONE TO)? It is sometimes used with exhortative *iv^wi-* (§ 60, 2, d), e. g. *iv^wi'tcan iχa'a* LET-PAST-ME-THEN, LET ME THEN!

(b) *-γwa-*, a general preterital element referring to more remote time than *-(n)tca-*. For the form *-γwa'* see § 7. Examples are:

pA'qa'ηuγwa-ηanU I killed him (narrative form; contrast *pA'qa'-ηuntca-ηanU* I have killed him [just now])

nü'χwa'aηWA pA'qa'ηU I-past-him kill, I killed him

an:i'axw aivü' qa'γa' what-past would-say while-singing? what did he sing?

aηa'x uru'^a who-past he? who was he? (*-x < -xw*; § 13, 7, c)

nü'γwa' tō'nA I-past punch, I punched (long ago)

That *-γwa-* is no true tense suffix is shown by the fact that it may be used with the verbal *-yi-* suffix of present time (see § 32, 1), e. g.:

imi'χwar'ua-qA marü'ηgaiyüaqA thou-past-interrogative-it create-present-it? didst thou create it?

ivi'yixwa-q-aηA drink-present-past-it-he, he drank it (long ago)

A broken form *-γwa'a-* (perhaps *-γwa-* + *'a-*, 3) also occurs. Its morphology is not clear. Examples are:

ün'tsiγwa'an uv^wa'ni then-past-I there-I, then I was there

nü'niaxwa'axain-i qarü'i' me-past-too sit-present, I too was seated

imi'axwa'axain-i qarü'i' thee-past-too-sit-present, you too (it was said) were seated

For the objective form of the personal pronoun in the last two examples see § 39, 4.

(2) ENCLITICS OF MODAL AND SENTENCE-CONNECTIVE SIGNIFICANCE. Several of these are used in idiomatic connections that do not readily yield insight into their primary significance. It is believed, however, that the chief elements and uses are given below.

(a) *-γain·ia-*, *-aγain·ia-* TOO, ALSO. These elements always follow pronominal enclitics, when present. The form *-aγain·ia-* is probably compounded of *-a-* (see 3, a below) and *-γain·ia-*; it is not at all clear how it differs in use or meaning from *-γain·ia-*. *-γain·ia-* itself is perhaps compounded of *-n·ia-* (see d below). Examples of *-γain·ia-* ALSO, TOO are:

nä'χain·i' I too
uηwa'c·uγwain·i' that one too
cv·'yuχwain·i' still another one
nim^w·i'χain·i' we (exclusive) too
tī'qa'xw'aiva·n·iχain·i' I also will go to eat

Examples of *-aγain·ia-* TOO are:

nīηwi'axain·i ya'a'ik·a' person-too died
maηa'ia·cuaxain·i uηwaru'' aru''αnA his-too he-is being, he belongs to him too

Sometimes *-(a)γain·ia-* is elided to *-(a)γain·*, e. g.:

nä'axain· iηu'va·n·i' I-too will-do

A frequent modal use of *-γain·ia-* is to indicate a somewhat unexpected inference or an emphasis on an idea that might be questioned. It may then be rendered IT TURNED OUT, IT SEEMS, INDEED, JUST. Examples are:

marī'ac·uχwain·i' qan·i'p·in·i' naya'φA^τqai'pīγa' that (house) -it-
 turned-out old-abandoned- house-like seemed
qan·i'am·iχain·i arī house-their-it-seems it; their house, as it seems
tī'qa'xw'aiva·n·iar'ua·n·iχain·i' it looks, indeed, as if I shall go to eat
pū'i'tcatsiχain·i' mice, as it turned out
i·va·'n·'ian·iχain·i' right here I was
toγ'ovūηwaxain·i uηwa' tīra'xuava·'m av'p·iγa' rattlesnakes-it-was-
 that them in-their-midst lay, indeed he lay right among the rattle-
 snakes

An example of doubly elided $-\gamma ain$ is:

a'in'na·ḡaxain' a'ik'zA that-he-indeed said, that is what he *did* say

(b) $-\gamma a'$ - THEN ! INDEED. This element, which follows pronominal enclitics, has emphasizing force. It is particularly common in optative and hortatory sentences. Examples are:

ya'a'iχv·n'iχa' 'ḡai' die-would-I-indeed (for 'ḡai' see § 60, 3), would that I might die!

paiy'k'iyuyq̄v·ḡwaxa' 'ḡai' return-hither-momentaneous-would-he-indeed, would that he might come back!

iv'w'i'raḡwaxa'a quna'i 'ḡai' ya·'m·wava'ag·wA let-us-then fire it shall-go-get-it

nw'q·aniχa'a do ye, then, carry me!

iv'w'i'χa' uv'w'a'nU nam'i'χa'nintcuxwa'a go-ahead-thou-then over-there first- house-make-go; go ahead, then, over there and first make a house

m'w'α'ḡaya'a'xa'a that one, indeed

(c) $-\gamma wa$ - SHOULD, OUGHT. This enclitic is doubtless identical with preterital $-\gamma wa$ - (1, b above). When used as modal enclitic of obligation or in mild imperatives, it is followed by enclitic $-n·oa$ - (see e below). Examples are:

(u) *m'w'α'nizkaim·iaḡwar'uan·oA* thus- resultative-usitative-should- interrogative-probably; that is not how one should act, be

m'w'α'n·lavim·iaḡwar'uan·oA dit. except that $-avi$ - TO LIE is substituted for resultative $-k'ai$ -; one should not be thus lying

qari' maχwa'n·oA sit-usitative-should-thou-probably, you shall stay
iv'w'i'χwa·ḡan·oA go-ahead-should-him-probably, go ahead and—him!

(d) $-n·ia$ - LIKE. This is one of the most constantly recurring enclitics. Though its primary significance is that of resemblance, it is employed in several fairly distinct nuances of meaning and enters into many idiomatic turns of expression. Its primary meaning is clearly illustrated in:

yn'c·un' naya'p'a·ḡvpi'ḡa' thus-again-like appeared, (it) looked just like before

aχa'niniani naya'φA'zqa' how-like-I appear? what do I look like?

so''tsun' like a soldier

my'an'in'i' like my father (note that $-n·ia$ - follows possessive $-n·i$ - my, but precedes subjective or objective pronominal enclitic; cf. second example above)

A dubitative tinge is often present, in which case *-nia-* may be rendered IT SEEMS, AS IT WERE, AS THOUGH, e. g.:

pA^zqa'ηvūi'qantīna'q'āηA naya'vai' kill-passive-having-been-like-it-he
seems, it seems that he has been killed, it looks as though he has
been killed
qU'qwi'va·p'īγain'ni'āηWA shoot-future-past-like-him, acted as though
about to shoot him
cina'ηwavin'ι' coyote, it seems

This dubitative tinge may become so deepened as to justify the rendering of *-nia-* as PERHAPS, e. g.:

tī'ma'q·Aqain'an·iaray 'uηWA roast-plural subject-perfective-verbal
noun-like-our he, perhaps the one whom we have roasted
w'u'ηwani'ami tīn'āηqīq'a'aimi he-like-thee tell-to-perfective-thee,
maybe he has been telling you

The idea of resemblance may also shade off into that of limit or emphasis, e. g.:

tīna'ava·ntīm·anāηqwan·ia·q·A bottom-at-being-from-like-its, from its
very bottom

A number of verbs, chiefly such as indicate states of mind, are regularly used with enclitic *-nia-*, e. g. *tīηwū-*. . . *nia-* TO HURRY; *ī'it'a·mpaq·a-*. . . *nia-* TO BE TIRED OF; *ai-*. . . *nia-* TO THINK (lit., TO SAY, AS IT WERE; cf. *ai-* TO SAY); *a·ηwaiya-*. . . *nia-* TO BE DIZZY; *an·ia·q·a-*. . . *nia-* WHAT DOES ONE CARE? (cf. *an·ia-* WHAT? § 44, 1, d); *nantcui-*. . . *nia-* TO BE FIERCE; *i·ηwaru'a·q·ai-*. . . *nia-* TO BE WILLING, READY. Here belong also many verbs of sound or sound-imitation, e. g. *ampaiya-*. . . *nia-* TO MAKE A NOISE; *sa-*. . . *nia-* TO SOUND LIKE FLOWING WATER; *mv·a-*. . . *nia-* TO BUZZ, HUM; *oq·w'e-*. . . *nia-* TO SOUND LIKE COUGHING; and numerous sound-verbs with suffixed durative *-γa-* (see § 30, 1). For *-nia-* with numeral stems, see § 36, 1; with certain postpositions, § 50, 4: 7, 35, 39; with certain adverbs, § 60, 1.

Quite unclear is *-n'nia-* following demonstrative *ai-* (§ 43, 5) in cases like:

a'in'niaηaxain·'a'ik·zA that-like (?) -he- indeed said, that is what
he *did* say

Its glottal stop is unexplained.

(e) *-n'oa-* DUBITATIVE. It is almost impossible to assign any definite significance to this enclitic. It seems to render a statement either more doubtful or less definite in application. It may have an impersonalizing function. It is nearly always combined with either modal *-ɣwa-* (see c above) or with an impersonal *-t'ua-* (§ 29, 14) in its own or the following word. Examples of the former have been already given; see also *-c'uya-ɣwa-n'oa-* (h below). When combined with pronominal enclitics, *-n'oa-* regularly follows except in the case of *-n'i-* I, ME, which it precedes. Examples of *-n'oa-* with *-t'ua-* are:

pa'it'ua(i)yin'oani somebody calls me
uwa'n'untcan'oa sotsi'nyutu'^a over-there-past-indefinite peep-somebody,
 somebody peeped over there
sa'a'ngqituava'n'ia'nyanoA make-mush-for-somebody-will-him-indefinite,
 somebody will make mush for him; mush will be made for him
**mpa'i'campaminu' tona't'^wα'va'* no-matter-thee-indefinite strike-
 somebody-shall, I don't care if you are struck

An example of *-n'oa-* unaccompanied by either *-ɣwa-* or impersonal *-t'ua-* is:

m^wα'nintcu' ti'qa'n'oa thus-interrogative eat-indefinite? that is not
 how to eat! (cf. f below)

(f) *-ru'a-* (*-tcu'a-*, *-ntcu'a-*) INTERROGATIVE. Examples of interrogative *-ru'a-* are:

tona'va'n'iar'oa'nyanA will he punch him?
ivi'yiro'^a art thou drinking?
qani'va'ataro'a'nyafi did he (arrive) at his own house?
qatcu'ru'ax'qa'^a nanqa'nywa'^a not-interrogative-it-thou hear-negative?
 do you not hear it?
tanywa'ru'a'ny aro''^a tooth-interrogative-his it-is? is it his tooth?

Examples of interrogative *-tcu'a-* (used after *i*) are:

sari'tcutcu' aro'^a is it a dog?
vu'tcu'a'ny ar aro''ana'nyA stick-interrogative-his it his-being? is it his
 stick

Interrogative *-ntcu'a-* (used after *i* preceded by nasal, also after demonstrative *ai-*) is illustrated in:

imi'ntcu'^u tump'ya' thou-interrogative mouth-have? have you a
 mouth?
a'intcu'an a'ik'zA that-interrogative-I said? did I say so?

Sometimes the interrogative is used merely rhetorically, implying an inference, e. g.:

- um^wa'riar'u(w)a'ηA ni'nu a'γawantciηqim^wʔ* those (inanim. obj.)-interrogative-he me hide-from-usitative? so it is those (clothes) that he has been hiding from me!
- wa-(a'i)yumuḡ:aitcuaw* have two been (here)? it looks as though two have been here!
- pu(w)a'ru'(w)a(i)yuru'αni* medicine-become-present-interrogative-I? I must be getting to be a medicine-man!

Very frequently the interrogative is employed as an ironical method of stating the negative, e. g.:

- um^wa'ni^zkaimiaγwar'onoA* thus-resultative-usitative-should-interrogative-indefinite? should one act thus? that is not how to do!
- ni'nuaro'^a sA'pi'χava ni* me-interrogative-thou overcome-shall-me! you can't overcome me!
- a'intcu'a'η 'a'im'i* that-interrogative-he say-usitative? that is not what he really means!

The interrogative frequently combines with a following *-γain·ia-* (see a above) in the meaning of IT SEEMS THAT. The enclitic *-n·ia-* (see d above) may be introduced between the two enclitics. Pronominal elements may separate the interrogative (or following *-n·ia-*) from *-γain·ia-*. Examples are:

- puar'uava-r'on·ixain·i'* medicine-become-shall-interrogative-I-apparently? it looks as though I shall become a medicine-man
- ya'a'ik·aip·iγaitcōa·ηaxain·i'* die-perfective-past-interrogative-he-apparently? he seems to have died (long ago)
- tī'qa'q·ait·ua(i)yir'uan·uaxain·i'* eat-perfective-impersonal-present-interrogative-indefinite-apparently? it seems that somebody has been eating
- niηwi'RUqwat·uxwava-r'uαn·i(y)αn·ixain·i'* person-under-to-shall-interrogative-like-I-apparently? it seems that I shall go under the person, i. e. be beaten

(g) *-rua-* (*-tcua-*, *-ntcua-*) *-r'ō-n·ia-* (also *-ntua-r'ō-n·ia-*) LIKE. The element *-rua-* (*-tcua-*, *-ntcua-*; *-ntua-*) has not been found alone, but only compounded with interrogative *-r'ō-* + enclitic *-n·ia-*. This compound enclitic has been found only with nouns. It follows possessive pronominal enclitics. Examples are:

w'a'p'untuar'on'i' like a penis
qan'ntcuar'on'i' like a house
w'a'(i)ya-ηaruar'on'i' like his penis (obj.)

(h) *-c'uya-γwa-n'oa-* WOULD THAT! The element *-c'uya-* (*-c'ia-*, *-c'ia-*) has not been found alone, but only compounded with modal *-γwa-* (see c above) and generally *-n'oa-* (see e above). Pronominal enclitics come between the *-γwa-* and the *-n'oa-*, except, as usual, *-n'i-* I, ME, which follows *-n'oa-*. Examples are:

qu'qwi't'u'ac'uyaywa^aηanoA shoot-impersonal-would that!-him-indefinite, I wish he would get shot!
qu'qwi't'u'ac'uγwaraminoA I wish we two (inclus.) would get shot!
qu'qwi't'u'ac'uγwanoani would that I might get shot!

In this sense *-c'uya-γwa-n'oa-* is often attached to the verbal irrealis *-γo-p'u-*, *-ηqo-p'u-* (see § 33, 1), e. g.:

tu'pu'n'iγu'puc'iaγwə(?)n'o' wake-might-would that!-thou-indefinite, would that you might wake up!
tina'ηqwanñiAcuyaxwəno' *p'impi'n'ni^zkaiηuηqo-p'u'cuyaxwəno'* upward-being-objective-would that!-indefinite look (plur.)-momentaneous-might-would that!-indefinite, would that (they) might look up this way!

With *impi-* WHAT (see § 44, 1, c), *-c'uya-γwa-n'oa-* or, more briefly, *-c'uya-γwa-* adds a flavor of unreality: WHAT PRAY! Examples are:

impi'ma'ciaxwan-oA what-with-would that!-indefinite; with what, pray, is one (to cut it up)? (i. e. there is no knife handy)
impi'A'ciaγwa-ηA ti'qa'va' what-objective-would that!-he eat-shall? what, pray, will he eat? (i. e. there is no food to give him)

(i) *-c'a'a-* AND, BUT; THEN! This element is used partly as a connective or contrastive (AND, BUT), partly as an emphasizing particle (THEN!). In the latter use it is frequently appended to *iv^wi-*, the hortatory adverb. Examples are:

nū'ca'a but I; I, for my part
maηa'c'a'a but that one
itci''ca'a and this
iv^wi''ca'a go ahead, then!
iv^wi''ca'ayaxa'a pai'xwa'aiηwA go-ahead-thou-pray-him-then call-go-after-him! go ahead, then, go and call upon him!

(j) *-c-ampa-* ONLY, EXCEPT, BUT. The primary disjunctive significance of *-c-ampa-* is exemplified in:

nī'c-ampa only I, except me

n^wa'i'campa^aη 'aik:ʒA that-only- he says, that is all he says

'i'nicampān onī in-this-way-only-me do-so! enough of this to me!

imī'c-ampa thou alone, thou thyself!

marī'c-ampa piya'ipīγa' that-only was left

Its use as disjunctive connective (BUT) is illustrated in:

o'tcA'campāpāηwA break-wind-preterit-but-he, but he broke wind

The primary idea of ONLY shades off in idiomatic usage to other modal nuances, e. g.:

'i'nimiAcampānūm(w)I in-this-way-travel (plur.)-only-we (excl.),
we ALWAYS do so when traveling

qarī'c-ampa sit-only, JUST stay

ma(·)va'^acampa^aηA there-only-he, RIGHT there he

a'ik:ʒcampān·ianū say-only-like-I, I think so (*ai· . . n·ia-* TO THINK,
see d above)

qū'i'c-ampānū bite-only-me! EVEN SO bite me

nūηwī'Rūqwat·uγwag·an·ac·ampāpāηwA person-under-to-plural-nominal-only-our (incl.); our being beaten, IT WOULD SEEM

For its use with certain independent adverbs, see § 60, 2, a and d. Concessive significance (ALTHOUGH) is exemplified in:

qu'qw'va'ts·sampa shoot-shall-gerund only, though being about to shoot

tīv^wi'ηUqwat·u'ac·ampān 'əqī' ask-plural-impersonal-only-me (for 'əqī'
see § 60, 3), even if they ask about me

(*u*)*ma'iwūtccampa* say-that-always-being-only, though (he) is wont to say that

For regular concessive clauses in *-kai-c-ampa-*, *-γu-c-ampa-* (*-ηqu-c-ampa-*), *-yu-c-ampa-*, see § 55, 1, b, c, e).

(k) *-c-u-* ALSO, AGAIN, SAME. Etymologically this enclitic may be a reduced form of *cv-* ONE. Examples of *-c-u-* in its primary significance are:

qu'qw'p·iγaai·c·u shot again

unū'c·un·i' thus-again-like, just as before

mava'(ai)yuc·u from that same place

nōntsi'q·uc·u fly off again

Its meaning frequently shades off into that of JUST, ONLY (this goes well with its suggested etymology), e. g.:

tu(w)α'tsuŋwac'uŋwA only his sons
marī'c-cu' 'anūk-arīi' that (inan.)- only do-sits, that alone do-sits,
 that alone is thus sitting
nī'niac-U me-just, myself

It is regularly used with *cv-* ONE (e. g. *cv'q-Ucutcāni* one-objective-just-preterit-I; see § 59, 1), with certain adverbs (e. g. *wī't-uc-U* LONG AGO; *na'a'c-U* SEPARATELY; *a'iv^wic-U* ENOUGH; see § 60, 2), and very commonly with independent third personal and reflexive pronouns (see § 39, 1; § 46). For its employment with subordinating verbal suffixes (*-kai-*, *-ku-*), see § 55, 1, b, e. It has largely lost its individuality with personal pronouns, as indicated by its double employment in forms like *marī'c-cu'* above, i. e. *marī'-c-u-*.

(1) *-c-uru'u-* NOR CAN. It was not found possible to elucidate this infrequently occurring enclitic satisfactorily. It is evidently compounded of *-c-u-* (see k above); perhaps *-ru'u-* was misheard for interrogative *-ru'a-*. Examples are:

imī'Acuru'unī thee-neither-I, neither (will) I (act thus to) you
nī'niac-Ucuru' ava'ŋwituŋwani me-just-neither-thou it-into-me, nor
 could you (put) me into it

(m) *-y'a-* QUOTATIVE. Examples are:

ya'a'iyā^a die-quotative; (he) died, it is said
ya'a'iy'a-mī die-quotative-they; they died, it is said
maŋa'c-uya' ya'a'iva-n-i' he-quotative die-future; he will die, they say
uw^wa'cuyā^a iŋqa'nwīa(i)yaφī there-again-quotative cave-objective-
 own; in that same cave of his, it is said

(n) *-'* DUBITATIVE. This element, which follows pronominal enclitics, is often best translated PERHAPS, particularly when accompanied, in the same or following word, by the dubitative verbal suffix *-vī-*, *-mpī-* (see § 33, 2). It is also used in rhetorical questions. Examples are:

ŋnī'ŋuŋtsuŋwa' ivā'nī' tA'tcu' paŋumpī' then-he-perhaps here-being-
 objective fall-down-might; then, perhaps, he fell down around here
uw^wa'ŋwa' qarī'vī' there-he-perhaps sit-might, perhaps he lives there
'i'vā-ntuŋwac-ampa'q-wα' uru'avī' this-at-to-only-it-perhaps be-
 might, perhaps it is right up to here

*maa'iva m p̄i'ηwarami'*ⁱ find-shall-might-he-us 2 (incl.)- perhaps, he
 might find us two
*axa'n iχaini pA^xqa'xa.in-i'*ⁱ how-subordinate-me kill-subordinate-me-
 perhaps? why act thus to kill me?
*imp̄i'ayw̄i t̄iγu'p̄in'ik̄ariχaim'ī'*ⁱ what-you (plur.) food-look-for-sit-
 subordinate-dual-perhaps? what (are) you two (doing) looking for
 something to eat?

It is this enclitic, perhaps, which appears in certain expressions that are difficult to analyze:

ma'i p-i(y)a'^a so-say-passive participle-objective-perhaps, (it) was
 only said so
cu(w)a' i' pi(y)a'^a be-glad-passive participle-objective-perhaps, (it)
 was meant for welcome words

(o) *-aq-* imperative particle. This element will be referred to again when the imperative is discussed (§ 52).

(p) *-ya-* dual-plural subject particle in imperatives. This also will be taken up under imperatives (§ 52).

(3) NOT EASILY CLASSIFIABLE ENCLITICS. Two or three elements not easily classified and, in part, of doubtful significance, may be conveniently grouped here.

(a) *-a-*, *-a'*. I have been quite unable to determine what either of these enclitics indicates. They precede pronominal enclitics, but follow certain other enclitic elements (e. g. *-tca-*, see 1, a above; *-c-u-*, see 2, k above). They are probably found in *-a-γain-ia-* (2, a) and *-γwa'-a-* (1, b), as already suggested. Examples are:

A' p̄i'inac uan yn̄i'k̄-^zA sleep-noun-again-? - I do, I do nothing but
 sleep (for idiomatic use of *-na-c-u-*, see § 62)

qatcu'ani not -? - I, I did not

qatcu'a ηani p̄in̄u'ηwα'^a not -?- him - I see- negative, I did not see him
iva'n'ian iχain-i' this-at-be (§ 26, 2, c) -?- I-just, right here I was
 (*-a-n-i-χain-i'* is enclitic correspondent of independent *n̄i'-axain-i'*;
 see 2, a above)

t̄iγu'p̄in'in'nuaro'^a food-look-for-continuative -?- interrogative-thou?
 are you looking for something to eat?

'i'c'u(w)ani (< *'i-c-u'-a-ni*) long-ago-?-I

navad'c-u'an a'ik̄-^zA yaxa'xa' just-for-fun -?- I say crying, I cry just
 for fun

iwä'ntuγwate'a'ani pA²qa'η'uηWA this-at-to-preterit- ? - I kill-him, I killed him at this place

Such examples as the second, third, and fourth suggest a preterital value for these troublesome elements, but this is rendered very doubtful by the occurrence of *-tea-'a-* and *-γwa-'a-* and of such forms as *qatcu'-tea-ni* NOT-PRETERIT- I.

(b) *-p'ütsi-* DEAR. This is merely a compound suffix: *-p'ü-* (§ 24, 1, d) + diminutive *-tsi-* (§ 35) or *-p'ütsi-* (§ 24, 1, g). It seems to be preceded by an accessory '. It is listed as an enclitic here because it may follow possessive pronominal enclitics, e. g.:

pa'a'nipüts: aunt (*pa-*) -my-dear, my auntie

moα'n'r'püts: my (dear) father (cf. *moα'ni* my father)

piya'n'r'püts: my (dear) mother (more affectionate than *piya'ni* my mother)

(4) ORDER OF ENCLITIC ELEMENTS. The enclitics follow one another in a rather definitely prescribed order. The following scheme is believed to be substantially correct:

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
<i>-c u-</i>	<i>-y'a-</i>	<i>-(n)tea-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-ru'a-</i>	<i>-n ia-</i>	pronoun	<i>-n oa-</i>	<i>-γa'a-</i>
(2, k)	(2, m)	(1, a)	<i>-'a-</i>	(2, f)	(2, d)		(2, e)	(2, b)
	<i>-c uya-</i>	<i>-γwa-</i>	(3, a)	<i>-ya-</i>		<i>-aq a-</i>		<i>-γain ia-</i>
	(2, h)	(1, b;	<i>-rua-</i>	(2, p)		(2, o)		(2, a)
		2, c)	<i>-ntua-</i>					' (2, n)
			(2, g)					<i>-p'ütsi-</i>
								(3, b)

There are a few exceptions to this rule of order, no doubt, but only a few. By "pronoun" is meant subjective and objective enclitic pronominal elements, also possessive *-vü-* ONE'S OWN (§ 40, 4); other possessive pronominal enclitics are, with certain enclitics, attached directly to the noun (or noun + derivative suffixes), with others to the enclitic (e. g. interrogative *-r'ua-*). The order of pronominal enclitics among themselves will be dealt with later (§ 41, 1). If position 7 is occupied by *-n i-* I, ME, it follows position 8 (see 2, e above).

§ § 20-22. PREFIXES.

§ 20. Adverbial prefixes.

Most of the adverbial prefixes are prefixed to verb and adjective-verb forms, one or two to other parts of speech. In origin they are

doubtless all stems which, once independent, have become restricted in usage to composition. In some cases, indeed, a plausible connection can be established with independent stems.

(1) *a*-^s QUIETLY, GRADUALLY:

a'tca'aik'a' to hold quietly, keep quiet
a'xarīi' sits quietly
a'ay^oai' gradually dies
a'ηwA'tsŋ'umī gradually catch up with them

(2) *i*-^o BEFOREHAND, READILY:

i'ⁱt-i'qai' eats beforehand, willingly; is ready to eat
i'ⁱk'A'qarī to run away beforehand
i'ⁱmk:zqai'pūγa' got ready, were ready
'i'ⁱηwaru'A^oqantū'i' who is willing, ready
i'p'otsun'īzkaīni I (am) ready to start off

(3) *i*'-^o IN VAIN:

i'p'ūn'in'ni' looks around in vain

(4) *nam*-ⁱ-^s FIRST:

nam'īvim'i' always drinks first
nam'ī'ⁱai'p'ūγa' (< *nam'ī'-y'ai-*) died first
nam'o'^uv^oit'U'pūγa' (< *nam'ī'-uv^oit'u-*) sang the first song
nam'ī'^oaxai' goes first
nam'ī'χaxa-n-av u'mA first-sing-noun-own it-with, with his first song

This element is sometimes also found with primary nouns, e. g.:
nam'u'ruwatsini first-son-little-my, my first-born son

(5) *nan*-ⁱ-^o SEPARATELY (cf. independent adverb *nan-i'c-U* SEPARATELY, § 60, 2, d):

nan-i'p'aaiteA separately-three-times, three each (see Numerals)
nan-i't-i'qaq'ai' (they) eat separately

(6) *ən*-^o EARLY, JUST PAST:

ən^ot'A'ciaŋqu early-dawn-when, very early in the morning
ən^ot'uγwar'uintī early-night-become-participle, early in the night
ən^ot'awai' early-day-present, (it) is early in the day
ən^o'p'itci early-arrive, to have just arrived
ən^ot'əvun'niχa' when just waking up (assimilated from *-tūvun'ni-*)

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(7) *paĩ-n* PERFECTLY, ALTOGETHER (perhaps identical with adjective-verb *paĩ-n* TO BE SMOOTH):

paĩ'mpa'n'wəyanti perfectly hollow (used of park or valley)
paĩ'mpə'təʔqwarĩ perfectly spherical
paĩ'ntəy(ə)imU'quntarĩ perfectly-just-straight (see 15 below)
paĩ'yua'xanti perfectly-plain-being, level desert with little or no vegetation

Probably identical with this is *pa-* ENTIRELY (for *a* < *aĩ* see § 4, 1) in:

pa'm'anun'i' entirely-all, every single one
pa'tsəyqəqə'o entirely destroyed (as of field trampled down by people)

(8) *pi-s* BACK (cf. instrumental *pi-s* below; § 21, 3):

pi'vĩnk'a' to look back

(9) *pim-i-* BACK AND FORTH (cf. no. 8 above; instrumental *pi-s*; and independent *pimi'tux-wA* BACKWARD, § 60, 2, b):

pim'i'hwĩ'uk'ai' (they) dance back and forth

(10) *pĩŋqa-s* TO KEEP ON -ING:

pĩŋqa'rĩqa'a keep on eating!
pĩŋqa'avip'ĩya' kept lying down
pĩŋqa'maip'ĩya' kept on saying
pĩŋqa''ampaxai' keeps on talking
pĩŋqa'm-a(·)n'iyĩni I do so very (fast)
pĩŋqa'vaai'p'ĩya'aik-wA kept calling it
pĩŋqa'hwaa'ahu' keeps shouting

(11) *cv-s* VERY (probably identical with numeral stem *cv-* ONE):

cv'a'iyĩi' is very good, feels very well
sv'p'a'anti very high
cv'MU²qunta'map'ĩya' went right ahead
su'tcaχip'A very near

(12) *cu(w)a-s* NEARLY:

cu'a'φA²qaŋuntsani'i' nearly-kill-preterit-me-thou, you nearly killed me
cuwa'hwA'tcip'ĩya'aimĩ nearly caught up with them
cu'a'wəyMU²quntarĩ nearly straight

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cuwa'rup^wik·v^wp̄iγa' were nearly all gone, used up
cuwa'ruγwip·iγa' (fire) was nearly out
cuwa'rɔγm^A·cūηwγU nearly-ten, nine

This element is probably identical with *cuwa-^o* in:

cuwa'p·itci' wakes up (lit., nearly-arrives)

(13) *ta-ⁿ* FAR; used only, so far as known, in *tanti'^vv^wai-* FAR WEST
 (cf. *tiv^wai-* DOWN, WEST):

tanti'^vv^wai^p·a' in a far-western land
tanti'^vv^waiuw^w·iaφi' far-western songs

(14) *tī-ⁿ* WELL, THOROUGHLY:

tī·'ntɔγɔq·wip̄iγa' ran well, was on a dead run
tī·'nti^xqai' eats well, eats a grand feast
tī·'ampayai' talks well, has a good talk
tī·'ηwa'ajū' gives a good shout

(15) *tɔγ(ɔ)i-^o*, *tɔγ(w)i-^o*, more rarely *tɔγɔ-^o* JUST, RIGHT, IN MIDST OF.
 This prefix is very common and occurs freely with all parts of speech.
 Examples are:

tɔγɔ'it·avai' (it) is mid-day
tɔγɔ'n·^viv^wai'·iim^w·in·i' just-I-comparable-being-plural-like, equal to
 me (in strength) (*tɔγɔ'n·^wi-* < *tɔγɔ'in·i-*)
tɔγɔ'mv'quntanqūw'·ai^p·iγa' went right straight ahead
tɔγɔ'ip·a'anti' just high (enough)
tɔγɔ'it·i'qai' is right in eating, is about half through eating
tɔγɔ'im·ava'ana right above that
tɔγ^w·i'ajarūq·w^A right under him
tɔγɔ'inqwiγumpā·ηqunt right on the center of my head

§ 21. Instrumental prefixes.

Under this term are included a considerable number of elements of prevalingly instrumental significance. They are used chiefly with verb forms, but not exclusively. In nouns they may in part be employed non-instrumentally, nor is the properly instrumental function always apparent in verb forms. Their origin is largely obscure, but certain analogies suggest strongly that they are on the whole specialized forms of incorporated nouns with instrumental function (see § 18, 2, f, α); to some extent they may be related to verb stems.

(1) *ma*^s (*man*- before *tc*, *ts*) HAND. This prefix is clearly related to, but not directly derived from, independent *məʔə*^s HAND. It is found in one form or other in all Uto-Aztekan dialects (e. g. Tübatulabal independent *ma*-; Fernandino, Luiseño *-ma*; Tarahumare, Pima *ma*-; Nahuatl *ma*- in compounds and as instrumental prefix). It is very common as instrumental verb prefix, many verbs not occurring without it. Its great age is indicated by the presence of verbs in *ma-ηw*-, spirantized from *ma-m*-. Instrumental (in part apparently objective) examples of verb forms are:

mavi'tcA^zqihqī to crush with one's hand
maγu'xIka' to point at
mavi'tsiγt' claps (his) hands
maγa'i' tests by feeling
maγu'tcu'i' feels around, picks at (ear, tooth, arm-pit)
mayu'(w)ai' rubs with (his) hand
mayu'm'v^zkwiηqī to nudge with one's finger
marīηqa- to create
maγarī- to protect
ma(i)γu'n^{aq}ai(y)ahA to have arms around his neck
maχə'p'in'NA to break (trans.)
ma'a'ip'a' to stretch out one's hands palm up
ma'nuk'I to stick one's hand in (water)
maηw'i'n'icηqīahA roll him over (< *ma*- + *mīn'ic*- to turn)
maηw'i'ūna'ηqīp'īγa' tore out of ground with hands (cf. *tam'ī'ūna'ηqī*
to dig out by scraping or poking with foot)
maə'p^{Az}qa'ηqī to make a hole by sticking one's hand into
naηwa'(i)γunNA^zqa'aimi they two hold arms around each other's
necks (< *na-ma*-; see § 22, 1)
mantca'va.i' waves (his) hand
mantca'ηqīp'īγaiyag^A reached for it

A few verbs have *ma*^σ, e. g.:

MA'pī'k'I to touch with one's hand
MA'tca'i'ahqīp'īγa'aik'WA reached for it
MA'ci'q^a(i)yīnI my hands are cold
MA'cū'ηwi- ten (i. e. hands-completed?)

Examples of *ma*^σ and *man*- (before *tc*, *ts*) in noun compounds are:

MA'cī'uφI finger
MA'pa'(i)γa^vuφI hand-surface, palm

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mantca'q'oiφl flesh from elbow to wrist

mantsi'vīφl bone from elbow to wrist

(2) *mu-^s* (*mun-* before *tc*, *ts*) NOSE (cf. independent *muw^{wi-σ}* NOSE).
Verb examples are:

muw^wa'ntui' shakes head from side to side (like a horse)

muro'na to strike with one's nose

moγo'inaī' takes off with (his) nose

muntca'aik'a' to hold with one's nose

muntca'ru'ū' holds up (his) nose in the air

mu-^σ is found in noun compounds, e. g.:

MU'p^{wi}'k·iφl nasal mucus

(3) *pi-^σ* BUTTOCKS, REAR (for *pi-* as independent stem cf. *pimū'-tux·wA* BACKWARD, § 60, 2, b). Verb examples are:

pi'tcu'q·win'NA to crush with one's buttocks, by sitting on

pi'ti'ηwai' closes by pushing with (his) buttocks

pi'ko'ū'nai' lets (his) trousers down (*-qoi'na-* to remove an article of clothing)

pi^z'k'ik·in·i' to sound like a slap on the buttocks (face, or other soft part)

Examples of *pi-^σ* in noun compounds are:

pi'to'ompi rump-fat

pina's·ix·æni my rear-cleft, my crotch

(4) *pī-^σ*, *pu-^σ* EYE (cf. independent *pu'i-^s* EYE):

pī'ti'na(i)yāηA follows him with (his) eye

pu'ca'γai·p·i'γaiηA looked for him

This is an uncommon prefix. A nominal example is:

pu'ti'ηqanūi eye-cave, superciliary ridge

(5) *qī-^σ* TEETH (cf. perhaps verb-stem *qī'i-* TO BITE):

qī'tcu'tcuχwi' grinds, gnashes (his) teeth

qī'tco'χw'a·i' chews

qīni'p·uχwi' (mouse) gnaws

qīū'ηwqi' hangs by (his) teeth

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qī'qa'v̄tcai' breaks (them) in (his) mouth, by grinding with (his) teeth

qī'tcv'í' squeezes between (his) teeth

qī'ca'ra-q'aip'īya' (his) mouth remained open

(6) *ta-*^o FOOT (cf. perhaps verb-stem *taŋa-* TO KICK). Verbal examples of this very common prefix are:

tA'pu'q'wi- to jump

tA'qu'q'wu- to foot-shoot, to kick one's feet out into the air

ta'q'ī- to feel with one's foot

taya'nununqi- to have one's feet dangling

tA'qwi'p'a- to stumble

taŋ'wi'tciγi- to keep time by tapping with one's foot

ta'ora- to dig a hole with the foot

tA'tcu'n'na- to scratch around with claws

tA'ci'n'aiyīni my feet burn from cold

tA'qo'itcai' takes off (his) footwear

taa'in'í' touches with the feet

tama'χa'í' tests (its) depth with the foot

nīv^oa'RA'ton'NI'tiŋwava'pīya' snow-foot-shake-make-noise-past, made a noise of stamping snow off (his) feet

Noun compounds with *ta-*^o are, e. g.:

tan'a's'ιγαφi foot-cleft, split in hoof, spaces between toes

tA'pa'ia'φi sole (of moccasin)

tA²qu'c'i top piece stitched on to upper of moccasin

(7) *t-*^o FIST (cf. perhaps verb-stem *tōna-* TO PUNCH):

tō'tca'rō'í' shakes (his) fist (at)

tō'pa'tA²qiŋqī to burst (trans.) by punching

tō'ti'ŋwai' closes up (a hole) by punching (his) fist (against it)

tō'pa'raiva'n'ia'm'īni I shall knock them down with (my) fist

ōya'U'qwai' pushes in with (his) fist

(8) *tcō-*^o HEAD (survival of old Uto-Aztekan stem for HEAD, cf. Nahuatl *tzon-tli*):

tcō'pa'ntui' shakes (his) head

tcōmō'nīγi' shakes (his) head

tcō²qō'q'ōin'yi' sounds like a noise of punching hard on head (or face)

As first element in noun compounds it occurs, e. g., in:

tcō'pi'k'v- brains

(9) *tsi-*^o WITH THE POINT OF A LONG OBJECT, STICK. This is a very frequent instrumental prefix. Examples are:

tsim'i'n'rcai' turns (meat put to roast on red-hot ashes) with a stick
ts-tsa'ηki'ag-a' to hold on a pole
ts-qu'r'wi' pokes in a hole with the point of a stick
ts-tu'n'nai' braces (house, tree) with a pole
ts-po'i' tries to remove (splinter from flesh) by prying out with a point (e. g. of needle)
tsni'ntcikingi' to shake with the end of a stick
tsηwi'n-aiwa-ηA will throw him (in) with a stick
tsηwi''ηqi' to knock down with a stick
ts-ka'vinai' cuts (with a knife)

(10) *wi-*^o WITH THE LENGTH OF A LONG OBJECT, STICK. The applicability of the primary meaning of this prefix is sometimes obscured. Examples of its use are:

wi'po'n'ncai' drums
wi'ni'ruaw' moves a stick back and forth on the notched rasp
wi'qo'p'in'NA to break against the edge of something
wi'qa'vitcai' cuts several objects
wi'pa'rai' knocks (them) down by slashing with a stick
wi'pi't'kiηUpi'γα' grazed (it) with (his) wing
wi'qa'm'mi- to cover
wi'to'n'nai' shakes (e. g. a blanket)
naηqa'vaηwipanturγwiyini ear-instrumental-shake-iterative-present-I,
 I shake my ears

A few examples of *wi-*, before *y*, may contain another form of this element:

wiyu'm'MU²qwηqi' to hit slightly (as with a willow switch) on the edge (cf. *mayu'm'MU²kwiηqi'* to nudge, poke with the finger)
wi'yα'ηqi'na- to cut notches, *wi'yα'ηqi'na-qi-* to have notches cut into (itself)

(11) *ta-*^o BY THROWING, WITH A STONE (cf. perhaps verb-stem *tavi-* TO THROW A STONE). Externally it is identical with *ta-*^o FOOT (see 6 above). Examples are:

tan-i'ntcikingi' to shake by throwing an object at (it)
tA'pa'rai' knocks (them) down with stones
taηwi''ηqi' to knock (it) down with a rock

tA'ci'n'i^zqava-raywa let us all play the ring-and-pin game
tA^zqa'.iyuŋwi- to split in two by hitting on a stone
yu'o'RA^zqɔp-un'NA leg-instrumental-break, to break a leg by throwing
 a stone at (it)

Cf. also, as example of a noun compound:

tA'ci'ŋwampī coarse gravel (cf. *ciŋwα'mpī* gravel)

(12) *qu-^o* FIRE (cf. independent noun stem *quva-* FIRE; also independent Shoshonean **ku-*, e. g. Tūbatulabal *gu-t*, Cahuilla *ku-t*):

qumu'ntuakīpīya' heated stones by putting them on the fire
qu'tu'n'ūi' drills for fire
qu'pa'ra:χai' pops in the fire
qu'tsi'k'iyini I build a fire
qɔnɔ'yɔχwa' water boils
qu'tsi'ai' roasts on a spit
qoq'wawutcayi' breaks it in half by burning over the fire (song form)

(13) *cī-^o* COLD (survival of Uto-Aztekan stem **se-*, cf. Nahuatl *cc-ti*). This element is not freely used, but occurs only in certain stereotyped forms, e. g.:

cī'pī'rai' (object) is cold
cī'pa'i'aiyini I feel cold (lit., I die of cold; *cīpa-* as incorporated noun has not been otherwise found)
cī'pī'χurutca qai'p'iyain'i' felt as though a cold breeze were in his head
cī'tu'i' (it) is cold weather
cī'pī'n'uk'ain'i' (it is) draughty, chilly
MA'ci'q'uaiyini my hands are cold

(14) *ta-^s* SUN, HEAT (cf. independent *tava-* SUN, DAY). This element also occurs only in certain stereotyped forms:

taro'i' (it) is hot weather (cf. *cī-t-u'i-* above)
tA'cī'a-n to be dawn
tA'cī'p-a-^s to be evening

Possibly also:

tavai- to set (brush) on fire
tavac-u- to dry in the sun

(15) *tca-^o*. This prefix is fairly common and is clearly instrumental in force, as shown, e. g., by its alternation with other instrumental

prefixes (e. g. *ma^s*, *ta^o*, *tsi^o*). Its precise force, however, is far from clear. Perhaps it denotes indefinite instrumentality. In some cases it seems to refer, like *ma-*, to the HAND. Examples are:

tca'pa'ntui' shakes (with the hand) (cf. *ta'pa'ntu-* to shake with the feet)

tcq'u'wa.i' scratches (with the hand) (cf. *ta'u'wa.i'* scratches with the foot)

tca^zqo'itcai' takes off clothes (cf. *maγo'itcai'* takes off gloves, bracelets, armlets)

tca'mpin'na- to raise so as to uncover (*tca-i'mpin'na-*) (cf. *māi'-mpin'a-ηqū-* to raise covering from)

tca^zpa'q'in'NA to tear into two pieces; *tca^zpa'γ(a)itca-* to tear to pieces (cf. *tō'pa'γitca-* to rip open in several places; *wii'ηwū'paq'in'NA* knife-edge-tear-momentaneous-causative, to rip open with a knife)

tca^zo'ηqwa-ηqūva'n-i' will pull (feathers, hairs) out by force

tca'pu'ruχwi' scatters (trans.), sows (seeds)

tca^zpi'nikihupūγain-i' (it) appeared like open, darkness cleared up

(16) *o-*, assimilated *u-* ROUND OBJECT, HOLE (*o^o* before momentaneous forms, *o^s* before durative forms). This element occurs only in a few stereotyped forms:

o'pa'q-i- to be (one-)holed, participle *o'pa'q(a)itci* with a hole, *o^oa'xitcai-* to have holes (derivatives from *-paq-i-*, *-paγ-i-* to tear, see under *tca-* above)

u'pu'q-wi- to bounce (like a ball) (cf. *ta'pu'q-wi-* to jump).

This element is not a true instrumental, but rather a stereotyped objective classifier. It may, indeed, be used with true instrumental prefixes, e. g. *mas'p-a^zqa-ηqū-* TO MAKE A HOLE BY STICKING ONE'S HAND INTO.

A few verbs in *u^o* referring to SLEEP or CLOSING ONE'S EYES may possibly contain this element (ROUND OPENING metaphorically > EYE?):

u'tu'c-ηwū'i- to cause to go to sleep (cf. *tu'cu'η'wi-* to exercise power upon, to cause to do as one wishes)

u'tcu'm'mi- to have one's eye's closed, *u'tcu'm'ma-* to close one's eyes

It is just as possible, however, that this *u^o* is assimilated from an *i^o* that appears also in *ūt-i'η'wa-ampaγa-* TO TALK IN ONE'S SLEEP.

(17) *pa^s* WATER. This is nothing but the incorporated noun stem *pa^{-s}*, *pa^s* WATER used instrumentally. It is listed here as a

prefix because it occurs in a number of verbs whose bare stems are not found in use without it:

patca'q-wa- to get wet, *patca'q-wi-* to be wet
pari'γi- to wash (trans.), *nava'rīγi-* to wash oneself
patca'q-ūqwa- to water, irrigate

Less probably also:

nava'q-ī- to bathe (intrans.) (non-reflexive *-paq-ī-* not found)

The instrumental prefixes are much more closely connected with the verb stem proper than any other elements preceding the stem, e. g. adverbial prefixes, reflexive *na-* (see § 22, 1), or incorporated nouns. An instrumental prefix comes nearest the stem. Owing to this close connection, the psychological analysis becomes somewhat obscured at times, so that the notion of instrumentality may be repeated in a preceding incorporated noun, e. g. *wiī'-ηwī'paq-in'NA* TO RIP OPEN WITH A KNIFE (contains both instrumental incorporated noun *wiī-* KNIFE and instrumental prefix *-ηwī-* < *-wī-* WITH THE BLADE OF A LONG OBJECT). Sometimes an instrumental prefix is so closely identified with the stem that it may be preceded by another instrumental prefix, e. g. *MA'pī'k-i-* TO TOUCH (that *ma-^o* is a prefix is indicated by parallel *tA'pī'k-i-* TO TOUCH WITH THE FOOT): *wīma'-p-ik-i* TO TOUCH WITH THE EDGE OF A STICK, *tōma'p-ik-i* TO TOUCH WITH THE FIST.

§ 22. Reflexive and reciprocal prefixes.

(1) *na-^s* SELF, EACH OTHER (*nan-* before *te, ts*). Properly speaking, forms in *na-^s* are nothing but compounds of reflexive pronominal stem *na-* (for independent *na-* with postpositions, see § 46) and verb-stem or noun-stem (for type of compound see § 18, 2, c; 1, i). The element *na-* is so frequently and idiomatically used, however, that it seems advisable to treat it as a prefix.

Its primary significance is reflexive, e. g.:

<i>pīn-i-</i> to see	<i>navi'nituiḱ-ai(y)ayanī</i> he let me see himself
<i>uḡwai-</i> to hang	<i>nqu'waip-īγa'</i> hung (him)self
<i>a'ḡa-ru-</i> to make a piñon jay	<i>na'a'^aḡarUqwaqumpa'</i> shall turn (them)selves into piñon jays
<i>sa'a-</i> to boil	<i>NA'sa' ai'</i> boils (him)self, takes a sweat-bath
<i>parīχi-</i> to wash (trans.)	<i>nava'rīχi'</i> washes (him)self

Many verbs in *na-* have an indirect reflexive or mediopassive significance. Not infrequently the stem is not in use without the prefixed *na-*. Examples are:

<i>-qa-</i> (stem not used alone)	<i>naγa-</i> to wear (clothing)
<i>-to'a-</i> (stem not used alone)	<i>naro'a-ŋu-</i> to have (one's skin) on
<i>-paq'i-</i> to bathe (bare stem not in use)	<i>nava'q'ip'iγa'</i> bathed (them)- selves
<i>-qut'ci'a-</i> (for <i>qu-^o</i> see § 21, 12)	<i>naγu't'ci'a-</i> to burn up (intrans.)

A very common derivative of the primary idea of *na-* is that of reciprocity, generally of the subject, less often of the object, e. g.

<i>quq'wi-</i> to shoot	<i>naγu'q'wiyqi-</i> to shoot at each other, i. e. to fight
<i>tən-a-</i> to punch	<i>nī'ayA narō'n'naŋqīi'</i> I-him self- punch-to-present, I have a fist- fight with him
<i>kwip-a-</i> to hit	<i>naγw'p'a^zqap'iγa'</i> (they) hit each other
<i>maγa-</i> to give	<i>naγwa'xanqī-</i> self-give-to, i. e. to pay
<i>tinlinia-</i> to tell (on)	<i>nari'ntinia(i)y'i'imū</i> they tell on each other
<i>tiv^wiyu-</i> to ask	<i>nari'v^wiyuq'wai'</i> (they) ask one another
<i>-tsin'na-</i> (stem not used alone)	<i>nantsin'na-</i> to joint, cause to be joined together

Reduplicated *nana-*, to express either iteration or distribution of reflexive-reciprocal activity (see § 58, 3 and 4), is common, e. g.:

<i>na-ro'q'wa-</i> to stretch oneself	<i>nana'ro'q'wai'</i> stretches (him)- self several times
<i>cv-yu-ŋqwai-</i> . . . <i>c-u-</i> to be one	<i>nana'c-v-yuŋqwaiyuc'v</i> (they) be- ing one by one

It is frequently employed where emphasis on reciprocity, as distinct from reflexive activity, is desired, even when not more than two actors are involved, e. g.:

<i>wīnai-</i> to throw down	<i>nana'ηwīnaiηqīyīaηani</i> I throw each other with him, i. e. I wrestle with him
<i>naruγwa-</i> to oneself, to give to oneself	<i>nana'ruγwa(i)yīaq. A</i> (they) 2 give it to each other

The idea of reciprocity leads naturally to that of duality of terms involving mutual relationship, e. g.:

<i>pavi-</i> elder brother	<i>nava'vηwī</i> two brothers
<i>tcA^zqa'itsi-</i> younger brother	<i>nantea'q'aitsiηwī</i> two brothers
<i>moa(tsi)-</i> father	<i>na'η'wA'tsiηwī</i> self-fathers, father and son
<i>pia-</i> mother	<i>navi'aηwī</i> self-mothers, mother and daughter (or son)
<i>qum'a-</i> husband	<i>naγu'm'aηwī</i> self-husbands, husband and wife
<i>qīmantsi-</i> stranger	<i>naγī'mantsiηwī</i> two who are strangers to each other
<i>tīγiv^wi-</i> friend	<i>nari'χiv^wiηwī</i> two friends
<i>pai-</i> three	<i>navai-</i> 2 x 3, i. e. six

Plurals of such dual reciprocals are formed by reduplicating *na-* to *nana-*, e. g. *nan'a'vavηwī* (three or more) BROTHERS; *nana'-η'watsi-ηwī* FATHER AND SONS; *nana'rīγiv^wiηwī* (three or more) FRIENDS.

(2) *nai-ⁿ*. This element, which is perhaps compounded of reflexive-reciprocal *na-* and an unexplained *-i-ⁿ*, occurs only in:

<i>piηwa-</i> wife	<i>na'impiηwa-</i> wife's sister, (man's) brother's wife, i. e. potential wife
<i>quma-</i> husband	<i>na'inquma-</i> husband's brother, (woman's) sister's husband, i. e. potential husband

§ § 23-37. DERIVATIVE AND FORMAL SUFFIXES.

§ 23. *Types of derivative and formal suffixes.*

By "derivative suffixes" are here understood such elements as have derivational rather than purely formal or syntactic value, i. e. such elements as help to build up the word as such from the stem rather than to relate the word to other words in the sentence. Under formal suffixes are not here included strictly syntactic elements.

Derivative and formal suffixes may be grouped into seven more or less clearly distinct types of elements. 1. Noun suffixes, including absolute or classifying elements, elements defining possession, and tense elements; 2. Nominalizing suffixes, generally suffixed to verb stems, embracing agentive, instrumental, and verbal noun suffixes, certain special noun-forming elements, and participial suffixes; 3. Verbalizing suffixes, affixed to nominal, adjectival, or demonstrative stems; 4. Verbal derivative and formal suffixes, affixed to verb stems, embracing suffixes of movement, voice, verbal aspect, number, tense, and mode; 5. Diminutive *-(n)tsu-*, suffixed to both predicating and denominating terms; 6. Numeral suffixes; 7. Quasi-pronominal suffixes of special nature. In general it may be said that the derivative suffixes of Southern Paiute are, on the whole, of a general and colorless rather than of a specific or concrete nature.

§ 24. *Noun suffixes.*

(1) ABSOLUTE OR CLASSIFYING ELEMENTS. Many nouns end in a suffix that either suggests classification of the noun under a general category or that has little assignable significance except to render the noun absolute. Some of these elements disappear in composition or when the noun is used with a possessive pronominal enclitic, others may or may not. Some nouns appear with or without an absolute suffix, e. g. *nī'ηwī* and *nī'ηwīnts* PERSON.

(a) *-vi-n*, *-p-i-n*, *-mpi-n* absolute suffix implying indefiniteness or non-specification of possessor. These elements, which immediately follow the stem, are used with nouns expressing objects, persons, or relations that can hardly be thought of except in connection with other objects or persons, e. g. terms of relationship, body-part nouns, and substantivized local concepts (e. g. BOTTOM, SURFACE). They may be rendered by SOMEBODY'S, OF SOMETHING OR, preferably, left untranslated. They always disappear with pronominal enclitics and in composition.

Examples of *-vi-n* are:

<i>moa'-ni</i> father-my	<i>moa'φi</i> (somebody's) father
<i>paa'-ni</i> aunt-my	<i>paa'φi</i> (somebody's) aunt
<i>tī'tī'χwī-s</i> friends (plural, not reciprocal)	<i>tī'tī'χwīφi</i> (one's) friends
<i>taya'p'ia-ni</i> servant-my	<i>taya'p'iaφi</i> servant, one who serves another

<i>tu'tu'χua-ni</i> guardian-spirit-my	<i>tu'tu'χuaφi</i> guardian spirit
<i>wi'cia-^s</i> feather	<i>wi'ci'a'φi</i> feather
<i>yini^s</i> crown of head (e. g. <i>yini'-χanti</i> having a crown)	<i>yini'φi</i> crown of the head
<i>mɔ'ɔ-^s</i> hand	<i>mɔ'ɔ'φi</i> hand
<i>ɔa-^s</i> back (e. g. <i>ɔa'ru-</i> to make a back)	<i>ɔa'φi</i> back
<i>pu'i-^s</i> eye (e. g. <i>pu'i'-ηwi'tuv^wɔa-</i> to cover one's eyes)	<i>pu'i'φi</i> eye
<i>ni(y)a'-ni</i> name-my	<i>ni(y)a'φi</i> name
<i>U^zqwi'(y)u^s</i> arrow, <i>U^zqwi'(y)v-ni</i> arrow-my	<i>U^zqwi'(y)v'φ^wi</i> (somebody's) arrow
<i>tina-^s</i> bottom (e. g. <i>tina'aq.A</i> its bottom)	<i>tina'φi</i> bottom (of anything)
<i>wi'ya-^s</i> bank, edge	<i>wi'xa'^aφi</i> bank, edge (at top of precipice)
<i>naηwa'-ni</i> tracks-my	<i>naηwa'φi</i> tracks

Examples of *-p-i-n* are:

<i>muw^wi-^o</i> nose	<i>muw^wi'p-i</i> nose
<i>pai-^o</i> blood	<i>pai'p-i</i> blood
<i>wi'a-^o</i> penis, <i>wi'a'(i)ya-ηaruα'ɔ-n<i>'i</i></i> like his penis (obj.)	<i>wi'a'p-i</i> penis, <i>wi'a'p-intuar'ɔn<i>'i</i></i> like a penis (as such, not thought of as belonging to anyone)
<i>tira'χua-^o</i> center, middle	<i>tira'χua<i>p-i</i></i> center, middle (obj.)

Examples of *-mpi-n* are:

<i>taηwa-n</i> tooth (e. g. <i>taηwantu-</i> to make a tooth)	<i>taηwa'm<i>p-i</i></i> tooth
<i>aγɔ-n</i> tongue (e. g. <i>aγɔ'ηqwai-</i> to have a tongue)	<i>aγɔ'm<i>p-i</i></i> tongue

It should be carefully noted that even when the noun is uncompounded or used without other derivative suffix, it does not take the absolutive suffix when its possessor (person or object) is referred to or implied elsewhere in the sentence, e. g. *ni'ni a'x'ɔ* OF-ME TONGUE like *aγɔ'ni*, not *ni'ni aγɔ'm*p-i**, which would be intrinsically contradictory; *tina'i u'u'raini.A* BOTTOM (obj.) IT-TOWARD-BEING (obj.), i. e. BEING TOWARD THE BOTTOM (of something already specified).

(b) *-vi-n*, *-p-i-n*, *-mpi-n* classificatory suffix referring chiefly to animals, topographical features, and objects (chiefly movable), less frequently persons. It is perhaps identical etymologically with (a). These suffixes are in some cases constant, i. e. never dropped, in others movable.

Examples of *-vi-n* (non-movable and movable) are:

qü'phi locust, *qü'vni* my locust
aŋa'aphi ant
tA'ci'aphi red-ant: *tA'ci'aχa(·)nvwi-* ant-camp, ant-hill
wi'tca'phi bee
pa'a'(tsi)phi animal
iyö'phi mourning dove, *iyö'vtca'atsiywï* mourning-dove-children
cina'a'phi wolf
cina'ŋwaphi coyote, *cina'ŋwawintots·* coyote-headed, *cina'ŋwaviŋkai-*
to be coyote
tö'ö'a'phi rattlesnake: *tö'ö'aru'atsiywï* rattlesnake-children
aŋi'phi mosquito
jö'a'phi louse: *jö'a'ni* my louse
tira'phi desert: *tira(i)yu'a-* desert-plain, open plain
awa'phi shade: *awa'χani* shade-house, summer shelter
kijwa'a'phi doll
pv'tsi'phi star: *pv'tsi'ŋwutcap'i* star-excrement, shooting stars
a'i'phi now: *aï-s* to be new (*a'i'-vi-* probably originally noun, "recentness")
pi'qö'phi cactus-cake
qa'i'naca'phi supernatural being who owns deer on Kaibab Plateau
(perhaps contains agentive *-vi-n*, see § 25, 1)

Examples of *-p-i-n* are:

pa'ca'tca'qap-i red-winged blackbird
o(w)i'p-i canyon, *ma'a'oip'impajwet·ux·wa* brush-canyon-in-to:
oi't-i' end of canyon, *o(w)i'ŋwaganii* canyon-having, canyon
q(w)ö'a'p-i tobacco: *q(w)ö'a't'i'qa-* to eat tobacco, to smoke
qV'qwa'p-i wood: *qV'qwa'n·ö-* to carry wood on one's back
wi'na'p-i arrow-head

Examples of *-mpi-n* are:

v'qwa'mpi tarantula (cf. *v'qwa'tsa·ts·* small spider)
si'i'm·o'·rampi bumble-bee

A few personal nouns are derived by combining $(-vi^{-n})-p'i^{-n}$ ($-mpi^{-n}$) with $-tsi-$ (see below), e. g.:

$i\eta a''p'its$: baby: $i\eta a''ani$ my baby

$i\eta i'p'its$: evil spirit, ghost, $i\eta i'p'untup'i$ ghost-making-game (for final $-p'i$, see § 25, 5, a)

Less frequently this suffix is also combined with $-mp\ddot{i}-$ (see e below), e. g.:

$c\ddot{u}i'v'wimp\ddot{i}$ squaw-bush, ordinarily $c\ddot{u}i'\phi\ddot{i}$ (stem $c\ddot{u}i^{-s}$, e. g. $c\ddot{u}ru-$ to make a basket out of squaw-bush twigs)

(c) $-mpi^{-s}$ BERRY. This classificatory suffix can hardly be identified with $-mpi-$ of (a) or (b) above, as it occurs in consistently nasalized form after all stems (e. g. $wa'a'mpi$ CEDAR-BERRY < $wa'a^{-u}$ CEDAR) and has spirantizing, not nasalizing, power. Examples are:

$t\eta wa'a'mpi$ service-berry, $t\eta wa'a'mpi\phi\ddot{i}$ service-berry bush (for $-v\ddot{i}$ - see e below)

$wa'a'mpi$ cedar-berry (cf. $wa'a'p'i$ cedar tree)

$tsi'a'mpi$ wild-rose berry, $tsi'a'mpi\phi\ddot{i}$ wild-rose bush, $tsi'a'mpiva:ts$ wild-rose spring (place name)

$p\alpha\chi\alpha'mpi$ currant, $p\alpha\chi\alpha'mpi\phi\ddot{i}$ currant bush

$wa'a'mpi$ red holly-like berry, $wa'a'mpi\phi\ddot{i}$ berry bush, $wi(y)a'mpi-\chi a r\ddot{i}r\ddot{i}$ berry-sitting (obj.), berry-knoll (obj.)

$p\ddot{i}ya'i'tcampi\phi\ddot{i}$ locust tree (lit., locust-berry-tree)

(d) $-v\ddot{i}^{-s}$, $-p'i^{-s}$, $-mp\ddot{i}^{-s}$ absolute suffix, very similar, as regards range of usage, to $-vi^{-n}$, $-p'i^{-n}$, $-mpi^{-n}$ (b above). It is used in certain body-part nouns, in nouns denoting movable objects, objects in mass (e. g. SAND, MUD), and topographical features, and in nouns denoting HIDE, BLANKET. It is partly movable, partly fixed. When appropriate, this suffix may be followed, though infrequently, by $-vi^{-n}$ (see a above).

Examples of $-v\ddot{i}^{-s}$ are:

$pA^2qa'\phi\ddot{i}$ sweat

$tava'tsi\phi\ddot{i}$ leg bone

$q\ddot{i}'ca'\phi\ddot{i}$ (hawk's) wing, $q\ddot{i}'ca'v\ddot{i}a\eta A$ his wing, $q\ddot{i}'ca'v\ddot{i}\phi i$ (somebody's) wing

$p\ddot{a}i'\gamma i\phi\ddot{i}$ hair of the head: $p\ddot{a}i'x i$ hair, $p\ddot{a}i'\gamma u i$ my hair

$\alpha\alpha'\phi\ddot{i}$ bone, $t\alpha t s i' \alpha \alpha \phi \ddot{i}$ head-bone, skull: $\alpha\alpha'ru-$ to make a bone, $\alpha\alpha'ani$ my bone

- quna'phi* sack: *wyu'na* arrow-sack, quiver
ɔra'phi pole, post
wawa'phi foreshaft of cane arrow, *wawa'vini* my foreshaft: *wawa'-s'iva-* to whittle a foreshaft for a cane arrow
mantsi'phi scraper made of foreleg of deer, *mantsi'vifi* (one's) bone from elbow to wrist: *mantsi'an* my bone of forearm
ti'ca'phi rope
uv'a'phi meat-soup: *uv'a'c'ai* boils meat with soup
A'ta'phi sand: *A'ta'RA^zqa'γanti* sand-flat
yona'phi rocks lying around loose: *yona'xanints* little gravel-house
wia'phi mud, *wia'vini* my mud: *wia'n-axuqwi-* to fight with mud (missiles)
sɔɔ'phi moist ground: *sɔɔ'axanti* moist
pa'vuts little spring (< *pa*-^s water; for diminutive *-tsu-* see § 35)
p'i'a'phi fur (of animal): *p'i'a'ηA* his (animal's) hair
pü'phi hide: *pü'i'a'ηA* his skin (for *-a-* see 2, c)
t̃iŋqwi'tca'phi rabbit-skin blanket
pɔni'a'phi skunk-blanket (< *pɔni-a*-^s skunk), *pɔni'avuru-* to make a skunk-blanket
t̃iŋ'a'phi tanned deer-hide (< *t̃iŋa*-^s deer)
paɔ'ntsɔphi hair-wrapping beaver band (< *paontsu*-^s beaver)
t̃iv'v'i'phi hide (owned by one), *t̃iv'v'i'v'vini* my hide (owned by me; not my own skin)

Examples of *-p'i-*^s are:

- tA'pa'ap'i* stockings, socks
q̃ir'α'c'i'αp'i water-jar stopper
qwi'(y)α'p'i fence
tA'si'p'i flint, *tA'si'p-uφU'caxai-* to look for flint
pa'i'q'ap'i ice
qu'tca'p'i ashes: *qu'tca'q'ar̃i* ash-colored, light gray
t̃iv'v'i'p'i earth, country, *t̃iv'v'i'p'iani* my country: *t̃iv'v'i'na^zq̃vutcuts* earth-worm
pi'a'p'i mare (< *pi-a-* mother, female)
A'ta'p'i rawhide
tU'qu'p'i panther-hide (< *tuq-u*-^o panther), *tU'qu'p'v'γai-* to have a panther-skin

One or other of these may really be past passive participles in *-p'i-* (see § 25, 5, b).

Examples of *-mp'i-*^s are:

- aŋwa't-ampī* rib
cīnū'mpī vulva, *cīnū'mpīaŋA* her vulva
cīŋwa'mpī sandy gravel: *paŋ's-ŋwaoiŋp-1* sand-gravel "wash," arroyo
tōi'α'mpī gravel, mass of big and small rocks: *tōi'ō'ip-1* creek running through rocky bed (probably *tōia-* + *ō'ip-1* canyon)
pa(a)'ŋmpī hail: *pa(a)'u'ŋwa-* to hail (lit., to hail-rain)
qu'ca'arumpī trousers string, leggings thong (lit., leggings string-hide)
narō'ōmpī underwear (< *narō'ō-n* clothes, *narō'ōŋqwa-* to have clothes)
qwi'n-ōrō'ōmpī clothing, blanket

Here probably belongs also *ι't-ūmpī* old (e. g. *ι't-ūmpīra'ī* OLD SHIRT).

It is not at all improbable that all examples of *-vī-s*, *-pī-s*, *-mpī-s* that indicate HIDE, BLANKET, CLOTHING are only apparently provided with absolutive *-pī-s* and that they are really compound nouns whose second element, *-pī-s*, is shortened (see § 11) from *pī-s*, *pī-s* HIDE (see above; *-vī-s* of *pī'fī* HIDE itself, however, is clearly absolutive).

Apparently distinct (from absolutive *-vī-s*, though not easy to keep apart from it, is *-vī-* (*-pī-* and *-mpī-* are not found alternating with it) suffixed to nouns used in some specialized or metaphorical sense. These nouns are generally compounds. When possessive enclitics are added, possessive *-a-* (see 2, a below) is generally suffixed to *-vī-*. Examples are:

- qani'fī* nest (< *qani-* house)
tA'ci'axani'fī ant-house, ant-hill
tīŋqa'nvīani stone-house-owned-my, cave that I own: *tīŋqa'ni* cave, *tīŋqa'nvi* my cave (that I live in)
pū'tī'ŋqani'fī eye-cave, superciliary ridge
tūmpa'x^usi'fī mouth-rim, lip (cf. *tA^xqu'c-1* top-piece stitched on to upper of moccasin)
qani'nanqava'fī house-ear, flap of tepee (cf. *nanqava-s* ear, *nanqava'fī* one's ear)
tA^xqo'va'fī foot-face (cf. *qova'fī* one's face)
tA'pa'ia'fī foot-surface, sole (< *paia-* surface)
tī'rauqewvī- unfeathered arrow (cf. *tī'ra-* empty; *uq-wu-(y)v-* arrow)

(e) *-vī-s*, *-pī-s*, *-mpī-s* classifying suffix for plants. It may be rendered PLANT, TREE, BUSH. Less frequently it is used with nouns

indicating parts of plants. It is a movable element. Perhaps it is only a special use of *-vī-s*, *-p'ī-s*, *-mpī-s* of (d).

Examples of *-vī-* are:

- maa'φī* brush, plant, *maa'vīni* my brush: *maa'xaiφA* brush-mountain, timbered mountain
o·χw'φī grass: *o·χw'axai-* to be grassy (but also *o·χw'vāxai-* to have grass)
aw'ηqφφī dried-up tree, *aw'ηqφvīani* my dried-up tree
w'ī'φī milkweed: *w'ī't'ī'caφī* milkweed rope
qana'φī willow: *qana'rī'* canyon-mouth bordered by willows
ciya'φī quaking asp
saywa'φī sagebrush: *saywa'uaγanti-* sagebrush-singer
qwiya'φī scrub oak: *qwiya'rīnaφī* oak-stump
t'ō'φī bulrush
tia'φī service-berry bush
nayqavi- leaf (< *nayqa-* branch)
qa'ō'φī pine-cone
uru'φī arrow-stick, stick from which arrow is to be made (< *uru-* to fix an arrow)
finā'φī stump (perhaps related to *finā'φi* bottom, see a above)
qō'cō'φī tinder, slow-match, *qō'cō'vuru-* to prepare a slow-match of cedar-bark

See also *-mpī-φī* berry-bush under *-mpī-s* (c).

Examples of *-p'ī-s* are:

- wa'a'p'ī* cedar: *wa'a'mpī* cedar-berry, *wa'a'p'a:ts* cedar-spring
tiw'a'p'ī piñon: *tiw'a-^o* pine-nut
ina'p'ī cedar-like tree: *ina'naywi* apron of *ina'p'ī-* bark
cia'p'ī sapling, *oγō'cia'p'ī* fir-sapling: *cia'p'iaφi* tree-sap
so'v'p'ī cottonwood: *cō'vnuq-wintī* cottonwood-stream
moγwa'p'ī cedar-bark: *moγwa'qani* cedar-bark wickiup

Examples of *-mpī-s* are:

- oγō'mpī* fir: *oγō'ntava'ats* fir-chipmunk
A^zqī'mpī sunflower-plant: *aq'ī-ⁿ* sunflower seeds
tā'ci'mpī barrel-cactus clump: *tā'ci'm^wanaφī* cactus-spines
yīv^wi'mpī long-leaved pine: *yīv^wi'ηk'arīkī* pine-mountain, Mt. Trumbull
yu'a'vmpī opuntia: *yu'a'φi* opuntia fruit
s'qu'mpī "rabbit-bush": *sk'u-ⁿ* gray squirrel

(f) *-tsi-ⁿ*, *-ntsi-ⁿ* (when preceded by nasal consonant) classifying suffix, chiefly for animate nouns. The suffix is sometimes movable, sometimes not. Animate examples of *-tsi-ⁿ* are:

- tiv^oa'ts*: wolf (myth name), *tiv^oa'tsmavavijw'i* wolf and his younger brother
mu'ra'ts: mule
qwi(y)a'ts: grizzly bear, *qwi(y)a'tsunt'i'qay'wi* to become a grizzly bear:
qwi'(y)ayant'i grizzly bear
pu'tcats: mouse: *navu'utcaru-* to change oneself into a mouse
sari'ts: dog: *sari'vuyqumi* my dog (lit., my dog-pet)
tavu'ts: cotton-tail rabbit: *tavu'm-uru'i* cottontail-rabbit blanket
qa'ts: rat: *qa'-tsu'nɔɔ-* to poke with a stick into a hole for rats
(-tsi- is instrumental prefix, not classificatory suffix)
so'uts: soldier
paru'χuts: prophet, composer of ghost-dance song: *paru'χuyvant'i* prophet
qwi'ts: left-handed person (personal name): *qwi'ni* my left (hand)
qu'tcu'mpiyats: buffalo-female (personal name): *qu'tcu'mpi* heifer
-tsi-ⁿ is common in tribal names, e. g.:
mori'tsujw'i bean-people, Moapa Paiutes
yiv^oi'nti'tsujw'i pine-canyon-mouth-people, Uintah Utes
parvi'utsujw'i fish-people, Paiutes of Panguitch Lake
qa'iva'vuttsujw'i mountain-lying-people, plateau people, Kaibab Paiutes

It is not always easy to decide whether a nominal *-tsi-* is classificatory *-tsi-ⁿ* or diminutive *-tsi-* (§ 35), e. g. *a'ip'ats* BOY, plur. *-tsujw'i*.

A number of inanimate nouns also end in *-tsi-* (apparently not diminutive *-tsi-*), e. g.:

- wi'ts*: knife: *wi'η'wīnap-i* knife-point, *wi'p'v'caγai-* to look for a knife
mara'ts: metate: *ma'ra* metate
mɔ'a'ts: stone mealer

Such nouns as these corroborate Shoshonean comparative evidence, which shows that **-ti*, **-ta* (S. Californian *-t*, *-l*; S. Paiute *-tsi-*) was originally used, like its Nahuatl cognate *-tl(i)*, for all types of nouns. In Paiute, however, this element tended largely to become restricted to animate (including particularly personal) nouns.

Examples of *-ntsi-* are:

q̄ma'nts: stranger, *q̄ma'ntsuywī* strangers, Shoshones (> Comanche):
q̄ma-s other
n̄ñw'nts: person, *n̄ñw'ntsuywī* persons, Indians: *n̄ñwī-s* person
t̄m'nts: (male personal name)
pA'c̄i'γī m̄nts: water-lizard: *pA'c̄i'χī m̄waxarirī* water-lizard lake
c̄i'm'nts: Muddy River

(g) *-v̄itsu-n*, *-p̄itsu-n*, *-mp̄itsu-n* classifying suffix for animate nouns. This suffix is compounded of *-v̄i-s*, *-p̄i-s*, *-mp̄i-s* (see d above) and animate *-tsi-n* (see f above). It is also quite possible that some of our examples contain diminutive *-tsi-* (cf. *pa'v̄its* SPRING under d). Examples of *-v̄itsu-n* are:

γ̄oγ̄o'v̄its: coyote (probably < *γ̄oγ̄o-s* to copulate with)
a'ic̄i'v̄its: butterfly
γ̄in̄i'v̄its: bald-headed (personal name; *γ̄in̄i-s* crown of the head)
a'iv̄w̄iyw̄av̄its: newly married one (*aī-s* new + *pijwa-s* wife)
m̄a'p̄iv̄w̄itsi- little one (*m̄a'p̄itsi-* LITTLE with diminutive *-tsi-*)

Examples of *-p̄itsu-n* are:

wantsi'p̄its: antelope: *wa'nts*: antelope, *wantsi'χarī* antelope-colored, light gray
t̄w̄qu'p̄its: wildcat: *t̄w̄qu'ts*: wildcat, *t̄w̄qu'q̄ait̄c̄x̄U* hat of wildcat skin
A'ta'p̄its: crow: *A'ta'q̄wots*: crow
moo'p̄its: hooting owl: *moo'n̄ap̄i'ñw* old man Owl
c̄i'γ̄i'p̄its: lizard (cf. *c̄i'γ̄i'm̄nts* under f)
a'iph̄ap̄its: young man: *a'iv̄amī* young men
nan'a'p̄its: old man (perhaps with diminutive *-tsi-*) < *nan-a-* to grow

It is very difficult to separate examples of *-p̄itsu-n* that contain animate *-tsi-* from such as are clearly compounded with diminutive *-tsi-*, e. g. *m̄a'p̄its* SMALL (cf. *m̄a'ants* A LITTLE); *piya'p̄its* YOUNG FEMALE ANIMAL, FILLY (cf. *piya'p̄i* MARE); *qam'v̄cap̄its* LITTLE JACK-RABBIT. Cf. enclitic- *p̄itsu-* (§ 19, 3, b). Another difficulty lies in separating *-p̄i-* of *-p̄itsu-n* from past passive participial *-p̄i-* (§ 25, 5, b); thus, *nan'a'p̄its* may be plausibly analyzed as LITTLE GROWN-UP ONE.

Examples of *-mp̄itsu-n* are:

ina'mp̄its: badger: *ina'ñq̄wac̄i* badger-tail
m̄iyi'mp̄its: gopher: *m̄iyi'ñq̄an̄i'φī* gopher-house, gopher pile

yīñi'mpīts porcupine: *yīñi'ηqwac-i* porcupine-tail
oγo'mpīts bull-snake
qa'(a')mpīts ruffed grouse
wi'qu'mpīts buzzard
tavv'mpīts cotton-tail rabbit (song-form for *tavv'ts*)
yiv'v'lpīts pine-man (personal name) < *yiv'v'v*-ⁿ pine

(2) ELEMENTS DEFINING POSSESSION. Here are grouped a number of suffixes that appear chiefly with possessive pronominal enclitics and which, on the whole, define the nature of the possessive relation. It is not always easy, as a matter of fact, to see exactly what increment of significance they bring.

(a) *-a-* seems to be used to indicate possession that is alienable, particularly, it would seem, of such objects as are not normally thought of as being possessed. It is generally preceded by *-pü-s* (see 1, d and e). Examples are:

tiv'v'lp'ianimi our (excl.) country (*-nimi* our); *tiv'v'lp'iaianimi* our country (obj.) (*-ia-* objective, § 49, 1).
pa'a'viani spring that I own
a'oηqaviani my dried-up woods
tīηqa'nivā(i)ya'ηwa his cave (obj.) owned as house (*-ya-* objective);
tīηqa'nviatsiaφi his own little cave (obj.) (*-tsi-* diminutive; *-a-* objective; *-φi*, § 40, 4)

Possessive *-a-* may also be used with causative *-t'ui-* (§ 29, 12) to form verbs indicating TO CAUSE TO HAVE SO AND SO, e. g.:

tümp'v'Atüip'v'γa' caused (it) to have stones
qan'v'Atüip'v'γa' caused (it) to have houses
naηqa'Atüip'v'γa' caused (it) to have branches

For possessive *-a-* combining with verbalizing *-kai-* TO HAVE into *-aγai-* (participle *-aγanfi-*), see § 26, 1, b; for possessive *-a-* after past passive participle *-p'ü-*, see 3, b below.

(b) *-ηwa-*, *-η'wa-*. These elements are used very much like *-a-*, occurring both before possessive pronominal enclitics and verbalizing *-kai-* TO HAVE, not, however, before causative *-t'ui-*. They do not seem to be used after classificatory *-pü-s* (1, d and e), but may be directly appended to noun stems. Examples of *-ηwa-* are:

paü'ηwan my blood (absolute *paü'p-i*; in possessive forms of this noun *-ηwa-* is always used)

- u(w)ʻiʻŋwaʻantī* canyon-possessive-having, canyon
pa·n·aʻq·arʻuiŋwaʻantī money-become (§ 26, 1, g)-possessive-having,
 one who has money
qunaʻŋwaχaiŋup·iʻaʻ fire-possessive-have-momentaneous- past, got
 fire
nīmpʻiʻŋwarutcaŋwap·iʻŋwaχaiYU person-wife-deprive-past pass. partic.
 (§ 25, 5, a)-possessive-have-subordinating, while having (as his own
 wife) somebody else's wife taken away (by him)
nīvʻaʻʻuŋwaʻʻuintiywanī snow-rain-become (§ 26, 1, g)-present ptc.
 (§ 25, 6, a)-possessive-my, snow belonging to me (snow-raining =
 snow)

Examples of *-ŋʻwa-* (it is not clear how, if at all, it differs in usage from *-ŋwa-*) are:

- tūmpʻwʻiʻŋʻwa·ŋA* his rock
maʻxarīrʻiŋwa(i)ya·ŋA his clump of trees (obj.)
qaʻʻnluintiyʻwa·ŋA sing-become (§ 26, 1, g)-present ptc. (§ 25, 6, a)-
 possessive-his, song belonging to him

Both *-ŋwa-* and *-ŋʻwa-* are used particularly to indicate possession of one of a group by the group (e. g. OUR LEADER = THAT ONE OF US WHO IS LEADER). This includes adjectival participles indicating selection (e. g. THE GOOD ONE of several). Examples are:

- niaʻvŋʻwaraŋWA* our chief; *qan·ʻiʻaŋantiA niaʻvŋʻWA* house-possessive-
 having-obj. chief-possessive, village's chief
ampaʻxarīŋʻwa·m·i talker- possessive-their, their talker; *qan·ʻiʻaŋanti*
ampaʻxarīŋʻWA village's main speaker
avaʻtʻiŋwʻaŋwʻuŋWA big-present ptc. (§ 25, 6, a)-possessive-animate
 plur.- their (anim.), their big ones (anim.), those of them (anim.)
 that are big
aʻaʻtʻiŋwaywīaʻaŋWA good-present ptc.-possessive-animate plur.-obj.-
 their, the good ones (anim. obj.)
tīvʻiʻtē atʻiŋwa(i)ʻyaq·WA very good-present ptc.-obj.-their (inan.),
 a very good one of them (inan.)

(c) *-ʻa-* is used to indicate possession, chiefly of body-parts, that is inherent without being strictly inalienable. In other words, it is suffixed to nouns indicating objects (or persons) that do often occur disconnected in experience (e. g. SALIVA, BONE, SKIN) but are thought of as indissolubly connected. Examples are:

ɔʔʹani my bone (i. e. bone of my own body); *ʔyaʹv̄iɔʔʹa* shoulder-bone-possessive, shoulder-blade: absolute *ɔʔʹφ̄i* bone
p̄iʹiʹa(i)yaʹŋA his skin (obj.): absolute *p̄iʹiʹφ̄i* skin, hide
n̄iʹni q̄iʹtsiʹʹa me saliva-possessive, my saliva: absolute *q̄iʹtsiʹφ̄i* saliva
n̄iʹni tq̄uuʹʹa me sinew-possessive, my sinew: absolute *tamʹuʹφ̄ ʹI* sinew
t̄iʹγiʹayooʹa deer-fat-possessive, fat of deer: absolute *yooʹφ̄ ʹI* fat
qariʹnʹiɱp̄oʔʹoʔʹsiʹʹa saddle-head-possessive, saddle-horn
n̄iʹŋw̄iʹʹa(i)yaʹqA person-possessive-obj.-its, its (country's) people (obj.)

(d) *-inʹ(n)i-s* (*-ʹinʹi-s*) OWNED. This element is always employed with alienable nouns and has a specific reference to actual ownership as contrasted with mere possession in the grammatical sense. Examples are:

purdʹɔinʹnini my flour
pɔʔʹinʹnini my owned trail (not merely: trail that I use)
saxw(εʹ)iaʹinʹnini my owned belly, (some animal's) belly that I possess (as meat); contrast *saxw(εʹ)iaʹni* my belly
qaniʹʹnini my house (that I own); contrast *qaniʹni* my house (that I live in)
qunaʹʹniarəŋWA our possessed fire (obj.)
n̄iʹ qamiʹʹiniχaʹ I jackrabbit-owned-have, I have a jackrabbit (*qamiʹχaʹ* to be a rabbit, see § 26, 1, a)
c̄iʹpuʹv̄wʹaiw̄-untsiχaimʹi cold-water-owned-diminutive-have-usitative present, is wont to have cold water (*c̄iʹpuʹv̄wʹa-*)

(e) *-vuyqu-s*, *-pʹuyqu-s*, *-mpuyqu-s* PET, DOMESTICATED ANIMAL. This is no true suffix, but merely the compounded form of *puyqu-s* HORSE (belonging to one; contrast *qavaʹ* HORSE absolutely), originally PET, DOMESTICATED ANIMAL, DOG (cf. Tübatulabal *puyqu-l* DOG). It is listed here because it is regularly added to all nouns denoting owned animals. It is a suffix in the making. Examples are:

qavaʹvuyquni my horse (more frequently simply *puyquʹni*)
piʹχvuyqurəŋWA pig-pet-our, our pig
a(i)yaʹvuyquni my turtle
sariʹvuyquni my dog; *sariʹvuyquχwai-* to have a dog
qvʹteuʹmpuyquni buffalo-pet-my, my ox; *qvʹteuʹmpumpuyquw̄irəŋWA* buffalo-pets (for reduplication see § 58, 2, d) -animate plur.-our, our cattle

(3) TENSE ELEMENTS. Tense can be expressed in nouns provided they are first verbalized. This is generally done by suffixing *-kai-* TO BE (§ 26, 1, a) and then turning the denominative verb into a participle. Thus, the future form of *qava-s* HORSE is *qava'χaiva-nūi* HORSE-BE-FUTURE-PARTICIPLE, A HORSE TO BE; similarly, *qam-i'χaivātēi* JACK-RABBIT-BE-USITATIVE-PARTICIPLE, ALWAYS A JACKRABBIT. Here we shall specifically list only two compound suffixes relating to past time, because of their rather characteristic usage.

(a) *-γaip'ī-*, *-q'aip'ī-*, *-ηqaip'ī-* HAVING BEEN, PAST, FORMER; compounded of *-kai-* TO BE and past participial *-p'ī-* (see § 25, 5, a). Examples are:

inū'a'γaip'īni my dead relation < *inū'a-ni* my relative
muru'ixaip'ī east-away blanket
ɔ'tca'(vī)γaip'ī formerly used water-jar (*ɔ'tca*)
qa'yaait'iaχaip'ia'ahwa rat-hunt-place-be-past partic.-obj.-his, place
 (obj.) where he used to hunt rats
tōna'vηk'aip'ī punch-er-be-past partic., one who used to be a puncher

(b) *-p'ī-* PAST, FORMER. This is the past participial *-p'ī-* (see § 25, 5, a), only rarely used with noun stems, e. g.:

qanu'p'ī abandoned house, village site, old camping place

It is sometimes found combined with possessive *-a-* (2, a) as *-p'īa-*, e. g.:

a'ifapi(γ)arīγiv'īni youth-past-possessive- friend-my, my former youthful friend

This *-p'īa-* occurs also combined with other elements in verbal forms (see *-p'īa-γai-t'ua-*, § 32, 8; *-p'īa-yī-*, § 32, 7).

§ 25. Nominalizing suffixes.

These are formed chiefly from verb and adjective-verb stems. The verbal noun in *-n-a-* and the various participles are in very frequent, in part idiomatic, use.

(1) AGENTIVE *-vi-n*, *-mpi-n*. Examples of agentive *-vi-n* are:

<i>muwaraxi-</i>	to crush	<i>wa'a'mpum-uwaraxiφi</i>	cedar-ber-ry-crusher, spermophile
<i>marīn-a-</i>	to chase	<i>nīηw'ī'm-arīn-aφi</i>	man-chaser, lizard (sp.)

<i>naγa'ruŋq̄i-</i> to dodge	<i>naγa'ruŋq̄iφi</i> dodger
<i>nɔ-</i> to carry on one's back	<i>n̄iŋw̄i'nɔ'φi</i> man-carrier, roc
<i>ampaχa-</i> to talk	<i>ampa'χaφi</i> talker
<i>tɔna-</i> to punch	<i>tɔna'vŋk̄aip̄'i</i> one who used to be a puncher

Examples of agentive *-mpi-n* are:

<i>taya-</i> to kick	<i>taya'mpi</i> kicker
<i>ɔɔŋwi-</i> to grunt, growl	<i>ɔɔ'ŋwɔmpi</i> grunter

Agentives are used to refer only to permanent (quasi-occupational) activities. Temporary or casual agentives are expressed by means of active participles (see 6 below).

(2) INSTRUMENTAL *-n̄ĩmp̄i-*, *-n'ĩmp̄i-*. This suffix is compounded of usitative *-n̄i-n* (see § 30, 11) and passive participial *-p̄i-* (see below); *-n'ĩmp̄i-* has accessory ', perhaps of momentaneous significance (§ 53, 2, a, 3). There seems to be no clear difference of function between *-n̄ĩmp̄i-* and *-n'ĩmp̄i-*.

Examples of instrumental *-n̄ĩmp̄i-* are:

<i>γi'ixi-</i> to swallow	<i>γi'ix̄n̄ĩmp̄i</i> swallower, throat
<i>qari-</i> to sit, ride horseback	<i>qari'n'ĩmp̄i</i> saddle
<i>wi'qa'm'mi-</i> to cover	<i>pu'ĩŋw̄i'qam'mn̄ĩmp̄i</i> eye-cov- erer, blinder (for a horse)
<i>yum'muxwi-</i> to poke	<i>tayu'm'muxw̄n̄ĩmp̄i</i> foot-poker, spur
<i>ts-qwan'nɔ-</i> to stir up (mush)	<i>ts-qwa'n'nɔn̄mp̄i</i> mush-stirrer
<i>tA'cin'n-</i> to play cup-and-ball with a rabbit's head	<i>tA'ci'n'n̄n̄ĩmp̄i</i> rabbit-head used in cup-and-ball game

Examples of *-n'ĩmp̄i-* are:

<i>ĩγa-</i> to enter	<i>mo^wĩ'ix̄an'n̄ĩmp̄i</i> nose-enterer, bit and bridle
<i>tĩŋwa-</i> to close	<i>qan'ntciŋw̄q'n̄ĩmp̄i</i> house-closer, door
<i>ĩ'ta'-</i> to stretch out (a skin)	<i>ĩ'ta'n'n̄ĩmp̄i</i> hide-stretching frame
<i>kwip̄a-</i> to beat	<i>kwip̄a'n'ĩmp̄i</i> beater, shinny- stick
<i>pA^zqa-</i> to kill, to guess the right bone in the hand-game	<i>pA^zqa'n'n̄ĩmp̄i</i> bone that is to be guessed in the hand-game

On the whole it seems that the action in instrumentals in *-n'impĩ-* is conceived of as momentaneous, in those in *-nĩmpĩ-* as durative.

(3) VERBAL NOUN IN *-n-a-*. Verbal nouns in *-n-a-* are freely formed from all verbs and often appear in syntactic combinations. More often than not, a verbal noun in *-n-a-* is used with a possessive pronoun, often in a subjective or objective relative sense. When a tense suffix is absent, it refers to present or general time. Futures in *-va-n-a-* (cf. § 32, 4) and perfectives in *-q'ai-n-a-* (cf. § 32, 3) are also very common. In the case of transitive verbs, the action is to be thought of as passive rather than active, e. g. *ampa'yanani* MY TALKING, WHAT IS SAID BY ME. Nevertheless, the matter of voice does not seem to be clearly defined in *-n-a-* forms. Examples are:

nĩ'ni nɔ'nani me carrying-my, my pack
nĩŋw'RUqwat-uŋwaq'an'arayWA person-under-to-plural subj.-verbal
 noun- our, our going under a person, our being beaten
w'a'ŋw-a-m' ur 'a'v'niŋUcamPA shouting-their it silent-become-but,
 but their shouting became silent
tɔ'v'iv'ĩ'ran'nanŋw aŋi bulrush-digging-his it, the bulrushes he digs
 (dug) up
nĩ' o'p'a' an'va-n-i imi a'v'nami I thus do-shall thee saying-thy, I
 shall do as you say
tĩ'qa'va-n'ŋw u'R eat-future-verbal noun-his it, his being about to
 eat, for him to eat
nŋnɔ'c-wa-n-ani what I shall dream
nŋnɔ'c:kainani what I dreamt
m^wα'ŋ 'ani'k'a 'iavuruyUqwaɪnani that-one do-resultative wounded-
 make-momentaneous-perfective-verbal noun-my, that one it is
 whom I have wounded

Cases of *-n-a-* as noun-forming or adjective-forming derivative without clear verbal force are uncommon, e.g.:

uru'ana being, property < *uru'a-* to be
wĩŋv'ɔ'paq'ina vulva-perforated-verbal noun, vagina
ava'ana much < *ava'a* to be much

For the idiomatic use of *-n-a-c-u-* with verbs of doing and saying, see § 62.

(4) SPECIAL NOMINAL DERIVATIVES. Here are grouped a few nominalizing suffixes of more than ordinarily concrete significance.

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(a) *-t'ia-* PLACE OF. Examples of nouns in *-t'ia-* formed from verb stems are:

<i>na'a'it'ui-</i>	to cause to burn	<i>na'a'it'ut'i'</i>	cause-to-burn place, fireplace
<i>tuγ(w)v-</i>	to cache	<i>tuγ(w)u'ti'ani</i>	my caching-place, my cache
<i>qa-yaai-</i>	to hunt rats	<i>qa'yaait'iaχaip'ia'aywa</i>	place where (obj.) he used to hunt rats
<i>niv^wa-RA'ton'ni-</i>	to shake off snow from one's feet	<i>niv^wa'RA'ton'ni'ti'aywa</i>	his place of shaking off snow from his feet
<i>kwit'u-</i>	anus + <i>yoy-</i> to copulate with	<i>kwit'i'iyoyt'i'</i>	anus-copulating- place, passive pederast

Less commonly *-t'ia-* is suffixed to noun stems, e. g.:

<i>qani-</i>	house	<i>qan't'iani</i>	my house-place, my camping place
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Alone among derivative suffixes, *-t'ia-* forms a reduplicated plural (see § 58, 2, b): *-t'iria-* PLACES OF, e. g.:

<i>t'iqat'ia</i>	eating place	<i>t'iqat'iria</i>	eating places
<i>qan't'ia</i>	camping place	<i>qan't'iria</i>	camping places

(b) *-va-*, *-pa-*, *-mpa-* CONTEST, FIGHT. Examples are:

<i>naγu'qwipa</i>	war, battle with bows and arrows (lit., shoot-one-another-contest), obj. <i>naγu'qwipaiA</i>
<i>ɔ'mpa</i>	fist-fight, obj. <i>ɔ'mpaiA</i>

An isolated noun suffix *-va^s* occurs in *naγqa'va^s* EAR (absolute *naγqa'vaφi*) < *naγqa-* TO HEAR. Also isolated is *-mpa^o* in *tuγumpa^o* SKY < *tuγuⁿ* UP. Both of these are old Shoshonean elements, cf. Hopi *nak^v-ve*, Gitanemuk *a-ka-va*, i. e. *a-k'a-va* (< **a-γkava* < **a-naka-va*) EAR; Tübatulabal *dogu-mba-l*, Möhineyam *dugu-ba-t*, Gabrielino *tuku-pa-r* SKY.

(c) *-ri-*, *-ti-*, *-nti-* CANYON MOUTH. This suffix seems to be added only to noun stems, but is most conveniently listed here. Perhaps it is related to *-t'ia-* PLACE OF. Examples are:

<i>qana^s</i>	willow	<i>qana'rvi'</i>	mouth of canyon bordered by willows (> Kanab)
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<i>oi-s</i> canyon (absolute <i>oi'p-i</i>)	<i>oi't-i'</i> mouth of canyon
<i>yiv^wi-n</i> pine	<i>yiv^wl'nti'</i> mouth of canyon bordered by pines (> Uintah), <i>yiv^wl'nti'^ttsiηwī</i> Uintah Utes

(d) *-'ya-s* FORE PART. This suffix also is apparently added only to noun stems. It has been found in:

<i>wawa-s</i> foreshaft to cane arrow (absolute <i>wawa'φi</i>)	<i>wawa'(i)'ya-φi</i> foreshaft
<i>tümpa-</i> mouth	<i>tümpa'ya'</i> mouth of canyon (apparently found only in compounds, e. g.: <i>s-qu'rumpa'ya'</i> mouth of rabbit-bush canyon < <i>s-qu'-mpī</i> rabbit-bush; <i>sa'i-t-ümpa(i)'ya'</i> mouth of salt-canyon < <i>sa-</i> salt)

(e) *Isolated elements.* There are a few elements that may be recognized as noun suffixes (or stereotyped compounded stems), but to which no definite meaning can be assigned. Among these is *-n'naŋqa-* (cf. perhaps *naŋqa-* EAR-ORNAMENT) in bird nouns:

<i>qiri'n'naŋqats</i> sparrow-hawk
<i>va'n'naŋqa</i> goose

-q-wa-(ts-) occurs in:

<i>A'ta'q-wats</i> crow (cf. parallel <i>A'ta'p-üts</i>)

-tca- occurs in:

<i>U^xqwa'tsa-ts</i> small spider (cf. <i>U^xqwa'mpi</i> tarantula)

(5) PASSIVE PARTICIPLES. Two distinct suffixes of closely related meaning are frequently employed in Paiute to express the passive participle, *-p-i-* and *-p-i-*. It is difficult to say just what difference of meaning there is between these elements, though they are not used interchangeably. On the whole, *-p-i-* seems to have a more substantival force, *-p-i-* a more truly participial one; it would be incorrect to press this point, however. Moreover, *-p-i-* is primarily tenseless except when preceded by specific tense elements, e. g. future *-va-*; *-p-i-* is always preterital. Both may be formed from intransitive stems, though derivatives formed from transitive verbs are naturally far more common.

(a) *-p-i-* passive participle. Examples are:

<i>sa'a-</i> to boil	<i>sa'a'p-i</i> what is boiled, mush
<i>aγan'i-</i> how? to do (be) in what way?	<i>qatcu''q-w aγa'n-i-kai'pin-i naia'-vaŋuq'a</i> not-it how-do-perfective-passive partic.-like seem-negative, it does not look as though capable of handling
<i>cu(w)ai-</i> to be glad	<i>cu(w)a'ip-i</i> (some one's) being glad
<i>nən:ɔ:ɔ-i-</i> to dream	<i>nən:ɔ'cip-i</i> what is dreamt, dream (as noun)
<i>tavi-</i> to hit, plur. subj. <i>tavi-k-a-</i>	<i>tavi'k-amip-i</i> who are (were) always hit
<i>tīχwi'n-a-</i> to tell a story	<i>tīχwi'n:ap-i</i> what is told, story
<i>tī'qa-</i> to eat	<i>tī'qa'va-p-i</i> what shall (always) be eaten
<i>ivi-</i> to drink	<i>ivi'p-i</i> something drunk, <i>ivi'-k-aip-i</i> what was evidently drunk (by someone)
<i>ampaγa-</i> to talk	<i>naŋqa'p'iy-a ampa'x:api-a</i> heard talked (obj.), heard some one talking
<i>cv-p-ar'ua-</i> several gather together	<i>cv'p-ar'uap-i</i> gathered-together, gathering place

A considerable number of nouns referring to games are passive participles in *-p-i-*, e. g.:

<i>naiāŋwi-</i> to play the hand-game	<i>naiā'ŋwip-i</i> hand-game
<i>īni'p-untu-</i> to make a ghost, to play at ghosts	<i>īni'p-untup-i</i> ghost-making game
<i>mav'xɔi-</i> to make a pile of dirt	<i>mav'xɔip-i</i> game of making piles of dirt

(b) *-p-ī-* past passive participle. Examples are:

<i>sa'ma-</i> to spread out (a blanket, sheet)	<i>sa'ma'p-ī</i> having been spread out, cover on which something is put
<i>wi'tca'-</i> to wrap about	<i>wi'tca'p-ī</i> having been wrapped about, band

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<i>nə-</i>	to carry on one's back	<i>nə'p'ī</i>	carried on one's back, pack
<i>ai-</i>	to say	<i>a'ip'iaŋ o'p'ac an'p'īγa'</i>	say-passive partic.-obj.-his that-way-again it-did, it happened as he had said
<i>naŋqa-</i>	to hear	<i>mai'm imi naŋqa'q'aip'imi</i>	that-thy thee hear-perfective-passive partic.-thy, that (is) thy heard, that is what you heard
<i>qwi-</i>	to take	<i>piŋwa'χwī p'iyWA</i>	wife-taken-his, whom he had taken as wife
<i>ora-</i>	to dig up	<i>ora'p'ini</i>	my having-been-dug, something that I dug long ago
<i>qWA'cī-</i>	to be ripe	<i>qWA'cī'p'iaqA</i>	ripened-it, it (is) ripe
<i>qwitca-</i>	to defecate	<i>qwitca'p'ī</i>	excrement
<i>si'i-</i>	to urinate	<i>si'i'p'ī</i>	urine

Several nouns referring to ceremonials, dances, and games are really past passive participles in *-p'ī-*, e. g.:

<i>ki(y)a-</i>	to play, dance a round dance	<i>ki(y)a'p'ī</i>	round dance
<i>-ti'v'w'i'-</i>	to lead away	<i>gam'ī'n-ariv'w'i'p'ī</i>	jackrabbit-reciprocal-lead away-passive partic., game in which each tries to head off rabbits from others
<i>yaγa-</i>	to cry	<i>yaγa'p'ī</i>	having been cried, mourning ceremony
<i>tu'u'n'NI^zqa-</i>	to dance the scalp dance	<i>tu'u'n'NI^zqap'ī</i>	scalp dance

(6) ACTIVE PARTICIPLES. The primary form of the active participial suffix is *-ti-n*. When unpreceded by a tense element, it refers to present time or, particularly in secondary substantival uses, is tenseless. Participles of explicitly temporal reference may be formed from the present participle by prefixing appropriate temporal suffixes to *-ti-n*. Animate plurals are formed by suffixing *-m'ī-* (§ 48, 1, a), e. g. *-rim'ī-*.

(a) *Present participle*: *-ri-n* (*-tci-n* after *i*; *-ntci-n* after nasal + *i*), *-tī-n*, *-ntī-n*. Examples are:

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<i>tī'qa-</i> to eat	<i>tī'qa'rī</i> eating
<i>ivi'-k-a-s</i> several drink	<i>ivi'k-arīmī</i> those drinking
<i>nīa-</i> to blow	<i>nīa'rī</i> blowing, wind; <i>nīa'rīntī'-</i> <i>qaŋ'wī'pīya'</i> turned into wind
<i>qa'qa'rī-s</i> to run away	<i>qa'qa'rīrī</i> one who runs away
<i>pū'tcu'tcuɣwa-s</i> to understand	<i>i'mi pū'tcu'tcuɣwa'iq-wa</i> thou (art) understanding-it
<i>ivi-s</i> to drink	<i>ivi'tcī</i> drinking
<i>tcaŋwī'k-iqwa'(a)i-s</i> to die off	<i>tcaŋwī'k-iqwa'(a)itcīm^wīa</i> those dying off (obj.)
<i>avi-s</i> to lie	<i>avi'tcī</i> lying, plateau
<i>an-i-s</i>	<i>an-i'ntcī</i> doing so, anim. plur. <i>an-i'ntcīm^wī-</i>
<i>ai-s</i> to say	<i>a'intcī</i> saying, sayer (§ 13, 3)
<i>a'a-o</i> to be good	<i>a'a't-ī</i> good
<i>A'pī'iqwa'ai-o</i> not to sleep	<i>A'pī'iqwa'ait-ī</i> one who does not sleep
<i>na'ai-n</i> to burn	<i>na'a'intī</i> burning, fire
<i>-mi-n</i> usitative	<i>a'imintīmī</i> those saying
<i>-r'ui-n</i> to become	<i>tuɣwa'r'uintī</i> becoming night
<i>NU^xqwi-n</i> to flow	<i>NU^xqwi'ntī</i> flowing, stream

For *-kantī-* HAVING; BEING < *-kai-* TO HAVE; TO BE, see § 26, 1, a, b.

(b) *Future participle*: *-va-ntī-n*, *-mpa-ntī-n*; formed from future *-va-n*, *-mpa-n* (§ 32, 4). Examples are:

<i>pī'pī'tcī-</i> to arrive	<i>pī'pī'tcīv^wa-ntī</i> being about to arrive, going to arrive, shall be arriving
<i>pī'ka'ayaxai-</i> to be a hard-shell turtle	<i>pī'ka'axaiva-ntī</i> destined to be a hard-shell turtle
<i>pA^xqa'ŋu-n</i> to kill	<i>pA^xqa'ŋumpa-ntī</i> going to kill, will kill

(c) *Usitative participle*: *-vatcī-n*, *-mpatcī-n*. The usitative element *-va-*, phonetically treated as though terminating in *-i-s*, is not otherwise used as a verb suffix. It is perhaps identical with postpositive *-va-AT* (§ 50, 4, 37), which also changes following *-t-* to *-te-*. Examples are:

<i>nən'ɔ'c-i-</i> to dream	<i>nən'ɔ'c-ivātčī</i> accustomed to dream, having ever dreamt
<i>na'ai-</i> to burn	<i>na'a'ivātčī</i> wont to burn

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<i>qarī-</i> to sit	<i>qarī'vatcī</i> who always sits
<i>o'χwai-</i> to have an arrow	<i>o'χwaivātci</i> provided with an arrow
<i>nantsun'i-</i> to fly	<i>nantsun'ivātci</i> always flying around
<i>-mi-n</i> usitative	<i>avi'm·impatcī</i> always accustomed to lie down

(d) *Perfective participle: -q·antī-n*; based on perfective *-q·ai-* (§ 32, 3). Examples are:

<i>pñnu'k'ai-</i> to see	<i>pñnu'k'aiḱ·antī</i> having seen
<i>pa'x·iqw'ai-</i> to go away	<i>pa'x·iqw'aiḱ·antī</i> having gone away
<i>qan'χai-</i> to have a house	<i>qan'χaiḱ·antī</i> who had a house

(e) *Narrative preterital participle: -p·iγantī-n*; based on narrative preterital *-p·iγai-*. This participle differs from the preceding in referring more explicitly to past time, also in being more frequently used in narrative as a sort of equivalent for properly preterital forms in *-p·iγai-* (see §32, 6; also § 55, 4, e). Examples are:

<i>pA^xqa'ḡvti-</i> to be killed	<i>pA^xqa'ḡvtiip̄iγantī'ḡuru'avwī</i> be-killed-preterit partic.-he . is-dubitative, maybe he has been killed
<i>tīγai-</i> to take place	<i>tīγai'ip̄iγantī</i> having taken place
<i>qA^xqa'ḡuḡqv-</i> would kill	<i>pA^xqa'ḡuḡquv^xp̄iγantīni</i> who would have killed me
<i>'u'rainu-</i> to go towards it	<i>nī' u'rainu'p̄iγantī</i> I (am) having-gone-towards-it, I went towards it

(f) *Animate plurals of participles.* Animate plurals of active participles have been already referred to. They end in *-ti-m·i-*. A curious idiom allows of their use also as singulars. This takes place when the participle refers to a person (or animal) that is singled out from a number or is compared with others. The plural ending of the participle, in other words, refers to the implied collectivity rather than to the person explicitly indicated. Examples are:

qu'tca'p·ot·o'qwarimī blue-round-adj. verb-partic.-plur., one who is blue around (as contrasted with others of different color)

təγɔ'n·vop'a' təγɔ'q-wdci'mi quite-me-like running-plur., equal to me
in running
qa'tc 'a'iyuywa'i't·imī not good-negative-partic.-plur., not a good one
nīχa'ava't·im·wīaŋA me-greater-partic.-plur.-he, he (is) greater than I
tiv'w'its' pa'a'ntimī very tall-partic.-plur., tallest; contrast *tiv'w'its'*
pa'a'nti very tall (no comparison involved)

Analogous constructions are found in other than *-ti-n* forms, e. g.:
nī' nari'χwɪ·nApīŋwī I mighty-plur. (§ 48, 1, b), I (am) a mighty
person (as contrasted with others)

§ 26. Verbalizing Suffixes.

A number of verb-forming suffixes are in common use. They transform noun, adjective, and demonstrative stems into verbs.

(1) *Elements suffixed to noun and adjective stems.*

(a) *-γai-, -q'ai-, -ŋqai-, TO BE.* Any noun or participle may become a verb of being by means of this suffix, e. g.:

<i>nīŋwī-s</i> person	<i>nīŋwī'χaiŋU</i> while being a person
<i>qan-u-s</i> house	<i>qan'χaiŋU</i> house-be-momentan- cous, to be already manifest as a house
<i>wī'ci-a-s</i> feather	<i>wī'ci'a'χaik·ain·aŋA</i> feather-be- perfective-verbal noun -his, what had been his feathers
<i>sari-tsi-s</i> dog	<i>nī' sari'tsiχa'</i> I am a dog
<i>tümp'wi-ø</i> rock	<i>tümp'wi'k·aini</i> I am a rock
<i>nīχa'ava't·i-n</i> greater than I	<i>nīχa'ava't·iŋqaiwa't·ŋni'</i> I-great- er-active partic.-be-future-ger- und-like, if (you) are to be greater than I

For negative *-ai-* NOT TO BE, see § 57, 2 c.

Before subordinating *-q-u-* (§ 55, 1, c) verbifying *-kai-* TO BE becomes *-ka-*, e. g.:

<i>a'ip'atsiχai-</i> to be a boy	<i>a'ip'atsiχa·q·uni</i> when I was a boy
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For corresponding negative *-a'·-q-u-* WHEN NOT TO BE, see § 57, 2, c.

The active participial form of this suffix is *-γanti-n*, *-q·anti-n*, *-ŋqanti-n*. e. g.:

<i>tA^zqa-^s</i> to be flat	<i>tA^zqa'γantī</i> being flat, flat country
<i>cīi-^s</i> to be strong	<i>cīi'xantī</i> strong
<i>'ontcəχi-^s</i> to be one-eyed	<i>'ontcə'χiχantī</i> one-eyed
<i>yu(w)a-^s</i>	<i>yu(w)a'^axantī</i> being level, plain
<i>wī'qən oi-^o</i> to be circular	<i>wī'qə'n oiχ'antī</i> circular

As may be seen from these examples, *-kantī-ⁿ* forms many nouns and adjectives. Many of these participial forms, indeed, seem to be more freely used than the *-kai-* verbs from which they are derived.

Compounded with indirective *-ηqī-* (§ 29, 2) this element seems to appear as *-'ai-* (cf. negative *-'ai-* NOT TO BE, § 57, 2, c). *-'ai-ηqī-* seems to indicate TO ACT LIKE —TO. It occurs in:

<i>cīna'ηwaw-ηkai-</i> to be coyote; to be amorous, "mushy"	<i>cīna'ηwaw'aiηqīi'</i> acts like coyote to (her); acts in an inordinately amorous manner toward (her)
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(b) *-γai-*, *-q'ai-*, *-ηqai-* TO HAVE. This element closely parallels the preceding in all its forms (including negative *-'ai-*; subordinate *-ka-q-u-*; negative subordinate *-a'-q-u-*; participle *-kantī-ⁿ*). From the form alone it is not always possible to tell whether the *-kai-* suffix denotes TO BE OR TO HAVE; e. g. *tūmp^wik'ai-* TO BE A ROCK OR TO HAVE A ROCK. Frequently, however, the theoretical ambiguity is removed by the use of a nominal possessive suffix (§ 24, 2) before the *-kai-*; e. g. *sari'tsγaiwātē* WONT TO BE A DOG, but *sari'vunquχwawātē* WONT TO HAVE A DOG (§ 24, 2, e). On account of their particular frequency, forms in *-a-γai-* (§ 24, 2, a) are separately listed.

Examples of *-γai-*, *-q'ai-*, *-ηqai-* TO HAVE are:

<i>puηqu-^s</i> horse (owned)	<i>puηqu'χwawān·n·ianī</i> I shall have a horse
<i>ovi-'ini-^s</i> stick-owned	<i>ovi''iniχainī</i> I have a stick
<i>taha-^s</i> knee	<i>taha'xainī</i> I have a knee
<i>patē-ηwī-</i> daughters (§ 48, 1, b)	<i>patē'ηwīχaipīγa'</i> (he) had daughters
<i>impī-^s</i> what	<i>impī'xai'</i> what hast thou?
<i>mov^wi-^o</i> nose	<i>mov^wi'k'ai(y)ah·i</i> he has a nose
<i>aγə-ⁿ</i> tongue	<i>aγə'ηqwainī</i> I have a tongue
<i>wīγī-ⁿ</i> vulva	<i>wīγī'ηqai·p'īγa'</i> (she) had a vulva
<i>narə'ə-ⁿ</i> clothes	<i>nī' narə''əηqwa'</i> I have clothes

An example of subordinate *-ka-q-u-* is:

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piŋwa^s wife *piŋwa'xa:q·u* that (he) had as
(his) wife

Examples of *-a-γai-* TO HAVE, BE PROVIDED WITH (subordinate *-aγa-q·u-*) are:

<i>o·χwi'vī-</i> grass	<i>o·χwi'vīaxa'</i> to have grass
<i>A'ta'vī-</i> sand	<i>A'ta'vīaxaiq·A</i> it is sandy
<i>pəw·'</i> trails (§ 58, 2, b)	<i>pəw·'aγai:p·iγa'</i> (country) had trails (all over)
<i>qamī'χanu-</i> jackrabbit-camp	<i>qamī'χanuaγai'tuai'</i> people (§ 29, 14) have a jackrabbit-camp
<i>taŋwa-</i> tooth	<i>taŋwa'γax:qoəq·A</i> that it (her vulva) had teeth (< <i>taŋwa- aγa-q·o-</i>)

Participial examples in *-kantī-ⁿ*, *-aγantī-ⁿ* are:

<i>pə'a-</i> ^s louse	<i>pə'aχantī</i> having lice, lousy; plur. <i>pə'aq·aγantīmī</i> several having lice
<i>pu(w)a-</i> ^s supernatural power	<i>pu(w)a'γantī</i> having supernatu- ral power, medicine-man
<i>naŋqava-</i> ^s ear	<i>ava'ət·iA nana'ŋqavaχantī</i> big (obj.) ears (§ 58, 3, c) -having
<i>səγə-</i> moisture	<i>səγə'aχantī</i> having moisture, moist
<i>qanu-</i> house	<i>qanu'aγantī</i> house-possessed-hav- ing, camp, village

(c) *-γa-*, *-q·a-*, *-ŋqa-* TO ACQUIRE. Examples are:

<i>qava-</i> ^s horse	<i>wa'q·uteanu qava'x·A</i> two-objec- tive-preterit-I horse-get, I re- ceived two horses
<i>uru'v^wi-</i> ^s stick for making arrow	<i>uru'v^wiχap·iγa'</i> got arrow-sticks
<i>tūmp^wi-</i> ^o rock	<i>tūmp^wi'k·ava·n·ianu</i> I shall get a rock
<i>aγə-</i> ⁿ tongue	<i>aγə'ŋqawava·n·ianu</i> I shall get a tongue

(d) *-ru-* (*-teu-* after *i*; *-nteu-* after nasal + *i*), *-tu-*, *-ntu-* TO MAKE, TO MAKE INTO. The idea of MAKING is sometimes used in a somewhat extended sense. Examples are:

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<i>atēi</i> ^{-s} bow	<i>atēi'ruv^wa·n·c'</i> will make a bow
<i>tīγ'arī</i> ^{-s} deer-hide	<i>tīγ'arurup'īγa'</i> made a deer-hide
<i>pāi'c·aya</i> ^{-s} bridge	<i>pāi'c·axarUqwap'īγa'</i> several made (it) into a bridge
<i>pa·na</i> ^{-s} bread	<i>pa'narui'</i> makes bread
<i>quma</i> ^{-s} husband	<i>quma'ruyīanA</i> (she) husband- makes, marries him
<i>nīηwī</i> ^{-s} person	<i>nīηwū'runu</i> to person-make me, consider me a person
<i>impī</i> ^{-s} what	<i>impū'ruyīanA</i> what is he making?
<i>'āic·t</i> ^{-s} basket	<i>'a'ic·tcuv^wa·n·c'</i> will make a basket
<i>qani</i> ^{-s} house	<i>qani'ntcūpīγa'</i> made a house
<i>piyī</i> ^{-s} heart	<i>piyī't·ui'</i> makes a heart
<i>ɔvi</i> ⁻ⁿ wood	<i>ɔv'ntuv^wa·n·c'</i> will make wood
<i>taηwa</i> ⁻ⁿ tooth	<i>nī' taηwa'ntuηuaqA</i> I made a tooth out of it

(e) *-a-* TO PUT ON FOR WEAR, TO WEAR. Examples are:

<i>maavī</i> - clothes	<i>maa'vī'ai'</i> puts on (his) clothes; <i>maa'vī'ayU</i> to be dressed up
<i>qarīn·impī</i> - saddle	<i>qarī'n·impīdāt·ui'</i> saddles (a horse); <i>-t·ui-</i> causative, § 29, 12)
<i>'a'·n·U'ci</i> - harness	<i>'a'·n·U'ciāt·ui'</i> harnesses (a horse)
<i>qaγ(ε)i</i> - necklace	<i>qaγ(ε')i'āi'</i> puts necklace (or collar) around (one's neck); <i>tA^zqa'xi'ai'</i> loops around the feet (or ankles)

(f) *-ru'a-n* (*-tcu'a-n* after *i*; *-ntcu'a-n* after nasal + *i*), *-t·u'a-n*, *-ntu'a-n* TO BECOME, TURN INTO. This suffix is appended to both noun and adjective-verb stems. Examples are:

<i>pu(w)a</i> ^{-s} supernatural power	<i>pu(w)a'r'uai'</i> turns into a medi- cine-man, commences to be a medicine man
<i>qava</i> ^{-s} horse	<i>qava'ru'axuntca·ηA</i> he became a horse
<i>yuu</i> ^{-s} grease, <i>yuu'χwantī</i> fat (adj.)	<i>yuu'ru'ap'īγa'</i> got fat
<i>yua</i> ^{-s} level, plain	<i>yuyu'a'r'uaηqu'</i> (it) would be- come level

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<i>aŋqa</i> - ^s red	<i>aŋqa</i> ' <i>r</i> ' <i>uai</i> ' turns red
<i>qani</i> - ^s house	<i>qani</i> ' <i>ntcu</i> ' <i>aŋu</i> to become a house
<i>tv</i> - ^o black	<i>tv</i> ' <i>t</i> ' <i>uaxu</i> <i>p</i> ' <i>ɣa</i> ' turned black
<i>ɔv</i> - ⁿ stick	<i>ɔv</i> ' <i>ntu</i> ' <i>aŋuntca</i> ' <i>ŋA</i> he became a stick

(g) *-ru*'*i*-ⁿ (*-tcu*'*i*-ⁿ after *i*), *-t*'*u*'*i*-ⁿ, *-ntu*'*i*-ⁿ TO BECOME, TURN INTO. This suffix, which is evidently related to the preceding, is used with verb stems, particularly such as relate to time and the weather, less often with noun stems. Examples are:

<i>tuɣwa</i> - ^s to be dark, night	<i>tuɣwa</i> ' <i>ru</i> ' <i>nti</i> becoming night, at night
<i>tɔmɔ</i> - ^o to be winter	<i>tɔmɔ</i> ' <i>r</i> ' <i>unt</i> <i>i</i> commencing winter
<i>tam</i> ' <i>a</i> - ^s to be spring	<i>tam</i> ' <i>a</i> ' <i>r</i> ' <i>unt</i> <i>i</i> commencing spring; <i>ɔnɔ</i> ' <i>t</i> ' <i>am</i> ' <i>ar</i> ' <i>uŋqu</i> when (it) becomes early in spring, early in spring
<i>nana</i> ' <i>p</i> ' <i>itsi</i> - old man	<i>nana</i> ' <i>p</i> ' <i>itcu</i> <i>cu</i> <i>ŋum</i> <i>intca</i> ' <i>ŋ</i> 'ɔai' he has already become an old man
<i>tatca</i> - ^o to be summer	<i>tatca</i> ' <i>t</i> ' <i>unt</i> <i>i</i> commencing summer
<i>yiv</i> ^o <i>ana</i> - ^o to be autumn	<i>yiv</i> ^o <i>a</i> ' <i>n</i> ' <i>at</i> <i>unt</i> <i>i</i> commencing autumn
<i>n̄ia</i> - to blow	<i>ni</i> (<i>ɣ</i>) <i>a</i> ' <i>t</i> ' <i>u</i> ' <i>nti</i> commencing to blow, wind
<i>n̄iv</i> ^o <i>a</i> ' <i>uŋwa</i> - to snow	<i>n̄iv</i> ^o <i>a</i> ' <i>uŋwa</i> ' <i>unt</i> <i>ŋwani</i> snow-commencing-possessed-my, snow belonging to me
<i>tuɣu</i> - ⁿ to be clear weather	<i>tuɣu</i> ' <i>ntu</i> <i>ŋuq</i> ' <i>v</i> ' <i>q</i> ' <i>wA</i> it would clear up
<i>qa</i> - to sing	<i>qa</i> ' <i>ntunt</i> <i>ŋ</i> ' <i>wa</i> ' <i>ŋA</i> sing-commencing-possessed-his, song belonging to him

(h) *-ɣa*-^s, *-q**a*-^s, *-ŋqa*-^s adjective-verb suffix. This suffix makes verbs of being out of adjective-verb stems, e. g. from *aŋqa*- RED (cf. *aŋqa*- in compounds and *aŋqa*'*r*'*ua*- TO TURN RED) is formed *aŋqa*-*ɣa*- TO BE RED. It is particularly common with adjective-verb stems indicating color; it may also make color-verbs out of noun stems. Most frequently it is used in its participial form, *-kari*-ⁿ. Examples are:

<i>tō'ca-s</i> to be white	<i>tō'ca'χarī</i> white
<i>saγwa-s</i> to be blue	<i>saγwa'χarī</i> blue
<i>wantsi-s</i> antelope	<i>wantsi'χarī</i> antelope-colored, light gray
<i>tcīŋka-s</i> to be rough	<i>tcīŋka'xarī</i> rough
<i>yu'mi-s</i> to be warm	<i>yu'mi'χarī pa'</i> warm water
<i>qV'tca-^o</i> to be light gray; ashes (absolute <i>qV'tca'p'ü</i>)	<i>qV'tca'q-arī</i> light gray
<i>to-^o</i> to be black	<i>to'q-warī</i> black (probably coal- colored, cf. Fernandino <i>du-w-t</i> coal)
<i>qwi-^o</i> smoke (in compounds)	<i>qwi'k'arī</i> smoke (as absolute noun)
<i>paü-n</i> to be smooth	<i>pa'üŋqarī</i> smooth
<i>sa-n</i> to be raw	<i>sa'ŋqaxo'oq-wa</i> when it is raw
<i>siu-n</i> to be light gray (like rabbit's eyes)	<i>siu'ŋqwarī</i> light gray and translucent

(i) *-ra-* adjective-verb suffix. This element is found only in a few stereotyped adjective-verbs, e. g.

<i>cī'pü-</i> cold (as noun, e. g. <i>cī'pü-v^{wa}</i> cold water)	<i>cī'pü'rai'</i> (object) is cold
<i>yu'(w)a-</i> (cf. perhaps <i>yu'mi-</i> under h)	<i>yu'(w)a'rai'</i> (it) is warm weather

(j) *Isolated elements.* One or two isolated verbalizing (or verb) suffixes that can not well be classified are given here. *-t'ca-* occurs in:

<i>nayqa-va-</i> ear; <i>nayqa-</i> to hear	<i>nayqa't'ca-q-ai-</i> to listen (for resultative <i>-q-ai-</i> , see § 30, 9); <i>nana'ŋqatca'q-ai-va'</i> (they) will listen
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-t'cī- (two-moraed) occurs in:

<i>nüntcī'-γa-</i> to shake (duratively; for <i>-γa-</i> see § 30, 1)	<i>nüntcī't'cī'</i> shakes; <i>nüntcī't'cī-</i> <i>p'üγa'</i> shook; <i>nüntcī't'cuq-Üpī-</i> <i>γa'</i> started to shake
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(2) *Elements suffixed to demonstrative stems.* For demonstrative stems *a-*, *i-* (*i'ü'*), *ma-* (*m^wa'*), and *u-* (*u'^w*) see § 43.

(a) *-ro'a-* TO BE; makes substantive verbs from demonstrative *a-* and *u-*, e. g. *aro'a-* TO BE (visible subject). Substantive verbs are dealt with in § 56.

(b) *-n'i-* TO ACT, DO, BE. This suffix makes verbs of action or manner out of demonstrative stems, also out of interrogative *aγa-*, e. g. *an'i-* TO DO SO, TO ACT THUS; *aγan'i-* TO DO WHAT? TO ACT HOW? For examples see § 43, 3. These verbs are often used absolutely as adverbs of manner, e. g. *aγa'ni* HOW?

(c) *-n'i-* (*-n'i'i-*) verbalizing suffix appended to demonstrative stem + postposition (see § 43, 1). From *iva-* THIS-AT, HERE, e. g., is formed *iva-n'i-* TO BE HERE. It is possible that this element is identical with continuative *-n'i-* (§ 30, 12); both are two-moraed. Examples are:

<i>iva-</i> , <i>ivä-</i>	here	<i>ivä'n'iyini</i>	here-be-present-I, I stay right here; <i>ivä'n'ia'y'a-</i> <i>xaini wA^xqi'k:zA</i> here-be-a- (§ 19, 3, a)-he-indeed hither-go, he was coming here
(u) <i>m^wα'va-</i>	there	<i>waa(i)y (u)m^wα'va-n'ik'a'</i>	two there-be-perfective, two have been there

(d) *-q-a-* TO GO; makes verbs of movement out of independent adverbs and demonstrative stems + postposition (cf. c above). Examples are:

<i>wA^xqi'-</i>	hither	<i>wA^xqi'k'a^aηA</i>	he is coming (<i><-q-a-aηa-</i>)
<i>tiv^wai-</i>	down	<i>tiv^wa'ik:zA</i>	to go down (away from one)
<i>tī-i-</i>	up	<i>tī'ik:zA</i>	to go up (away from one)
<i>i(y)u'p'a-</i>	through here	<i>i(y)u'p'aqani</i>	I went through here
<i>u'a'xaruχwa-</i>	through it	<i>u'a'χaruχwaq:1</i>	goes through the (house)

§ § 27-34. Verb suffixes.

§ 27. General remarks.

The suffixes added to verb stems or verbalized bases (see § 26) may be grouped into six distinct classes: suffixes of movement, of voice, of verbal aspect, of plurality, of tense, and of mode. Many of these may be considered as more properly formal than derivative in character, but the line is in any case not easy to draw.

§ 28. Suffixes of movement.

In origin these are in all probability verb stems that have become specialized as second members of verb + verb compounds (§ 18, 2, a). This appears quite plausible in view of the fact that several verb stems of movement (e. g. *paγ(a)i-n* TO GO, *pa(i)yi-* TO RETURN) are frequently used in composition in a quasi-formal sense.

(1) *-γwa'ai-s*, *-q-wa'ai-s*, *-ηqwa'ai-s* TO GO WHILE -ING, TO MOVE. This is generally used only in verbs whose animate subject is singular. For corresponding plurals the compounded verb-stem *-m'ia-* SEVERAL MOVE is used (for examples see § 18, 2, a). Examples of *-γwa'ai-s* are:

<i>nantsi-s</i> to fly	<i>nantsi'χw'ai</i> goes flying, flies away
<i>wüni-</i> to stand, be stationed	<i>wüni'χw'ai p'ïγa'</i> was stationed as (he) moved
<i>ai-s</i> to say	<i>a'iχw'ai p'ïγa'</i> said as (he) went
<i>yaηwi-s</i> to carry	<i>yaηwi'χw'ai p'ïγa'</i> went carrying

Of *-q-wa'ai-s*:

<i>pa(i)yi-g</i> to return	<i>pa(i)yi'q-w'a'i</i> return-goes, goes back
<i>mün'ic-i-g</i> to return, turn back	<i>mün'ic-q-w'ai p'ïγa'</i> went returning home
<i>*am'u'zU pa-g</i> (to go) past them	<i>*am'u'zU pa(-)'q-wai ηup'ïγa'</i> went past them
<i>tu'uma-g</i> to take (several objects)	<i>tu'u'mA'q-wai' p'ïγa'</i> went and took (several objects)

Of *-ηqwa'ai-s*:

<i>NU^zqwi-n</i> to run	<i>NU^zqwi'ηqw'ai</i> goes running, runs off
<i>paγ(a)i-n</i> to go	<i>paγ(a)'iηqw'ai</i> walks off
<i>tA'ci'a-n</i> to dawn	<i>tA'ci' aηqw'ai x-U</i> when (it) dawn-goes, when dawn approaches
<i>tA'c'i' pa-n</i> to be evening	<i>tA'c'i' p' aηqw'ai' i x-U</i> as evening approaches
<i>tUγwa'-r'ui-n</i> to get dark	<i>tUγwa'-r' uηqw'ai x-U</i> when (it) commenced to get dark
<i>u'urai-n</i> (to go) towards it	<i>u'u'rai ηqw'ai p'ïγa'</i> went towards it

The idea of GOING, as some of these examples show, shades off into that of BECOMING.

(2) *-q-wa'ai-s* (TO MOVE) OFF, AWAY. This is evidently nothing but a specialized use of the geminated form of the preceding suffix. It occurs, however, after spirantizing and nasalizing as well as after geminating stems and is clearly felt as a distinct, though related, element. Examples are:

<i>paγ(ε)i-n</i> to go (see a above)	<i>paγ(ε')iq-w'aitearɔa-γA</i> did he go away?
<i>ya-</i> to carry (one object)	<i>ya'q-waip-γa'aik-wA</i> carried it away
<i>tsip-i-</i> to appear, emerge	<i>ts-pi'k-w'aiηU-pi'γa'</i> went right through beyond
<i>tɔγɔq-wi-</i> to run	<i>tɔγɔ'q-wiQwa'aiγiayA</i> he runs off
<i>wa'ani-s</i> to yell (e. g. <i>wa'a'η-</i> <i>χwa'a.i'</i> yells as he goes)	<i>wa'a'ηiqwa'aiηU</i> to call out while going past

Quite often *-q-wa'ai-s* OFF is used in a secondary sense to indicate completion (cf. English TO DIE OFF), e. g.:

<i>ya'ai-</i> to die, be dying	<i>ya'a'ik-w'aiwü'</i> die-off-shall, let him die
<i>pA^zqa-</i> to kill	<i>pA^zqa'q-w'aiηUqwɔni</i> when I kill off, when I have killed (but also <i>pA^zqa'q-w'ai-</i> to kill while on one's way)
<i>cu(w)a-</i> to consume	<i>cu(w)α'q-waaiɛ-U</i> while eating (it) up
<i>'a'imu-</i> to be silent	<i>'a.'i'nik-w'aiηUqwa-qA</i> as soon as it became silent

Another common development in meaning is that of continuance or duration (cf. English TO COUNT OFF, TO WORK AWAY), e. g.:

<i>yaγa-</i> to cry	<i>yaχa'q-wɔ.i'</i> cries away, cries without interruption
<i>ampaγa-</i> to talk	<i>ampa'x'qwa'a.i'</i> talks away, keeps on talking
<i>tii'qa-</i> to eat	<i>tii'qa'q-w'ɔiɔni</i> I'll eat away. I'll keep on eating

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(3) $\sim\gamma wa'ai\text{-}^s$ TO GO IN ORDER TO. This element also is evidently merely a specialized use of the spirantized form of (a). Examples are:

<i>qu'qwi-</i> to shoot	<i>qu'qwi'χw'ɔiva-n'ianI</i> I shall go in order to shoot
<i>uru'v'w'iyā-</i> to get arrow-sticks	<i>uru'v'w'iyāw'ai'i</i> go and get arrow- sticks
<i>ya-</i> to carry (cf. under b)	<i>ya'xw'ai'ηwA</i> go and fetch him
<i>ani-</i> to do so	<i>ani'χw'aip'iyā'</i> went and did so

In many cases it is not easy to be clear as to whether examples of $\sim qwa'ai-$ and $\sim\gamma wa'ai-$ are to be classed under (a) or under (b) and (c). It is highly probable that $\sim qwa'ai-$ (b) and $\sim\gamma wa'ai-$ (c) are related to each other as momentaneous and durative (see § 53, 2, b for momentaneous gemination). The two uses of $\sim\gamma wa'ai-$, WHILE GOING and TO GO IN ORDER TO, are reflected in its plural correspondent $\sim m'ia-$, e. g. *qa'm'ia-* SEVERAL SING WHILE ON (THEIR) WAY and SEVERAL GO IN ORDER TO SING.

(4) $\sim m'mia-$ CONTINUOUS MOTION. This element, which is perhaps etymologically connected with plural *mia-* SEVERAL TRAVEL, is very similar in significance to $\sim kwa'ai-$ (a) and to compounded $\sim pa\gamma(a)i-$ WHILE JOURNEYING. The idea of continuity, however, seems to be more explicit. Moreover, the movement referred to is not necessarily the straight-line movement of normal walking or travel, but may be the periodic movement say of dancing. Examples are:

<i>pa:ya-</i> to run	<i>pa'yam'mia.i'</i> goes running, keeps on running
<i>qa-</i> to sing	<i>qa'm'mia.i'</i> sings while moving along (e. g. in the round-dance)
<i>qari-</i> to sit, ride on horseback	<i>qari'm'mia.i'</i> keeps on riding
<i>u'tcu'm'MIzka-</i> several have (their) eyes closed	<i>u'tcu'm'MIzka'm'iuava'</i> (ye) shall have (your) eyes closed as (ye) dance
<i>yaηwi-</i> to carry	<i>yaηwi'm'miap'iyā'</i> carried along
<i>w'i'i-</i> to dance	<i>w'i'i'm'miap'iyā'</i> danced back and forth
<i>pīnu-</i> to look	<i>pīnu'm'miai'</i> looks while walking
<i>tiv'wai-</i> (to go) west	<i>tiv'wai'm'miap'iyā'</i> travelled west- ward

For *-m·k·u-*, the inceptive form of this suffix, see § 30, 8.

(5) *-γi^s*, *-k·i^s*, *-ηki^s* TO COME WHILE -ING. This suffix is the correlative of (1). Examples of *-γi^s* are:

nəntsi^s to fly
qari^s to ride

nəntsi'χi' comes flying
qari'χi' comes riding

Of *-k·i^s*:

pa(i)yü^o to return
ya^o to carry
ya·ηqü- to carry to
watei- to put

pa(i)yü'k·i' comes back
ya·'q·i(y)aq·A bring it (back)
ya·'ηqü:k·i to bring to
watei'k·iχaini having put me
away and come off

cim^wia- to leave

cim^wi'A^xqilcaηwA left him and
came (back)

nim^wi'vateuγwa- (to go) to us
(excl.)

nim^wi'vateux·wAq·i' comes to visit
us

Of *-ηki^s*:

paγ(a)iⁿ to walk
pa·yaⁿ to run
moiⁿ to lead

paγ(a')iηki' comes walking
pa·'yaηqü'p·i'γa' came running
moü'ηkiteimi those who come
leading

It seems quite likely that, analogously to *-q·wa'ai-* (b), *-k·i^s* is used after all types of stems to indicate TO COME AWAY; it would be the momentaneous correlate of durative *-γi^s* (6). Some of the above examples suggest this.

(6) *-γi^s* TO COME IN ORDER TO, analogous to *-γwa'ai-* (3).

qa- to sing
ya- to carry

qa'χi' comes to sing
ya·'x·i:k·aai' has come to get (cf.
ya·q·i- to come carrying, to
bring)

nə- to carry on one's back

nə·'χwaj·A come to carry him (cf.
nə·'q·waj·A come carrying
him)

tə'vüvöra- to dig up bulrushes

tə'vüvöraχip·i'γa' came to dig up
bulrushes

§ 29. Suffixes of voice.

There are two groups of suffixed elements that indicate voice, i. e. direction of action with reference to subject, object, or indirect object. The first group (1-9) is a primary series that is not freely used; that is closely welded with the verb stem (often with internal stem changes); that occurs in contrasting pairs of mediopassive (or intransitive) and active (or transitive); and that, for the most part, involve at the same time other ideas than that of voice, namely verbal aspect (see § 3 below) and number. This group will be only listed here for convenience of reference and taken up later under other headings. The second group (10-14) is used with great freedom and indicates voice relations of a somewhat more external sort. Suffixes of the latter sort are often appended to the former.

(1) *-q-i-* mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of momentaneous aspect and singular number (see § 30, 3).

(2) *-γi-*, (*-ηqī-*) mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of iterative-durative aspect (see § 30, 2).

(3) *-γα-* mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of durative aspect (see § 30, 1).

(4) *-tai-* mediopassive (intransitive) suffix of primarily durative aspect and of plural number (see § 31, 2, a).

(5) *-na-* transitive suffix of durative aspect and singular number of object (see § 31, 2, b).

(6) *-n'na-* transitive suffix of momentaneous aspect and singular number of object (see § 31, 2, c).

(7) *-ta-* transitive suffix of plural number of object (see § 31, 2, d).

(8) *-a-* final stem vowel indicating active voice (see § 53, 1, d); correlative of *-i-* (9).

(9) *-i-* final stem vowel indicating inactive voice (see § 53, 1, d); correlative of *-a-* (8).

(10) *-ηqī-^a* transitive suffix or activating suffix appended to verbs of primarily mediopassive aspect. It is particularly common with preceding *-q-i-*, *-γi-* (1 and 2 above) and generally occurs with an instrumental prefix in the verb (§ 21). Before it mediopassive *-i-* (see 9 above) sometimes becomes active *-a-* (8); an *-a-* of the active stem

is lengthened to *-a-*. No doubt it is a specialized use of indirective *-ŋq̄i-^o* (see 11 below). Examples are:

<i>tA'pi'tca-</i> to crush by trampling	<i>tA'pi''tcAŋq̄i'q-wA</i> to crush it (cause it to become crushed) by trampling
<i>mün'ic-i-</i> to turn, roll over (intrans.)	<i>maŋwi'n'icŋq̄iŋA</i> to roll him over (lit., with the hand)
<i>tayu'n'muxwi</i> to be poking with the foot (<i>-putsɽi-</i>)	<i>tayu'm'U^zqwiŋq̄i</i> to poke, kick, spur on with the foot <i>q̄i'pu'tsɽŋq̄i</i> to crush between one's teeth
<i>wi't-</i> to fall	<i>tsiŋwi''iŋq̄i</i> to knock down with a stick
<i>yauq-wi-</i> to go in (momentaneous)	<i>may'a'U^zqwiŋq̄i'</i> pushes in
<i>ɔp'a'q-(a)i-</i> to have a hole, be per- forated (in one place)	<i>taɔ'p'A^zqa'ŋq̄i</i> to kick a hole into
<i>to-q-wi-</i> to stretch (intrans.), <i>to-q-wa-</i> (trans.)	<i>maru'x'qwa'ŋq̄i'p'ɽai(y)aq'A</i> stretched it
<i>t̄iŋwa-</i> to close (trans.)	<i>mar'i'ŋwa'ŋq̄i'p'ɽa'</i> shut with (his) hands

(11) *-ŋq̄i-^o* indirective: TO, FOR. This extremely common suffix expresses dative or indirective relations and may be rendered TO, FOR, FROM, WITH, AGAINST. The indirect object is always animate. Examples are:

<i>ya-</i> to carry	<i>ya'ŋq̄ik·I</i> to bring to
<i>uni-</i> to do, make	<i>uni'ŋk̄ip'ɽa'</i> made (it) for (him)
<i>a'ɽawantci-</i> to hide	<i>a'ɽawantciŋq̄im^wɛ</i> has been hid- ing from (him)
<i>U^zqwi'yuru-</i> to make a bow and arrows	<i>U^zqwi'yuruŋq̄up'ɽa'</i> made a bow and arrows for
<i>naŋqa'tca-q-ai-</i> to listen	<i>naŋqa'tcaŋq̄iqaiȳiŋA</i> listens for, instead of him
<i>to-q-wa-</i> to bet	<i>to'q-wɛŋq̄iy'ŋwA</i> bets against him
<i>mantcu'aiŋk̄·ai-</i> to wait	<i>mantcu''aiŋq̄iqai(y)ɛŋA</i> wait for him
<i>sa'a-</i> to make mush	<i>sa'a'ŋq̄ini</i> make mush for me
<i>qa-</i> to sing	<i>qa'ŋq̄itu'a(i)ȳini</i> I sing for people (indef.; see 14 below), I sing with them

The idea of FOR quite often leads to the "ethical dative." In such cases the person of the indirect object is not really affected by the action at all but is merely interested in it. Such ethical datives with first person indirect object are frequently employed to indicate an affectionate attitude on the part of the speaker, e. g.:

aχa'n-iŋqīŋuqwaiyūn' ani'k'a' what-do-for-momentaneous-resultative-subordinate-me-thou do-so? what happened to you for me? what, pray, did you do that . . . ?

pən'āvīn' arī naxa'āŋ'wīnŋqī skunk-blanket-my it be-clothed-stand-for (me), stand clothed in my skunk-blanket for me, please stand clothed in my skunk-blanket

naŋa'ī'ait'uiŋqīaŋani cause him to get angry for me, (you, who are dear to me,) make him angry

With this last example (-*t'ui-ŋqī-* TO CAUSE FOR as ethical dative) contrast *naŋa'p'a-ŋqīt'ui'p'ī'ŋa'* CAUSED (THEM) TO APPEAR.

In a considerable number of cases the indirective -*ŋqī-^o* has grown so to the stem as to give a new meaning in which the indirective idea is not very prominent, e. g.:

pitci- to arrive

pitci'ŋqī- to arrive to, engage with (cf. also *uni-vitci-* to do-arrive, attack)

naŋuq-wi- to reciprocally-shoot

naŋu'q-wiŋqī- to fight

tua- to give birth

nīntu'ŋqī- to person-bear-to, give birth to

(12) -*t'ui-* causative, freely suffixed to both transitive and intransitive verbs. Examples are:

A'pū- to sleep

A'pū'ī'tui' puts to sleep

qa- to sing

qa't'uiŋi make me sing

tīŋai- to take place

tīŋa'ī'tuiyī'q-wA to bring it about

'aiyu- to be good

nam'ī'aiyut'uiŋup'īŋa' first caused to be good, first resuscitated

ɔaq-u- to spill (intrans.)

ɔa'q'zituivaA^zqa-ŋA he'll spill it

na'ai- to burn (intr.)

na'a'it'ui- to make a fire

pīni- to see

pīni't'uk'a' (he) let (him) see (it)

For passives of causatives and causatives of passives, see (13) below. Much less frequently -*t'ui-* makes causatives out of nouns, e. g.:

<i>tsi'a'mpiyua-</i>	wild-rose plain	<i>tsi'a'mpiyua-t'up'iyā'</i>	caused wild-rose plain to be
<i>qan'i-</i>	house + possessive -a-	<i>qan'i'atui'p'iyā'</i>	caused (it) to have houses

A few survivals seem to indicate that *-t'ui-* is but the geminated form of an older variable *-r'ui-*, *-l'ui-*, *-ntui-*, which has become generalized for all cases. There seems also to have been an alternation between momentaneous *-t'ui-* and durative *-r'ui-* (see § 53, 2, b). An example of causative *-ntui-* is *'a'c'intui-* TO LIKE. Causative *-r'ui-* (durative) is exemplified in *iyä'r'ui-* TO CAUSE TO BE AFRAID, TO FRIGHTEN; with this contrast momentaneous *iyä't'ui-* TO FRIGHTEN (at one moment of time).

(12a) *-n'i-* causative. This element occurs so uncommonly that it has not been found possible to determine its precise application. Examples are:

<i>yu'u'rump'iyai(y)aq'aya</i>	leg-make-causative-past-it (vis.)-he (vis.),
	he made a leg out of it
<i>naḡwi'q'a'munp'iyā'</i>	self-cover-causative-past, covered (him)self
	(with leaves) (cf. <i>wi'qa'm'i'</i> covers, tr.)
<i>xā'sj'xj'ma'nup'iyā'</i>	covered (him)self with moist ground, dirt (cf.
	also <i>xā'sj'xu'map'iyā'</i> covered self with dirt)

In the last two examples, which are provided with reflexive prefixes, it is to be noted that the reflexive is better considered the logical object of the causative suffix than of the verb; e. g. HE CAUSED HIMSELF TO BE COVERED, NOT HE CAUSED TO COVER HIMSELF. Contrast, with ordinary causative *-t'ui-* (12), *navi'ntui'k'ai(y)ayani* HE CAUSED ME TO SEE HIMSELF, NOT HE CAUSED HIMSELF TO SEE ME. Possibly *-n'i-* is best defined as an indirect causative, like *-ḡq'i-* (10, 11), whose *-ḡ-* is perhaps a reduced form of *-n'i-*; e. g. HE MADE IT INTO A LEG, HE COVERED TO HIMSELF.

(13) *-t'i'-s* passive; sometimes heard as *-t'i-*, but always two-moraed. This suffix is freely used to make true passives out of transitive verbs. Examples are:

<i>tāna-</i>	to hit, punch	<i>tānät'i'v^oa'n'ianu</i>	I shall be hit
<i>pā^zqa-ḡu-</i>	to kill	<i>pā^zqa'ḡv'ti'qaq'a'</i>	(they) have been killed
<i>ivi-c'ua-ḡu-</i>	to drink up	<i>pa' ivi'c'uaḡv'tixqa'</i>	water has-been-drunk-up

<i>taya-</i> to kick	<i>taya'ti-qatcaraywa</i> we were all kicked
<i>uviviti-</i> to attack	<i>uvi'vitit'iyā'</i> when being attacked
<i>sā'pī'χa-</i> to overcome	<i>sā'pī'χ·Afiri</i> one who is overcome
<i>qō'ōi-</i> to kill several	<i>qō'ōit'irim'īA</i> those (obj) who are killed

The last two examples illustrate passive participles in *-ti-ri-n* (cf. § 25, 6, a). These differ from passive participles in *-pi-* and *-p'i-* (§ 25, 5) in referring to passing or non-characteristic states. Contrasting with *sā'pī'χ·Afiri*, for instance, is *sā'pī'χam·ip1* ONE WHO IS ALWAYS OVERCOME (*-m-i-* is usitative, § 30, 10).

Passives may be readily formed from causatives, e. g. *ivi't·uiŋuti-tca·ŋA* DRINK-CAUSE-MOMENTANEOUS-PASSIVE-PRERIT- HE, HE WAS CAUSED TO DRINK. Here the causative suffix precedes the passive, as is to be expected. Curiously enough, the same order is followed in causatives of passives, an indirective *-ŋqī-* coming in between the causative suffix and the passive *-ti-*, e. g.:

maā'it·uiŋkiti·v^oa·ŋaraywa catch-cause-to-passive-shall-he-us, he will get us caught (lit., he will cause to us to be caught)
pā^xqa'ntuiŋqiti-tca·ŋA kill-cause-to-passive-preterit-him, (he) caused him to be killed (for *-ntui-* cf. 12 above)

In other words, the passive suffix can not precede the causative. In the preceding examples the indirective is required to point to the logical object as the indirect object, the passive of the verb itself being apparently conceived of as the direct object, e. g. HE WILL-CAUSE-BEING-CAUGHT TO-US. That these forms are causatives of passives, not, as would be inferred from their appearance, passives of causatives, is proved by the absence of a plural subjective *-qa-* (see § 31, 1, c) in the first form above; this would be required if the form were to be understood as WE SHALL BE CAUSED TO BE CAUGHT BY HIM.

(14) *-t'u-a^s* (*-t'ua^s*) impersonal. Verbs with impersonal subject or, less often, object refer either to an indefinitely defined person or to a collectivity, people in general. In the latter case, if used subjectively, it may be preceded by the pluralizing *-qa-* (§ 31, 1, c). The impersonal suffix is often employed as the equivalent of the passive, never simultaneously with it. It follows perfective *-qai-* and narrative preterit *-p'i(a)γai-*, but precedes present *-yi-* and future *-va(nia)-* (see § 34). Curiously enough, present *-yi-* regularly

follows *-t'u'a-* even in preterit tense forms (cf. also *-p'ia-γai-t'ua-yi-*; § 32, 8). As already noted (§ 19, 2, e), it is frequently accompanied by enclitic *-noa-*. Examples of subjective *-t'u'a-* are:

pA'qa'ηUtu(a)i yīaηA kill-momentaneous-impersonal-present-him, they (indef.) kill him, he is being killed

pA'pa'qAqwa'īηup'īγai'tua(i) yīamī kill (distributive)- go-momentaneous-past-impersonal-present-them, people went to kill them

pA'qa'ηUqwa'tua(i) yīaηA kill-momentaneous-perfective-impersonal-present-him, they (indef.) killed him, he was killed

tav't'ua'ami hit-impersonal-thee, you (were) hit (by somebody)

ηn't'uaβa:qA do-impersonal-shall-it, let some one do it

nī' pīn'k'a.i iv't'u^a I see drink-impersonal, I see some one drinking
tī'qa'qAtuaγīr'uαn-uαxin'i eat-plural-impersonal-present-interrogative-indefinite-indeed, it seems that people are eating

As impersonal object *-t'u'a-*^s seems to be used only indirectly after *-ηqī-*, e. g.:

qa'ηqītū'a(i) yīni sing-to-impersonal-present-I, I sing with them (indef.)

naγu'q-wηqīt'u'a(u)xU fight-to-impersonal-when, when fighting (with people)

nī' o'p'a' an'ηqītuaχw'ōiva' I that-way do-to-impersonal-go-shall, I shall go to engage one thus

yaa'īηqītuaβ'īγa' hunt-to-impersonal-past, was hunting with the rest
nai'a'ηwηqīt'uαq^zA pīγa' play-hand-game-to-impersonal-plural-past, (they) played the hand game with people, the hand game was played with them

These examples show that *-ηqī-t'ua-* generally denotes coöperation with a group. Moreover, the two suffixes form a close unit, as they occur before elements that would normally precede *-t'u'a-* alone (e. g. *-γw'ai-* TO GO TO, narrative preterit *-p'īγai-*, plural subject *-q'a-*); see above examples.

§ 30. Suffixes of verbal aspect.

By "aspect," a term borrowed from Slavic grammar, is here meant the temporal range of the action, i. e. its definition with respect to such concepts as momentaneousness, durativeness, inception, iteration. These and like concepts have no primary connection with the concept of relative time, which is the province of the temporal suffixes (§ 32).

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Among the ideas expressed by aspect suffixes, those of momentaneity and durativity are the most important. Every verb has a durative and a momentaneous form, the former being generally the primary form of the verb, the latter expressed by internal consonant gemination, glottalization, reduplication, the suffixing of certain elements, or a combination of these. The durative, as its name implies, expresses continuous action, action conceived of as lasting for an appreciable length of time (e. g. TO DRINK); the momentaneous conceives of the action as taking but a moment of time (e. g. TO TAKE A DRINK). Following are a few preliminary examples of the distinction:

DURATIVE	MOMENTANEOUS
<i>qʷwʷ'q-wi-</i> to break	<i>qʷ'pʷ'q-wi-</i>
<i>naya'va-</i> to seem	<i>naya'p'a-ŋu-</i>
<i>mantcu'γwi-na-</i> to crush	<i>mantcu'q-wi-n'na-</i>
<i>yaγa'-</i> to cry	<i>yaya'γa-</i> to burst into tears
<i>ivi'-</i> to drink	<i>ivi'-ŋu-</i>
<i>qwa'tca'-γa-</i> to splash about	<i>qwa'tca'-q'i-</i> to splash (once)
<i>tīγai-</i> to take place	<i>tī'qa'ŋ'wi-</i>
<i>nəntsi'-</i> to fly	<i>nəntsi'-k-u-</i>

The various methods of forming the momentaneous exemplified above are to be considered as more or less equivalent. No simple rules can be given for all cases. One simply has to learn, e. g., that such a form as **yaγa'ŋuṗiγa'* is not in use, but that *yaya'xAp'iγa'* must be employed.

The aspects that may be recognized in Paiute are the durative, the momentaneous, the inceptive, the iterative, the durative-iterative, the resultative, the usitative, and the continuative. Moreover, ideas that belong to the category of aspect are sometimes expressed by means of compounded verb-stems or suffixes of motion (e. g. the cessative by *-maup'a-*, § 18, 2, a; the continuative or durative by *-qari-* TO SIT, *-q-wa'ai-* TO GO OFF, § 28, 2). A careful study of the nuances of aspect formation can hardly be given here. We shall simply list the various aspect suffixes with examples. For momentaneous (and inceptive) verbs formed by gemination or glottalization, see § 53, 2; by reduplication, § 58, 5. For iteratives formed by reduplication, with or without accompanying gemination, glottalization, or both, see § 58, 4.

(1) *-γa-^o* durative of active intransitive (mediopassive) verbs. By a mediopassive verb is meant one that expresses action without

definite agency, e. g. TO SHAKE (intr.), as contrasted with transitive TO SHAKE and passive TO BE SHAKEN. Sometimes $-\gamma a-$ seems to be used also with agentive active verbs. Examples of durative $-\gamma a-$ are:

nāntci'γai' (it) shakes
piyo'xwai' (he) drags (it); *piyo'x aqip'ĩγa'aiηwa* he came home
 dragging (it)
yu'u'χwai' moves around
yu'mu'x(w)Apĩγa' (he) moved
quwmpu'χwai' (it) wiggles
si'yu'χwai' slides

The momentaneous correlate of $-\gamma a-$ is $-q-i-$ (see 3 below).

The element $-\gamma a-^o$ is very commonly employed in durative verbs expressing a continuous sound of some sort, e. g.:

ampa'γa- to talk
po'γux:Apĩγain'i' there was a sound as of something going through
 (his) flesh (for $-n'ia-$ in these and other $-\gamma a-$ verbs, see § 19, 2, d).
tīηwa'vaγa- to make a noise
ki'yuxwa(i)yīn'i' makes a noise like rattling coins
pa'raxa(i)yīn'i' (rain) patters
qu'pa'raxa- to pop in burning
po'n'nəχwa(i)yīn'i' sounds like drumming
no'ruχwa(i)yīn'i' sounds like a heavy object being dragged on a
 smooth level surface
pi'ηkiχa(i)yīn'i' sounds like dripping water
si'γaxan'i'yīn'i' makes a rustling noise (for $-n'i'i-$, see 12 below)

The momentaneous correlate of this $-\gamma a-$ also is $-q-i-$ (or $-\eta q\ddot{i}-$).

(2) $-\gamma i-$, ($-\eta q\ddot{i}-$) durative-iterative, chiefly of active intransitive, sometimes transitive, verbs. It is often transitivized by means of $-\eta q\ddot{i}-$ (§ 29, 10). It differs from $-\gamma a-$ in conceiving of the action as not strictly continuous, but broken up into a rapid series. It differs from the normal iterative (expressed by reduplication) in that the repeated acts cohere into a single durative unit. Examples are:

taj'wī'teγi' keeps time by tapping with (his) foot
mavi'tseγi' claps hands
qīn'u'puxwi' (mouse) gnaws
t.ʼpi'η'ana'χuyqīi' stamps (on the ground to make it smooth)
t.ʼqu'tsi'nixu' puts feet into (shoes, stirrups)

mayu'm'muxwi' pokes with (his) finger
tan'i'ntciχi' keeps on shaking with (his) feet (cf. *wintcīya-* under a)
tA^zqi'uγiŋqīqap'īγa' (they) chipped (it) into small pieces
ov^wo'q-waγ(ε)ī' (it) bounces up and down (like a rubber ball)
tuw^wa'γ'aitcai- several pull out (intr.), emerge

Sound-verbs indicating a continuous series of sounds of like nature may also have the *-γi-* suffix, e. g.:

qu'pa'ra-χ(ε)ik'a- several pop (one after another)
wūnū'ruχwi- to make a noise on the rasp
wa'a'uxwi' barks
w'a'tciγiγu pīγa' (he) whooped

A few such verbs have *-ŋqī-* instead of *-γi-*, e. g.:

pu'qu'aiŋqīyīn'i' (he) pants
puŋ'wi'ŋqīi' (mouse, rat) makes a peeping noise
ki(y)ε'ŋqīi' laughs

(3) *-q-i-* momentaneous, chiefly of active intransitive and medio-passive verbs. Transitive forms in *-q-i-ŋqī-*. Morphologically, *-q-i-* is the regular momentaneous correspondent of *-γi-*, formed from it by gemination (§ 53, 2 b); it contrasts with both *-γα-* and *-γi-* forms. Examples of its use are:

tA'pū'tAqīŋqī'q-wA to crush it by stepping on (it)
mūna'q-1 (one thing) break(s) off
tauū'ntciŋqīpīγai(y)aq-A (he) shook it by trampling once with (his) feet
nava'tA^zqīŋqī to burst by means of the hand
tA^zqi'U^zquŋqīpīγaiA^zqa'nū they hit it so as to have (it) go to pieces
tU'pa'q-1pīγa' (one) pulled out (intrans.), emerged
tō'pa'q-1 (one object) come(s) loose
si'yū'q-w1 to slide, slip

Midway between properly momentaneous forms in *-q-i-* and durative forms in *-γα-* or *-γi-* are certain verbs in *-q-i-* with non-momentaneous form of stem, i. e. with ungeminated consonant. These may be termed durative-momentaneous. Examples of durative-momentaneous versus momentaneous forms are:

qovv'q-wi- to break (intr.): *qō'pō'q-wi-* to break instantaneously
paγa'q-(a)i- to tear slowly (but in one tear): *pa'qa'q-i-* to tear

In such verbs *-q-i-* does not seem to alternate with *-γα-* and *-γι-*.

Verbs indicating a momentaneous sound also have a *-q-i-* suffix, e. g.:

kɪz̥k'a'q'iv'i' (it) makes a sound as of when something is thrust
through paper

sa'mv'qwiɣin'i' makes a deep noise as when a stone is thrown into a
well

qū'k'iv'i' (it) sounds like one tear of a rag

U'cu'q'wi' whistles

(4) *-n-a-* durative transitive with singular object: *-n'na-* momentaneous transitive with singular object. See § 31, 2, b and c.

(5) *-ηu-*ⁿ momentaneous. This is by far the most common momentaneous suffix. It follows most verb stems and is also employed after many derivative and verbalizing suffixes. Examples are:

ivi- to drink

maain-i- to touch (duratively)

qwii- to take (one object)

maa'vī'a- to be dressed

aŋqa-s to be red

pa(i)yi- to return

un-i- to do

tsip-i- to appear, emerge

ai- to say

ivi'ηU to take a drink

maa'in-iηU to touch (for a
moment)

qwii'ηU to pick up (one object)

maa'vī'aηU to dress (intrans.)

aŋqa'r'uaηU to turn red

pa(i)yi'ηUπi'γα' returned (con-
ceived as non-durative act)

tcaγ'p' un'ηUπi'γα' near did-
momentaneously, got near

ts'p'i'ηUπi'γα' came out, (sudden-
ly) appeared

a'iηUπi'γα' spoke out

In particular cases *-ηu-*ⁿ may take on an inceptive or cessative significance, but its true force is never intrinsically inceptive or cessative. Examples of these developments of the primary momentaneous idea are:

(a) *tɔγɔ'q'wi-* to run

yaηwi- to carry

ivi- to drink

cv'yuc-u- (to be) one

tɔγɔ'q'wui' gets ready to run,
starts to run

yaηwi'ηU to start to carry along

ivi'ηuyi'iaηA he is about to drink,

ivi'ηuxwa' while about to
drink

cv'yuc-u to become one

(b) <i>cua-</i> to consume	<i>cua'qumĩ'tsi'q·wA</i> after having finished eating it
<i>ivi-</i> to drink	<i>ivi'quntca·ŋA</i> he (just) finished drinking

These examples show that *-ŋu-ⁿ* in the present (*-yĩ-*) may indicate a momentaneous (or inceptive) activity that is just about to take place (cf. the use of momentaneous forms in Russian to indicate the future). The idea of imminent activity is still more explicitly rendered by *-ŋuntsi-*, compounded of *-ŋu-ⁿ* and diminutive *-(n)tsi-* (§ 35, 2). Thus, a form like *tĩ'qa'ŋuntsi-* EAT-MOMENTANEOUS (INCEPTIVE)-LITTLE, TO BE A LITTLE OFF FROM BEGINNING TO EAT, easily comes to mean TO BE ABOUT TO EAT. Examples of pre-inceptive *-ŋuntsi-* are:

qU'qwi'ŋuntsi·k·æni I am ready to shoot (for *-k·a-* see § 32, 2)

ya'uq·wiŋuntsi·k·zA (the sun) is about to set

A'pĩ'ŋuntsi·k·æni I am about to fall asleep, I am sleepy

(6) *-ŋ'wi-* momentaneous (intransitive). This suffix, which may be related to *-ŋu-ⁿ*, occurs only in two or three verbs, its durative correlative being a rarely occurring *-i-* or, in one case, *-q·a-*. These verbs are:

DURATIVE	MOMENTANEOUS
<i>tĩŋai-</i> to take place	<i>tĩ'qaŋ'wi-</i>
<i>piyai-</i> to be left over	<i>piyaŋ'wi-</i>
<i>cuwaq·a-</i> to breathe	<i>cuwaŋ'wi-</i> to take a long breath

(7) *-q·u-*, *-q̇·u-* momentaneous; inceptive. This element, like *-ŋu-ⁿ*, seems to be primarily momentaneous in significance and in a number of verbs is used instead of *-ŋu-ⁿ*. Some verbs have both *-ŋu-ⁿ* and *-q·u-* forms, generally with some idiomatic difference of meaning. In many cases, moreover, *-q·u-* is a properly inceptive element, as in durative-inceptive *-ŋa·q·u-*. What nuance of meaning differentiates *-q·u-* and *-q̇·u-* is not clear. Presumably *-q̇·u-* is more definitely momentaneous in character (see § 53, 2, a, 3); as inceptive it probably indicates a sharp moment of beginning.

Examples of momentaneous *-q·u-* are:

<i>pA^zqa-</i> to beat, kill	<i>pA^zqa'q·u-</i> to give a licking:
	<i>pA^zqa'ŋu-</i> to kill
<i>wĩ'i-</i> to fall	<i>wĩ'i'q·u-</i> to drop down, fall out

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tʷpʷi- to be used up
'i'(y)ʊpa' to go by here
tsip-i- to appear, emerge
ai- to say
nana- to grow up

tʷpʷi'k-u- to become used up
'i'(y)ʊpa'qʊ to have (just) gone
 by here
ts'p'i'k-u- to ride (a horse): *ts-*
p'i'ŋu- to emerge
a'ik-Aʔqu- say-plural-momentan-
 eous, each in his turn say(s)
nana'qumī- to finish growing,
 to have grown up (for *-mī-*
 see 13)

An inceptive meaning is more clearly discernible in:

nə- to carry on one's back
ivi- to drink
marin-a- to chase
qA'qa'rī- to run away
yaŋwi- to carry
pəɾə- several proceed
NUʔqwi'- to flow
A'p'i'i- to sleep
ɔɔŋwi- to roar
qanuntcu- to make a wickiup

nə'ə'qʊp'i'γa'aik-wA started to
 carry them on (his) back
ivi'k'u'uq-wA to start to drink it
marin'aqʊ to (start to) chase,
 to give chase
qA'qa'r'i'iqʊ to jump off to run
 away
yaŋ'wi'k'u'q-wA to take it away,
 carry it off
pəɾu'qʊp'i'γa' (they) started off
NUʔqwi'kʊp'i'γa' started to flow
A'p'i'ik-ʔU to fall asleep
ɔɔ'ŋwɛkʊ to start roaring
qanuntcu'p'i'γa' started to make
 a wickiup
maa'vī'aqʊ to begin to dress
ampa'χaqʊ to begin to talk

maa'vī'a- to be dressed
ampa'γa- to talk

Analogous to *-ŋuntsi-* (see 5) is *-q'untsi-*, which occurs less frequently. An example is:

nüntci'γaqʊ to begin to shake *nüntci'xʌqu(·)ntsik-ʔA* (it) is just
 about to shake

(7a) *-q-wi-*. This suffix seems to occur as a correlative to momentaneous *-q-u-* in *tʷpʷi-k-wi-* TO BE USED UP (cf. *tʷpʷi-k-u-* TO GET USED UP < *tʷpʷi-* TO BE USED UP, TO BE WITHOUT REMAINDER), e. g.: *tʷpʷi'k-wiyi'äqʌ* it is used up; *tʷpʷi'k-witca'qʌ* it has been used up; *nī' tʷpʷi'k-witwiq-wA* I cause them (inan.) to be used up, I use them up

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(8) *-muk·u-* inceptive of verbs of continuous movement. The normal inceptive of *-m'mia-* (§ 28, 4) would be *-m'miaq·u-*, which is sometimes found, e. g.:

qa'mua- to sing along *qa'¹miaq·U* to start singing

More typical, however, are forms in *-muk·u-*, e. g. :

<i>qarim'mia-</i> to ride along	<i>qarim'muk·U</i> to ride off
<i>A'si'a·RU²qwa·γim'mia-</i> to move along under the surface	<i>A'si'a·RU²qwa·γim'kup·i'γα'</i> start- ed to travel under the surface
<i>qa'm'mia-</i> to sing along	<i>qa'm'i'qup·i'γα'</i> started in to sing (along)
<i>yaŋwim'mia-</i> to carry along	<i>yqwi'mi'quaq·A</i> take and carry it along
<i>unim'mia-</i> to do so while moving along	<i>un'mi'qup·i'γα'</i> started to move on in so doing

(9) *-q·ai-* resultative. This suffix indicates a durative state or activity which is the result of the action predicated by the verb stem; e. g. TO HOLD as resultative of TO GRASP. Resultative verbs are very common in Paiute. Examples are:

<i>tea'ai-</i> to catch	<i>tea'a'ik'ai-</i> to hold (in one's hand)
<i>uŋwai-</i> to hang (trans.)	<i>uŋwa'ik'ai-</i> to be hanging, to hang (intr.)
<i>maain·i-</i> to touch	<i>maa'ini'k'ai-</i> to have one's hand on
<i>yaŋwi-</i> to carry	<i>yaŋwi'k'ai-</i> to have in one's hand
<i>wi'tu'v^wua-</i> to cover	<i>wi'tu'v^wuaq·ai-</i> to have (one's eyes, hands, or other part of body) covered
<i>qi'ca'ra-</i> to open one's mouth	<i>qi'ca'ra·q·ai-</i> to have one's mouth open
<i>pin'nara-</i> to spread one's legs apart in bow-legged manner	<i>pin'na'ra·q·ai-</i> to stand bow- legged
<i>sotsi-ŋu-</i> to take a peep	<i>sotsi'k'ai-</i> to peep (duratively)
<i>ti'γai-</i> to take place	<i>ti'γa'i'k'ai-</i> to continue
<i>co·ya-</i> to bend (intr.)	<i>co'ik'ai-</i> to be bent
<i>ayan·i-</i> to do in what manner? how?	<i>aya'n·i'k'ai-</i> to be how?
<i>an·i-</i> to do thus	<i>ani'k'ai-</i> to be thus, to remain so

The active participle of *-q'ai-* is *-q'anti-* (cf. § 26, 1, a and b; § 25, 6, d), e. g.:

'a'uik'ai- to be silent 'a''uik'anti- one who is silent

Before subordinating *-q'u-* (§ 55, 1, e) resultative *-q'ai-* appears as *-q'a-* (cf. § 26, 1, a and b), e. g.:

ynik'ai- to be doing ynik'a:qoanA while (he) was
doing so to him

ynit'uik'ai- to cause to be (do) so ynit'uik'a:q'uwA as he has
caused to do so

Note that in causatives of resultatives, causative *-t'ui-* precedes resultative *-q'ai-* instead of following it, as one would logically expect; cf. causatives of passive verbs (§ 29, 13).

(10) *-m'i-n*, *-m'ia-* usitative. As its name implies, the usitative is used to indicate customary activity. The form in *-m'ia-* is used as a usitative present (without *-y'i-* suffix; see § 32, 1), the form in *-m'i-n* in all other cases.

Examples of the usitative present in *-m'ia-* are:

<i>ai-</i> to say	<i>a'imia</i> always says, is in habit of saying
<i>NA'ci'm'ia-</i> to forget	<i>NA'ci'm'iam(y)a:qA</i> keeps for- getting it
<i>aro'a-</i> to be	<i>aro'amia</i> always is, is wont to be
<i>ti'qa-</i> to eat	<i>ti'qa'm(y)a'amī</i> they 2 are wont to eat
<i>qan'ixai-</i> to house-have, dwell	<i>qan'ixaim'iamī</i> they 2 always live

Examples of *-m'i-n* are:

<i>yni-</i> to do	<i>yni'm'impa'nianu</i> I shall always do so
<i>avi-</i> to lie down	<i>avi'm'impacī</i> having always been wont to lie down (apparently stresses duration of wonted act more than regular usitative participle <i>avi'vatcī</i> wont to lie down, § 25, 6, c)
<i>tu^zqwi'ai-</i> to be ashamed	<i>tu^zqwi'aimuntī</i> always being ashamed

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<i>tv^wai-</i> to reject (a suitor)	<i>tv^waim'inti</i> always rejecting a suitor
<i>pitci-</i> to arrive	<i>pi'tcim'ihka'</i> while wont to return
<i>ts·piηu-</i> to go out	<i>ts·pi'ηum'ihqunwa</i> each time that he went out (-ηu-m-i- ⁿ momentaneous usitative)
<i>maγa-</i> to give	<i>maγa'mipiča'</i> (he) used to give
<i>pa(i)yü-</i> to return	<i>pa(i)yü'ηum·ip'iča'</i> always returned
<i>näv^wa'tcuγwaq·i-</i> to come to me	<i>näv^wa'tcuγwaq·imihwa'^a</i> never to come to me

Beside usitative preterits in *-m·ip'ičai-* are used also forms in *-m·inümpičai-* (see 11 below); e. g. *yaa'imipiča'* or *yaa'im·inümpiča'* USED TO HUNT. It is not obvious what difference in meaning, if any, there is between usitative participles in *-vatci-* (§ 25, 6, c) and *-m·inti-*. Curiously enough, participles in *-ti-* may also be made usitative by suffixed *-m·ia-*, e. g.:

quna'q·axanüm'aq·wa fire-plural-having-usitative-it, those who have it as fire

(11) *-n·i-ⁿ* usitative, used only before past passive participle *-p·i-* (§ 25, 5, b) and its temporal derivative *-p·ičai-* (§ 32, 6). Contrary to phonetic rule, not *-n·ip'ičai-* results, but *-n·inümpičai-*.

Examples of usitative passive participial *-n·inümpī-* are:

pünü'nu'nümpīA (things) always seen about (obj.)
ma'in'uhünümpič·wanü my always saying it (song form)

The common use of *-n·inümpī-* as a means of forming instrumental nouns has been already discussed (§ 25, 2).

Examples of *-n·inümpičai-*, the usitative form of the narrative past, are:

<i>ηu-</i> to do	<i>ηu'nümpiča'</i> kept doing
<i>uru'a-</i> to be	<i>uru'an'ünümpiča'</i> always was
<i>qari-</i> to sit, dwell	<i>qari'nümpiča'</i> was living, dwelt (right along)
<i>ora-</i> to dig	<i>ora'n'ünümpiča'</i> used to dig

The suffix may be preceded, as we have already seen, by the common usitative suffix *-m·i-* (see 10 above). Examples of the combined *-m·inümpičai-* are:

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<i>kwɪ'pa-</i> to throw	<i>kwɪ'pa'minümpĩɣa'</i> always threw
<i>ai-</i> to say	<i>a'iminümpĩɣa'</i> always kept saying
<i>aĩŋu-</i> to say (momentaneously)	<i>a'ĩŋum'inümpĩɣa'</i> said each time

There is little, if any, perceptible difference in usage between the forms *-m'ip'ĩɣai-*, *-nümpĩɣai-* and *-m'inümpĩɣai-*. It may be pointed out, however, that *-nümpĩɣai-* does not seem to occur after momentaneous *-ŋu-*, which requires a following *-m'i-*. This may imply that the *-nĩⁿ* usitative tends to have a more strictly durative character than *-m'iⁿ*, which in turn may have a momentaneous *-iterative* color.

(12) *-n'ni^s* (*-nĩ'i^s*) continuative. This is a common durative suffix that, with verbs of movement, shades into a significance not very different from that of *-m'mia-* (§ 28, 4). It seems best defined as a continuative, equivalent in meaning to such English locutions as TO KEEP -ING, TO BE -ING. It refers to an act consummated at one period, not, like the usitative, to one which is repeated at intervals. Examples are:

<i>nontsu-</i> to fly	<i>nontsu'n'nu'</i> flies around
<i>qa-</i> to sing	<i>qa'n'ɷ'</i> sings along, sings while walking
<i>ki(y)ɛ-</i> to laugh	<i>ki(y)ɛ'n'nu'</i> is laughing
<i>tsip-i-</i> to ride	<i>ts'p'i'n'ɷ'</i> is riding around
<i>an-i-</i> to do	<i>i(y)ɛ'nuan</i> 'an'n'nu' here-I do-continuative, here I am; 'an'ɷ'n'nintci one who keeps doing
<i>püni-</i> to look	<i>püni'n'ni'p'ĩɣa'</i> kept on looking
<i>moi-</i> to lead	<i>moi'n'ni'p'ĩɣai(y)anA</i> he led around; <i>moi'n'ni'ɣwa'^a</i> go lead around!
<i>qara'xa-</i> (there is) noise of rawhide	<i>qara'xan'ɷ'iyün'ɷ'</i> (it) makes a noise as of rawhide

Another form of this suffix is *-ni^s* or, with preceding glottal stop, *-ni^s*. These elements seem to differ from the more common *-n'ni-*, partly in reinforcing the idea of plurality or distribution of the subject, partly in conveying a usitative implication. The matter is not altogether clear, however. Examples are:

<i>anɰ'a-</i> several do	<i>an'ɰ'ani'ɰ'a'</i> while (they) do so
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<i>i'i'n-i-</i> to do like this	<i>i'i'n·ini·vü'campani(·i)χa'a</i> this-do-continuative-future-just-me-then! let me just keep doing like this (regularly)!
<i>impün'i-</i> to be resting raised on (something)	<i>impü'n·ini·intci</i> being (permanently) raised on (something)
<i>nampini-</i> to look for tracks	<i>nampü'n·ini·iχa'</i> while looking for tracks
<i>o'tca'nə-nts-</i> to carry (diminutively, § 35) a water-jar	<i>o'tca'n'ə-ntñni·vü'</i> shall always be carrying a water-jar

(13) *-mü-* (*-mü-*) ALREADY, AFTER. This suffix indicates that the activity predicated by the verb stem has already been attained and is thus either past (if momentaneous) or in progress (if durative). Examples are:

<i>tī'qa-</i> to eat	<i>tī'qa'm·i·yīaŋ 'əai'</i> he is eating already (for 'əai' see § 60, 3)
<i>pütci-</i> to arrive	<i>pütci'müntca·ŋ 'əai'</i> he has already arrived
<i>ynik'a-</i> several do	<i>yni'k'aŋum·i·q·a·mü</i> after they had all done so
<i>qu'tsuk·ik'aŋu-</i> all burn (momentaneous)	<i>qu'tsuk·ik'aŋum·i'tsin</i> after having (plur. subj.) burned me

§ 31. Suffixes of number.

Number is expressed in the verb in four different ways: 1, by reduplication, properly a distributive formation but frequently expressing plurality of subject or object (see § 58, 3); 2, by the use of distinctive stems for the singular and plural, a few of the plural stems being used only as second members of verb + verb compounds (see § 54); 3, by the use of suffixes indicating plurality of the subject or, less commonly, of the object; 4, by the use of suffixes expressing ideas of number and voice (transitiveness and intransitiveness) at the same time. Only the last two processes are here discussed.

Even aside from pronominal elements, it is always possible to tell from the form of a verb whether its animate subject is singular or plural, often, also, whether its object is singular or plural. Verbs with a dual subject are singular in form, but are differentiated in practice from singulars by their employment of plural (or, in two cases, distinctively dual) pronominal elements (§ 40). Thus,

momentaneous *-q-i-* (§ 30, 3). The form of the stem is regularly durative, i. e. with ungeminated consonant. For a change of the singular vowel to *-i-* in the plural, see § 53, 1, b. Examples are:

<i>yauq wi-</i> , <i>yauq wa-</i> one enters, goes into (e. g. flesh); sun sets	<i>ya'uγwutcai-</i> several go into
<i>qa'pa'-q-i-</i> one (thing) stops	<i>qav'tcai-</i> several stop
<i>paγa'-q(ε)i-</i> (it) tears (slowly);	<i>paγ(a')itcai-</i> several articles tear
<i>pa'qa'-q-i-</i> (it) tears (at once)	(intr.), (clothes, hat, moccasins) are torn in several places, are worn out; <i>paγ(a')itcaiŋu-</i> (clothes) wear out
<i>ɔ'pa'q-i-tci</i> having a hole (lit., hole-ripping)	<i>xv^wa'xitcaitci</i> having holes (lit., hole-rip-several-participle)
<i>qav'-q wi-</i> (it) breaks (slowly);	<i>qav'tcai-</i> several break; <i>qav'tcai-</i>
<i>qɔ'pɔ'-q wi-</i> (it) breaks (at once)	<i>p<i>̄</i>i</i> broken (arrows)
<i>tɔ'pa'-q-i-</i> one (tooth, tree) comes loose	<i>tav'tcai-</i> several come loose
<i>t<i>̄</i>i'pa'-q-i-</i> one emerges	<i>tiv^wt'caiŋu-</i> several emerge, come out (momentaneously)
<i>tuv'pa'-q-i-</i> one pulls out, comes through	<i>tuv^wa'x(a)itcaiŋu-</i> several pull out
<i>-qap-i-n'a-</i> to cut (trans.) in one cut; <i>-qavi-n'a-</i> to cut (trans.) duratively (for <i>-n'na-</i> , <i>-n'a-</i> see b below)	<i>qav'tcaiŋu-</i> several (bows) snap
<i>yv'a'q-a-</i> one goes in	<i>yv'a'χitcaiŋu-</i> several go in
(<i>iri'q-i-tci</i> ledge)	<i>tav'iriγi-tcaai</i> there are spots of sunlight (poetic)

Observe that the momentaneous form of *-tcai-* is *tcai-ŋu-*.

(b) *-n'a-* durative transitive with singular (chiefly inanimate) object.

(c) *-n'na-* momentaneous transitive with singular (chiefly inanimate) object.

(d) *-tca-* transitive with plural (chiefly inanimate) object; also used as transitive distributive.

These three elements are best treated together. *-n'a-* may be considered the transitive (inanimate) correspondent of *-γi-* (§ 30, 2); *-n'na-* of *-q-i-* (§ 30, 3); *-tca-* of *-tcai-* (a above), with which it is evi-

dently connected (like *-tcai-*, *-tea-* is regularly accompanied by durative consonantism in the stem). Examples are:

ts·k̄a'p'in'NA to cut in one cut: *ts·k̄a'vina-* to cut (one object): *ts·k̄a'-vitca-* to cut several objects

qī'qo'ī'nai' takes off (momentaneously) with the teeth: *tcA^zqo'īnai'* takes off one article of clothing: *tcA^zqo'itcai'* takes off several articles of clothing

tA'qo'p'in'NA to break an object by stepping on (cf. *qo'po'-q-wi-* to break, intr.)

tō'to'p'in'NA to pull out one (cf. *tV'pa'q-i-* one object pulls out): *tō'to'vitca-* to pull out several objects

wī'pa'q'un'NA to rip open (cf. *pA'qa'-q-i-* to tear intr.): *tō'pa'γutca-* to rip open in several places, *tcA'pa'γ(a)itca-* to tear (one) to pieces

mantcu'q-win'NA to crush (an object) all at once: *mantcu'γwina-* to crush (an object)

s-ki'n'nai' turns (his) head to one side

nari'tsin'ai' joins (one object to another)

wī'(y)α'γqī'n'a- to cut notches into (a piece of wood), to make a rasp

ts·qwī'r'na- to rake out one with a stick: *ts·qwī'ritca-* to rake out several (animals or plants) with a stick

tsuya'vqwa- to push one in with a point: *tsuya'uχwtca-* to push many in with a point

A number of verbs in *-n'na-* are formed from noun and adjective-verb stems to express the idea of LAYING ON, PAINTING, e. g.:

<i>aŋqa-</i> to be red	<i>aŋqa'n'NA'pī'γα'aik·WA</i> (he) painted it (primarily, but not necessarily, red)
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<i>saγwa-</i> to be blue	<i>saγwa'n'nai'</i> paints (it) blue
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<i>san'a-</i> gum	<i>san'a'n'nai'</i> smears on gum
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§ 32. Temporal suffixes.

Not all verbs have a definite temporal form. The use of absolute or tenseless verb forms is discussed in § 51, 2. Besides the temporal suffixes here discussed, two of the enclitic elements express temporal relations (§ 19, 1).

(1) *-yī-* present tense. The great majority of verbs express a specific reference to present time by means of this suffix. Examples are:

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<i>qa-</i> to sing	<i>qa-i'</i> sings (< <i>qa-yi-</i>); <i>qa'yiamü</i> they 2 sing; <i>qa'yicampant</i> even though I sing
<i>tī'qa-</i> to eat	<i>tī'qa'(i)yīni</i> I eat
<i>aiyaru-</i> to make a turtle	<i>aiya'ruyuni</i> I make a turtle (< <i>-ruyi-</i>)
<i>ivi-</i> to drink	<i>ivi'yīro'^a</i> dost thou drink?
<i>pū'tcu'tcuɣwa-</i> to know	<i>pū'tcu'tcuɣwa'yīq-wA</i> knows it

(2) *-q-a-* present and past tense. A number of verbs, some of them of extremely common occurrence, are used not with *-yi-*, but with *-q-a-*, which refers indifferently to present or past time. Perhaps the *-q-a-* forms are best considered as the equivalents of tenseless absolutes in other verbs. These verbs are *ai-* TO SAY, *an-ia-* TO SAY WHAT?, verbs of doing in *-n-i-* (§ 26, 2, b; § 43, 3), and diminutive verbs in *-(n)ts-* (§ 35, 2). Examples are:

<i>ai-</i> to say	<i>'ani'an 'a'ik:^{zA}</i> what-I said?; <i>ta'mpinia-ŋ a'ik:^{zA}</i> tired-of- what-he says; <i>qatc a'ik:^{zA}ani</i> not I-said; <i>a'ik:^{zA}campan-iani</i> say- only-like-I, I think so
<i>an-ia-</i> (to say) what?	<i>nä' an'A^zqani'</i> I say-what?-like, what do I care?; <i>an'A^z-qa'</i> <i>nīru'x-wA</i> say-what?-thou me- to, what did you say to me?
<i>an-i-</i> to do so, be so	<i>ma'ixain ani'k:^{zA}</i> so-saying-I so- do, I do as I say; <i>na'a'int ur</i> <i>ani'k:^{zA}</i> burning it does-so, it is something burning
<i>un-i-</i> to do so, be so	<i>imp ŋu'k:^{zA} nu'yu'xaxa'</i> what does-so moving? what is it that moves?
<i>aɣan-i-</i> to do what? to act how?	<i>aɣa'n-ɪ^zka-ŋA</i> what did he do?
<i>qa ts-</i> to sing (diminutive subject)	<i>qa'ts:^zka-ŋA</i> a little fellow is sing- ing
<i>yaɣaɣarī-</i> to sit and cry	<i>yaɣa(·)'ɣaritsuk:^{zA}</i> is sitting and crying, poor fellow

That this *-q-a-* is often equivalent to *-yi-* is shown clearly in such a sentence as *nä' nam-i'xanintcu(i)yī*, *muri'A sa'ai'*, *tīzqa'(i)'yīq-wA*, *ŋuts a'ik:^z ŋmu'rux-wA* *tīɣ'aywīA* I FIRST-HOUSE-BUILD, BEANS BOIL, EAT-THEM, THEN SAY TO-THEM DEER.

(3) *-q-ai-* perfective. This suffix is very frequently employed as a preterital element, its main point of difference from enclitic *-(n)tca-* and *-ɣwa-* (§ 19, 1) being its emphasis on the idea of completion. Examples are:

<i>a'pü'i-</i> to sleep	<i>A'pü'ik'ai(y)anA</i> he slept, has been asleep
<i>ivi'c-uayüti-</i> (water) is drunk up	<i>ivi'c-uayüti'xqa'</i> (water) has been drunk up
<i>na'a'it·v'p^wik·u-</i> to burn up	<i>na'a'it·v'p^wik·vqwa'</i> (it) has burnt up
<i>aχa'n·ihu-</i> to act how (momentaneously)? to have what happen to one?	<i>aχa'n·ihuq·wai'ⁱ</i> what happened to you?
<i>pA^zqa'ηu-</i> to kill	<i>pA^zqa'ηvqwa'aiηwα'</i> maybe you have killed him (<i>-qwa'ai-</i> broken from <i>-q[w]ai-</i>)
<i>yaa'inqw'ai-</i> to go out hunting	<i>yaa'inqw'ai^k·a'</i> went out hunting.

Before subordinating *-q-u-* (§55, 1, e), *-q-ai-* appears as *-q-a-* (cf. § 26, 1, a and b; § 30, 9); e. g. *yaa'inqw'ai^k·a·q·oanA* AFTER HE HAD GONE OUT HUNTING. For perfective participial *-q-anti-*, see § 25, 6, d. Though perfectly analogous in treatment to resultative *-q-ai-* (§ 30, 9) and perhaps etymologically related to it, it is in practice felt as a distinct element, as shown by the occurrence of *-q-ai^k·ai-* resultative-perfective, e. g.:

<i>twɣo'tsidt'ui-</i> to cause to cover over on top	<i>twɣo'tsidt'uk·ai^k·a'</i> had (evidently) been caused to cover over on top
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The perfective idea frequently takes on an inferential implication. An explicit inferential present-perfect (HAS EVIDENTLY -ED) is formed by combining perfective *-q-ai-* with present *-yü-*: *-q·aiyü-*. In general it seems that perfective *-q-ai-* regularly implies lack of direct knowledge on the part of the speaker, differing in this respect from enclitic *-(n)tca-* (§ 19, 1, a). Examples of inferential *-q-ai(yü)-* are:

<i>ivi-</i> to drink	<i>ivi^k·aip·1</i> what was evidently drunk (by someone)
<i>qa·q·a-</i> several sing	<i>qa'q·Aqaiyiamü</i> maybe they <i>did</i> sing

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<i>qa'χw'ai</i> to go to sing	<i>qa'χw'aiḱ'aiy'iaŋA</i> he has evidently gone to sing (known from inferential evidence)
<i>A'pī'iva(i)yi-</i> to come back from sleeping, to have been sleeping (§ 18, 1, a)	<i>A'pī'ivaiḱ'ai(y)ŋA</i> he has evidently been sleeping

(4) *-va-ⁿ*, *-mpa-ⁿ* future, intentive. In ordinary indicative forms this element generally adds an intentive or hortatory force to its fundamental future significance (contrast *-va-n'ia-*, *-mpa-n'ia-* below, 5). In other forms, such as gerunds in *-tsi-* (§ 55, 1, a) and participles (§ 25, 6, b), it seems to indicate mere futurity. It is used also in simple future statements that are conditional on other acts. Examples of *-va-ⁿ* are:

<i>qa-</i> to sing	<i>qa'va-ni</i> I'll sing; <i>qa'va-ŋA</i> he'll sing, let him sing!
<i>pīnu'ḱ'ai-</i> to see	<i>pīnu'ḱ'ai-va-ŋani</i> I'll see him, let me see him!
<i>yuṭ'ua-</i> some one does	<i>yuṭ'ua-va-qA</i> let someone do it!
<i>tī'qa-</i> to eat	<i>tī'qa'va-p-i</i> what will (always) be eaten
<i>patcaq-wa-</i> to get wet	<i>patca'q-wa-^ava'</i> (if it rains, he) will get wet
<i>tɔɣɔq-wi-</i> to run	<i>tɔɣɔ'q-wi-va'</i> (if I hit him, he) will run
<i>yaya'xa-</i> to burst into tears	<i>in't-uɣwa'^a yaya'xawa-n uru'ac-u</i> this-away-thou cry (momentaneous, § 58, 5, c)-will-I else (§ 60, 3); go away or I'll cry

Examples of *-mpa-ⁿ* are:

<i>pA'qa'ŋu-ⁿ</i> to kill	<i>pA^zqa'um-pa-ŋwa'^a</i> you'll kill him; <i>pA^zqa'ŋumpa-p-i</i> who will be killed
<i>aiŋu-ⁿ</i> to say (momentaneously)	<i>a'iyumpa-^acu-ni</i> let me say again!
<i>vaq-aŋu-ⁿ</i> several pull out	<i>va'q-aŋ-umpa-c-u</i> (let us) pull (them) out again

These suffixes may be combined with narrative past *-p'iyai-* (6 below) or dubitative *-vī-*, *-mpī-* (see § 33, 2). The former, *-va-p'iyai-* (*-mpa-p'iyai-*), indicates an act in the past looking towards the future. Examples are:

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<i>qu'qu-</i> to shoot	<i>qu'qu'va·p'ïγain'n'aywa</i> shoot-will-past-like-him, (acted) as though about to shoot him
<i>pa^zqa'ηuⁿ</i> to kill	<i>pa^zqa'ηumpa·mpī·(r)aywa</i> maybe (he) will kill him

(5) *-va·n·ia-*, *-mpa·n·ia-* future indicative. In contrast to *-vaⁿ-* (*-mpaⁿ-*), from which it is evidently derived, this suffix indicates the simple future. Examples of *-va·n·ia-* are:

<i>taηa-</i> to kick	<i>taηa'va·n·i'</i> will kick
<i>maai-</i> to find	<i>imp'ï'cən maai'wä·n·i'</i> what-I find shall? what shall I find?

Of *-mpa·n·ia-*:

<i>pa'qa'ηuⁿ</i> to kill	<i>pa'qa'ηumpa·n·i'ami</i> I'll kill you
<i>quum·iⁿ</i> to be wont to do	<i>qu'um·i·n·iani</i> I shall always do
<i>'i'γyūpa-</i> to go through here	<i>'i'γyūpa·mpa·n·i'</i> he will go through here
<i>yw'ïχa-</i> to move, flutter	<i>yw'ïχampa·n·i'</i> (it)will move

(6) *-p'ïγai-* remote past, narrative past. This is the element regularly employed in mythical narrative. Narrative referring to a relatively recent past makes use of enclitic *-γwa-* (§ 19, 1, b). Without doubt *-p'ïγai-* is compounded of past passive participial *-p'ï-* (§ 25, 5, b) and verbalizing *-γai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). This is shown partly by the fact that *-p'ïγai-* is treated analogously to *-γai-* (e. g. participial *-p'ïγantï-*, § 25, 6, e; negative *-p'ï'ai-*, § 57, 2, c), partly by the fact that *-p'ï-* and *-γai-* may become disconnected (e. g. *-p'ï-a-γai-*, see 8 below, diminutive *-p'ï-tsu-γai-*). Hence a form like *a'ip'ïγa'* SAID is to be analyzed as SAY-PAST PASSIVE PARTIC.-HAVE, HAS SAID. In other words, Paiute *-p'ïγai-* forms are formally the synthetic analogues of English perfects; the functions do not quite correspond in the two languages, however.

Examples of *-p'ïγai-* are:

<i>qarï-</i> to sit, dwell	<i>qarï'p'ïγa'</i> sat, dwelt, <i>qarï'p'ï-γ'aimü</i> they 2 dwelt
<i>tna-</i> to strike	<i>tna'p'ïγainu</i> struck me (long ago)
<i>qanuxai-</i> to have a house	<i>nü' qanü'χai'p'ïγa'</i> I had a house

<i>pA'qa'ηUti-</i> to be killed	<i>pA'qa'ηUti' p̄γaiχv' aηaxa' 'oqi'</i> kill-passive-past-irrealis-he- then! (§ 19, 2, b), I wish he had been killed
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It may be combined with a preceding inferential perfective *-q'ai-*, e. g.

<i>ya'ai-</i> to die	<i>ya'a'ik'ai p̄γait'caηaxain'i'</i> die- perfective-past-interrogative- he-indeed, he seems to have (evidently) died (long ago)
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Examples of diminutive *-p̄itsiγai-* are:

<i>qa-</i> to sing	<i>qa'p̄itsiχa'</i> a little fellow sang
<i>wan'aru-</i> to make a rabbit-net	<i>wan'a'RU p̄itsiγaic'U</i> (the boy) made a rabbit-net again

For *-mp̄iγai-* after usitative *-n'i-*, see § 30, 11. Rarely *-mp̄iγai-* is found as sporadic variant instead of *-p̄iγai-*; e. g. *o'a'x'aratuγwam-p̄iγa'* WENT RIGHT INTO IT.

(7) *-p̄iayī-* HAS BEEN -ED. This passive narrative past is evidently compounded of past passive participial *-p̄i-* (§ 25, 5, b), possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a), and present *-yī-* (1 above). TO HAVE BEEN KILLED (BY ONE), therefore, as expressed by *-p̄iayī-*, seems literally to mean TO BE ONE'S KILLED ONE. It seems to differ from the normal passive narrative past (*-t̄i'p̄iγai-*) in more definitely implying an agent and perhaps also in referring to a continued state in the present. Examples are:

<i>pA^zqa'ηu-</i> to kill	<i>pA^zqa'ηUp̄iai'</i> was killed (long ago by people and is now dead)
<i>qw̄iγw̄i-</i> several take (one person)	<i>qw̄iγi'x'p̄ia(i)yīaηA</i> he was taken (long ago by them and is there now)

(8) *-p̄i(a)γait' uayī-* impersonal narrative past. Forms of this sort, compounded of narrative past *-p̄iγai-*, impersonal *-t̄'ua-*, and present *-yī-*, have been already referred to (§ 29, 14). What difference there is between the *-p̄iγai-* and the *-p̄iāγai-* forms with possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a) is not clear. As for the use of the present *-yī-*, it is very likely that the *-γai-* of *-p̄iγai-*, when final, is to be understood as

including a reference to present time (cf. lack of *-yī-* after *-γai-* TO HAVE, § 26, 1, b, which implicitly refers to present time) and that this implied *-yī-* needs to be expressed after an inserted *-t'ua-*. In other words, *-γai-* and *-γai-yī-* have fallen together to *-γai-*, but *-γait'uayī-* remains as such. Examples are:

<i>pA²qa'ηu-</i> to kill	<i>pA²qa'p'īγai'tua(i)yīaηA</i> people (impers.) have him killed, he was killed (some time ago); <i>puηqu'A pA²qa'ηUpīaγai'tuai'</i> horse (obj.) they (impers.)-killed
<i>qam'ī'χanιχai-</i> to have a jack-rabbit camp	<i>qam'ī'χanιχaip'īγai'tuai'</i> they (impers.) had a camp for hunting jack-rabbits
<i>qu'tcu'mpuηquηwīγai-</i> buffalo-pet-animate plur.-have, to have cattle	<i>qu'tcu'mpuηquηwīγaipīaγai'tuai'</i> people (impers.) had cattle

§ 33. Modal suffixes.

There are only two specifically modal verb suffixes. Most modal ideas, as we have seen, are expressed by the aid of enclitics (§ 19, 2). The indicative has no special modal suffix; for the imperative, see § 52. For perfective *-qai-* as inferential, see § 32, 3.

(1) *-γv-*, (*-qv-*), *-ηqv-* irrealis. This element indicates that the activity expressed by the verb is unreal, i. e. either merely potential or contrary to fact (potential in past time). In the latter case it is preceded by perfective *-qai-* (§ 32, 3) or narrative past *-p'īγai-* (§ 32, 6). It is not used with present *-yī-* nor, it would seem, with future *-va-n*, *-mpa-n*. Optative examples (WOULD THAT . . . !) involving enclitic *-γa'* followed by *'caī'* have been already given (§ 19, 2, b). Further examples of the irrealis are:

<i>paγ'ī'k:w' aiχv'ajaxa' 'caī'</i> go-away-irrealis-he-then! he ought to go away!
<i>nī' naηa'ī'aik'a-ηA yaya'x'Aqaiχu'</i> I anger-die-if-he cry (momentaneous) -perfective- irrealis; had he got angry, I would have cried
<i>pA²qa'Upīγaiχu'uywA</i> would have killed him
<i>uηwa'ηuqv'q-waxa' 'caī'</i> would that it might rain! (<i>-qv-</i> perhaps dissimilated from <i>-ηqv-</i>)
<i>a'āiyuηqv-n'ιχa' 'caī'</i> would that I might get well!

The irrealis may be participialized by means of *-p̄i-*. Participial *-kv̄p̄i-* is frequently used as a base in optative forms with enclitic *-cuyaywa . . . noa-* (§ 19, 2, h). Other examples of its use are:

'*a'iyuxv̄p̄ ur uru''ai'* good-would-participle it is, it would be good
(somewhat as though one were to say HE IS A POSSIBLE SINGER
instead of HE WOULD SING)
uru''axu' sv''aiyuxv̄p̄i be-would very-good-would-participle, (it)
would be extremely good
piŋwa'rojoḡo'p̄ini (*-q̄o-* < *-ŋq̄o-*?) my would-be-made-as-wife, I
would take her as my wife (song form)

A past participial irrealis, *-kv̄p̄iγanti-*, is also found, e. g.: *pA^zq̄a'-
uŋquv̄p̄iγanti* who would have killed me

(2) *-v̄i-*, *-mp̄i-* dubitative. The dubitative verb suffix is frequently accompanied in the same or a preceding word by an enclitic *-'* (§ 19, 2, n). It may be rendered as PERHAPS, IT MAY (MIGHT) BE THAT . . . Future dubitatives in *-va'mp̄i-* (*-mpa'mp̄i-*) are common but, so far as known, the dubitative suffix is not employed with other tense suffixes. Examples of *-v̄i-*, *-mp̄i-* are:

ivi'v̄i' maybe (he) is drinking; *ivi'v̄i''i* maybe thou art drinking
(didst drink); *ivi'k̄'avi'iraŋwa'a* maybe we did drink
an'axwan a'ivi' qa'γa' what-preterit-I say-perhaps sing- subordin-
ate? how did I sing (long ago)?
ya'a'ivi'ŋwa'a maybe he is dead, he must be dead
aŋ aro'avi' i'ŋA who is-dubitative this? I wonder who this is!
pa'x'iqw'ai'k̄'ant uru'avi' having-gone-away might-be, I wonder if
(he) went away
ivi'ŋump̄i''i maybe you did drink
pA^zq̄a'ŋumpa'mp̄i'·(γ)aŋA maybe (he) will kill him
ma'a'iva'mp̄i'ŋwarami''i he might find us 2 (inclusive)
qwa'ŋv̄tuava'mp̄ini they (impers.) will perhaps beat me, it seems I
shall get beaten

§ 34. Order of verbal elements.

At this point we may conveniently take up the question of the order in which occur the various elements that build up a verb form. Four main positions are to be recognized: prefix, verbal theme, suffix (prevaillingly formal in character), and enclitic. Each of these positions may consist of more than one element. On the other

hand, only the second position is necessarily filled, though ordinarily one or more elements of the third position follow. The order of elements within each of the four fundamental positions is, for the most part, rigorously determined. Fifteen positions may be recognized within the third, though, needless to say, only a limited number of combinations among these are intrinsically possible. The following scheme will be useful for reference (the letters and numbers indicate order of position):

A. Prefix

1. Adverbial prefix (§ 20)
2. Reflexive prefix (§ 22)
3. Instrumental prefix (§ 21)

B. Verbal theme

1. (a) Verb stem (or other stem if followed by B 2); or (b) combination of stems, last of which is necessarily verbal (unless B 2 follows) (§ 18, 2)¹
2. Verbalizing suffix (§ 26)

C. Suffix

1. Suffixes of voice and aspect: $-\gamma a-$ (§ 30, 1); $-\gamma i-$ (§ 30, 2); $-q i-$ (§ 30, 3); $-n'na-$ (§ 31, 2, c); $-n'a-$ (§ 31, 2, b); $-tea-$ (§ 31, 2, d)
2. $-tcai-$ (§ 31, 2, a)
3. Causative $-t'ui-$ (§ 29, 12)
4. Indirective (or transitivizing) $-\eta q\ddot{i}-$ (§ 29, 11)
5. Pluralizing suffixes: $-q a-$ (§ 31, 1, c); $-'\eta wa-$ (§ 31, 1, a); $-t\ddot{i}-$ (§ 31, 1, b)
6. Suffixes of movement (§ 28); continuative $-n'ni-$ (§ 30, 12)
7. Momentaneous suffixes: $-\eta u-$ (§ 30, 5); $-q u-$ (§ 30, 7)
8. Resultative $-q ai-$ (§ 30, 9); passive $-t\ddot{i}-$ (§ 29, 13)
9. Perfective $-q ai-$ (§ 32, 3); usitative $-m\ddot{i}a-$, $-m\ddot{i}-n$ (§ 30, 10); $-m\ddot{i}-$ (§ 30, 13). $-m\ddot{i}-n$ precedes $-q ai-$.
10. Future $-pa-$ (§ 32, 4), $-pa'n\ddot{i}a$ (§ 32, 5); $-n\ddot{i}a-$ probably best considered as belonging to position 14)

¹ A 2 (or A 3) + B 1 (a) + B 2 may, however, be taken as unit and compounded with preceding (non-verbal) or following (verbal) stem. Indeed, this extended verbal "theme" may also include elements (chiefly 1-4) belonging to position C. It is difficult to give rules, as composition takes place whenever two or more elements or groups of elements are felt as logically combinable or psychologically equivalent. Composition thus somewhat breaks in on our order scheme.

11. Usitative *-n-ĩ-n* (§ 30, 11)
 12. Narrative past *-p-ĩγai-* (§ 32, 6), which may be split into its component elements by possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a) or diminutive *-tsi-* (§ 35)
 13. Impersonal *-t-ua-* (§ 29, 14)
 14. Tense and modal elements: present *-yĩ-* (§ 32, 1); present *-q-a-* (§ 32, 2); modal *-kv-* (§ 33, 1); dubitative *-pü-* (§ 33, 2)
 15. Syntactic elements, embracing:
 - (a) Nominalizing suffixes (§ 25); or
 - (b) Subordinating suffixes (§ 55, 1)
- D. Enclitic, occurring in nine positions, one of which, no. 7, may in turn be subdivided into three positions (see § 19, 4; § 41, 1 and 4)

There is some doubt as to the priority of certain positions in C; thus, it may be that 10 and 11 should be reversed or, as probably mutually exclusive elements, grouped together. Aside from doubts of this sort, there are a number of disturbances of the above scheme introduced by the impersonal *-t-ua-* and the passive *-t-ĩ-*. First of all, when *-t-ua-* is used as indirect object of indirective *-ηqi-*, it follows position 4 and precedes position 5 (see § 29, 14). Secondly, *-t-ua-* regularly precedes future *-pa-(n-ia-)* (position 10), yet follows position 12. Thirdly, the position of pluralizing *-q-a-* (no. 5), which regularly precedes e. g. momentaneous *-yu-* (position 7), is disturbed in impersonal and passive forms. In these cases it falls between positions 8 and 9, i. e. it follows passive *-t-ĩ-* but precedes perfective *-q-ai-* and impersonal *-t-ua-*. Thus, with normal *iv'k-anuyĩ-* SEVERAL TAKE A DRINK, contrast *pA²qa'ηvti'iqaq-ai-* SEVERAL HAVE BEEN KILLED and *ĩv^wi'ηuq(w)at-u'ayĩ-* THEY (PLUR. IMPERS.) ASK. Lastly, impersonal *-t-ua-* follows subordinating *-ku-* (see § 55, 1, e) in spite of the fact that subordinating suffixes (C, 15, b) regularly follow all other verbal suffixes.

It will not be necessary here to give examples testing out the order scheme, as they can be readily found by the reader among the numerous verb forms scattered in this paper. The positions assumed by diminutive *-tsi-*, which seems to be treated rather irregularly, will be referred to in § 35, 2.

§ 35. *The diminutive.*

The diminutive suffix *-tsi-*, evidently an old Uto-Aztekan element (cf. Nahuatl *-tzi-*), is found in both noun and verb forms. It

seems to appear in three forms: *-tsi-s*, *-t-si-s*, and *-ntsi-s*, the last of these appearing both as nasalized form of "spirantal" *-tsi-* and after nasalizing stems.

(1) IN NOUN FORMS. Examples of a properly diminutive use in nouns of this suffix are very common, e. g.:

<i>qua(·)n'a'nts</i> eagle		<i>qua(·)na'tsuts</i> chicken hawk (lit., little eagle)
<i>ayi'φi</i> mosquito		<i>ayi'vits</i> flea (lit., little mosquito)
<i>iyō'vtcua-</i> young of mourning-dove		<i>iyō'vtcua'tsiηwī</i> little mourning-doves
<i>o-</i> arrow		<i>v'ts</i> little arrow
<i>tō'ca'p'a(i)ya-γanfi-</i> white-breast-having (<i>pis'ōa-</i>)	white-	<i>tō'ca'p'a(i)ya'tsiγanfi-</i> little white breasted one, gull <i>pis'ō'atsiηwī</i> children, <i>pis'ō'atsi-ηwīni</i> my children
<i>tū'mp^(w)i</i> stone		<i>tūmp^wi'ts</i> small stone
<i>uγw'φi</i> grass		<i>uγw'vits</i> little grass-stalk
<i>tīηq'a'niφi</i> cave		<i>tīηq'a'nū'atsiaφi</i> his own little cave (obj.)
(<i>na'ai-ntsi-</i>)		<i>na'a'intsuts</i> little girl
<i>mūa'γanti</i> divide (noun)		<i>mūa'^antsiγanti</i> little divide
<i>qa'ni</i> house		<i>qani'nts</i> little house

Examples of the diminutive in denominating terms other than true nouns (i. e. adjectives and adverbs) are:

<i>tvi'uts</i> for a short distance
<i>mi(y)a'p'üts</i> little
<i>miā'ants</i> small, tiny
<i>mi(y)ō'ⁱtsiφA</i> at a little distance

The diminutive frequently expresses affection rather than smallness. As such it is frequently used in terms of relationship, e. g.:

<i>pavi'ni</i> my older brother	<i>pavi'tsini</i> my (dear) older brother
<i>patsi'ni</i> my older sister	<i>patsi'tsini</i> my (dear) older sister
<i>qayū'ni</i> my grandmother	<i>qayū'tsiηwīni</i> my dear grandmothers
<i>pi(y)a'ni</i> my mother	<i>pi(y)a'tsiηwīni</i> my dear mothers;
	<i>navi'^atsiηwī</i> mother and child
	(§ 22, 1)

In reciprocal terms of relationship (e. g. *qunu-* GREAT-GRANDFATHER, MAN'S GREAT-GRANDCHILD) the form with diminutive is regularly used for the younger generation,¹ though it may also be used to refer to the older generation (cf. GRANDMOTHER above). Thus,

qunu'ni my great-grandfather *qunu'tsini* my great-grandchild
(man speaking)

As regards its position relatively to other noun suffixes, *-tsi-* follows all noun suffixes enumerated in § 25, 1 and 2 (e. g. classificatory *-pī-*, possessive *-a-*). It is not clear, however, whether *-(n)tsi-tsi-* is to be analyzed as absolute + diminutive or diminutive + absolute. Such a form as *qwa(·)na'tsits·* < *qwa(·)na'-nts·* (see above) suggests the latter analysis, which would correspond to Nahuatl *-tzin-lli*. As to nominalizing elements (§ 25), *-tsi* follows passive participial *-pī-* (probably also *-pī-*) and instrumental *-n'impī-* but precedes *-na-* and active participial *-fī-* (e. g. *qwtcu'v'watsucī* LITTLE KNOLL < *qwtcu'v'wari* KNOLL). Naturally it precedes animate plural *-ŋwī-* (§ 48, 1) and objective *-a-* (§ 49, 1).

(2) IN VERB FORMS. The diminutive is frequently used in verb forms, chiefly to indicate that the person spoken to or of is a child, also to indicate an affectionate or pleading attitude. Examples are:

<i>qa-</i> to sing	<i>qa'ts·k'a·ŋA</i> a little fellow is singing (for <i>-k'a-</i> see § 32, 2); <i>qa'tsi'i</i> you, little fellow, sing! <i>qa'tsiva·n·ia·ŋA</i> a little fellow will sing; <i>qa'p'ütsi·χa'</i> a little fellow sang (< <i>-p'ï·ŋa'</i>)
<i>o'χwai·vütci</i> went to have an arrow	<i>o'tsi·χai·vütci</i> dit. (referring to a child)
<i>fin'aŋqiva'amī</i> I shall tell you	<i>fin'aŋqitsiva'amī</i> dit. (addressed to a child)
<i>qa'yo'm'mia-</i> to hop along	<i>qa'yo'm'mi·antsi·ŋa'</i> while hopping along, poor little fellow
<i>o'tca'n'ö·ni-</i> to be carrying a water-jar	<i>o'tca'n'ö·ntŋni·vü'</i> will be carrying a water-jar, if you please
<i>wan·aru-</i> to make a rabbit-net	<i>wan·a'RU'pütsi·ŋaic·v</i> again (the boy) made a rabbit-net

¹ See Sapir, *A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship in America*, *American Anthropologist*, N.S., 1913, pp. 132-138.

For *-ŋu-ntsu-* and *-q-u-ntsu-* in a quasi-temporal sense, see § 30, 5 and 7.

The position of the diminutive in verb forms is not altogether easy to assign. It seems normally to fall between positions 9 and 10 of C. Thus, it has been found to follow indirective *-ŋqĩ-* (position 4), *-m'nia-* (position 6), momentaneous *-ŋu-* and *-q-u-* (position 7), usitative *-m-i-* (position 10) and present *-q-a-* (position 14). However, it seems to precede continuative *-ni-* (position 6). Owing to its regularly following past passive participial *-p'ĩ-* (see 1 above), it cuts *-p'ĩŋai-* (position 12) in two: *-p'ĩtsɨŋai-*. Moreover, it seems always to precede *-kai-* TO HAVE (position B 2); see *o'tsɨŋwaiwätci* above (this may, however, be interpreted to mean WONT TO HAVE A LITTLE ARROW, *o'tsɨŋwai-* being verbalized from *o'tsu-*; yet cf. *tó'ca'p'aiya-tsɨŋantĩ-*, 1 above, LITTLE ONE WHO HAS A WHITE BREAST, probably not HAVING A LITTLE WHITE BREAST).

§ 36. Numeral suffixes.

(1) *-yu-*ⁿ cardinal numeral suffix. *-yu* forms may be treated as verbs directly or by adding verbalizing *-ŋqai-* (§ 26, 1); without *-ŋqai-* they are frequently used attributively as true numerals. In objective forms *-yu-* is replaced by *-q-u-* (§ 49, 1). It is not used ordinarily in compounds (§ 18, 1, h), except in the case of *cv-yu-* ANOTHER (see examples below). Examples of *-yu-* are:

cv'yuc-U nĩŋwĩ one man; *cv'yuc-U tava'mA* one day-at, for one day;
nana'c-v-yuŋqwaiyuc-U reciprocal (reduplicated)-one-cardinal-verbalizing-subordinating (§ 55, 1, c)-also, being one to one another, one by one; *cv'yUqwanuc-U* several become one
co'yU another; *cv'y aŋA* another he, another person; *cv'y aRĩ* another it, another thing; *cv'yucinaŋwaw aŋA* the other coyote (Same stem as *cv'yU-* ONE above, but without enclitic *-c-u-*)
wad'iyU nĩŋwĩ'ntsiŋwĩ two men; *wad'iyuŋqĩŋ'um^wini* two-cardinal-for-momentaneous-they-me, they become two for me
nava'iyU six

Combined with enclitic *-n-ia-* (§ 19, 2, d), *-yu-* is regularly employed in counting, including attributive usage where stress is laid on number as such. *-yu-n-ia-* may be rendered IN NUMBER; in animate forms above one, *-m'ĩ-* (§ 48, 1) is often inserted between *-yu-* and *-n-ia-*. Examples of *-yu(m-u)n-ia-* are:

cv'yum-u' one (in counting; note that *-n-ia-* replaces *-c-u-*)

wad'iyyumun·i wɪ'tsɪ'tsɪŋwɪəŋA two-cardinal-animate plur. (§ 48, 1)-like
great-grandson-diminutive-animate plur. (§ 48, 1)- her; her great-
grandsons, two in number

pa'iyyunɪ' three (in counting); *paad'iyyom·un·i d'ɪφApɪtsɪŋwɪ* three young
men (in number)

ta'ŋ wA'tcɪ'ŋwɪyɪum·un·i' we four

qan·i'ni man·i'χiyun·i' house-my five-cardinal-like, my five houses

(2) *-t-a-*, *-t-ca-* numeral adverbial suffixes. *-t-a-* is suffixed to *cv-*
ONE, *-t-ca-* to all the other numeral stems. These suffixes denote SO
AND SO MANY TIMES. Examples are:

cv't·ac·U once

wad't·cA twice (< *wa-* two); *waa't·cAcuA^xqan unɪ'k·^xA* two-times-
again-it-I did, I did it just twice; *nan·i'ŋwanwaAtcatcaA^xqa'm*
'unɪ'k·aŋU separately-two (reduplicated)-times-preterit-it-they do-
plural-momentaneous, they did it each twice

paad'it·cA three times

§ 37. Suffixes of quasi-pronominal force.

Under this head are included a couple of suffixed elements that
are not easily classified.

(1) *-rī-* (*-tcī-* after *i*) inanimate demonstrative suffix. It is ap-
pended to demonstrative stems, also to *qīma^s*, to form independent
inanimate demonstrative pronouns, which may be used either sub-
stantively or attributively. These pronouns are *arī-* THAT (indefinite-
ly); *marī-* (*m^wa'rī-*) THAT (visible); *urī-*, *uru-* (*'u'rī-*, *'u'ru-*) THAT
(invisible); *itcī-* (*'i'tcī-*) THIS; and *qīmarī-* ANOTHER. See § 39, 1.
This *-rī-* is possibly identical in origin with participial *-tī-* (§ 25, 6, a).

(2) *-p·a(n)tcī⁻ⁿ* KINDS OF. So far as known, this element occurs
only after *man·ɔ'q·u-* ALL (obj.; see § 59, 3, a), e. g.:

man·ɔ'q·^xU pantcī pa'a'vɪŋw αmü all-kinds-of animals they, all kinds of
animals

man·ɔ'q·U pa(n)tcī⁻ⁿ can also be used as the first element of noun
compounds, e. g.:

man·ɔ'q·^xU pantcīŋqava'ŋwü all kinds of horses

man·ɔ'q·U patcīniŋwɪntsɪŋwü all kinds of persons

This suffix is possibly related to participialized postpositive *-vatci⁻ⁿ*, *-p'atci⁻ⁿ* BEING AT (§ 50, 1, 37).

PRONOUNS (§ § 38-46).

§ 38. *Classification of pronouns.*

Paiute pronouns may be divided into six classes: personal pronouns (in part of demonstrative force); postnominal pronouns (closely related to personal pronouns but used practically as articles); demonstrative pronouns (in large part identical with independent third personal pronouns); interrogative pronouns; relative pronoun; and reflexive pronouns. All of these occur as independent stems. The personal pronouns also appear in an enclitic form.

The independent personal pronouns are either subjective or objective. The enclitic series, however, makes the distinction only for the second person and for one or two other forms that will be specified later. The objective forms include possessive functions. The classification of pronouns as to person is as follows:

- 1st person singular
- 1st person dual (inclusive)
- 1st person plural (inclusive)
- 1st person plural (exclusive)
- 2nd person singular
- 2nd person plural
- 3rd person singular animate visible
- 3rd person singular animate invisible
- 3rd person plural animate visible
- 3rd person plural animate invisible
- 3rd person inanimate visible
- 3rd person inanimate invisible

It will be observed that the only specifically dual form is that of the 1st person inclusive. Aside from the first person plural inclusive, all the plural pronominal elements include dual functions; the verb, however, in the latter case is singular in form (cf. § 31). The inanimate third person makes no distinction for number; cf. the lack of plural suffixes for inanimate nouns (§ 48). The classification into visible and invisible in the third person applies particularly to the enclitic series. Independent pronouns of the third person are formed from four distinct demonstrative stems, only one of which implies invisibility (see § 39).

Personal pronouns (§ § 39-41).

§ 39. Independent personal pronouns.

The independent personal pronouns are as follows:

	SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
1 sing.	<i>nǎ', nǎ-</i>	<i>nǎn'ia-</i>
dual (inclusive)	<i>tam'i-</i>	<i>tam'ia-</i>
plural (inclusive)	<i>taŋwa-</i>	<i>taŋwaia-</i>
(exclusive)	<i>nǎm^wi-</i>	<i>nǎm^wia-</i>
2 sing.	<i>im'i-</i>	<i>im'ia-</i>
plural	<i>m^wim^wi-</i>	<i>m^wim^wia-</i>
3 a sing.	<i>aŋa-(c-u)</i> he, that one	<i>aŋaia-(c-u)</i>
anim. (indef.)		
plural	<i>am'ĩ-, am'u-c-u-</i>	<i>am'ĩa-(c-u)</i>
anim.		
inanimate	{ <i>arĩ-(c-u)</i> <i>aq'a-</i>	{ <i>arĩa-(c-u)</i> <i>aq'aia-</i>
b sing.	<i>maŋa-(c-u)</i> ; <i>m^wa'ŋa-</i> he,	<i>maŋaia-(c-u)</i>
anim.	that one (visible)	
plural	<i>mam'ĩ-, mam'u-c-u-</i>	<i>mam'ĩa-(c-u)</i>
anim.		
inanimate	{ <i>marĩ-(c-u)</i> ; <i>m^wa'rĩ-</i> <i>maq'a-</i>	{ <i>marĩa-(c-u)</i> ; <i>m^wa'ria-</i> <i>maq'aia-</i>
c sing.	<i>iŋa-</i> ; <i>i'ŋa-</i> he here, this	<i>iŋaia-</i>
anim. one		
plural	<i>im'ĩ-; i'm'ĩ-</i>	<i>im'ĩa-, i'm'ĩa-</i>
anim.		
inanimate	{ <i>itcĩ-; i'tcĩ-</i> <i>ik'a-</i>	{ <i>itcĩa-; i'tcĩa-</i> <i>ik'aia-</i>
d sing.	<i>uŋwa-(c-u)</i> ; <i>u'ŋwa-</i> he,	<i>uŋwaia-(c-u)</i> ; <i>u'u'-</i>
anim.	that one (invisible)	<i>ŋwaia-</i>
plural	<i>um^wĩ-, um'u-c-u-</i> ;	<i>um^wĩa-(c-u)</i> ; <i>u'u'-</i>
anim.	<i>u'u'm^wĩ-</i>	<i>m^wĩa-</i>
inanimate	{ <i>uru-(c-u)</i> ; <i>u'rĩ-</i> <i>uq'wa-</i>	{ <i>urua-(c-u)</i> ; <i>u'rĩa-</i> <i>uq'waia-</i>

(1) FORMATION OF INDEPENDENT PERSONAL (AND DEMONSTRATIVE) PRONOUNS. The objectives are formed from the subjectives by the suffixing of *-a-* after all vowels but *a*, after which *-ia-*, *-ya-* is sub-

stituted. This is precisely as with nouns (§ 49, 1). The first person singular, however, has a peculiar objective form, *n̄n'ia-*, based on an otherwise non-occurring *n̄n'i-* instead of *n̄i-*. Both subjective and objective pronouns spirantize following elements (note that *-r-* becomes *-tc-* after *i*, *-ntc-* after nasal + *i*).

The first person singular is *n̄i'* or *n̄i'^r* when used absolutely, *n̄i-* when followed by another element (e. g. postposition or modal enclitic). The two inclusive pronouns are evidently based on a common stem *ta-*, which does not occur uncompounded in Paiute; but cf. Nahuatl *tè WE*, *to- OUR*. The *-m'i-* of *tam'i-* is probably identical with that of *n̄im^wi-* WE (EXCLUSIVE) and *m^wim^wi-* YE; *n̄i-m^wi-* is probably based on *n̄i- I*. The inclusive plural *taŋwa-* probably goes back to **tama-* (§ 16, 1), perhaps assimilated from **tamĩ-* (cf. Hopi *itamö WE*); if this is correct, *-ŋwa-* is probably ultimately identical with animate plural *-ŋwĩ-* (§ 48, 1).

The four sets of third personal and demonstrative pronouns are based on the demonstrative stems *a-* THAT (indefinite); *ma-*, *m^wa'-* THAT (visible or referred to); *i-*, *i'^v*- THIS; and *u-*, *u'^w*- THAT (invisible). The doublets with two moras (*m^wa'-*, *i'^v*-, *u'^w*-) do not seem to differ in meaning from one-moraed forms (*ma-*, *i-*, *u-*); both types are doubtless found in all animate (singular and plural) and inanimate subjective and objective forms. The two-moraed forms seem to be favored when the pronoun is used without suffix, the one-moraed when used with postpositions. The second element in the third personal pronouns is pronominal: *-ŋa-* for the animate singular; *-m'i-* (sometimes assimilated to *-m'u-*) for the animate plural (doubtless identical in origin with animate plural suffix *-m'i-* in nouns, § 48, 1); and *-qa-* or quasi-pronominal *-rĩ-* (*-tcĩ-*) for the inanimate. In the inanimate forms the more properly pronominal *-qa-* series is far less common than the demonstrative *-rĩ-* series; *-qa-* forms seem to be in common use in certain other dialects of Southern Paiute. When used attributively, they follow the noun, while *-rĩ-* forms precede. An enclitic *-cu-* (§ 19, 2, k) is very frequently attached to third personal pronouns, probably to all except inanimates in *-qa-* and forms with two-moraed demonstrative stem. The chief characteristic of *-cu-* forms is apparently their more frequent substantive use as true personal pronouns, other forms being employed with more clearly demonstrative force, hence often attributively; nevertheless, *-cu-* forms are also found used in a demonstrative (and attributive) sense. In general, it is impossible to draw a hard and

fast line between independent third personal pronouns and demonstratives, as they are all in structure demonstrative-personals. On the whole, the purely demonstrative value is strongest in *ma-* (*m^wa'*-) and *i* (*i'*-) forms, the personal in *a-* and *u-* (*u'*-) forms.

(2) *qīma-* OTHER, STRANGER. From this stem is formed a set of forms which closely parallel the independent third personal pronouns. These forms are:

	SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
sing. anim.	<i>qīma'ḡa-(c·u-)</i> (the) other one	<i>qīma'ḡaiā-(c·u-)</i>
plural anim.	<i>qīma'm'ī-, qīma'm·u-</i> (<i>c·u-</i>)	<i>qīma'm'īā-(c·u-)</i>
inanimate	<i>qīma'rī-(c·u-)</i>	<i>qīma'rīā-(c·u-)</i>

For non-pronominal objective *qīma'q·u-*, see § 59, 3, d.

(3) USE OF SUBJECTIVE FORMS. The subjective forms of the independent personal pronouns, as of other pronouns and of nouns, are used as subjects of verbs, unless these are subordinate; as objects of imperatives (for examples see § 52); and, without *-c·u-*, as bases for attached postpositions (§ 50, 3). Examples of independent subjective personal pronouns (including pronoun and postposition) are:

nī' qa' i' I sing
nī'ntca' pī' pī'tcī I-preterit arrive, I arrived
nī'c·amp an' i'k·zA I-only do-so, it is only I
nīru'x·WA to me

ta'mi qa'va·n·i' we two (inclus.) shall sing
tami'ntcuq·WA under us two (inclus.)

ta'ḡWA qa'q·ai' we (inclus.) sing
taḡwa'ru·x·WA to us (inclus.)

nīm^wi'ntcu·x·WA to us (exclus.)

imi'ntcu'^α tūmpa'ḡa' thou-interrogative mouth-have, have you a mouth?

imi' iχīr(§ 60, 3) *uḡwaro'^α* thou indeed art

m^wimi qa'q·ai' ye sing

aḡa'vnaḡqwa·c·U he-after-again, after him again (*-c·U* AGAIN does not function here as pronominal element)

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aŋac·U qan'va·v ɥni'n'ninteĩ he house-at-own do-continuative-participle, he stays in hishouse (for finite use of participle, see § 55, 4, c)
am'ĩ'ru·x·w·A to them (animate)

ari'ru·x·w·A it-to (rarely used; generally, for inanimate pronoun + postposition, bare demonstrative stem, except in case of *iteĩ-*, is used, e. g. *aru'x·w·A*, see § 43, 1)

ari'e·U qu(·)'n arĩ that fire it, that fire (for postnominal *arĩ* see § 42, 6)

A²qa'nayqwap·A near it

mcaŋ a'a'iyi'i' he is good

m^wa'ŋantca' pi'pi'teĩ he-preterit arrive, he arrived

maja'ruq·w·A under him

maja'e·uya' ya'a'iva·n·i' he, it is said, will die

ma'mü qa'va·n·i' they (two) will sing; *ma'mü qa'q·ava·n·i'* they will sing

mam'ĩ'ŋwa'a with them

mam·u'c·U nan·a'ŋq·tca'q·aiva' they will listen

ma'ri qwan' that off, in that direction

imp aro''avü m^wa'ri what would-be that? I wonder what that is!

mari'e·U piya't' pĩɣa' qw·A'c'(y)aŋ arĩ that was-left-over his-tail it; that tail of his was left; it was left, his tail

tümp^wi'ts· ma'q·A rock that (uncommon)

aŋ aro''avü i'ŋ·A who would-be this? I wonder who this one is!

iŋa'ru·x·w·A to him here

'iŋ ov^wi't·U' pĩɣa' he here sang a song

im·u'ru·x·w·A to these (animate)

iteĩ'' aru'ám·i' this is wont to be

iteĩ'ru·x·w·A to it here

'i'teĩ this (thing)

tümp^wi'ts i'k·z·A rock this (uncommon)

uŋw·á'vateĩ to him (invisible)

uŋwa'e·U tiv^wa'ts aŋ·A he (inv.) wolf he; that (inv.) wolf; he, the wolf

u·m·u'v^w·m·aŋqwap·A behind them (inv.)

uru'ru·x·w·A to it (inv.; assimilated from *urĩ-*; *uru'x·w·A* is more common, cf. under *arĩ-* above)

w'u'rī that (inv. thing)

uru'c· U^zqw'v·nu' na(i)ya'p'a·ŋ^zU^pīya' those (sticks) like-arrows became, they (inv.) turned into arrows

U^zqwa'nayqwa^pA near it (inv.)

qīma'ŋac·U another one, stranger

qīma'm·uc·U others, strangers

qīmarīc·U qa'ni another house, foreign house

(4) USE OF OBJECTIVE FORMS. The objective forms of the independent personal pronouns, as of other pronouns and of nouns, are used as objects (direct or indirect) of transitive verbs; as subjects of subordinate verbs (§ 55, 1); and as genitives. Examples of independent objective personal pronouns are:

nī'ni a'ŋawanteiŋqīm^wī' me is-wont-to-hide-from, (he) is wont-to hide from me

nī'ni_A naŋu'q·wŋqūt·u'a(u)x·U me when-fighting, when I fight

nī'ni 'uwaru''^α me he-is, he is mine

taŋwa'i arī us (inclus.) it; ours, the (thing) belonging to us

im'_A p^{Az}qa'q·ain_A thee having-killed, your having killed

m^wim'_Acamp_A except you (plur. obj.)

nī'aq·A tav aŋa'iac·U tō'ts'_A I-it hit him head (obj.), I hit his head (note that *aŋa-* and *aŋaia-* are rarely, if ever, used without *-c·u-*, except for *aŋa-* with postpositions; this is probably to prevent confusion with interrogative *aŋa-*, § 44, 1, a)

'am·i'v^wantux·w_A kwī'pa'p·īya 'am·i'ac·U wa'_Ama^a·caŋwōitsuyū._A on-to-them (anim.) fell them two-old-women (obj.); (it) fell on them, the two old women

'ava 'arī'ac·U it-at that (obj.), there (at) that (place)

imp aro'' A^zqa'ia what is it (obj.)? what is thereof? what is it (selected from several)?

maŋa'iacamp_A pīni'k·ai'p·īya(i)ŋ_A him-only saw-him, only him (he) saw

m^wa'rīar'ua·ŋ_A that (obj.)-interrogative-he, (it is) that that he (has been hiding)

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MA'tca'iaŋq̄ip'ĩŋai(y)aq·A marĩ'ac·U wı̄α'mpı̄A reached-for-it that berry

v'ĩ'm·ı̄ar'ua·m·ı̄ram a'χaŋwanteiŋq̄imik̄a' these (anim. obj.)-interrogative-they-us 2 (inclus.) hide-to-always-perfective, these (animate beings) they seem to have been hiding from us 2

v'ĩ'teĩ v'teuŋ·U this (obj.) when-(it)-is-morning, this morning

'u'wayac·ampı̄A sa'a'ŋq̄ı̄qava' him (inv.)-only make-mush-for-plural-will, (they) will make mush only for him

yaŋa'ŋq̄ı̄q̄wı̄ı̄k̄·ava'am u'u'm·wı̄A teaŋwı̄'k·ı̄kwa'iteĩm·wı̄A let (us) cry for those (who are) dying off

pu'tcu'teuŋwar uru'ac·U tiv·ı̄'p·ı̄A knowing that (inv.) land

In certain sporadic cases that are not clearly understood objective forms seem to be employed subjectively, e. g.:

nı̄'naχwa'axain·ı̄ qarĩ'i' I too was sitting down

(5) USE OF SUBJECTIVE AND OBJECTIVE PRONOUNS. An independent subjective pronoun may be combined with an independent objective one, the former apparently preceding, e. g.:

imı̄ nı̄'niA pA'zqa'ump·an·ı̄A thou me wilt-kill

nı̄' pA'zqa'ŋuŋum·ı̄ m·wı̄m·wı̄A I kill-you (plur.) you (plur. obj.)

As a rule, however, only one of the pronouns is independent, the other being attached as an enclitic (see § 40, 6).

§ 40. Enclitic personal pronouns.

The enclitic pronominal forms are as follows:

	SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
1 sing.	-n·ı̄-	
dual	-ram·ı̄-	
(inclus.)	(-tcam·ı̄-)	
plural	-raŋwa-	
(inclus.)	(-teaŋwa-)	
plural	-nı̄m·wı̄-	
(exclus.)		
2 sing.	'	' . . . m·ı̄-
plur.	-ŋwı̄-	-ŋum·ı̄-

3 sing.		
anim. vis.		-aŋa-
anim. inv.		-ʹ . . . ŋwa-
plural		
anim. vis.		-am-ü-
anim. inv.		-ʹ . . . m-ü-
3 inanimate		
vis.		-aq-a-
inv.		-ʹ . . . q-wa-
dual anim.	-ʹ . . .	m-ü-
reflexive possessive		-vü-

(1) FORMATION OF PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS. Most of the enclitic pronouns may be used either subjectively or objectively. The objective forms of the second person are formed from the corresponding subjective forms by the addition of *-m-i-*, perhaps identical with the *-m-i-* of independent *im-i-* THOU; *-ŋum-i-* < *-ŋwim-i-* (§ 3, 3, d). The dual animate enclitic *-ʹ . . . m-ü-* is a subjective element; it is outwardly identical with *-ʹ . . . m-ü-*, the third person plural animate invisible element, but, though in certain cases very difficult to keep apart from the latter (which, when the verb is singular in form, necessarily has a dual reference), is clearly distinct from it, as it may refer to all animate persons, including the third person animate visible. *-vü-* is only used in a possessive sense and is evidently somewhat in a class by itself. The position of the pronominal enclitics with reference to other enclitic elements has been already spoken of (see § 19, 4).

The enclitic pronouns are closely related, for the greater part, to the corresponding independent pronouns. The first person singular *-n-i-* is connected with, though not identical with, the independent *nüʹ*, *nü-*; this vocalic alternation is probably an old Uto-Aztekan feature, cf. Nahuatl independent *nè* I with proclitic *ni-* I, ME. The other enclitics of the first person are identical with the corresponding independent pronouns, *t-* becoming spirantized to *-r-* (*-tc-* after *-i-*). The *-ʹ* of the second person singular is entirely peculiar to the enclitic series; *-ŋwü-* and *-ŋum-i-* of the plural are doubtless spirantized from **nü(m-i)-*, cf. independent *m^wim^wi-*. The visible forms of the third person are compounded of demonstrative *-a-* and the pronominal elements *-ŋa-*, *-m-ü-*, and *-q-a-* already discussed in § 39, 1. The invisible forms are compounded of an accessory *-ʹ-* and the same pronominal elements, a *-w-* being inserted in the animate singular and

the inanimate. This *-w-* may be a specialized form of demonstrative *w'u-* THAT (invisible). The reflexive possessive *-v̄-* seems to have no independent analogue, unless, indeed, it be connected with relative *p̄-* (§ 45); cf. probably also Shoshonean **p̄-* HE, HIS (Cahuilla *pe* HE, *pehc-* HIS; San Juan Capistrano *po-* HIS).

(2) USE OF SUBJECTIVE FORMS. The subjective enclitics may be used as the subject of a non-subordinate verb or as the object of an imperative (§ 52). The animate dual *-m̄-*, however, of which examples will be given separately, functions only as a subject, sometimes also as a possessive. Subjective examples of enclitic pronouns, attached both to verbs and to other parts of speech, are:

iv̄i'ḡuntcar'ḡani did I take a drink?
ya'a'ix̄v̄n̄ix̄a' 'ḡai' would that I might die!
a'iv̄w̄ani p̄ñi'k̄aiva' now-I shall-see
qa'ȳr̄am̄i we 2 (inclus.) sing.
qa'q̄a(i)ȳr̄aḡw̄A we (inclus.) sing
p̄w̄aq̄ax̄aitcaḡw̄A we (inclus.) have liec
qa'ȳñim̄w̄I we 2 (exclus.) sing
qa'ȳi'ḡ thou singest
aḡa'm̄iantca' p̄A²qa'ḡU whom-plur.-preterit-thou kill? whom (2) did you kill?
p̄A²qa'ḡUḡi'v̄w̄a-ḡnaḡw̄i you 2 will get killed
im̄p̄i'aȳw̄ an̄i'k̄ar̄i'i what-obj.-you (plur.) do-sit-present? what do you 2 do as (you) sit?
iv̄i'ḡuntcar'ḡaḡA did he take a drink?
qan̄'a-ḡA p̄ñi'k̄a' house-obj.-he see, he see(s) (the) house
p̄A²qa'ḡUḡp̄iaȳ'iȳw̄A he (inv.) was killed (long ago)
uȳwa'iz̄k̄aiȳiaḡA it (vis.) hangs
tcax̄i'p̄aq̄w̄ aiv̄w̄ uru'ḡ near-it (inv.) now is
qa'q̄a(i)ȳiam̄i they (vis.) sing
ax̄a'n̄ix̄aiam̄ 'an̄m̄i' what-do-subordinating-they (vis.) do-usitative? why do they always do so?
a'a'(i)ḡUq̄wa(i)'ȳim̄w̄i they (inv.) are good
m̄w̄α'va'am̄i qar̄i'p̄iḡa' there-they (inv.) dwelt

In connection with the use of second person singular *-'* certain peculiar contraction phenomena are to be noted. Ordinarily the pronominal *-'* does not amalgamate with a *'* in the last syllable of the word to which it is attached (e. g. from *-ḡwa'ai-* TO GO IN ORDER TO is formed *na'u'ḡwaiḡwa'ai'ḡ* GO THOU AND HANG THYSELF!), but in

other cases such amalgamation takes place, so that no specific pronominal element is apparent at all. This is notably the case with interrogative *-ru'a-*, e. g.:

iv'i'yīro^α art thou drinking? (< *-ro'α-* + *-'*; not *-ro'α'*)
cu(w)a'ru' nɁw'c:i' maybe you'll dream

Probably this difference of treatment has something to do with the difference between inherent and accessory ' (§ 15, 1). Furthermore, the pronominal *-'* is lost in certain cases, notably after *qateu-* NOT, after demonstrative *ai-* (§ 43, 5), and before *ai-* TO SAY and *an-i-* TO DO; a final *-a* is then elided before following *a-*. Examples are:

qateu' n'a'n'ua'ap:A not-thou say-negative, do not say anything
a'i(y) igir a'im:A that-obj.-thou indeed say-usitative, you are indeed
 went to say (= *ai-a'* *īyir*, cf. *a'ian īyir* that-I indeed)

**m^wα'niḵaim:i aik:zA* that-do-resultative-usitative-thou said; remains
 like that, you said (= *-m'ua'* *ai-*)

ī'fi'a:n:i aik:zA too-bad-thou say, (it is) too bad (that) you say
 (= *-n'ua'* *ai-*, cf. *ī'fi'a:n:ian aik:zA* it is too bad that I say)

man'ulumpan'ti'Ɂw aik:zA that-do-momentaneous-future-participle-
 him (inv.)-thou say; being about to do thus to him, you say (=
'Ɂwa- *ai-*; for combination of enclitic pronouns, see § 41, 2, a, end)

aḵa'n'ixai 'anik:zA what-do-subordinating-thou do? why do you do
 so? (= *-ḵai'* *'ani-*)

The third person inanimate enclitic pronouns (*-aq-a-* and *-'* . . . *q-wa-*) are very often used, as in English, in an impersonal sense, particularly in references to the weather. Examples are:

uḡwa'(i)yīaq:A it is raining (said by one who sees it raining)

uḡwa'(i)'yīq-w:A it is raining (said by one who does not see it rain)

nīa'va-n'c'iq-w:A it will blow

aḡa'q' uvw'ai' who-it (inv.) then? who is it, then?

Subjective examples of animate dual *-'* . . . *m'i-* are:

mamī qa'y'imī they 2 (vis.) sing (not equivalent to *qa'y'imī* they 2
 inv. sing, as *ma'mī* implies visibility, but to *qa'y'imī* they 2 sing;
 in *mamī qa'y'imī* duality is expressly indicated by *-'* . . . *mī-*,
 in *qa'y'imī* merely implied because of singular form of verb)

mamū'ntea' pi'pi'tci'imī they 2 (vis.) arrived

tamū'ntea' pi'pi'tci'imī we 2 (inclus.) arrived

tamū qan'va'm' qni'n'ni' we-2 (inclus.) house-at-dual do-continua-
 tive-present, we 2 stay at (the) house (= *qan'va-ram qni'n'ni'*)

m̄im^w1 qa'xai'im̄i t̄i'qa'i' we (exclus.) sing-subordinating-dual eat-present, we 2 (excl.) eat while singing
m^wim̄i qa'y'im̄i you 2 sing (contrast *m^wim̄i qa'q'ai'* you [plur.] sing)

(3) USE OF OBJECTIVE FORMS. Objective forms are used as objects of transitive verbs, as subjects of subordinate verbs, and as possessives. For their use in subordinate verb forms, see § 55, 1. Possessives, exemplified only in noun forms, are treated below (4). Examples of enclitic pronouns in a properly objective sense are:

qU'qwi't-u'ac-uyaywanoani would that they (indef.) would shoot me!
 I wish I would get shot!

w^wa-'ant̄ini ya'ḡḡik-i there-being-me fetch-to-hither, bring (it) there to me

uḡwa'rīram arī t̄uxw'yīrami rain-us 2 (inclus.) it approaches-us 2, the rain approaches us 2 (inclus.) (note that *arī*, § 42, 6, refers to *uḡwa'rī-*, while *-ram*, which comes in between, anticipates *-rami* of following verb)

qu'aḡant̄iray uḡi'vitiyīraywA bear-us (inclus.) comes-to-attack-us (inclus.)

qU'qwi't-u'ac-uyaywan̄iminoA would that we (exclus.) would get shot!
pa'iy'im̄i calls for thee

'u'r̄um- uḡi'ts- m̄axa'r̄iv^wa-nt̄i'm̄i that (invis. inan.)-thee then protect-future-participle-thee, that will (be) protecting you
ava'ḡwiḡum̄i yuα'm'miava' it-in-you (plur.) carry-along-will, (he) will carry you (plur.) along in it

no'n'n̄int̄iayA carry-continuative-participle-him (vis.), who carries him around

n̄i' qatcu'ayA qa't-uḡiḡwa'a I not-him (vis.) sing-causative-negative, I do not let him sing

cina'ḡwaw'uywA pA^zqa'ḡU p̄iḡa'aiḡwA coyote-him (inv.) killed-him (inv.)

m̄an-ḡ'q-oαqA pU'tcu'tcuḡwak̄i all (obj.)-it (vis.) knowing, knowing it all

n̄i' tav̄i'aqA t̄s'tsi'a-ḡA I hit-it (vis.) head-obj.-his (vis.), I hit his head
i'm̄i pU'tcu'tcuḡwa'yīqwA thou knowest it (inv.)

tu'u'm̄ap̄iḡa'aik-w uru'v^wi.1 (he) picked-them (invis. inan.)-up arrow-sticks (obj.), he picked up arrow-sticks

qatcu'uqwA naḡqa'p̄iḡa' not-it (inv.) (he)-heard

n̄i' mar̄i'n-a(i)ȳiam̄i I chase them (vis.)

n̄i' pA'qa'ḡ'um^wi I kill them (inv.)

(4) USE OF OBJECTIVE FORMS AS POSSESSIVE PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS. In a possessive sense enclitic pronouns can be used only with nouns. Inasmuch, however, as such an enclitic, even when appended to a noun, can have objective (or, in most cases, also subjective) significance, a theoretical ambiguity sometimes results. Thus, a form like *qan'uani* HOUSE-OBJ.-I (or ME, MY) may be interpreted as signifying either MY HOUSE (obj.) or I (DO SO AND SO TO) A HOUSE. The form of the whole sentence or the context generally removes the ambiguity. In practice a noun with possessive enclitic is generally followed by a postnominal article-pronoun, e. g. *qan'an arī* MY-HOUSE (OBJ.) IT, in which case no ambiguity is possible. Examples of possessive enclitics are:

puŋqu'ni my horse; *qu'tcu'mpuŋquwini* my cattle (lit., buffalo-pets)
uc'i'ni pa'tca'n. α'rī tō'tō'q-wa'ayqī this-me moccasin-my it patch
 (distributively)- for, patch these moccasins of mine for me
tīγī'vīrami friend-our (dual inclusive); you and I who are friends
 (song form)
pivī'araŋwa mother (distributively)-our (inclus.), our (inclus.)
 mothers
paa'ami thy aunt; *paa'(i)'yami* thy aunt (obj.)
pia'ru'a'm aro'^a mother-interrogative- thy is, is it your mother?
pi(y)a'ŋum u'ŋwa mother-your (plur.) she, your (plur.) mother
taŋa'n'a:x-ituγwa-ŋa knee-in-to-his (vis.), into his knee
pav'i'ŋwa his (inv.) elder brother
aru'ana'ŋwa be-verbal noun-his (inv.), his being, his property
arī'e-U taŋwa'q arī that (inan.) tooth-its (vis.) it, that tooth of it
yaγa'ma-q-A end-at-its, at its end
A'si'a'(i)ya'q-wa its surface, bark (obj.)
na'vŋ'wa-m. aŋa chief-possessed-their (vis.) he, their chief
pi(y)a'amī their (inv.) mother

Instead of *-am-ī-* THEIR (vis.) and *-' . . . m-ī-* THEIR (inv.) are sometimes found the corresponding singular forms *-aŋa-*, *-' . . . ŋwa-*. This takes place, though not always, when the person referred to by the enclitic pronoun precedes with the plural animate suffix *-ŋwī-* (*-m-ī-*; § 48, 1), evidently in order to avoid a double plural. Analogous phenomena will meet us again (§ 41, 1, e; § 42, 2 and 5). Examples of this "number dissimilation" in possessive forms are:

qum-a'ŋwā'm. aŋa na'a'v'ŋwa husband-plural-objective-their he
 (= them; § 42, 2, end) chief-his (inv.; = their inv.); their-husbands

(obj.) their-chief, chief of their husbands (for possessive use of noun objectives see § 49,2; for pleonastic use of possessive pronoun, below)

^a*a't'iŋwanwā'aŋwa* good-possessed-plural-obj.-his (inv.), their (inv.) good ones (anim. obj.), good ones (anim. obj.)

The reflexive possessive *-vī-* occurs only in objective forms, i. e. after objective *-a-*, *-ya-* (§ 49, 1); after nominalizing *-u-a-* (§ 25, 3); and after postpositions, which are syntactically equivalent to the objective (§ 50, 3). The reflexive possessive indicates that the possessor is the same person as the subject of the sentence. Ordinarily it refers to the third person, but it may also be employed in first and second personal references. Examples of its use are:

qanu 'u'ra' paā'iaŋ uŋwa house (obj.) it-towards aunt-obj.- own she (= her; § 42, 4), (he went) towards the house of his aunt
o'αφῖ maŋa'c-u qwī'ī' he takes his own arrow
puŋqu'ŋwīαφῖ qɔɔ'ī' kills his own horses
qanu'va-φῖ pi'pi'tēipēɔa' house-at-own arrived, (he) arrived at his own house
patē'ŋw'αiφῖ tɔɔ'q-wiɔpēɔa' ran off with his own daughter
ya'a'iq-wō'aivū' yaɔa'n-aw um^wa'naŋqwa let-(him)-die crying-own therewith, let him die with his crying
tiv^w'p'ūaq-ayav u'ra' land-possessed-plural (§ 48, 2)-obj.-own it-toward, towards their own lands
i'mi pu'(w)'yaφῖ wītu'v^wuaq-aiva' thou eye-obj.-own cover-shall, you shall cover your eyes
nī' mava'ac- ari' A tŋqa'nvīatsiaφῖ pa(i)yū'ŋuɔpēɔa' I there-again that (inan. obj.) cave-owned-little-obj.-own returned, I returned there in that same little cave of mine

Explicitly plural (or dual) forms of the third person reflexive possessive are also found; they are compounded of *-am'ī-* THEIR (vis.) or *-' . . m'ī-* THEIR (inv.) and *-vī-*, theoretical *-' . . m'vī-* appearing, however, as *-' . . m'ovī-*, *-' . . m'auvī-*. Examples are:

qanu'vā-ntuxwa^amīφῖ to their own house
puŋqu'tsia-mīφῖ their (2) own dear horse (obj.)
pɔɔ'ɔ'm'amauφῖ, -moφῖ with their (2) own canes (cf. *pɔɔ'ɔ'ma(u)φῖ* with his own cane); *pɔɔ'ɔ'(w)ama^amauφῖ* with their own canes (for *-q-a-* see § 48, 2)

Explicitly dual forms of the reflexive possessive are made by

compounding *-vī-* with animate dual *-' . . .mī-*: *-vī'imī-* THEIR 2 OWN. This form, as contrasted with *-' . . .mōvī-* discussed above, shows clearly that third person animate plural invisible *-' . . .mī-* is not identical with animate dual *-' . . .mī-*, though it seems sometimes to intercross it in usage. Examples of *-vī'imī-* are:

nava'φitsiyw amī yu'a'p'īγai.ʔqa'mī tv'cu'n-a-ŋA pi(y)a'(i)yavī'imī
two-brothers they carried-it (vis.)-dual grinding-her mother-obj.-
own-dual; the two brothers carried what, she, their (2) mother,
ground

uv'a'a'mī qarī'p'īγa'aimī qanī''aŋwA pi(y)a'(i)yavī'imī qanī'vū
there-they (inv.) stayed-dual house-objective-her mother-obj.-
own-dual house-at; there they 2 stayed (at) her house, at their
(2) mother's house

(5) PLEONASTIC FORMS. Double (or even more frequent) expression of pronominal elements is very common in Paiute. Examples of the repetition of the subjective or objective pronoun, both pronouns enclitic or one enclitic and the other independent, have occurred in preceding lists. There is a marked tendency for the objective enclitic pronoun to attach itself to the verb even if it is elsewhere expressed in the sentence; in transitive sentences the enclitic subject seems to be normally attached to the verb only in combination with the enclitic object (§ 41, 2, a). Particularly characteristic is the employment of enclitic possessives together with genitives (i. e. objectives) of the corresponding independent pronoun, e. g.:

nī'nIA pavī'tsunī me my-elder brother
maŋa'IA paa'aŋA him his-aunt
pi'χutsiy'wīm imī'IA pigs-thy thee, thy pigs
imī'IA paa'i'ani thee aunt-obj.-thy, thy aunt (obj.)

Pleonasm is abundantly illustrated also in nouns, which are often anticipated or redundantly referred to by pronouns, independent or enclitic. Of such usages also examples have already been given. Particularly frequent is the occurrence of an objective enclitic pronoun of the third person with an objective noun, e. g. I SEE-IT HOUSE (OBJ.) as equivalent of I SEE HOUSE (OBJ.). In genitive constructions this is almost the rule, e. g. *paa'ia'ŋA qanī'aŋA* AUNT-OBJ.-HIS HOUSE-HER, HIS AUNT'S HOUSE; also *paa'ia'ŋA qanī*.

(6) COMBINATIONS OF INDEPENDENT AND ENCLITIC PRONOUNS.

Independent and enclitic pronouns are often combined into a single phonetic group or "word," the independent or enclitic element being either subjective or objective. Thus, instead of saying *i'mi paʔqa'ηumpa-n-i-ηA* THOU KILL-WILL-HIM, one can attach objective *-ayA* to *imi-*: *imi'ayA paʔqa'ηumpa-n-i'* THOU-HIM KILL-WILL. The following types of combination occur:

(a) *Independent subject + enclitic object*, e. g.:

nī'imī paʔqa'ηumpa-n-i' I-thee kill-shall
nī'ηumi mqi'mpa-ηumi I-you (plur.) lead-will-you
nī'ayA pu'tcu'tcuγwai' I-him (vis.) know
nī'χwa'aywA paʔqa'ηu I-preterit-him (inv.) kill, I killed him
nī'aq' i'v'ηu I-it (vis.) drink, I've drunk it
nī'amī qoχo'iva' I-them (vis.) will kill
tam'ayA paʔqa'umpa' we 2 (inclus.)-him (vis.) will kill
taywa'aywa'a mama'iva-mpī' we (inclus.)-him (inv.)-perhaps (§ 19,
 2, n) find (distributively)-future-dubitative, we (inclus.) might
 find him
imimī paʔqa'umpa' thou-me wilt kill
imī'aywA paʔqa'umpa' you will kill him (inv.)
mim'ya-ηA tōnA you (plur.)-dual imperative (§ 52)-him (vis.)
 punch! you 2 punch him!
u'u'ηwani'amī fin'ayqūq'a'aimī he (inv.)-like-thee tell-to-perfective-
 thee, it seems that he has been telling you
uηwa'c'uq-wA qatcu''uq-wA pīnī'nai'p'i'a'a he (inv.)-it (inv.) not-it
 (inv.) see-negative-past, he did not see it
mam'i'ntea-qA NA'cī'm'iaqA they (vis.)-preterit-it (vis.) forget-it
 (vis.), they forgot it

A variant of this type is that in which the independent and enclitic pronouns are both subjective, the independent pronoun being used predicatively, e. g.:

imī'ntcu'a-qA nī'nīA pī'ηwa'ntuγwaq-ainan-uanī thou-interrogative-it
 (vis.) me (= my) whom-depending-on-perfective-verbal noun-
 like-my, it is not you on whom I have been depending (for use of
 "it" as equivalent of substantive verb, see § 56, 3)

(b) *Independent object (possessive) + enclitic subject*, e. g.:

nī'nīa' puηwa'ruw^wa-n-uanī me-thou wife-make-will-me, you will marry
 me

nī'nu'a-ŋ ampa'xanani naŋqa'q'a' me (= my)-he (vis.) talking-my
hear; he hears my talking, me talking
imī'ani nam-i'n-aŋwɛ-ava'ami thee-I first-shove-will-thee, I'll
shove you (in) first
imī'aŋwA pA²qa'umpa' thee-he (inv.) will kill
aŋa'iAcuani pīni'k'a' him-a- (§ 19, 3, a)-I see, I saw him
man-ɔ'q' ŋn-w'i'amī qw'ɔ'ip-i'ɣa' all (obj.) them (invis.)-they (inv.)
killed, they killed all of them

A special variety of this type is that in which the independent objective functions as the subject of a subordinate clause, the enclitic subject as the subject of the main clause, e. g.:

nī'niantea-ŋA tī'qa'χuni yaya'x'A me-preterit-he eat-while-me cry
(momentaneously); while I was eating, he began to cry (-ntea-ŋA is
logically cut loose from *yaya'x'A*, while *nī'nia-* anticipates -ni of
tī'qa'χuni)
imī'aq-wA naŋa'i' aiḱ-am aχa'n'ni tīv-w'p-i' tī²qa'ŋ-wɛχo' thee-it (inv.)
get-angry- when-thee how earth appear-would? if you get angry, how
would (the) earth appear? (*imia-* anticipates -' . . .m, -' . . .q-wA
anticipates *tīv-w'p-i'*)

(c) *Independent object + enclitic object.* The first object may be the subject of a subordinate clause, the second its object, e. g.:

taŋwa'(i)'yaq-wA mama'aik-²A us (inclus.)-it (inv.) find (distributively)-
when, when we find it
uŋwa'iAcu'q-wA m-w'α'ni²tīiḱ-aq-uŋwA him (inv.)-it (inv.) that-do-
causative-perfective-when-him (inv.), when he has caused to do
it (*uŋwa'iA-cu-* anticipates -' . . .ŋwA)
mam-i'Acuaq'A nɔw'k'a(u)x-U them (vis.)-it (vis.) cover (with bark)-
plural-when, when they covered it with bark

Or, conversely, the first object may be the logical object, the second the logical subject of the subordinate clause, e. g.:

'i'tciarŋwA mam-a'aik-²A this (inan. obj.)-us (inclus.) find-when,
when we find this

Still other combinations are possible, e. g. independent possessive + object:

imī'αŋwa' a'ik-ainA thee (= thy)-him (inv.) having-said, thy
having said (about) him

§ 41. Combinations of enclitic pronouns.

Enclitic pronouns are often combined, the union of two such pronouns being extremely common, that of three not at all rare. The order of elements is rigidly determined by form, not by function (e. g. *-aŋan-i-* HE-ME, I-HIM, I-HIS, HIS-ME, MY-HIM, HE-MY). The resulting theoretical ambiguities are generally resolved by the context, particularly as the pleonastic usages already referred to (§ 40, 5) give opportunity for further limitation of the syntactical possibilities. Thus, *nī'* *-aŋani* can only mean I-HIM or I-HIS; *-aŋani -ni* (verb form) can hardly mean anything but HE-ME. The following table gives a survey of combinations of two enclitic pronouns; the horizontal entries are subjective, the vertical objective. As a rule the pronominal elements are preserved intact, but certain modifications need to be noted.

The combined forms listed in the table apply not only to combinations of subject and object of the same verb but to all other combinations of subjective and objective, including possessive, forms. The table also includes combinations of objective + objective enclitics, insofar as objective forms are identical with subjective forms; e. g. *-aŋa'ami-* HE-THEE, HE-THY applies also to HIM-THEE, HIM-THY, HIS-THEE. Special double objective forms are:

-'mini- thee-me, me-thee
-ŋumini- you (obj.)-me, me-you (obj.)
-'minim^wi- thee-us (also us-thee, we-thee)
-ŋuminim^wi- you (obj.)-us (also us-you, we-you)

(1) MORPHOLOGY OF COMBINED FORMS. The following rules are followed in the combination of enclitic pronouns:

(a) The combination of the first person singular subject and the second person object, which should theoretically result in *-'mini-* and *-ŋumini-*, is simplified to *-'mi-* and *-ŋumi-* (properly THEE and YOU OBJ.), the first person being thus merely implied.

(b) The second person singular subjective element (-') always follows an element of the first or third person, also the objective form of the second person.

(c) In all combinations of the first and second persons but those coming under (b), the second personal element precedes (e. g. *-ŋwini-* YE-ME, *-'mini-* THEE-ME).

(d) In combinations of the third person with either the first or second person, the element referring to the third person precedes. Note, however, *-ŋwim^wi-* YE-THEM (INV.).

(e) In combinations of the third person, the singular animate precedes the plural animate, while the animate is always preceded by the inanimate. Furthermore, two *a*-vowels coming together in composition do not contract to *a* but to *a'* (or *'a*); e. g. *-aya'ya-* < *-aya-* + *-aya-*, *-aq'aya-* < *-aq-a-* + *-aya-*. "Number dissimilation" (cf. § 40, 4) takes place when two animate plurals are combined, the first enclitic becoming singular in form; hence *-aŋ'amü-* < *-amü-amü-* as well as *-aŋa-amü-*, *-'ŋwa'mü-* < *-'mü-'mü-* as well as *-'ŋwa-'mü-*. Such a form as *-amü'mü-* THEY 2-THEM (VIS.) is compounded of *-amü-* and animate dual *-' . . mü-*. A visible enclitic element is never combined with an invisible one (e. g. *-aŋa'ŋwa-* is impossible). Should it be necessary to contrast a visible subject or object with an invisible one, recourse must be had to the separation of the subject and object, e. g. *uŋwa'c'uq'w ivi'va'n:ia:q'A* HE (INV.)-IT (INV.) DRINK-WILL-IT (VIS.), HE (INV.) WILL DRINK IT (VIS.); in combined form only *ivi'va'n:ia:A²qa'ayA* HE (VIS.) WILL DRINK IT (VIS.) or *ivi'va'n:iaq'wa'ayWA* HE (INV.) WILL DRINK IT (INV.) are possible.

(f) The objective reflexive possessive *-vü-* has not been included in the table. It does not seem to combine with elements of the first and second persons. It is very frequently combined with enclitic elements of the third person, which it follows: *-aŋavü-*, *-'ŋwävü-*, *-am'vü-*, *-'mivü-*, *-aq'avü-*, *-'q'wävü-*. It precedes the animate dual, however: *-vü'imü-*.

(g) The animate dual, which is regularly subjective, follows all third personal elements, including *-vü-* (see f above), but apparently precedes the enclitics of the first and second persons. Data, however, are quite imperfect for the latter cases. It may be noted once more that subjective animate plurals of the third person function as duals if the verb is singular in form.

(2) USES OF TWO COMBINED ENCLITIC PRONOUNS. The relations entered into by the two pronominal enclitics are of various sorts. The following are the main types that have been observed:

(a) *Subject and object of main verb.* Examples of this most frequently represented of types are:

a'xawantciv^wa^anv'amü I shall hide thee
p'ini'k'aiva^aŋum^wi I will see you (plur.)
um-a'ŋani pA²qa'ŋUpüçai(y)ayA it-with-him (vis.)-I killed-him
 (vis.), I killed him with it

- man'ə'q'əq'ani nə'i'* all (obj.)-it (vis.)-I carry-present, I carry them
(inan.) all on (my) back
- iv'w'i'q'wani tənə'va'q'wa* let-it (inv.)-I stab-shall -it (inv.), let me
stab it
- na'(i)yi(ʔ)əmni* I call them (vis.) by name
- iv'w'i'q'warami sətə'k'aiva'* let-it (inv.)- we 2 (inclus.) peep-shall,
let us 2 peep at it
- iv'w'i'yaqwaraywa pa'pa'q'qumpa'aywa* let-plural imperative (§ 52)
-him (inv.)-we (inclus.) kill (distributively)- shall-him (inv.), let
us all kill him
- uv'wa'ntux:wa'cutca'yanimi c'im'ʔ'ək:i* it-at-to-same-preterit-him
(vis.)-we (excl.) leave-hither, at that same place we (excl.) left
him and came away
- tU'xwi'ainqür'ən'i'* shame-die-to-interrogative-me-thou, are you
ashamed of me?
- axa'n'intca'ay'a pa'xq'a'yoay* how-preterit-him (vis.)-thou kill-him
(vis.)? how did you kill him?
- nana'ηq'xqaitcu'a'q'ayw'i* hear (distributively)-perfective-interroga-
tive-it (vis.)-ye, did you (plur.) hear it?
- 'an'ə'q'əxway'wan qni'k'zA* when-preterit-he (inv.)-me so-do? when
did he do so to me?
- ma'iva'mp'i'warami'* find-will-dubitative-he (inv.)-us 2 (inclus.)-
perhaps, he might find us 2 (inclus.).
- tiv'w'i'tsuxatsa'yanimi* he (vis.) obeyed us (excl.); we 2 (excl.) obeyed
him (vis.)
- tənə'va'n:iar'ə'ay'a* will he (vis.) punch him (vis.)?
- niywi'ηwa'əq'ayA mə'ə'af'i p'ni't'uk'a'* person-plural-obj.-it (vis.)-he
hand-obj.- own see-cause-perfective; he let people see it, his hand
- ava'ηwutca'ay'amü watcü'ηU* it-in-preterit-he (vis.)-them (vis.) put, he
put them 2 in; also they 2 put them 2 (or him) in
- ava'ηwutca'ay'amü watci'q'ayU* they (more than 2) put them 2 (or him)
in (note plural -q-a- of verb); *ava'ηwutca'ay'amü yun'a'ηU* he (or
they 2) put them (more than 2) in (singular-dual or plural nature
of object determined by verb stem: *watci-* to put 1 or 2, *yun'a-*
to put more than 2)
- pa''ayavatuγwayw'əmü qwü'p'iy'a'* water-into-them (inv.)-they
(inv.) took (sing.-dual subject and object), they 2 took them 2 into
(the) water
- man'ə'q'uaq'amü nava'i'p'iyai'a'qa'amü* all (obj.)-it (vis.)- they (vis.)
divided (sing.-dual)-it (vis.)-they (vis.), all of it they 2 divided

pa(i)yu'ayqiq-w'a-m^wini water-bring-for-hither-shall-dual-me, (ye)
2 shall bring water for me
nav:ɔ'q-oam'iimī niŋu'i'm-ay'wip'iγai(y)am'iimī all (obj.)-them (vis.)-
dual people-cause-past-them (vis.)-dual, (they) 2 caused them all
to be people

As a variant of this type may be considered that in which the objective element functions as the object not of the main verb, but of a subordinate form, say a gerund in *-tsu-* (§ 55, 1, a), e. g.:

tav'tsuta-ŋani q'a'qa'rī hit-gerund-preterit-he-me run; having hit
me, he ran off (note that *-ni* serves as object of *tav'tsu-*, while *-tca-*
ayā- belong to following *q'a'qa'rī*)

(b) *Subject (objective form) of subordinate clause and subject of main clause.* Examples are:

p'tciqa'ŋwau ni' cu'a'iva' arrive-if-him (inv.)-I I be-glad-shall; if
he arrives, I shall be glad
tī'qa'xutca-ŋ'ayā qaxa' eat-when-preterit-him (vis.)-he (vis.) sing
(momentaneously); while he ate, he (another) sang
ŋwā'ŋuq'wa'q-wa' patca'q-wa'va' rain-momentaneous-if-it (inv.)-
thou get-wet-future; if it rains, you'll get wet
ya'a'ik-^zA^zqa-m'in ni' paγ'i'q-w'a'iva' die-plur.-when-them (vis.)-I
I go-off-shall; when they die, I shall go off
wā''amīn aik' av'x'umī nav'^atsiŋwī^ā here-them (inv.)-I say lie
(sing.-dual)-as-them (vis.) reciprocal-mother-diminutive-plural-obj.;
here, I say, as they 2, mother and son, were lying

(c) *Subject (objective form) and object of subordinate clause.* Ex-
amples are:

tī^zqa'q axu^zqaraywā eat-plur.-when-it (vis.)-us (inclus.), when we
eat it
ŋni'xu(w)aq'ayā while he (vis.) was doing it (vis.)
ŋni'ŋumiqvcam pā-q-amī do-momentaneous-usitative-when-only-it
(vis.)-them (vis.), even though they did it customarily

In such cases, however, the objective form of the second person plural is replaced by the subjective, *-ŋwī-* (§ 40), e. g.:

p'iŋqa'ŋniχaiŋw'i'imī continuously-do-as-ye-them (inv.), as you
(plur.) kept doing so to them

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(d) *Subject of main verb and possessive (of nominal object or noun with postposition)*. Examples are:

- i'p'iŋwaiarūam' ŋi'k'x* old-husband-obj.- interrogative-thy-thou
do, are you doing so to your old husband?
o'atca-ŋ'ay *qu'i'i* arrow-obj.-preterit-his (vis.)-he (vis.) take, he
took his (another's) arrow
o'atca-ŋaŋi' qu'i'i arrow-obj.-preterit-he (vis.)-own take, he took his
own arrow
qawu'a-m-a-q'ay *qar'i'i* top-on-its (vis.)-he (vis.) sits, he sits on top
of it
qan'u'va-ŋ'amü pite'i'xwa'aip'iy'a' house-at-his-they (vis.) arrive (sing.-
dual)-go-past, at his house they 2 went and arrived

(e) *Possessive and object*. In most of the examples obtained the possessive is attached to a noun + postposition or to a verbal noun in *-na-* (of objective force). The enclitic object is either the (direct or indirect) object of the main verb or of a verbal noun (as in relative constructions in *pü-*, see § 45). Examples are:

- qu'qwa'm-an'i'i'mini ma(.)'x* wood-at-being-thy-me give, give me
some of (§ 50, 4, 7) your wood
pim'a'ŋa'm ur qwa'a'ŋumpa-na which-with-him (vis.)-thy it win-
momentaneous-future-verbal noun, the wherewith thy being about
to beat him, with which you will beat him
pim-α'ŋwini qawa'a'ŋumpa-na-ŋwim'ini which-with-ye-me win
(distributively)-momentaneous-future-verbal noun-your (plur.)-me,
with which you (plur.) will beat me (note use of subjective *-ŋwim-* after
pim-a- as equivalent to objective *-ŋwim-i-*; cf. e. above)
piv'a'aywaŋi wate'i'k'ain u'raip'iy'a' which-at-him (inv.)- own
having-put it-toward-went, (he) went to where he had put him
ate'i'm'ag-uq-waŋi yaŋw'i'ŋwini-xa' bow-with-obj. (§ 49, 1)-it (inv.)-own
hold-stand-while, while standing and holding it together with his
own bow
taya'na-x'ik-waŋi mara'ŋkava' knee-in-it (inv.)-own put-plur.-shall,
(ye) shall put it in (your) own knees

This type of construction can be used in relative clauses even with primarily passive participial *-p'i-* (§ 25, 5, b), e. g.:

- pim^wa'x-qa'am a'nü tu'tu'teu(x)ap'i* which-with-it (vis.)-their (vis.)
it set-as-landmark (distributively)-past passive partic., the (tree)
wherewith they had marked it

(f) *Object and object.* Two objects may be employed either when the verb is doubly transitive, as with causatives of transitives, or when it possesses a direct and indirect object. Examples are:

p̄ni't-ïk̄-aiq-wani (he) let me see it (inv.)
qatcu'A'qan-u(w)ani yu'α'ηq̄iqar'tuava-ηwa'^a not-it (vis.)-indefinite-me carry-for-resultative-impersonal-shall-negative, let no one hold it for me!
n̄i' maχa'(i)yāāq-am̄i I give it (vis.) to them (vis.)
pū'tcu'tcuγwat-ūq̄-wam̄i know-causative-it (inv.)-them (inv.), cause them to know it, teach them how to do it

(3) TWO ENCLITIC PRONOUNS COMBINED WITH INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS. Many combinations are theoretically possible. The following have been noted:

(a) *Independent subject + enclitic object + enclitic object*, e. g.:

n̄i'aq-aya p̄ni't-uk̄-a' I-it (vis.)-him (vis.) see-cause, I let him see it
maηa'am-uni pA'qa'ηq̄iqw'aiηumpa' he-thee-me kill-for-go-momentaneous-shall, he'll kill you "for" me; he'll kill you, my dear

(b) *Independent object (possessive) + enclitic subject and object*, e. g.:

n̄i'niantea-ηa'^a n̄o'p̄-at-uyw uni'η'uywa me-past-him (vis.)- thou I-through do-him (inv.), you did so to him through my help
v̄i'm-iar'ua-m-iram a'χaηwantciŋq̄imiḱa' these (anim. obj.)-interrogative-they (anim.)-us 2 (inclus.) hide-from-usitative-perfective, they 2 have always been hiding these (people) from us 2

(4) USES OF THREE COMBINED ENCLITIC PRONOUNS. The rules of combination can be easily formulated from those already given (see 1 above); e. g. *-aη'am-ini-* HE (VIS.)-THEE-ME like *-aη'am-i-* and *- . . .mini-*. The following types of combination have been noted:

(a) *Enclitic subject, first object, and second object*, e. g.:

pA'qa'ηq̄iηumpa-η'am-ini he will kill thee for me
maā'intca-ηa'yan n̄i'nia-ηA pA'qa'(u)x·v find-preterit-him (vis.)-he (vis.)-me me-him (vis.) kill-subordinating, he found him killing me
a'χawantciŋq̄i'yīq̄-wami I hide it (inv.) from thee

(b) *Enclitic subject, object, and possessive.* The possessive enclitic generally relates to a second object or to a noun with postposition. Examples are:

pinä's-ıχavaa(i)yuay'am-ıφi crotch-at-acting (§ 50, 4, 49)-him (vis.; = them)-they (vis.)-own, from between their own legs they (looked at) them

pɔ'ɔw'a-č'aqanı watci'i trail-at-it (vis.)-his-I put, I put it at his trail
qawia'ıyqwaıpatcuıya'q-waywıni opposite-at-to-its (inv.)-ye-me, on the other side of it you (plur.) (throw) me

(c) *Enclitic possessive (of subject) and two objects*, e. g.:

pıywa'A^xqa-ı'ayA tɔ'tɔ'p-A^xqa-ıyqı'ıyayı(y)aq'ayA wife-it (vis.)-his (vis.)-him (vis.) patch (distributively)-for-past-it (vis.)- him (vis.), his wife patched them (inan.) for him

§ 42. *Post-nominal pronouns.*

Post-nominal pronouns (or article-pronouns) are identical in form with the shorter forms of certain of the independent third personal pronouns (or demonstratives). They are closely attached, though not as phonetically amalgamated enclitics, to preceding nouns, participles, adjectives, numerals, and pronouns, which they serve to make clearly denominating terms. Frequently they hold together a group of two or more words as a denominative unit, in which case they may stand after the first word of the group instead of at the end. They are practically equivalent to postposed articles and are differentiated according to number, visibility and invisibility, animate and inanimate, and, to some extent, case. On the whole, case distinctions are neglected and primarily subjective forms often function also as objectives. This seems to indicate a tendency towards development into true articles. Ordinarily an article-pronoun follows immediately upon the denominating term, but sometimes an intervening enclitic (pronominal or other) element separates the two, e. g.

qana'ritııywi'aq- umı KANAB-PEOPLE-OBJ.-IT (INV.) THEY (INV.), THE KANAB INDIANS (OBJ.)-IT. The following post-nominal pronouns are in use:

(1) *ayA* HE: animate visible singular, primarily subjective, e. g.:

yu'o'RA^xqɔp-i'naq-aina-ıy ayA leg-break-perfective-verbal noun-his (vis.) he (vis.), he whose leg has been broken, the one with a broken leg

na'-vıy'wa-m ayA their (vis.)-chief he (vis.), their chief

fıı'ı'v'ııy ayA friend-his (inv.) he (vis.), his (inv.) friend (vis.)

cina'ηwawt'cua'm· αηA tu'cu't-uīy'imi coyote-interrogative-thee he
(vis.) grind-causative-present-thee, does (the) Coyote cause you
to grind (seeds)?

yūa'rīaq· aηA carry-participle-it (vis.) he (vis.), who carries it away,
the carrier of it

am'ī'ηwant aηA cv'yuc'U they (vis.)-from-participle he (vis.) one,
one of them

The corresponding objective form is also regularly *aηA*, which
replaces theoretical *aηa'ia*. Examples are:

pi(y)a'(i)yav aη aηa'ηwa'a mother-obj.-own she (vis.; = her) she-
with, with his own mother

wantsi' aη aηa'ura' antelope (obj.) he (vis.; = him) he-toward,
toward the antelope

marī'c-amp aηqa'q-wa^anaη'wantsi aηA wī'cu'yaa·ηA piya'ipī'γa' that
(inan.)-only robin (obj.) he (vis.; = him, his) feathers-his (vis.)
remained, only those feathers of the robin were left over

For *aηA* = *amī*, see 2 below.

An unexplained variant of *aηA* is *aηwA*, apparently used only after
objective forms, e. g.:

cina'ηwaw(y) aηwA coyote (obj.) he (= him)

pavi'av aηwA piηwa'ia elder brother-obj.-own he (= him, his) wife
(obj.), his own elder brother's wife (obj.)

(2) *amī* THEY: animate visible plural, primarily subjective, e. g.:

ova'n'naηqayw amī geese they (vis.), the geese

nava'tsiηw amī reciprocal-sister-plural they (vis.), the 2 sisters

qanu'χantim^w amī house-having-plural they (vis.), the villagers

a'iva(i)yaηwīn amī companion-plural-my they (vis.), my companions

am-n'c'U waa'(i)y amī to(w)a'tsiηwīaηA they two they (vis.) children-
his (vis.); they, his two children

The objective form, theoretically *amī'A*, appears regularly as *amī*,
e. g.:

mam'ī'ac'U tī'γu'aηwī amī qanu'n-a-χi(y)am A^zqo'ī'γ'U them (vis.) deer
(plur. obj.) they (vis.; = them) house-in-them (vis.) sleep-sub-
ordinating; while they, the deer, were sleeping in (the) house

qava'ηwī amī horses (obj.) they (vis.; = them), the horses (obj.)

Instead of *amü* (subjective or objective) is sometimes found, by "number dissimilation" (cf. § 40, 4; § 41, 1, e), the corresponding singular *ayA*. This dissimilation takes place after (sometimes before) animate plural *-m'ĩ-* or *-ñw'ĩ-* (§ 48, 1) + possessive or objective enclitic pronoun, e. g.:

patcũ'ñw'ĩay ayA daughters-his (vis.) she (vis.; = they), his daughters
piñwa'ñw'ĩam ayA wives-their (vis.) she (vis.; = they), their wives
tañwa'(i)y ayA niñw'ĩ'a ñw'ĩraywA us (inclus.) he (vis.; = they) people-
 our (inclus.), our people
mam'ũc'U mam'a'rinarim'w'ĩam ayA they (vis.) chasing (distributively)-
 plural-them (vis.) he (vis.; = they), they who chase them
amü may be optionally employed in these cases.

(3) *iyA* THIS (ANIM.), HE HERE: animate singular subjective, e. g.:
qwiya'tsim a(u)ma'ts iyA bear-woman she-here, the bear-woman here
cina'ñwaw iyA coyote he-here, coyote here

The objective form, *iy'a'ĩA*, is also found as article-pronoun, e. g.:
cu(u)a'rĩçyk:zApĩça'aiñw a'ĩçApĩtsi iy'a'ĩA nearly-miss-plural-past-
 him (inv.) youth (obj.) him-here, (they) commenced to miss the
 youth here (inv.)

(4) *uywA* ('*uywA*) HE: animate invisible singular, primarily subjective, e. g.:

pavũ'n uywA elder brother-my he (inv.), my (absent) elder brother
nĩ'nĩ uywA pi(y)a'nĩ me she (inv.) mother-my, my (absent) mother
narĩ'vw'iyay 'aro'awatĩ cv'q'Ucamj uywA customarily-I wont-to-have
 one-obj.-only he (inv.), I am he who is wont to have only one
 (arrow)
ay'a'v'a'xĩay 'uywA ta'pu'q'wĩcĩ he-over-he (vis.; subject of sentence)
 he (inv.) jumping; he, the one who jumps over him, (will have it).
 Note that *-ay* summarizes, as enclitic subject, *ay'a'v'a'xĩ- 'uywA*
ta'pu'q'wĩcĩ; 'uywA serves as article pronoun of *ay'a'v'a'xĩ- ta'pu'-*
q'wĩcĩ

As objective form of *uywA* is generally found *uywA*, e. g.:

cina'ñwaw(y)an uyw a'ik:zA coyote-obj.-I he (inv.; = him) say, I
 say (that) coyote (obj.)
ni'a'aw uywA qan'vau(u)ñwĩ chief (obj.) he (inv.; = him, his)
 house-in, in the chief's house

pA'qa'ñuntca-ñani qu'tu'ci uñwA kill-preterit-him (vis.)-I giant
(obj.) he (inv.;-him), I have killed the giant

Less frequently the properly objective form, *uñwa'iA*, is used as article pronoun, e. g.:

tĩγi'w'iañ uñwa'i a'ip'ĩ'a'añwA friend-obj.-own him (inv.; = his)
say-past passive partic.-obj.-his (inv.), what (obj.) his own friend
had said

For *uñwA* as equivalent of plural *umĩ*, see 5 below.

(5) *umĩ* THEY: animate invisible plural, primarily subjective, e. g. :
mom-q'añm ãχĩr umĩ fathers-your (plur.) indeed they (inv.), your
fathers indeed

It is also used objectively instead of theoretical *umĩ'A*, e. g. :

qana'ri-tsiñw'ag umĩ mam-a'q-ç'mpĩA pu'pu'tcutcuγwαpĩ Kanab-
people-obj.-it (inv.) they (inv.) bear-dance (obj.) having-learned
(distributively), the Kanab Indians' having learned (the) bear dance

“Number dissimilation” frequently takes place here also; *uñwA*
is used instead of *umĩ* after animate plural *-ñwi-* + possessive or
objective enclitic pronoun, also sometimes after plural *-ñwi-* alone.
Examples are:

ini'a-ñwĩγaipĩa'am uñwA relations-past-objective-thy he (inv.; =
them), of your dead relations

piñwa'ñwĩarañw uñwA wives-obj.-our she (inv.; = them), our wives
(obj.)

sĩ'ra-m'am-a'tsiñwĩχ'a-m uñwA Cedar City-women-then-them (vis.)
she (inv.; = they); the Cedar City women, then,-them

ma'a'caγwõitsiñw uñwA old-women she (inv.; = they), the old
women

(6) *arĩ* IT: inanimate visible subjective, e. g.:

qwa'ci'(y)añ arĩ piya'ipĩγa' tail-his (vis.) it (vis.) was-left, his tail
was left

pa' arĩ water it (vis.), the water

pĩn'k'aiagA tũmp a'rĩ look at-it (vis.) rock it (vis.), look at the rock
(objects of imperatives are subjective)

tañwa'i arĩ na'a'it'uik'anarañwA us (inclus.) it (vis.) burn-causative-
plural-verbal noun-our (inclus.), the fire that we built

'i'vā-nt arī here-being it (vis.), what is here
 yu'u'n arī leg-my it (vis.), my leg

(7) 'a'iA IT: inanimate visible objective. The corresponding objective form of arī is not ordinarily arī or arī'A, as one would have expected, but 'a'iA, a true demonstrative form (§ 43, 5). Examples are:

quna'i 'aiA fire (obj.) it (vis. obj.), the fire (obj.)
 paγa'η'wa:m 'ai' bowstring-obj.-their (vis.) it (vis. obj.), their
 bowstrings (obj.)
 tiv^wi'p'i 'aiA man^wɔ'q-oaqA pu'ca'γai'p-ïγai(y)aqA land (obj.) it (vis.
 obj.) all (obj.)-it (vis.) looked-around-it (vis.), (he) looked around
 all the land

Far less often A'qa'iA, a more properly pronominal form, is used as objective inanimate visible article-pronoun, e.g.:

'atē'A^zqa'iA bow (obj.) it (vis. obj.), the bow (obj.)

(8) urī, uRU ('urī) IT: inanimate invisible, primarily subjective, e. g.:

ma'^av'iyw ur thing(s)-his (inv.) it (inv.), his things
 na'a'int ur an'k'ɛA burning it (inv.) does, there is something burning
 qan'p'iv^wa^{ant} ur camp-past-at-being it (inv.), what is at an
 abandoned camp, the abandoned camp

It may also be used objectively, instead of theoretical urī'A, uru'A, e. g.:

niηw'īmpA tī'qa'va-n'ay^w ur liver (obj.) eat-will-verbal noun-his
 (inv.) it (inv.); liver (obj.), the one he will eat; the liver which he
 is to eat

(9) 'ɔa'iA IT: inanimate invisible objective. The exact invisible correspondent of 'aiA (7 above) is 'ɔa'iA, 'wa'iA, a properly demonstrative form (§ 43, 5). It seems to be more frequently used than objective urī. Examples are:

qan'va'ay^w ɔa'i' house-at-his (inv.) it (inv. obj.), at his house
 pu'teu'teuγwap-ïγa'aik^w ayqa'q-wīcarī 'ɔa'iA understood-it (inv.)
 lightning (obj.) it (inv. obj.), (he) knew about the lightning
 quna'ian 'ɔai uv^wa'a'χ a'a'p'ī'qov^wa' fire-obj.-I it (inv. obj.) it-over
 will-lean-back-and-forth, I will lean back and forth over the fire

Related to 'a*i*A as A^xqa'*i*A is to 'a'*i*A (7 above) is U^xqwa'*i*A, which is also not infrequently used as inanimate invisible objective article-pronoun. Examples are:

niŋw'i'mp*u* U^xqwa'*i* t*i*^xqa'p'ŷya'aik-w*A* liver (obj.) it (inv. obj.) ate-it (inv.), (he) ate the liver
 A'su'a(i)ya'q-w U'qwa'*i* maru'^umiŋUpŷya'aik-w*A* bark-obj.-its (inv.) it (inv. obj.) pulled-it (inv.)-off, (he) pulled off its bark

§ 43. Demonstrative pronouns.

There are four demonstrative stems, as already noted (§ 39, 1): *a*- THAT (indefinite); *i*-, *i*'*i*- THIS; *ma*-, *m*^w*a*'- THAT (visible; referred to); and *u*-, *w*'*u*'- that (invisible). These stems are not directly used as independent demonstratives (except for rather infrequently employed adverbs: *a*-, *ma*'-; see § 60, 2, d; 3), but need to be combined with other elements. The following types of demonstrative usage may be recognized:

(1) DEMONSTRATIVE STEMS FOLLOWED BY POSTPOSITIONS. These are extremely common and correspond, in function, to inanimate demonstrative pronoun + postposition. Examples are:

ava'^s that-at, there (indefinite)
 aru'q-w*A* that-under, under it
 maru'x-w*A* that (vis.)-to, to it
 mava'an*A* that (vis.)-on, on it
 m^wa'va' that-at, there (not far away)
 i(y)ε'n*U* this-at, here, present (< *i*- a'*u*'*u*-)
 i'v*ä*' this-at, here
 i'U*pa*'*a* this-through, in this direction
 uv^wa', 'u'v^wa' that (inv.)-at, there (inv.)
 o'p-a'^a (< *u*-*u*'*p*-a'^a), o'o'x-*pa*'^a (< 'u'-*up*-a'^a) that (inv.)-through, in yonder direction

(2) DEMONSTRATIVE STEMS + THIRD PERSON PRONOMINAL ELEMENTS. These forms function as independent third personal pronouns (§ 39, 1); as article-pronouns (§ 42); and as enclitic third personal pronouns (§ 40, 1). There is nothing further to be said about them here except to note once more that these personal demonstratives often preserve their proper demonstrative force.

(3) VERBS OF DOING. These are nothing but derivatives in -*n*-*i*- (§ 26, 2, b) of the demonstrative stems. The idea of DOING, ACTING fre-

quently passes over into that of HAVING SOMETHING HAPPEN TO ONE, BEING. The verbs of doing are: *an-i-* TO DO (indefinitely); *man-i'-*, *m^wa'n-i-* TO DO (as indicated); *in-i'-*, *'i'ni-* TO DO IN THIS MANNER; *un-i'-*, *'u'ni-* TO DO IN THAT (narrated, unseen) MANNER. Examples of these verbs are:

- ani'xw'aip'iyā* do-went, went in order to do
i(y)ε'nuan 'anu'n'n' here-I do-continuative-present, here I am
aχa'n-iχai 'ani'k^zA tū'cu'xwa' how-act-subordinating-thou so-do
 grinding? why are you doing so, grinding? why are you engaged
 in grinding?
man-i'k^zanuyaqa do-plural-momentaneous-plural imperative-it (vis.),
 do (plur.) it in that way (as described)!
man'mikup'iyā do-moving-inceptive-past, (he) started to do that
 while in motion
qateu'ag^z m^wα'n^zia'ap^zA not-it (vis.) do-negative, don't do that!
^wm^wα'n^zaa-nt q^waru'^z that-do-future-participle he-is, he is about to
 act in that manner, he'll be doing so
in-i'nyuqaqa this-do-momentaneous-dual imperative-it (vis.); do it
 this way, you 2!
'i'ni^zmiAcampānūm^wI this-do-travel (plur.)-only-we (exclus.), only
 this we do when traveling
yni'm^wimpa'n^zian^zI do-usitative-future-I, I shall be wont to do
teay'p^z yn^zi'yp'iyā near did, (it) got near
'u'n^zixū^zp^zI do-future-passive partic., about to be done to

In their absolute form verbs of doing frequently function as adverbs of manner. In this capacity they may be combined with forms of similar morphology that serve as verbs of doing. Examples are:

- a'n^zI* in that (indef.) way
man-i'nteaγan yn^zi'yu thus-preterit-him- I do-momentaneous, I did
 so (as described) to him
^wm^wα'n^ziaγ 'a'ik^zA in that way he said
i'n^zI in this way
yni'c^wun^zA thus-again-like, just as before
yni^z an-i'p'iyā thus-again did, acted in the same way, did the same
 thing
^wu'n^zNI in that (inv.) way

(4) SUBSTANTIVE VERBS. From the demonstrative stems *a-* and

u- are formed the verbs of being: *aro'a-* TO BE (VIS.) and *uru'a-* TO BE (INV.). See § 56, 1.

(5) *ai-*, *mai-*. These are extended forms of demonstrative *a-* and *ma-*. They are used as independent inanimate demonstrative pronouns, particularly with verbs of saying, (talking, hearing). However, they are not ordinarily found except followed by pronominal enclitics. Their objective forms are *aia-*, *maia-* (probably < *a-ya-*, *ma-ya-*). As to usage, *ai-* is best translated as THAT (indefinite), *mai-* as THAT (quoted, referred to).

Examples of subjective *ai-* are:

a'ini naŋqa'q-aip'ini that-my heard (partic.)-my, that (is) what I heard
a'i(y)aq·A qU'qo'q-wiŋkanaŋum ari that-it (vis.) shoot (distributively)-plural-verbal noun-your (plur.) it (vis.), that (is) it which you (plur.) shoot at

Examples of objective *aia-* are:

a'ian 'a'imi that (obj.)-I say- usitative, that's what I always say
a'ia·ŋ gür 'a'imi that (obj.)-he (vis.) indeed say-usitative, that's what he indeed always says
'a'i iŋür 'aik·zA that (obj.)-thou indeed said, that indeed you said (for '*ai*' < '*aia*', see § 40, 2)

Curiously enough, objective *aia-* becomes *ai-* before the interrogative, the two elements combining as *aitcu'a-*, *aintcu'a-*, e. g.:

a'itcuan (or *a'intcuan*) *a'ik·zA* that (obj.)-interrogative-I said, did I say that?
a'intcua·ŋ 'a'imi that (obj.)-interrogative-he (vis.) say-usitative, is he wont to say that? does he really mean that?

Subjective *mai-* is illustrated in:

ma'in niŋi naŋqa'q-aip'ini that (quoted)-my me heard (partic.)-my, that's what I heard
mai'm imi naŋqa'q-aiNA that-thy thee hearing, that's what you hear

Examples of objective *maia-* are:

ma'ian 'aik·zA that I say
ma'i(y) iŋür 'aik·zA that indeed thou sayest (*mai* < *maia*' as above)

Parallel to *maia-* is *m^ua'ia-*, e. g.:

m^wa'ia *acampa*^{ay} 'aik^zA that (obj.)-only-he say, that's all he says
"m^wa'ia *acampān niruγw ampa'x*A that -(obj.)-only-me I-to talk, that
 only talk to me! stop talking to me!

As we have already seen, *aia-* is also used as inanimate visible objective article-pronoun: 'a'ia (§ 42, 7). Its parallel invisible 'ɔa'ia (probably < *u-a-ya-*) is not used as independent demonstrative, though it must be such in origin. For adverbial-connective use of *ai-*, see § 60, 2, a; for 'ɔa'ia as modal adverb, see § 60, 3.

(6) VERBS OF SAYING. Parallel to the demonstratives *ai-* and *mai-* are the verbs of saying: *ai-* TO SAY (indefinitely) and *mai-* (*m^wa'ia-*) TO SAY THAT (which has been quoted); e. g. *qatc "m^wa'iaγwai'yuc* *ampa* NOT SAY-THAT-NEGATIVE-SUBORDINATING-ONLY, ALTHOUGH NOT SAYING THAT. Either these verbs result from composition with demonstrative *a-*, *ma-* (*m^wa'-*); or they are merely verbified forms of demonstrative *ai-* and *mai-*.

Note on §§ 39-43.

The three classes of pronouns already discussed observe the distinction in the third person between visible (or present) and invisible (or absent) forms. Nevertheless sentences occur, as may have been noticed, in which the same person or object is designated now as visible, now as invisible. To a large extent this seems to be due to a desire to prevent the same phonetic group ("word") from containing both a visible and an invisible element (see, for combinations of two enclitics, § 41, 1, e), but not entirely. Apparently the difference between the two sets of forms tends to become a formal rather than a strictly functional matter. Examples of such contradictory sentences are:

im'ntcu'a *γA pini'lē:ai'iywA* *tiγi'v^wia'm* *u'γwA* thou-interrogative-
 him (vis.) see-him (inv.) friend-obj.-thy he (inv.; = him), did you
 see your friend (inv.)?

tγ^wɔ'imu^ztaq *ay'waxqunwA* *qu'qwi't* *ua* *γA* right-forehead-on-obj.-
 his (inv.) shoot-impersonal-him (vis.), (if) anybody shoots him
 right on his forehead

tava'ia *m^wα'va* *qA qari'q* *uq* *wA* sun (obj.) there-it (vis.) sit-when-it
 (inv.), when the sun sets there

§ 44. Interrogative pronouns.

Interrogative stems may be divided into two groups, those employed denominatively (interrogative pronouns proper) and those employed

adverbially or serving as base for adverbial forms. They are not accompanied by the interrogative enclitic *-ru'a-* (§ 19, 2, f).

(1) DENOMINATIVE FORMS. Four or five denominative stems are found: *aya-*, *in-i-*, *impü-*, and *au'ia-*; further *aya-*, which is always verbalized or adverbialized by suffixed elements.

(a) *aya-* WHO? This interrogative refers to persons only. Its objective form is *ayaia-*; its subjective plural is *ayam-i-* (see § 48, 1), objective *ayam'ia-*. It must not be confused with *aya-* HE, THAT ONE (§ 39). It is perhaps to avoid this confusion that interrogative *aya-* is apparently never used with postpositions; e. g. *aya'rux'wA* denotes TO HIM, not TO WHOM?. The latter idea would have to be expressed periphrastically (see § 50, 3). Examples of *aya-* are:

- ay aru''a* who is? who is it?
ay aro''avī iηA who would-be this-one? I wonder who this is!
 'ay an'i'k'εA who does-so? who is it that does so?
ay aik' ampa'χaxa' who says talking? who is that talking? (referring to one who is heard but not seen)
aya'i aro''a whom (= whose) is? whose is it? (contrast *aya'iac' aro''a* it is his)
ayai uηwa'rux'wA whom he (inv.)-to? to whom?
ayam' aro''a who (plur.) are? who are they?
ayam'iantca' pA'qa'ηU whom (plur.)- preterit-thou kill? whom (2) did you kill?

(b) *in-i-* WHO? WHAT? OF WHAT SORT? This is a generalized animate interrogative pronoun, referring to an animal, an animate being not known to be definitely human or animal, or a person of undefined characteristics. Subjective *in-i-* sometimes appears as unelided *in-i* before *aro'a-* TO BE. Its objective singular is *in'ia-*; subjective plural *in'iηwü-* (see § 48, 1), objective *in'iηwüa-*. Examples are:

- in' aro' i'ηA* what is this (anim.)?
in'i aro''a what is it (anim.)?
in'i'ntcan nūηwu'runt who-preterit-me person-make-me? who ever made me a peron? who ever respected me?
in'iηw aro''a what (plur.) are? what are they (animals)?
in'iηwü aro''a what (plur. obj.) are? to what (animals) does it belong?

(c) *impü-* WHAT (inanimate); objective *impüa-*. In all probability *impü-* is connected with *in-i-*; for *-pü-* see nominalizing suffix *-pü-*, § 25,

5, b? *impī-* may be used with at least certain postpositions (e. g. *-m-a-* WITH); it may also be used as a nominal base for verbal derivatives, e. g. *impī'γai-* TO HAVE WHAT? *impuru-* TO MAKE WHAT? Examples of *impī-* are:

imp aro''^a what is it (vis.)?

imp'uru''^a what is it (inv.)?

impī'aηA tī'qa'va' what (obj.)-he (vis.) eat-shall? what will he eat

impī'ma' tīγa'n-wa-n-i' what-with-thou butcher-will? what will you butcher with?

impī'xai' what hast thou?

impu'ruγiāηA what is he making?

(d) *an-ia-* WHAT? This interrogative is used only as the object of verbs of saying or mental activity, e. g.:

'anī'αn 'aik-εA what-I say? what did I say?

im an-i'A nən-w'c-wātcī thou what being-wont-to-dream? what have you ever dreamt?

an'a' cūma'i' what-thou think-present? what are you thinking of?

Aside from its use as an interrogative pronoun, *an-ia-* frequently appears as a verb, TO SAY WHAT? As such it is treated analogously to *ai-* TO SAY. Examples are:

im 'anī'avatcī thou wont-to-say-what? what are you accustomed to say?

an-i'A^xqaηA what did he (vis.) say? (for *-q-a-* see § 32, 2)

'an-i'axai' *a'ik-εA* say-what-subordinating-thou say-so? for what reason do you say so?

an'aγuntcα' *nīru'x-wA* say-what-momentaneous-preterit-thou I-to? what did you say to me?

With enclitic *-n-ia-* LIKE (§ 19, 2, d) this verb means TO CARE FOR WHAT? e. g. *nī' an-i'A^xqanū'* WHAT DO I CARE? With enclitic *-c-u-* AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k) and followed by *ai-* TO SAY, pronominal *'an-ia-* denotes TO TEASE, e. g. *'anī'Acuγwīn a'ik-amū'* WHAT-AGAIN-YE-ME SAY-PLURAL-USITATIVE? YE ARE WONT TO TEASE ME.

(2) ADVERBIAL FORMS. Three interrogative stems are included under this head: *αγa-*, *'an-w'c-w-*, and *ai-*.

(a) *αγa-* HOW? WHAT? This is properly a denominating stem meaning WHAT? but it occurs only with postpositions or as verbified *αγan-i-* TO ACT HOW? parallel to other verbs of doing in *-n-i-* (§ 43, 3). Examples of *αγa-* with postpositions are:

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aγa'va' what-at? where?*axa'va-ntux-wA* where to?*aγa'Upa'a* in which direction? in what way?Verbal examples of *aγa'n-i-* TO ACT HOW? TO DO WHAT? are:*axa'n-wa-γani* how shall I act with him (vis.)? what shall I do to him?*aγa'n-i^zk'a-γA* what did he (vis.) do?*aγa'n-uγutsuγw' a'ik^zA* what-do-momentaneous-gerund (§ 55, 1, a)-he (inv.) say-so? having done what, he says so? what happened to him that he says so?Analogously to other forms in *-n-i-*, *aγan-i-* is often in use as an adverb of manner, HOW? e. g.:*u^mw'a'r aro'avü aγa'n ani'ntci* that (inan. vis.) would-be how doing?

I wonder what that means!

axa'n-intca-γa'a pA^zqa'γoaγA how-preterit-him-thou kill-him? how did you kill him?Subordinates in *-γai-* (§ 55, 1, b) of verbal *aγan-i-* are equivalent to WHY? e. g.:*aχa'n-iχaiam 'an-i'm-i'* what-do-subordinating-they (vis.) do-
usitative? acting how, are they wont to do so? why do they do so?*axa'n-iχain-i' a'ik^zA* what-do-subordinating-me-thou say? why do
you say so to me?(b) *'an:əq:ə-* WHEN? e. g.:*'an:əq:əχwan'wan yni'k^zA* when-preterit-he (inv.)-me do so? when
did he do so to me?*'an:əq:əχwan-i' yni'k^zA* when didst thou do so to me?(c) *ai-* (TO BE) WHERE? (TO DO) WHAT? This verbal interrogative is perhaps a specialized form of adverbial *ai-* THEN (§ 60, 2, a), itself of demonstrative origin. It is always followed by preterital *-tca-*, even when reference is had to present time. Examples are:*a'itcaγwA* where is he (inv.)?*a'itcaram v'^vwai'* where-preterit-we 2 (inclus.) then? where have we
2 got now?*a'itcaγwa' iγa''p-utsu uγwA* what-preterit-him (inv.)-thou baby (obj.)
he (inv.; = him)? what did you do to the baby?

§ 45. *The relative pronoun.*

The Paiute relative pronoun, *pī-*, can be used only with postpositions; e. g. *pīma-* WITH WHICH, *pu'urai-* WHERETO, WHITHER, *pīv^wa-* IN WHICH, WHERE. The equivalent of our own subjective and objective relative clauses is afforded by participles and verbal nouns in *-n'a-* (§ 25, 3). Properly speaking, *pī-* is a noun, as is shown by the fact that it is frequently followed by an inanimate article-pronoun. The verb following the relative is generally in the form of a verbal noun in *-n'a-*, less frequently in the form of a participle in *-p'ī-* (§ 25, 5, b), rarely a non-participial absolute; hence the logical subject of a relative clause is always objective (i. e. possessive) in form. A sentence like THIS IS THE STICK THAT I HIT HIM WITH is rendered by THIS IS THE STICK WITH WHICH (IS) MY HITTING (OR HAVING HIT) HIM. Examples of relative clauses are:

itci'aq'a nī'nu pīv^wa' qarī'n'anī this (inan. obj.)-it (vis.) me which-in sitting-my, this is where I stay

pīma'(u)φī na'uq'wəŋqut'u'ava'na which-with-own fight-future-verbal noun, (he made many shirts) with which he was to fight

pu'u'rainī nī'ni ŋni'n'anī which-toward-my me doing-my, to where I am going

marī'e-u pīv^wa.īyuan an kia'q'aqain'a that (inan.) which-at-acting (§ 50, 4, 49)-their (vis.) it (vis.) dance-plural-perfective-verbal noun, that (is) the (place) where they danced

u'u'rī'a'q'a pīv^wa'nīm^wanaŋwan anī'p'īnī .that (inan. inv. obj.)-it (vis.) which-at-participle-from-my do-past passive partic.-my, that is where I came from

ya'e-pīγa' pu'u'rain ŋnŋ u'u'ra' flew-off which-toward-own do-momentaneous it (inv.)-toward, (they) flew off to where they go to

Note that in the last example the absolute verb form *ŋnŋu-* is treated as a noun, as shown by the possessive *-v(ī)-* preceding it.

§ 46. *Reflexive pronouns.*

The reflexive stem in Paiute is *na^s*. This never occurs alone, but is always either compounded with a following stem (see § 22) or followed by a postposition, e. g.:

na'uḡ'ayaw'ŋa mam'a' self-like-plural imperative-him (vis.) change (distributively), do ye change him into your own appearance

naŋwa'ntux'wa pa'ix'a' self-on-to call-subordinating, while calling (them) on to himself

na'u(w)a'mek *yniγuts* *watei'm'miap'ĩγa'* self-in front of-them
 (inan. inv.) then put-moving-past, then (he) put them in front of
 himself while moving along
nav'nayqwəp'aq-wA *yuna'p'ĩγa'* self-behind-them (inan. inv.) put
 down-past, (he) put them down behind himself
a'ip'ĩγa *a'ip'ats an* (= *aγA*) *naru'x-wA* said boy he (vis.) self-to,
 said the boy to himself

As in compounds, so also with postpositions, *na-* may have a reciprocal significance, e. g.:

nav'n-ayqwA self-after, one after another
naqwa'ai- self-with, with each other, both (§ 50, 4, 11)

An independent reflexive or emphatic pronoun, related to *na-*, also occurs: *nanə'c-u-* (subjective); objective apparently *nanə'ria-c-u-* (cf. perhaps *nĩniac-u-* MYSELF obj.). An example of *nanə'c-u-* is:

nanə'cə'o'q-w *ɥwa'ruγwap'ĩγa'aik-wA* self-it (inv.) him-to-past-it
 (inv.), he himself gave it to him

An indirect reflexive *nanə'φ* SELF (compounded probably of *nanə-* and *-va-* AT, § 50, 4, 37) also occurs, e. g.:

nanə'əw *ɥni'ηkĩp'ĩγa'* self-at (?) make-for-past, (he) made (it) for
 himself

NOUN MORPHOLOGY (§§ 47-50).

§ 47. Noun and verb stem.

All Paiute stems end in a vowel or diphthong. A peculiarity of the great majority of noun and verb stems is that they are primarily disyllabic, e. g. *qan'i-s* HOUSE; *tiv^wi-^o* EARTH; *at-a-s* SAND; *paγ(a)i-n* TO GO; *qari-s* TO SIT; *paq-a-s* TO KILL. The typical monosyllabic stem (or radical) of so many languages is conspicuous by its comparative infrequency; moreover, practically all monosyllabic stems have two moras, e. g. *qa-s* TO SING, *pai-s* TO CALL *to-^o* BLACK, *o-s* ARROW, *pai-^o* BLOOD. If expressed in terms of moras, the typical Paiute stem would probably be found to have two moras, i. e. to consist of a monosyllable with a long vowel or diphthong, or, far more frequently, of two short-voweled syllables. However, disyllabic stems of three moras (e. g. *tuγv-* TO CACHE, *tina-* BOTTOM) are not at all rare. Trisyllabic stems, of three or more moras (e. g. *as'ia-* SURFACE, *təγəq'wi-* TO RUN), are also fairly common; stems of four or more

syllables are rare (e. g. *tiv^witsiγa-* TO OBEY). Were extended comparative Uto-Aztekan material available, it would no doubt be possible to show that many of these trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems are capable of analysis. The two-moraed stem ending in a vowel, of both monosyllabic and disyllabic structure, is clearly the characteristic type of stem for all Uto-Aztekan languages.

Noun and verb stems are kept clearly distinct, the use of the same stem now as noun, now as verb, being exceedingly uncommon. An example is *quq-wa-* WOOD, also TO GATHER WOOD (cf. English BERRY and TO BERRY); note also *ni(y)a-* (two-moraed) TO CALL BY NAME, but *ni(y)a-* (three-moraed) NAME (it is quite possible, however, that *niya-* really consists of *niya-* + possessive *-a-*, § 24, 2, a so that *niya-* would be another example of a stem capable of being used either as noun or verb).

From a strictly formal standpoint, noun and verb are, as we have seen, carefully distinguished, there being very few grammatical elements which are appended to both types of stem (e. g. diminutive *-tsi-*, § 35; plural *-qa-*, § 31, 1, c and § 48, 2). However, there is a slight tendency for verbs to be nominalized, without nominalizing suffix, by means of nominal postpositions, but forms of this sort are far from common (e. g. *piv^wa wīnu'k'ai'p'a'ntux-wa* WHICH-IN STAND-PERFECTIVE-TO, TO WHERE (HE) HAD STOOD); see § 55, 2. The clearest syntactic indication of a feeling for nominal form is the presence of article-pronouns (§ 42).

§ 48. *Plurality of nouns.*

There are two types of noun plurals: the reduplicated form, which is more properly distributive in function, for both animate and inanimate nouns (see § 58, 2 for these forms); and properly plural suffixes, which can, for the most part, be appended only to noun stems referring to animate beings (cf. the presence of singular and plural animate forms and the lack of distinctively plural inanimate forms in the third personal pronouns).

(1) ANIMATE PLURAL SUFFIXES. Two animate plural suffixes exist, *-ŋwī-^s* and *-mī-^s*, with exactly parallel functions and differentiated merely according to the preceding stem. These elements apply to duals also. *-ŋwī-* is evidently spirantized from an older *-mī-* (§ 16, 1); *-mī-* is the corresponding geminated (and nasalized) form. Their Uto-Aztekan prototype **-mc* actually occurs as an animate plural in Nahuatl (*-mē*). In actual practice it seems hardly

feasible to assign *-ŋwĩ-* to spirantizing stems alone, *-m'ĩ-* definitely to all geminating (and nasalizing) stems, as their range of usage seems to intercross with that of types of stem; thus, nominal *-tsu-ⁿ* (§ 24, 1, f) forms plural *-tsuŋwĩ-*, while participial *-tĩ-ⁿ* (§ 25, 6) forms *-tĩm'ĩ-*. No simple rules can therefore be given for the use of *-ŋwĩ-* or *-m'ĩ-*.

(a) *-m'ĩ-* (subjective); *-m'ĩa-* (objective). Examples are:

naŋa'mü mountain sheep (sing. *na'x.A*)
qA²qa'ramü quails (sing. *qA²qa'Rİ*)
tcĩŋa'mü ducks (sing. *tcĩ'x.A*)
a(i)ya'mü turtles (sing. *a'ĩ.A*)
wĩ'tca'mü roadrunners (sing. *wĩ't.c.A*)
a'ivam'iraywA our (inclus.) young men (sing. *a'ifA²pĩts* young man)
yu'ta'mü Utes (sing. *yu'ta²ts*; plur. also *yu'ta²tsuŋwĩ*)

In the last two examples a nominalizing suffix of the singular (*-p'ũts-*, *-tsu-*) has been dropped before the plural suffix. This is not common; but cf., further, *sari't'ĩ'qamü* ARAPAHO INDIANS (lit. DOG-EAT-PLURAL, noun-verb compound noun; sing. *sari't'ĩ'qats*).

Animate plural *-m'ĩ-* is also appended to cardinal *-yu-* of numerals for TWO and ABOVE, when used attributively with enclitic *-nĩa-*, before animate nouns, e. g.:

waa'(i)yumun *wĩ'ts'itsuŋwĩaŋA* two-cardinal-animate plur.-like
 great-grandchildren-plural-her (vis.), her two great-grandchildren.

(b) *-ŋwĩ-* (subjective); *-ŋwĩa-*, *ŋwa(-)* (objective). The objective in *-ŋwa(-)* is very common; it is merely a phonetic variant of *-ŋwĩa-* (see § 4, 1, a). Examples of subjective *-ŋwĩ-* are:

nava'vŋwĩ reciprocal-elder brother-plural, two brothers (sing.
pavi'ni my elder brother)
paa'ŋwĩ aunts; *paa'ŋwĩnt* my aunts (sing. *paa'ni* my aunt)
qava'ŋwĩ horses (sing. *qava'*)
qam'ĩ'ŋwĩ jack-rabbits (sing. *qa'mü*)
tĩŋ'aywĩ deer (sing. *tĩŋ'ĩ.A*)
aiü'taywĩ Coconino Indians (sing. *aiü't.A*)
m²'munŋwĩ Mormons (sing. *m²'munt*)

Examples of objective forms are:

nĩ' puŋqu'ŋwĩc^{nt}i q²ŋ²'i I horses-obj.-my kill (plur. obj.), I kill my horses

nī' MU^zqw'χaγw'aivā·ni nī'ni tu(w)a'tsuywα' I call-for-help-go-will-
I me children-obj., I will go to call my children for help
patci'ḡwāv qmu'rux·wα daughter-obj.-own they (inv.)-to, to his
own daughters

The use of animate plurals for singulars conceived of as singled out from a group has been already discussed in connection with participles in -*tī-m-ī-* (§ 25, 6, f). This same usage applies to many animate plurals in -*ḡwī-* as well, e. g.:

pina'p'ītsuyw αḡA smallest-plur. he (vis.), the smallest (boy) of all
nī' vvi'mpimpin·ara'pītsuywī I very-least-plur., I (am the) very
least in size (of my family)
qam·ī' vvi'nfuαq·wōi·ḡwī jack-rabbit (obj.) (hair)-having-come-off-
moving-plur. (obj.), jack-rabbit (obj.) with hair having come off
from dragging along (referring to one particular animal out of
several)

(2) PLURAL -*q-a-*. This suffix has been already discussed as a verb element defining plurality of the subject (§ 31, 1, c). It occurs, though not frequently, also in the inanimate noun before objective -*ya-* (§ 49, 1), postpositive -*ma-* WITH (§ 50, 4, 9), and possibly other post-positions to emphasize the plurality (as contrasted with duality) of an attached enclitic possessive pronoun. It does not, therefore, primarily indicate plurality of the noun itself, though this may be implied. Examples are:

tiv'v'p'īαq·a(i)yaḡumī country-possessive-plural-objective-your
(plur.), your (plur.) country (obj.) that (you) own
tīḡa'n·īmpiq·ama·mī seed-beater-plural-with-their (vis.), with their
(plur.) seed-beater(s)

§ 49. Syntactical cases.

Paiute recognizes two fundamental syntactical cases, the subjective and objective. The former of these is in use as the subject of a non-subordinate verb; the object of an imperative (see § 52); and as a base for the affixing of postpositions (see § 50). The objective is the case of the object of a transitive verb; the subject of a subordinate verb (see § 55, 1); the genitive (possessive); and the apposition to a noun with postposition (see § 50, 3).

(1) FORMATION OF SYNTACTICAL CASES. The subjective case is simply the absolutive, the unmodified noun with no specific case

suffix. The objective is formed by suffixing *-a-* to the final vowel of the noun, if this vowel is *i*, *ï*, *ə*, or *u* (*o*); *-ya-* (*-ia-*) if the final vowel is *a*. Examples are:

SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
<i>sari'ts</i> dog (< <i>-tsu-</i>)	<i>sari'tst</i> (< <i>-tsua-</i>)
<i>aŋqa'q-wicarï</i> lightning	<i>aŋqa'q-wicarïa</i>
<i>U^zqw'yü</i> arrow (< <i>U^zqw'yv-</i>)	<i>U^zqw'yüw</i> (< <i>U^zqw'yv-a-</i>)
<i>qan'ni</i> my house	<i>qan'anï</i>
<i>qan'aŋA</i> his (vis.) house	<i>qan'aŋA</i>
<i>quna'vï'mi</i> thy sack	<i>quna'vï'amï</i>
<i>pa'</i> water	<i>pa'ia</i>
<i>pa'rami</i> our (2 inclus.) aunt	<i>pa'iarami</i>
<i>nampa'ŋA</i> his (vis.) leg (stem <i>nampa-</i>)	<i>nampa'iaŋA</i>

Another objective suffix, *-q'u-*, *-ŋqu-*, is used after numeral stems (see § 59, 2, a) and after certain postpositions (e. g. *-ma-*, *-ŋwa-* ON; *-ŋwa'ui-* TOGETHER WITH; *-mpa-* AT; *-u'p'a-* THROUGH; see § 50, 4); cf. also adverbial *tï-ŋqu-* (§ 30, 2, b).

(2) USE OF SYNTACTICAL CASES. The subjective as a subject and the objective as a transitive object are so plentifully illustrated in the course of this paper that no further examples need be given here. The other uses of the subjective will be illustrated below (§ 52; § 50), also the use of the object as the subject of a subordinate verb (§ 55, 1).

The genitive function of the objective is seen, e. g., in:

tïv'p'ï *qïŋwa'ava'antï* land (obj.) edge-at-participle (obj.), being
(obj.) at (the) edge of (the) land
qwa'rï *tu(w)a'tsüwï* rain (obj.) children, Rain's children

Often with pleonastic use of a pronominal enclitic, e. g.:

cina'ŋwaw *ŋntu'q-uŋwA* coyote (obj.) back-flesh-his (inv.), Coyote's
back flesh
qan'aŋw *u'u'ra'* *pa'(i)ya'pï* (he went) house-obj.-her it-toward
aunt-obj.-own, (he went) toward his aunt's house

While the subjective form is used as a base for the suffixing of a postposition, the form is felt as the equivalent of an objective, as appositions to such nouns or pronouns are regularly put in the objective, e. g. *wantsu' aŋ aŋa''ura'* ANTELOPE (OBJ.) HE (VIS.; = HIM) HE-

TOWARD, TOWARD THE ANTELOPE. Such periphrastic forms are extremely common (see § 50, 3).

The sporadic subjective use of objective forms of independent personal pronouns in certain not clearly understood cases has been already mentioned (§ 39, 4, end).

§ 50. *Postpositions.*

Paiute possesses a large number of postpositions or, as one might prefer to call them, non-syntactical case suffixes. They are chiefly, but not entirely, of local reference. They are true suffixes (or compounded stems that have practically become suffixes), as shown by the fact that they precede all enclitics and that, under appropriate consonantal conditions, they are subject to the phonetic processes of spirantization, gemination, and nasalization (e. g. *-ruɣwa-*, *-tcuɣwa-*, *-ntcuɣwa-*, *-t-uɣwa-*, *-ntuɣwa-* TO). The position of the postposition thus corresponds to that of the objective (§ 49). Postpositions are suffixed to nouns, pronouns (except, of course, enclitic pronouns and postnominal pronouns), and demonstrative stems (treated as the equivalent of inanimate third personal pronouns).

(1) TYPES OF POSTPOSITIONS. Etymologically, three types may be recognized. A considerable number consist of simple elements that cannot be brought into connection with other Paiute elements, e. g. *-va-*, *-va-* AT; *-uḫ'a-* THROUGH, IN — DIRECTION; *-ma-* WITH. Some of these seem to go back to Uto-Aztekan prototypes; with *-va-* cf., e. g., Nahuatl *-pa*. A number of simple postpositions seem to occur only or chiefly as compounded with others, e. g. *-ɣi-*, *-ɣwi-*, *-'aɣa-*.

A second type of postposition is that compounded of two (or more) postpositional elements. These may either be independently occurring elements (e. g. *-vaɣwit-uɣwa-* INTO < *-vaɣwi-*^o IN plus *-tuɣwa-* TO) or an independently occurring postposition preceded or followed by one not so occurring (e. g. *-ɣwi-t-uɣwa-* INTO; *-'aɣa-va-tcuɣwa-* RIGHT INTO; *-ruq-wa-ɣi-* MOVING UNDER). Several postpositions that now appear primitive are quite probably really compounded of simpler elements, e. g. *-vaɣwi-* IN < *-va-* AT + *-ɣwi-*.

A third type consists of originally independent stems, chiefly adverbial and nominal, that are compounded in a postpositional sense with preceding stems (cf. English AROUND, ASIDE FROM, APART FROM, ALONG). Such compounds are often followed by a primitive postposition, e. g. *nī-ɣa''nuɣa-va-* I-SIDE-AT, AT MY SIDE < *qa'n'u'ɣa-* SIDE. That *-ɣa''nuɣa-va-* is a true compound postposition is shown

by its employment with a pronominal stem like *nī-s*; a noun compound *nī-γa'niγa-* is impossible. This type of postposition raises the question whether all postpositions as a class are not in origin stereotyped compounded nouns (e. g. HOUSE- UNDER < HOUSE-UNDERNESS; UNDER MY HOUSE = MY HOUSE-UNDERNESS).

(2) VERBAL USE OF POSTPOSITIONS. All postpositions indicating movement, also some indicating presence, may be and frequently are verbified without further change in form. Formal verbal suffixes (e. g. momentaneous *-yu-* and tense elements) are directly suffixed to the postposition. Examples of such verbified uses are:

ax'mituγwa'a it-back-from-thou! go out (of it)!
u'x'vpa^ap'ĩγa' it (inv.)-through (*-uḡa-*)-past; (he) went off
 through it (inv.), in yonder direction
uywa'vantuγwayvḡγa' he (inv.)-on-to-momentaneous-past, (he)
 got on top of him
axa'vanuχwa'a what-at-to-thou? where are you going to?
naywa'a'imuk'vḡĩγa'a'imī self-with-movement-inceptive-past-dual,
 (they) 2 started to go along together
qa'tcv maa'nywa'aik'wa not that (vis.)-at-negative-it (inv.), was
 not there

All postpositions may be participialized by means of *-ñi-* (§ 25, 6, a); e. g. *-vañti-*, obj. *-vañtia-*, BEING AT (*-va-ⁿ* AT). Such participialized postpositions are often employed where simple local phrases or adverbs would appear in English, e. g. HE GATHERED STICKS THAT-AT-BEING-OBJ. (*uv^wa'ñtia*) instead of simply THAT-AT, THERE (*uv^wa'*). Sometimes the participial form takes on a specialized significance; e. g. *u'ma* IT-ON, THEREON, THEREAT, but *um^wa'ñti* (obj. *um^wa'ñtia*) BEING THEREAT, i. e. SOME OF IT. Participialized postpositions may be followed by other postpositions, e. g. *-vañti-wa-nayqwa-* AT-BEING-ON-FROM, AWAY FROM.

(3) PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTIONS WITH POSTPOSITIONS. While postpositions may be used with noun stems (e. g. *qan'ntcuq'wa* HOUSE-UNDER), there is a tendency for postpositions to attach themselves by preference to pronouns and demonstrative stems. Hence the type noun + postposition is often replaced by its periphrastic equivalent: noun (obj.), pronoun (or demonstrative stem) + postposition; the noun may follow. An independent objective pronoun may also be thus periphrastically used with a pronominal or demonstrative stem.

*pa*á*'iaram u*ŋ*w*á*'vat*é** aunt-obj.-our 2 (inclus.) she-at-being, to our
(2) aunt

*aru'q*WA* qan*ú*'A* it-under house (obj.), under the house

*tia'vi u*m*^w*á*'n*t*i*A** service-berry-bush (obj.) it (inv.) -at-being-obj.,
(he took) from the bush, (he took) some of the bush

*pa*i* u'*a*'xa*φ*A* water (obj.) it-into, right into the water

*'i't*é* a'*u*'p*·ac*·U* this (inan. obj.) it-in way-again, again in this way
*ni'*n*i*á*nt*é*ax*q*'*ŋ*.*i* ni*ŋ*w*á*'ntu*ŋ*w i*y*'*ŋ*q*ŋ*U* me-preterit-it (vis.)-he
(vis.) I-from steal-momentaneous, he stole it from me

*man*á*'i*ac*·a*ŋ*'*ru*x*WA** him (vis.) he-to, to him

(4) LIST OF POSTPOSITIONS. The following list of postpositions includes all elements that have been found on analysis. The entries are made for simple postpositions, compounded forms coming under the first element; cross references make clear the relationship of the various elements.

1. *-a-^o* PRESENT AT; occurs only as participialized *-at-i-* BEING PRESENT AT and compounded: *-an-u-* (cf. 25) PRESENT AT; *-an-u-yu-* (cf. 25, 49) MOVEMENT FROM; *-at-u*ŋ*wa-* (cf. 30) ALONG TOWARD. These elements occur only after demonstrative stems, e. g.:

*i(y)é'nuan 'an*ú*'n*u*'* this-at-I do-continuative-present, here I am
*u(w)a'n'oyunte*A* pa(i)yü'*ŋ*U* that (inv.)-at-from-preterit return, (he)
has been at and returned from there

*ua't ar*i** that (inv.)-at-being it (vis.), the (thing) yonder, what is
over there

*i(y)ä't-u*ŋ*wam'ma(i)yü*ŋ*.*A** this-at-to-moving-present-he (vis.), he
walks along over here

2. *-²a*ŋ*a-^s* RIGHT IN, AMONG; occurs only compounded: *-²a*ŋ*aru*ŋ*wa-* (cf. 30) MOVING THROUGH, IN AMONG; *-²a*ŋ*ava-* (cf. 37) RIGHT IN; *-²a*ŋ*avay*u*-* (cf. 37, 49) ACTING RIGHT IN; *-²a*ŋ*avatcu*ŋ*wa-* (cf. 37, 30) RIGHT INTO; *-²a*ŋ*avatcu*m*·ana*ŋ*q*wa*-* (cf. 37, 30, 7, 18) OUT FROM AMONG. Examples are:

*qan*u* u'*a*'xaru*xWA** house (obj.) it-through, right through the house
*pa*i* u'*a*'xa*φ*A* water (obj.) it-in, right in the water

*u'*a*'xava(i)YU ya*χ*'*va*-n*t*i* it-in cry-future-participle, being about to
cry while right in it

*pa''^aa*ŋ*avatcu*ŋ*wa*ŋ*w'*á*m*ü* q*w*ü'*p*·i*ŋ*a'* water-into-them (inv.)-they
(inv.) took (sing.-dual object), they 2 took them 2 right into (the)
water

'a'xavaticumanayqwa tɔ'ɔ'ivɪ' (< a'a'xa-) it-in-from bulrushes (obj.),
out from among the bulrushes

3. -γa'niγa- ALONG, BESIDE (cf. independent stem qa'niγa- SIDE, PROXIMITY); occurs only compounded: -γa'niγa-γi- (cf. 5) MOVING BESIDE; -γa'niγa-va- (cf. 38) AT SIDE OF; -γa'niγa-va-yu- (cf. 38, 49) ACTING AT SIDE OF. Examples are:

qan'an uχwa'n'uχa-x:ɪ paγ(a)'i' house-obj.-I it-beside-moving walk,
I walk along the house
nïχa''nïχa''va' at my side (at rest like a tree)
nïχa''nïχa''va.iYU at my side (something going on)

4. -γa-va'-; occurs only as participialized -γa-va't-ï- BEING—ER THAN, e. g.:

nïχa-'ova't'ïm pa'a'(i)yïaηA I-greater-plur. tall-present-he (vis.), he
is taller than I
niηw'ï'xa''va't'ïm:w aηA person-greater- plur. he (vis.), the one greater
than anybody else, the greatest one

5. -γi-^o MOVING THROUGH; common in compounded forms, but rare as simple postposition, e. g.:

tï'ra(i)yua-x:ɪ desert-plain-through, through the open plain.

For compounded forms, see 3, 7, 17, 21, 26, 31, 45; also 15, 48. -γi- regularly lengthens preceding short vowels.

6. -γïm-a- OTHER THAN (cf. independent stem qïm-a- OTHER, STRANGER; § 39, 2); occurs only compounded: -γïm-aηcantï- (cf. 8) BEING OTHER THAN, NOT RELATED TO; -γïm-aηwit-uγwa- (cf. 14) MOVING AWAY FROM. Examples are:

im'χïmaηcantï thou-other-at-being, not related to you
qan-i'γïmaηwitux-w:A away from (the) house
uγu'n-aηwit-ux-w:A away from it (inv.)

7. -ma-ⁿ RESTING ON, AT, FOR (of time); obj. -mayqu- (see § 49, 1; apparently only with enclitic possessive pronoun, while -ma- seems to occur only without such pronoun); -manayqwa- (cf. 18) FROM ON, BECAUSE OF; -manayqwaya- ON OTHER SIDE OF (cf. 18, 37); -man-ia- NEAR (cf. enclitic -n-ia-; § 19, 2, d); -mantï- BEING ON, AT, SOME OF, BELONGING TO; -mantïm-anayqwa- FROM ON, FROM ONE OF (here -ma- occurs twice); -mantïyca'ai- WITH SOME OF (cf. 11); -mantuγwa- (cf.

30) UP TO, AGAINST, DURING; *-mayu-* (cf. 49) FROM ON, AT; perhaps also *-ma'yi-* (cf. 5) AROUND, CIRCLING. Examples are:

qan'mA on, at a house (e. g. vine)

wa'tɔməməA two-year-on, for two years

tea'a'ik'aiyoaŋ aŋa'vīmanŋqoaŋA hold-resultative-when-him arm-at-obj.-his (vis.), when holding him by his arm

cī'ra'manaŋqwaA qana'ri w^wa iṃi'ⁱ Cedar City-from Kanab (obj.) there arrive (plur.), (they) arrive at Kanab from Cedar City

ya'a'ik-wa'aivū' yaŋa'n-aw um^wa'nanŋqwaA die-off-shall crying-own it-from, let him die from his crying

qan'i'm-anaŋqwaɔpA house-from at, on other side of (his) camp

qan'an um^wα'ni' paŋ(a)'i' house-obj.-I it-at-like walk, I walk near the house

na'a'inṫi qmanti' burning (obj.) it-at-being, from fire, something burning (subj.)

cv'q-uc w^wl'amanṫiaφi qaxa'p'iŋa' one (obj.) song-at-being-obj.-own sang (momentaneously), sang one of his own songs

cu(w)a'rəχw³it-uŋuan-um-antuxwA nearly-right-night-at-to, up to nearly midnight

tīn a'ma(i)yuaqA from its base

m(y)ɔ'm-a:xI very far around

For compounded forms, see 10, 25; also 2, 15, 17, 18, 25, 30, 38, 43, 45.

8. *-ŋwaⁿ* RESTING ON, AT (spirantized form of 7; *-ŋwa-* and its compounds are used instead of *-ma-* after personal, relative, and reflexive pronouns; also after animate nouns in *-ts-*, § 24, 1, f); obj. *-ŋwanŋqu-* (apparently used when followed by enclitic possessive pronoun); *-ŋwananŋqwa-* (cf. 18) FROM, BY; participialized *-ŋwanti-* BEING AT, ONE OF; *-ŋwantiŋwa'ai-* (cf. 11) WITH SOME OF; *-ŋwantuŋwa-* (cf. 30) ON TO, FROM. Examples are:

nī'ŋwA (hanging) on me

təɔɔ'IMU²taq aŋ'wαŋquni right on my forehead

pA'qa'ŋUṫi-tea-ŋA qwiya'tsūwananŋqwaA kill-passive-preterit-he (vis.) bear-by, he was killed by (the) bear (such agentive constructions with passives, however, are not common)

qm^wu'ŋwant ai'p'iŋa' they (inv.)- from- being said, one of them said

tī'nti²qap'iŋa uwa'ŋwanti' well-ate she-from-being-obj., (he) enjoyed himself well from her

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aivam um-u'ηwantiηwa'^a youths they (inv.)-from-being-with, with
 some of the young men
naηwa'ntux-wA pa'iχa' self-on-to calling, calling on to himself
 For compounded forms, see 6, 11, 12; also 7.

9. *-ma-* WITH (as instrumental), e. g.:

impi'ma' tiγa'n-wa-n-i' what-with-thou butcher-will? with what will
 you butcher?
tümp^wl'mA nara'φikap-ïγa' rock-with reciprocal-throw-plural-past,
 (they) betrew each other with rocks, (they) threw rocks at each
 other
poro'q-wama(-^a)mauφi cane-plural-with-their (inv.)-own, (they hit
 it) with their canes

10. *-ma'ai-* TOGETHER WITH (used with inanimate forms); obj.
-ma'q-u-. This is related either to instrumental *-ma-* (9) or, more
 probably, to local *-ma-* (7), as indicated by its parallelism to *-ηwa'ai-*
 (11). Objective *-ma'q-u-* is used when coupled with an objective
 noun. Examples are:

'am-a'aic-u nan-a'p-ïγa' it-with-again grew, (he) grew simultaneously
 with it
atec'm'aq-uq-waφi bow-with-obj.-it (inv.)-own, (while holding) it
 together with his bow

11. *-ηwa'ai-ⁿ* TOGETHER WITH (spirantized form of 10; used with
 animate forms), obj. *-ηwa'q-u-*. It is doubtless related to *-ηwa-* (8).
 Examples are:

sari'vuyquηw'ai^mi with your dog
nü' qanu'χa imiηwa'^a I house-have thou-with, I live with you
imi'ηw'ai^mpa' shall go with you
to'q-wap-ïγa' piηwa'ηw'aq-uφi bet-past wife-with-obj.-own, (he) bet
 (it) together with his wife (i.e. staked his wife too)

For compounded forms, see 7, 8.

12. *-minaywa-* WITH (instrumental); probably compounded with
-ηwa- (8). It is found only suffixed to objective *naηwa'q-u-* BOTH
 (§ 59, 3, c), e. g.:

naηwa'q-um-inaηwA pu'l'm-ani both-obj.-with eye-with-my, with both
 my eyes

It is not certain that this interpretation of *-minaywa-* is correct.

13. *-mi-*; found only compounded: *-mit-uɣwa-* (cf. 30) IN — DIRECTION, e. g.:

pim'i't-ux-wA tɔɣo'q-wI backward run!
qwi.'mitux-wA to the left

For compounded forms, see 48.

14. *-ɣwi-^o* IN, ON (of time; infrequent); chiefly compounded: *-ɣwi-t-uɣwa-* (cf. 30) IN DIRECTION OF (spirantized form of 13; used after non-geminating stems, including all pronouns); participialized *-ɣwi-t-uɣwanti-*. Examples are:

'i'tciA taw'iɣwi this (obj.) day-on, on this day
nan'i'n'naɣwitux-wA in different directions
qim'a'ɣwitux-wA in another direction
iɣwi't-ux-wA in this direction
'i'ɣwit-uɣwanti uru'avii this-toward-participle be-irrealis, I wonder if (he) is coming this way

For compounded forms, see 20; also 6.

15. *-mi(y)u-* AT A DISTANCE FROM (cf. independent stem *mi(y)ɔ-* AT A DISTANCE, FAR); diminutive *-mi'ɔitsiva-* (cf. 37) AT A LITTLE DISTANCE FROM; *-mi(y)uma-ɣi-^o* (cf. 7, 5), participialized *-mi(y)uma-ɣit-i-* BEING FURTHER AWAY. Examples are:

nim-wi'(y)v at a distance from me
um'i'ɔitsiɸA at a little distance from it (inv.)
umɰ'yuma-xiti' being (obj.) a little further away from it (inv.)

16. *-ɣqwa-^o* DIRECTION, used only after *qwaia-ⁿ* BEYOND, OPPOSITE; occurs only compounded: *-ɣqwap-a-* (cf. 37) BEYOND; participialized *-ɣqwap-atei-* BEING BEYOND; *-ɣqwap-ateuɣwa-* (cf. 37, 30) TO BEYOND. Examples are:

qwaia'ɣqwap-a-q'A opposite-direction-at-its (vis.), beyond it
qwaia'ɣqwap-atei being beyond, on the other side
qwaia'ɣqwap-ateu-wA to the other side

Generally *-ɣqwa-* occurs as compounded *-naɣqwa-* (18). For compounded forms, see 33.

17. *-na-ɣi-^o* IN, INTO (perhaps compounded of older *-na-*, cf. 18, 21, 47, and *-ɣi-^o*, 5); participialized *-na-ɣit-i-* BEING IN; *-na-ɣit-uɣwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING INTO; *-na-ɣit-umanayqwa-* (cf. 30, 7, 18) FROM INSIDE OF; *-na-ɣiyu-* ACTING IN (cf. 49). Examples are:

imi'n'a:x1 in thee
taŋa'na-χ'ik-waφī mara'ŋikava' knee-in-it (inv.)-own put-plur.-will,
 (you) will put it in (your) own knees
ra'va' t̄iv^wi'p'i ŋna'a'γit-i' dig-shall earth (obj.) it (inv.) -in-participle,
 (you) shall dig the earth being in, (you) shall dig into the earth
ŋna'a'γit-uγwap-i'γa' went into it (inv.)
'an a'γit-um-ayqwa from inside of it
aγa'n-ιχai' aik· ŋn-a'a'γιYU how-act-subordinate-thou say it (inv.)-
 in-acting? what are you doing in there (that accounts for your
 noise)?

For compounded forms, see 48.

18. *-nayqwa-* (probably compounded of non-independent *-na-*, cf. 17, and *-ŋqwa-*, cf. 16) DIRECTION, occurring in adverbs; participialized *-nayqwat-i-* (*-nayqwanfi-*); *-nayqwat-i-manayqwa-* (cf. 7, 18) FROM — DIRECTION (note that *-nayqwa-* occurs twice); *-nayqwap-a-* (cf. 37) IN — DIRECTION, NEAR; participial *-nayqwap-atci-* BEING IN — DIRECTION. Examples are:

tina'ŋqwa(i)yiaŋa he (vis.) is coming up
pana'ŋqwaŋim-anayqwa down-being-from, from north (*pana'ŋqwa*
 down < water-ward)
imi'n-ayqwap-a thou-direction-at, in your direction, near you
ina'ŋqwapatci.1 this-direction-at-being (obj.), (he shot) on the other
 end

For compounded forms, see 7, 8, 31, 40, 48; also 2, 17, 18, 38, 43, 45.

19. *-naywī-n'a'mi-* IN SIGHT OF (cf. *-u(w)a-'mi* IN FRONT OF, 32),
 e. g.:

ŋn-a'ŋwī-n'am'1 seen from it (inv.)

20. *-nap'aywi-* MOVING DOWN (perhaps contains *-ŋwi-*, 14), e. g.:

qa'ivanap'ayw1 moving down (the) mountain

21. *-nari(i)ya-* BETWEEN, distributive *-nanari(i)ya-* (cf. independent noun *nari(i)ya-* BETWEENNESS with reciprocal prefix *na-*^s; e. g. *nari'(i)yava-nimi* AT OUR (EXCL.) BETWEENNESS, BETWEEN US) occurs only compounded: *-nari(i)yava-*, *-nari(i)yapa-* (cf. 38) BETWEEN; *-nari(i)yaγi-* (cf. 5) THROUGH BETWEEN, STUCK BETWEEN; *-nari(i)yana-* (cf. 17, 18, 47) ON BETWEEN; *-nari(i)yavantuγwa-* (cf. 38, 30) TO BETWEEN. Examples are:

qan'u'n-arīiava' between (2) houses
qan'u'n-anarīiava' among (several) houses (outside)
pu'u'n-arīyapa-ŋA between his (vis.) eyes
taŋwa'n-arīyaχīaŋA between his (vis.) (2) teeth (stuck like tooth-pick)
taŋwa'n-arīyana-ŋA between his (vis.) teeth (on outside)
tana'c'χa(i)ya-ŋA nari'yava-ntux-wA foot-cleft-obj.-his (vis.) between-
 ness-at-to, to between his hoofs

22. *-nauq-wa-* DISTRIBUTED AMONG, THROUGHOUT (probably old noun stem with reciprocal prefix *na-^s*), e. g.:

taŋwa'n-auq-wA we (inclus.)-among; distributed among us, each to each

tiv^vl'p'ï an-a'uq-wA country (obj.) it-among, throughout the country

23. *-navas-u-* FOLLOWING, IMITATING (perhaps analyzable into reflexive *na-* + *va-* AT, cf. 37, + enclitic *-cu-* ALSO), e. g.

ymu'n-avas an-l'p'ïya' they (inv.)-following did, (he) did as they did

24. *-ni-^o* AWAY FROM; occurs only compounded: *-nit-uŋwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING AWAY FROM, e. g.:

ini't-uŋwa'^a this-away-to-thou! go away (from here)!

25. *-nu-*; occurs only with stem *tuŋwa-* DARK, NIGHT, which it nominalizes; also compounded: *-num-a-* (cf. 7) FOR (of time); *-num-antuŋwa-* (cf. 7, 30) UP TO e. g.:

tuŋwa'nU night

cv'it-uŋwanU one night; *cv'it-oŋwanumac-U* for just one night

cu(w)a'rōχw'it-uŋwan-um-antux-wA nearly-middle-night-at-to, up to nearly midnight

For compounded *-an-u-*, see 1.

26. *-ɔa-* AROUND; seems to occur only compounded: *-ɔaŋit-uŋwa-* (cf. 5, 30) (CIRCLING) AROUND; participialized *-ɔaŋit-uŋwanti-*. Examples are:

qanu ɔa'axit-ux-wA house (obj.) it (inv.; *ɔa-* assimilated from *u-ɔa-*)-around-to, (placed) around the house

aŋa'ɔax-itux-wA circling around him

uŋwa'ɔax-ituŋwanti' qaŋqa'nA he (inv.)-around-being (obj.) houses (distributive)-obj., houses (obj.) that (were) round about him

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27. *-q-waiia-n* OPPOSITE (cf. independent *qwaiia-n* OPPOSITE, BEYOND, § 60, 2, b); only compounded: *-q-waiiantuɣwa-* (cf. 30) TO OPPOSITE, ACROSS, e. g.:

pa'q-waiiantux-wA water-opposite-to, across (the) water

28. *-tirayua-* CENTER, MIDDLE (cf. independent noun stem *tirayua-* CENTER); only compounded: *-tirayuaɣa-*, *-tirayuaɣa-* (cf. 38) IN CENTER OF, RIGHT AMONG; participialized *-tirayuaɣa-nti-* BEING IN CENTER OF; *-tirayuaɣa-ntuɣwa-* (cf. 38, 30) TO CENTER OF. *-t-* appears as *-r-* (*-tc-*, *-ntc-*), *-t-*, *-nt-*. Examples are:

nijw'i-riraxuɣa-pa' people-center-at, right among (the) people
qan'ntciraxɣaɣa-nti house-center-at-being, being in the middle of
 (the) house
toɣ'o't-iraxɣaɣa-ntuɣwa-qA right-center-at-to-its (vis.), right into the
 middle of it

29. *-rič-u'ai-na'ai-* NOT HEEDING, PAYING NO ATTENTION TO; always verbal in form, *-na'ai-* being negative verb suffix (see § 57, 2, d), e. g.:

aŋa'riču'ain-a'a paying no attention to him

For another explanation of these forms, see § 18 2, c.

30. *-tuɣwa-n* TO, TOWARD, often verbalized TO GIVE TO; participialized *-tuɣwanti-*; *-tuɣwantim-ayu-* (cf. 7, 49) FROM —WARDS. *-t-* appears as *-r-* (*-tc-*, *-ntc-*), *-t-*, *-nt-*. This common postposition is probably compounded of non-independent *-tu-* and *-ɣwa-* (or *-ɣa-*; cf. perhaps *-ɣa-* of 2'aya-, 2), as is shown by dropping of *-ɣwa-* before *-mananɣwa-* (7, 37; also 2, 17, 43) and one or two other elements, e. g. *-u-a-ɣat-u-m-ananɣwa-* (17), *-ratcum-ananɣwa-* (2, 37). Examples are:

uwa'ruɣwap-iɣa'aik-wA gave it (inv.) to him (inv.)
aruɣw a'ip-iɣa' it-to said
pa-χiŋwa-'a-ruɣ-wA-p'iɣa' water-edge-to-past, went along (the) river
 shore
qatcu'ayanu ni' imi'ntcuɣwava-ŋ'wain-ia-ŋA not-him (vis.)-I I thou-
 to-will-negative-indicative-him (vis.), I shall not give him to you
qwa'ut-uɣwac-u off-to-also, facing the other way
tuɣu'ntux-wA upward
tiv'a'i-tuɣwanti west-to-being, (the) west
tuɣu'ntuɣwantim^oq(i)ɣU from upward

For compounded forms, see 1, 2, 7, 8, 13, 14, 17, 24, 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 43, 44, 45, 47; also 6, 16, 25, 48.

Verbalized *-tuqwa-* TO GO TO may even be compounded with another verb stem, e. g. *tina'tuqwan'ni-* TO BE OUT ON A HUNTING TRIP (cf. *tina-* TO HUNT).

31. *-tuqwa-*^o UNDER; participialized *-tuqwat'i-* BEING UNDER; *-tuqwa-γi-* (cf. 5) MOVING UNDER; participialized *-tuqwa-γit'i-* MOVING UNDER; *-tuqwa-γiyu-* (cf. 5, 49) ACTING WHILE MOVING UNDER; *-tuqwaip'a-* UNDER SIDE OF (perhaps misheard for *-γip'a-*, cf. 5, 38); *-tuqwanayqwa-* (cf. 18) CLIMBING (TREE); *-tuqwat'uqwa-* (cf. 30) TOWARDS UNDER; *-tuqwayu-* (cf. 49) ACTING UNDER. *-t-* appears as *-r-* (*-tc-*, *-ntc-*), *-t-*, *-nt-*. Examples are:

naru'q-wA under (him)self
tA'ci'anti uru'q-wA dawn-being (obj.) it (inv.)-under, under the dawn,
 just before daybreak
tava'teuq-wA sun-under, during the day
qan'nteuq-wA under (the) house
tümp^wi'tuq-wA under a stone
aru'q-wAtiαqA it-under-being-its (vis.), its bottom
pa'ru'q-waxT moving under (the) water
qan'nteuqwa^aχt'i moving under (the) house
aru'q-wa^aχeyu yaxa'vurup'iγa' it-under-moving-acting cry-go about-
 past, went about under it while crying
ava^aruq-waip'a'q-wA under side of its (inv.) shade
aru'q-wanayqwAp'ēγa' climbed up it
qa'ivay uru'q-wAtux-wA mountain (obj.) it (inv.)-under-to, towards
 under the mountain, to the base of the mountain
an'antea' aiη uru'q-wa(i)YU what-preterit-thou say-momentaneous
 it (inv.)-under acting? what did you say under there?

For compounded forms, see 45.

32. *-u(w)a'mi-* IN FRONT OF (evidently compounded; for *-'mi-*, cf. 19); *-u(w)it'uqwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING IN FRONT OF, BEFORE (of time). Examples are:

mami'ū(w)a'mi in front of them (vis.)
niηv^{'u}(w)α'mi (< *nīηwī-ua'mi-*) in front of (the) person
tami'ū(w)it'ux-wA moving in front of us 2 (inclus.)
nīū'(w)ituxwatca'ηA pi'tci I-before-preterit-he (vis.) arrive, he ar-
 rived before me

33. *-un·a·n*; only compounded: *-un·anqwap·a-* (cf. 16, 37) OUTSIDE OF, BACK BEHIND; *-un·antuywa-* (cf. 30) OPPOSITE TO. Examples are:

qan·'on·anqwap·A outside of (the) house

nü'·n·anqwap·A back behind me (at rest)

nü'·u'·nantux·WA opposite to me

34. *-o·n·a·p·i-* BEHIND (probably related to 33; cf. also *-vi·na·p·i-*, 48), e. g.:

qan·'o·na·^ap·i behind (the) house

35. *-u·p·a(·)-ⁿ*, ^a THROUGH, BY, IN — DIRECTION; IN — MANNER (employed both locally and, no doubt secondarily, modally); obj. *-u·p·a(·)q·u-*; with enclitic *-n·ia-* (§ 19, 2, d) *-u·p·an·ia-* (TO ACT) LIKE; with enclitic *-c·u-* (§ 19, 2, k) *-u·p·a(·)c·u-* IN THE SAME WAY, DIRECTION AS; participialized *-u·p·at·i-* BEING THROUGH, AMONG, AROUND; *-u·p·antuywa-* (cf. 30) TOGETHER WITH; *-u·p·a(·)t·uywa-* (cf. 30) MOVING THROUGH, ALONG, BY MEANS OF. Examples are:

nüo'·p·oñU I-by-momentaneous, pass by me

tümp^w·a'·U·p·a'amü through their (inv.) mouths

'i'·U·pa·'a·p·i·ya' went this way, in this direction

a'·u·p·anqip·i·ya' it-through-come-past, came along through it (referring to trail, tracks)

ma'·u·p·a'^a in that way, thus

təγ'·u·'o·p·a' just-I-in manner (= *təγ·in·i·o·p·a-*), equally to me

kwit'·tu'·x·p·a·q·oan·A anus-through-obj.-his (vis.), through his anus (he bit him)

nü'·imi'(y)·U·pa'·anu·naya'·φ·A^z·qa' I thou-in-manner-like look, I look like you

o'·p·ac·U in the same direction, in the same manner

qanq'a'·nu·o'·p·at·i houses (distributively)-obj. it (inv.)- through-being (fires) distributed among the houses

na'·p·antux·WA (< *na·u·p·a·n*; see § 4, 1, a) reciprocal-in-manner-to, all together

o'·p·at·uywap·i·ya' went along on it

imi'·U·pa't·ux·WA through you, by means of you

36. *-'urai·n* TOWARD, AFTER; participialized *-'urainti-* GOING TOWARD. Examples are:

qan·'u'·ra' towards (the) house

'u'·raim·pa·n·ianu I shall go toward, after it

tü'·a'·urainti' up it-toward-being-obj., up towards it

Unlike other postpositions, 'urai- seems often to occur as a phonetically independent word, an adverb with prepositional function, e. g.:

qan'u'an u'ra' paγ(ε)'i' house-obj.-I towards go-present (= *qan'u'an u'ra'*, perhaps *qan'u'an u'u'ra'*, it-toward), I go towards the house
NU^xqw'i'm'mian u'ra' run-moving-me towards, comes running toward me

37. *-pa-^s* AT (spirantized form *-va-* used with personal pronominal stems—not including demonstrative stems, which are followed by *-va-ⁿ*, 38 —, after diminutive *-tsu-*, and rarely after verbs, see § 55, 2; geminated form *-p-a-* occurs less frequently, with certain adverbs and compounded, 16, 18); with enclitic *-cu-* (§ 19, 2, k) *-vacu-* (JOINTED) IN SO AND SO MANY PLACES (after numeral stems); participialized *-vatci-* BEING AT, TO, ABOUT; *-patcuγwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING TO (*-vatcuγwa-* with pronouns and personal nouns, *-p-atcuγwa-* with certain adverbs); *-vatcuq-u-* (cf. 30, 41) DURING (of time); *-vayu-* (cf. 49) ACTING AT, FROM; DURING, THROUGH (of time). Curiously enough, *-pa-^s* is treated as though ending in *i*, hence followed by *-tc-* instead of *-r-*. Examples are:

aŋa'φA he-at, where he is

pi'tciñiñi nī'uφ^wA arriving I-at, arriving at my place

mi(y)ɔ''itsuφA tī'qa'ŋ'wipīγa' far-little-at became, got a little way off
wa'ixApiγa ūn·i'φA deliberated do-at, (they) deliberated as to (what they were) to do

tcayl'pA near (= proximity-at)

paa'iväc·U (jointed) in three places

am·i'v'atciA tɔŋwa'q·ŋumpa' they-at-being-obj. shoot-momentaneous-
 shall, shall shoot at them

nī' aŋa'vatciA pu'tcu'tcuγwai' I he-at-being-obj. know-present, I
 know about him

uŋwa'vatcuγwayqwa'ap·i'γa' he-at-to-go-past, went to him

pi(y)a'vatcuχwaφi (he went) to his own mother

tcayl'p-atcuχ·WA near-to, (they fought) close together

tuywa'vatcuq·U during (the) night

tuxwa'va(i)YU through, during (the) night

marā'(i)ztiγan·i' (probably = *-vaYU-*) that-at-acting-become (§ 60,
 2, b)- like; at, to a certain distance

For compounded forms, see 2, 15, 16, 18, 23; also 7, 33, 48.

38. *-pa-ⁿ* AT (parallel to 37, but freely suffixed to nouns, generally as spirantized *-va-ⁿ*, only infrequently as geminated *-pa-ⁿ* or nasalized *-mpa-ⁿ*); objective *-mpa-ŋqu-*; participialized *-va-nti-* BEING AT (less often *-pa-nti-*, *-mpa-nti-*; *-pa-nti-* ABOUT, CONCERNING with verbs, see § 55, 2); *-va-ntim-ananŋwa-* (cf. 7, 18) STARTING FROM; *-va-ntuŋwa* (cf. 30) TO, ON TO (less often *-pa-ntuŋwa-*; *-pa-ntuŋwa-* TO, DURING with verbs, see § 55, 2); *-va-yu-* (cf. 49) ACTING AT, FROM (less often *-pa-yu-*, *-mpa-yu-*; *-pa-yu-* sometimes with verbs, see § 55, 2). Examples of this most important of all postpositions are:

ava' it-at, there; *mava'*, *m^wα'va'* there (vis.); *uv^wa'*, *u'iv^wa'* there (inv.); *ivä'*, *v'ivä'* this-at, here
qaniv^wanū at my house
tümp^wi'p'a' stone-at (< *tümp^wi-^o*; but also *tümp^wi'vä'*)
müa'γantümpa' on (the) divide (< *müa'γantü-ⁿ*)
tōŋ'ŋqwiŋmpa-ŋqunū right-crown-at-obj.-my, (hit me) right on the crown of my head
v'ivä'nt anü this-at-being it, that which is here
uv^wa'antüa pū'ca'ŋaik-zAp'ŋa' there-being-obj. hunt for-plur.-past, there (they) hunted for (him)
tin'ayŋiva-c'umū nū'nū ŋnū'p'ä-ntianū tell-to-will-thee me do-at-being-obj.-my, I will tell you about what I do
m^wα'va-ntimananŋwa that (vis.)-at-being-on-direction, starting from there
nūv^wa'antux-w.1 (coming) on to, upon me
uv^wa'antuxw'ayw.1 w'ina'i'p'ŋa'aiŋw.1 there-to-him (inv.) throw-past-him (inv.), right there (he) threw him down
pao'(w)ip^wantux-w.1 water-canyon-at-to, down to (the) canyon
pōŋ'm'nuap^wantuxwαfū travel-moving-at-to-own, during their own traveling
ki(y)ap'iva'a(i)ŋvū fīxā'iva' round-dance here-acting happen-shall, a round-dance will take place here
uv^wa'yū'mü nanŋwa'a'imü pa(i)ŋi'q'w'ōip'ŋa' there-acting-dual reciprocal-with-dual return-go-past, from there both of them returned home
qaviv'ŋvpa-yuŋfū camp (plur.)-momentaneous-at-acting-own, at their own camping place, where they were staying over night
mü'm'antsŋantümpa-(i)ŋvū t'at'c'n'naxa' divides (distributively)-little-being-at-acting scratch-subordinating, while scratching around in little divides

For compound forms, see 3, 21, 28, 31.

There are also forms with *-va(·)'a-* and *-va(·)'a(i)yu-* for normal *-va-* and *-va(i)yu-*. What the significance of the vocalic breaking is is not evident. It is barely possible that *-va'a-* is to be analyzed as *-va-* + enclitic *-ʼa-* (§ 19, 3, a); yet the suffixing of non-enclitic *-yu-* to *-va'a-* makes this highly improbable. Examples are:

m^wα'va'anīm^w1 qan'χa' there-we (exclus.) house-have, we live there
'i'va'a(i)y yni'ηv here-acting do-momentaneous, start(s) from here

Here may belong also 46, 47.

39. *-vai-^o*, does not seem to occur alone; participialized *-vait-ī-* EQUALLY TO, AS — AS, generally followed by enclitic *-nia-* (§ 19, 2, d); *-vait-ɔγɔ-ⁿ* ALONGSIDE OF. Examples are:

tɔγɔ'n^wiva'tim pa'a'(i)yīnva:ηA just-I-equal-being-plural tall-present-
 like-he (vis.), he is as tall as I am
qan'vait'ηni' house-equal-being-like, about the size of a house
taηwa'vait-ɔx-ɔ (moving) alongside of us (incl.)
am'ī'v^waitɔγɔηqwa'aiγa' while passing alongside of them

40. *-vaia-*, occurs only compounded; participialized *-vaiananqwat-ī-* (cf. 18) BEFORE REACHING, e. g.:

'aηA'vaiananqwa:itiαc·U wants aηA kwī'pa'p'īγa' he-before-being-ob-
 jective-again antelope he fell, the antelope fell down dead before
 reaching him

41. *-vaiyauq-u-* AT — TIME (for *-qu-* cf. *-vateuq-u-* DURING, 37); *-vaiyau-* is probably compounded of *-va-* (38), or *-va-* (37), and otherwise non-occurring *-yau-*. Examples are:

'u'v^waiyauq·U at that (inv.) time, then, thereupon (very common as
 sentence-introducing adverb in mythical narrative)
'i'tcia·qA pīv^wa'iyauq·U qana'ri-tsiηwī'aq umī pu'pu'tcuγwap-ī this
 (inan. obj.) -it (vis.) which-time Kanab-Indians-obj.-it (inv.) they
 (inv.) learn (distributively)-past partic., this is the time at which
 the Kanab Indians learned it

42. *-vanī-* PLACE LEFT OVER (with numeral stems; perhaps only *-va-nī-*, 38), e. g.:

cv'v^wanfic·U one-more-also, only one more
waa'vantic·U only two places left

43. *-paŋwi-^o* IN, INSIDE OF (very likely compounded of *-pa-^s*, 37, and *-ŋwi-^o*, 14; generally appears as spirantized *-vaŋwi-*, far less frequently as geminated *-paŋwi-*, nasalized *-mpaŋwi-*); participialized *-paŋwit-ⁱ-*; *-paŋwit-^uŋwa-* (cf. 30) INTO; *-paŋwit-^um-^anaŋqwa-* (cf. 30, 7, 18) OUT FROM INSIDE OF; *-paŋwiyu-* (cf. 49) ACTING IN. Examples are:

qan'i'vaŋwɪ house-in, inside (the) house
tɔŋɔ'ia'vaŋwɪiA kwɪ'pa'p'ɪŋa' right-it-in-being-obj. fell, (he) fell right in it
mɔ'ɔ'vaŋwit-^uŋwa-ŋA into his (vis.) hand (it flew)
qan'i'vaŋwit-^umanaŋqwaA (he came) out from (the) house
qan'a'ŋwaŋantim'paŋwɪtux-wA willow-canyon-in-to, in through a willow-bordered canyon
wa'ixan-a'amü qan-i'vaŋwɪyU deliberate-verbal noun- their (vis.) house-in-acting, their deliberating while in (the) house

44. *-vatcaŋwi-^o* MEETING, TOWARDS (person) (probably contains *-pa-^s*, 37, and *-ŋwi-^o*, 14; *-tca-*, perhaps < *-ta-*, is unexplained); *-vatcaŋwit-^uŋwa-* (cf. 30) MOVING TOWARDS, FACING. Examples are:
mana'vatcaŋwɪŋup'ɪŋa' met him (vis.)
ŋwa'vatcaŋwɪtux-wA (rolled over) towards him (inv.)
qan'i'vatcaŋwɪtux-wA facing (the) house

45. *-pa(i)ya-^s*, *-pa(i)ya-^s* SURFACE (cf. independent noun stem *pa(i)ya-^s* SURFACE, FACE), occurs frequently compounded with following postpositions, particularly after *tɔŋu-ⁿ*, *tɔŋumpa-^o* SKY (*-v-*, *-p-*, and *-m-* are all found); *-pa(i)ya-ŋi-* (cf. 5) MOVING THROUGH, ALONG; *-pa(i)ya-m-^ayu-* (cf. 7, 49) FROM; *-pa(i)ya-m-^anaŋqwa-* (cf. 7, 18) FROM; *-pa(i)ya-^rŋwa-* (cf. 30) UP BESIDE; *-pa(i)ya-^ruq-wa-* (cf. 31) UNDER, NEXT TO. Examples are:

tɔŋu'm'p'apa(i)ya-x:ɪ (he sings flying) through (the) air
tɔŋu'm'p'apa(i)ya-m-a(i)YU sky-surface-from, way up from (the) sky
tuxu'm'pai:ɪ pa(i)ya'm-^anaŋqwaA sky (obj.) surface-from, from (the) sky
qai'va'vaiarux-wA mountain-surface-to, up beside (the) mountain
u^wa'(i)ya-^ruq-wA it (inv.)-surface-under, next to it
tɔŋu'm'pa(i)yaruq-wA sky-surface-under, under (the) sky

46. *-pa'a-ŋi-^o* OVER, ACROSS (possibly compounded of *-pa'-a-* AT, 38, and *-ŋi-^o*, 5; generally spirantized *-va'a-ŋi-^o*, rarely geminated *-p'a'a-ŋi-^o*); participialized *-pa'a-ŋit-ⁱ-*. Examples are:

qan'u'a·x·1 over (the) house (he flies)
nava'a·x·1 over (him)self
o(w)'p'a·^aγuk·^zA canyon-over-verbal present, (he) goes across a
 canyon-creek
'aη'a'v'a·γut·iA he-over-being-obj., (he struck) over him (with his
 wing)

47. *-pa'an·a-* ON, UPON, RESTING ABOVE, ABOUT (possibly compounded of *-pa'a-* AT, 38, and non-independent *-n·a-*, cf. 17, 18, 21; generally spirantized *-va'an·a-*, rarely geminated *-p'a'an·a-*); participialized *-pa'anfi-*; *-pa'anturγwa-* (cf. 30) ON TO, AGAINST; *-pa'an·ayu-* (cf. 49) ACTING ON. Examples are:

qan'u'an·a·ηA paγ(a)'in'ni' house-on-he (vis.) walk-continuative-
 present, he walks on (the) house
niv^wa'ana I-on; on, about me
tümp^wi'p'ana on a stone (< *tümp^wi-^o*)
sa'va'n'tiaη arī back-on-being-his (vis.) it, the (thing) on his back
aη'a'vantux·WA on to him, against him
ava'an·a(i)YU it-on-acting, from above it (he sat and watched)

48. *-vi-^o* IN BACK OF (cf. instrumental prefix *pi-^o*, § 21, 3; also independent adverb *pimit·uγwa-* BACK, § 60, 2, b); occurs only compounded: *-vimit·uγwa-* (cf. 13) OUT OF; *-vin·a·γi-* (cf. 17) BEHIND; *-vinaηqwa-* (cf. 18) BEHIND, AFTER, FOLLOWING; *-vinaηqwap·a-*, *-vinaηqwap·a-* (cf. 18, 37) (RESTING) BEHIND; participialized *-vinaηqwap·atci-*; *vinaηqwap·atcuγwa-* (cf. 18, 37, 30) MOVING AFTER; *-vinaηqwap·ayu-* (cf. 18, 37, 49) ACTING BEHIND; *-vina·p·i-*, *-vina·p·i-* BEHIND (cf. 34). Examples are:

tiηqa'nu uv^wi'mitux·WA cave (obj.) it (inv.)-back-out of, (he came)
 out of the cave
nava'n·a·x·1 behind (him)self
uηwa'vinaηqWA after him (inv.) (he sang)
qan'u' uv^wi'naηqwp·A house (obj.) it (inv.)-behind-at, in back of the
 house
ymu'v'vinaηqwap·A behind them (inv.)
aη'a'vinaηqWA'patciA tav'p·i'γa' he-behind-at-being-obj. lit, (he) lit
 behind him
nijwi'v'vinaηqWApatcuγwa'amī person-behind-at-to-dual, (they) 2
 (went) after everybody else (had gone)
uv^wi'n·aηqwap·a(i)YU wa'i·x·A·pī'γa' it (inv.)-behind-at-acting deliber-
 ated, (they) were deliberating outside

niv^wi'na^ap'i behind me
'aya'vina·p'i behind him

49. *-yu-*. This important element (see 1, 7, 17, 31, 37, 38, 43, 47; also 2, 3, 30, 45, 48) occurs almost entirely in composition with preceding postpositions. It is not properly a postposition itself, but is likely to be etymologically identical with the verbal subordinating *-yu-* (see § 55, 1, c). The translation ACTING that has been given for it in the preceding entries is only an awkward approximation to its significance. It seems to indicate that the action of the verb takes place under the circumstances indicated in the postpositional phrase, which may thus be conceived of as subordinately verbified.

Uncompounded *-yu-* seems to occur in:

pa'a'(i)yon·i' pa(i)yü'yp'p'ya' high-acting-like return-momentaneous-past, high up (he went and) came back, (he) returned from high up

Compounded *-yu-* (particularly *-mayu-* and *-vayu-*) is also often most easily rendered as FROM.

VERB MORPHOLOGY (§ § 51-56).

§ 51. *General Remarks on verbal form.*

(1) TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE. With very few exceptions, verb stems are inherently either transitive or intransitive, changes from one voice to the other being brought about by means of suffixes or changes in the final stem vowel (§ 53, 1, b, f). The only examples noted of verb stems that are both transitive and intransitive are: *kvip-a-* TO STRIKE, HIT and TO FALL ON BEING STRUCK, TO BE LAID LOW, and, not altogether without doubt, *paq-a-* TO KILL, BEAT (ONE PERSON) and TO BE SORE, TO SUFFER PAIN. Instrumental prefixes, it will be recalled, have an inherently transitive force, e. g. *pən'nə-x(v)a-* TO MAKE A DRUMMING NOISE (intr.), *wi-pən'nəa-* TO DRUM (WITH A DRUMSTICK).

(2) ABSOLUTE VERB FORMS. As has been abundantly illustrated, verb forms, even aside from nominal derivatives (§ 25, 1-6), often appear without either enclitic or suffixed tense elements. Such forms may be conveniently termed absolutes. They are used under various circumstances:

(a) When tense (and pronominal) elements are appended to another preceding word in the sentence, the verb appears as an absolute, e. g.:

a'itcaŋani qu'q-wi then-preterit-him (vis.)-I shoot, then I shot him;
contrast *qu'qu'itcaŋani* I shot him

(b) In imperative forms (see § 52).

(c) Frequently in interrogative forms, where reference is had to present time.

(d) Generally substantive verbs (*aro'a-*, *uru'a-*, § 56) have no present suffix, present (or general) time being implied when there is no tense suffix.

(e) Verbs of BEING and HAVING in *-kai-* (§ 26, 1, a and b) take no *-yī-* to express present time, but are tenseless, e. g. *qanu'χaini* I HAVE A HOUSE. It is probable that in such cases *-kai-* represents an old contraction of *-kai-yī-*, as the *-yī-* reappears after an intervening impersonal *-t'ua-* (see § 29, 14; § 32, 8).

§ 52. *The imperative.*

The imperative is only negatively determined as regards form, i. e. by the absence of tense elements, further by the frequent absence of the second person singular in forms that have a pronominal or nominal object. Syntactically, imperatives are remarkable in that they take an object in the subjective form. The pronominal subject or object, as usual, may be appended either to the verb or to a preceding element, e. g. hortatory *ivwī-* (§ 60, 2, d). Examples illustrative of these remarks are:

ivwīⁱ drink-thou! drink!

awim'ituywa^a it-out of-thou! go out!

ivwīⁱ *ivī'yu* hortatory-thou drink-momentaneous! go ahead, take a drink!

qatunⁿ *wa'a'yu(y)a'p.1* not-thou shout-negative! don't shout!

wam'axani stick-give-me! give me a stick!

wan.ʃ'qənim^w1 tʃ'nA all (obj.)-us (exclus.) punch! punch all of us!

pAʔqa'nyay.1 sari^ttc aŋA kill-him (vis.) dog (subjective) he (vis.)! kill the dog!

tʃnaⁿamī punch-them (inv.)!

qür'k'itsiæq i'tcī tī'qa'qA arise-gerund (§ 55, 1, a)-it (vis.) this (inan. subjective) eat-it (vis.)! after getting up, eat this!

wu'a'nīni ya'ŋqik.1 it (inv.)-at-being (subjective)-me carry-for-hither! bring me (it) over there!

Imperatives with a dual or plural subject do not seem to occur with enclitic pronominal subject, but are characterized instead by an

enclitic *-ya-*, appended either to the verb form or a preceding word. In plural imperative forms the verb is plural in form; dual imperatives, particularly if intransitive, frequently add dual pronominal enclitic *-' . . . mĩ-* to *-ya-*: *-y'amĩ-*. Examples of plural and dual imperatives, with and without pronominal objects, are:

- tĩ'qa'q'a(i)YA, tĩ'qa'q'ai'* eat ye!
qatcu'i' mĩnto'n'a'p'A not-plur. imper. run (plur. verb-stem)-negative!
 do not run away (plur.)!
tɔɣ'o'q-wiya'amĩ run (sing. verb-stem)-imper.-dual! ye 2 run!
mĩm'w'iyaxu tɔ'nA ye-plur. imper.-me punch (sing. verb-stem)! ye
 2 punch me!
tona'y'aŋwA ye 2 punch him (inv.)!
i(y)ε'nvq(w)a(i)ya'q'A this-at (§ 50, 4, 1)-plur. subject-plur. imper.-
 it (vis.)! here it is! (speaking to more than two; note idiomatic
 use of imperative)
wĩ'qa'm'yaA'qa'amĩ cover-plur. imper.-it (vis.)-dual! ye 2 cover it!
qatcu'ya-mĩ yaŋw'(y)ap'A not-plur. imper.-them (vis.) carry (sing.
 verb-stem)-negative! do ye 2 not carry them 2!

What is probably an emphatic imperative is sometimes formed by appending enclitic *-aq'a-* to the verb or a preceding word. In all probability this *-aq'a-* is merely an idiomatic use of enclitic pronominal *-aq'a-* IT (vis.); it has the position of a pronominal enclitic. That it is not to be merely construed as a pronominal object, properly speaking, is shown by its use with inherently intransitive as well as transitive verbs. On the other hand, it does not seem to occur where the verb has a true pronominal object. Examples of imperative *-aq'a-* are:

- qa'aq'A* sing!
tɔɣ'o'q-wi(y)aq'A go ahead and run!
tɔɣ'o'q-wiyaq'A ye 2 run!
nĩv'w'yaq'A cv'p'a-ro'a I-at-plur. imper.-it (vis.) assemble! do ye
 come together at my place!

§ 53. *Internal stem changes.*

Verbal stem changes in Paiute that are of morphological significance may be classified under the heads of reduplication (see § 58, 3-6), vocalic modification, and consonantal affection. Only the two latter are discussed at this point.

(1) VOCALIC ALTERNATIONS. Vocalic alternations are either quantitative or qualitative, the former, insofar as they are of morphological

significance, being relatively infrequent. In all, six types of vocalic alternation may be recognized.

(a) *Vocalic lengthening.* A short vowel may be lengthened, a long one over-lengthened (e. g. *a* to *a'a*), to indicate the idea of IN VAIN, TO NO EFFECT, e. g.:

qa'ap'ĩya' sang to no effect (< *qa-* to sing)

'*a'aip'ĩya'* said without effect (< *ai-* to say)

a'mpaχai' talks to no purpose (< *ampa'χai'* talks)

'*o'n'niŋ'uq-wa* did it (inv.) in vain (< *un'ŋ'uq-wa* did it)

These examples indicate that it is regularly the first vowel of the word which is lengthened.

Another group of cases of vocalic lengthening seems to be associated with the idea of continuation. Examples are not very numerous:

pĩnu'ŋwĩn-q'n'uq-wiχw'aiva'aŋwa look-stand about (*-ŋwĩn-o-* < *-ŋwĩn-ĩ-* to stand, assimilated by following *-n'uq-wi-*)-run-go-future-him (inv.), shall go to stand around looking for him

ŋni'ĩχ'u'umĩ do (< *ŋni-*)-subordinating-them (inv.), while they 2 were so doing

pɔ't'o'qwa- to be spherical: *pɔ't'o'ŋ'i'kai-* to be spherical

tsi'tsiŋwayai'p'ĩyain'i' it seemed that (arrows) were stuck in in several places (lengthened from normal reduplicated *tsit-si-* > *ts'tsi'-*)

Perhaps *ma'n'i-c-ampa-* BARELY is similarly lengthened from *man'i'-c-ampa-* THAT-WAY-ONLY, ONLY IN THAT WAY, e. g.:

u^vwa'a:x-i *ma'a'ni-i-c-amp-a* *ya'uq-wi'p'ĩya'* it (inv.)-over barely entered, barely escaped by going over it

(b) *Vocalic alternation to indicate number (and voice).* In certain verbs, the final vowel is *a*, *u*, *ɔ*, or *i* in the intransitive singular, *i* in the intransitive plural and in the transitive. Examples are:

tɔp-a-q-i- (tree, feather, tooth) *tɔvi-tcai-* several come loose; *-tɔp-i-* comes loose *n'na-* to pluck out one;

-tɔvi-tca- to pluck out several *qavi-tcai-* several stop; *qavi-tca-* to stop several

qap-a-q-i- to stop (intr.)

ti'p-a-q-i- one comes out, emerges

ti^vi-tcai- several emerge

paγa-q-i-, *paq-a-q-i-* to tear (intr.)

paγ(a)i-tcai- several tear (intr.), are worn out; *-paq-i-n'na-* to tear one; *-paγ(a)i-tca-* to tear several

<i>tcaywūq a-</i> one disappears	<i>tcaywūk i-</i> several die off
<i>qəwə-q(w)i-</i> , <i>qəpə-q(w)i-</i> to break (intr.)	<i>qəvi-tca i-</i> several break (intr.); <i>qəp i-n'na-</i> to break one; <i>qəvi-tca-</i> to break several
<i>wiyum' mu-q(w)i-ŋqī-</i> to lash (horse) on buttocks, causing him to start (secondarily transitivized by <i>-ŋqī-</i> , § 29, 10)	<i>wi'yum' mi-</i> (Ute), also <i>winəm' mi-</i> to jerk up one's buttocks (continuously)

(c) *Vocalic alternation to indicate aspect.* In a few cases a final *-a-* vowel of the stem when used iteratively (or continuatively) contrasts with an *-i-* of the stem when used semelfactively, e. g.:

<i>up'uq(w)i-</i> to bounce (once)	<i>ov^woq(w)a-γ(ε)i-</i> to bounce up and down
<i>-q i-</i> semelfactive intransitive (§ 30, 3)	<i>-γa-</i> continuative intransitive (§ 30, 1)

(d) *Vocalic alternation to indicate active (-a-) and medio-passive or static (-i-).* A very considerable number of verb stems alternate in their final vowel between *a-* and *i-*, a smaller number between *ya-* and *i-*. The former form of the stem is used for the active intransitive (or transitional) voice, the latter for the medio-passive, static, or resultative voice. The *i-* forms seem to be durative, the *a-* forms tend to be momentaneous. Examples are:

<i>i-pətsin' i-k'ai-</i> to be ready to start off	<i>pətsin' na-</i> to start off (for a race)
<i>muntun' ni-</i> to lie covered up	<i>muntuna-</i> to lie down and cover oneself up
<i>qəi' ni-</i> to hang together in two parts	<i>qəi' na-</i> to come together, dangle in two parts
<i>-m' unuq wi-</i> to be round	<i>-m' unuq wa-</i> to become round
<i>nəqəm' mi-(k'ai-)</i> to be bent, <i>nəqə-m i-</i> to bend (slowly; intr.)	<i>nəqəm' ma-</i> to give a bend (intr.)
<i>cə i-k'ai-</i> to be bent	<i>cə ya-</i> to bend (intr.)
<i>naja-ntup i-</i> several are angry (<i>-tup i-</i> plural stem found only in compounds, parallel to sing. <i>-ya'ai-</i> to die)	<i>naja-ntup a-</i> several get angry
<i>patcaq wi-</i> to be wet	<i>patcaq wa-</i> to get wet
<i>pat'ca' i-k'ai-</i> to be fastened on to	<i>pat'ca' a-</i> to be left fastened

<i>ut-cum'mi-</i> to have one's eyes closed	<i>ut-cum'ma-</i> to close one's eyes
<i>ɸən-i-</i> to stick out one's buttocks,	<i>ɸən-a-</i> to stoop and stick out
<i>ɸən-i-k'ai-</i> to have one's buttocks stuck out	one's buttocks

In some cases that have been recorded, there seems to be little appreciable difference in meaning between the *i-* and *a-* forms, though this may be due to inadequate translation, e. g.:

<i>teuγwi-</i> to approach (tr.)	<i>teuγwa-</i> dit.
<i>cīr'i-</i> to be frightened, surprised	<i>cīr'ya-</i> dit.

(e) *Alternation of transitional -i- and static -a-*. This type, apparently the exact opposite of the preceding, is sparsely represented, e. g.:

<i>ɸən:ɔ'a-</i> to be full	<i>ɸən:ɔ'i-</i> to become full
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(f) *Alternation of intransitive -i-, -a- and transitive -a-*. In these verbs it is difficult to discover the difference in meaning between the *-i-* and *-a-* forms (cf. d above). In some cases only *-i-* alternates with *-a-*. The alternation of *-i-* and *-a-* is evidently an old Uto-Aztekan feature; cf. such Nahuatl doublets as *cotoni* TO BREAK (intr.): *cotona* TO WOUND, CUT; *tomi* TO OPEN UP (intr.): *toma* TO OPEN (tr.), DELIVER; and numerous others. Paiute examples are:

<i>tuγwi-, tuγwa-</i> fire goes out	<i>tuγwa-</i> to put out a fire
<i>yauq-wi-, yauq-wa-</i> to enter, sun sets	<i>-yauq-wa-</i> to push in
<i>toq-wi-</i> to stretch (intr.)	<i>-toq-wa-</i> to stretch (tr.)
<i>mīn-w-i-</i> to turn, roll (intr.)	<i>tsu-mīn-w-a-</i> to turn (meat) with a spit
<i>īmpīn'i-, īmpīn'na-</i> to be raised resting on (something)	<i>īmpīn'na-</i> to raise so as to uncover
<i>ɔwi-</i> hair is out, <i>ɔwa-</i> hair comes out	<i>ɔwa-</i> to pull out hair, pluck feathers
<i>nu'i-k'ai-</i> several stand	<i>nu'a-</i> to throw down several

Here may belong also:

<i>wīn-i-</i> to stand	<i>wīn-ai-</i> to throw down (a person)
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Transitives of these verbs with animate object end in *-a-ŋqī-* (§ 29, 10), e. g.:

tea'mp̄in·a·ŋq̄ip·i'γai(y)aq·A (< *tea-imp̄in·a-*) lifted it (vis.) up from (him)
maru'x·uqwa·ŋq̄ian·A to stretch him (vis.)

It is not clear whether these forms are to be considered as transitivised from intransitives in *-a-* or as built on *-a-* transitives with lengthened vowel before *-ŋq̄i-*.

(2) CONSONANTAL AFFECTION. Two groups of cases are to be recognized, glottalization and gemination of stem consonants. These seem to be equivalent processes. Not infrequently they occur together in the same form, e. g. *ts·k̄a'p·in'NA* TO CUT (momentaneously): *ts·k̄aviNA* TO CUT (duratively).

(a) *Glottalization of verb stems.* This process operates:

1. To indicate distribution, e. g.:

<i>wa'tcū'ŋwiyun·i'</i> four	<i>wa'a'ŋw·atcū'ŋwiyun·i'</i> eight (lit., four here and there)
<i>waŋwi-</i> several stand	<i>wa'a'ŋwitūip·i'γa'</i> caused (them) each to stand
<i>yun·a-</i> to put several down (in one place)	<i>yun·a'(a)i-</i> to put down in several places

2. To indicate iteration, e. g.:

<i>iyon·a-</i> to carry in one's arms	<i>iyon'na-</i> to carry several times
<i>ya·-vaγai-</i> to fear	<i>yī'i·p·aq·ai-</i> to be afraid several times (note irregular change of <i>-a-</i> to <i>-i-</i>)

3. To indicate momentaneous activity, e. g. *-n'na-* momentaneous transitive with singular object: *-n·a-* durative transitive with singular object (§ 30, 4).

Glottalization alone as a grammatical process is relatively rare. Generally it accompanies distributive or iterative reduplication (see § 58, 3 and 4), less often gemination alone (see b).

(b) *Gemination in verb stems.* Gemination primarily denotes momentaneous activity; the contrast between momentaneous and durative, as might be expected, tends to become one of singularity and plurality. Gemination is very commonly employed with the momentaneous suffixes *-q·i-* (§ 30, 3) and *-n'na-* (§ 31, 2, c). Other examples of momentaneous gemination are:

<i>tīγai-</i> to happen	<i>tīq·aŋ'wi-</i> to take place (at one moment of time)
<i>nayava-</i> to seem	<i>nayap'a-ŋu-</i> to get to seem
<i>nayari-ŋqī-</i> to dodge	<i>nayat'i-ŋqī-</i> to dodge quickly
<i>yauγwi-tcai-</i> several enter	<i>yauq·wi-</i> one enters
<i>ta-'niγi-</i> to stick one's foot in (duratively, customarily)	<i>ta-'nik-i-</i> to stick one's foot in (momentaneously)
<i>tst-qur'u-</i> to be poking in a hole with the point of a stick	<i>tst-qut-u-na-</i> to take out of a hole with a stick
<i>qī-nivuywi-</i> to nibble at	<i>qī-nip·uywi-</i> to gnaw
<i>tuv^wun'ni-</i> to be waking up	<i>tup·un'ni-</i> to wake up (at once)
<i>no'oru-</i> to be pregnant	<i>no'ot-ua-</i> to appear pregnant (right off)
<i>yī'iγi-k·a-</i> several swallow	<i>yī'ik-i-</i> one swallows
<i>-γa-</i> durative suffix (§ 30, 1)	<i>-q-i-</i> momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 3)

Far less frequently gemination indicates iterative activity, e. g.:

<i>qaq·ari-</i> to run away	<i>qaq·at'i-</i> to run away several times
<i>ya·vaγai-</i> to fear	<i>yī'i-p·aq·ai-</i> to be afraid several times

Even these examples are really but special forms of gemination accompanying reduplication. Combined gemination and reduplication, to indicate distribution or iteration, is common (see § 58, 3, h; § 58, 4, a, d, f).

§ 54. *Singular and plural stems.*

All verbs are determined as regards singularity or plurality of the subject, less often of the object also; the singular form includes reference to the dual. The most common method of indicating plurality of the subject is by the use of the suffix *-q·a-* (§ 31, 1, e); for other suffixes indicating or implying plurality of subject or object, see § 31, 1, a and b; § 31, 2, a-d. Vocalic alternation of the final vowel of the stem is also sometimes associated with change of number (see § 53, 1, b). The idea of distribution expressed by reduplication often passes over into that of plurality of the subject or object (see § 58, 3).

Besides these formal methods of expressing number, there are certain verb stems that are inherently limited in their reference to number, the singular-dual of the intransitive subject or transitive object being expressed by a stem which is etymologically distinct

from that for the plural of the intransitive subject or transitive object. Certain of these stem contrasts are:

<i>qarī-</i> one sits, dwells	<i>yuγwi-</i> several sit, dwell
<i>avi-</i> one lies	<i>qʷawi-</i> several lie
<i>wün-ī-</i> one stands	<i>waŋwi-, nu'ī-(k'ai-)</i> several stand
<i>pa(i)yū-</i> one returns	<i>pan'aγa-</i> several return
<i>pīci-</i> one arrives	<i>īm^wū-</i> several arrive
<i>paγ(a)ī-</i> one goes, walks	<i>pəɾə-</i> several travel; <i>mīa-</i> several go
<i>ap'ū-</i> one sleeps	<i>aq'ɔ'ī-</i> several sleep
<i>təγəq-wi-</i> one runs	<i>yon'ī-, yon'ni-</i> several run
<i>qaq-arī-</i> one runs away	<i>mīntən'ni-</i> several run away
<i>īγa-</i> one enters	<i>waγi-</i> several enter
<i>wī'ī-(q-u-)</i> one falls	<i>yun'ia-</i> several fall
<i>nəntsi-</i> to fly	<i>yu-c'ī-</i> several fly off
(not limited in number)	
<i>tsik-an'na-</i> one appears	<i>maya-(γu-)</i> several appear
<i>təŋqwa-</i> one (bow) snaps	<i>qavi-tcaī-</i> several snap (plurality indicated by <i>-tcaī-</i> , not by stem)
<i>ya-</i> , <i>yaŋwi-</i> to carry one (object)	<i>yu'a-</i> to carry several (objects)
<i>qūwī-</i> to take one (object)	<i>tu'um-a-</i> to take several (objects)
<i>watcī-</i> to put one (object)	<i>yun-a-</i> to put several (objects)
<i>paq-a-</i> to kill one (anim. obj.)	<i>qɔ'ī-, qɔɔ'ī-</i> (reduplicated) to kill several
<i>wün'ai-</i> to throw down one	<i>nu'a-</i> to throw down several
<i>(tsi)-niγi-</i> to stick in one	<i>(tsi)-ŋwaγ(a)ī-</i> to stick in several (cf. <i>waγi-</i> above)
<i>mī'na-(q-i-)</i> one (object) breaks off	<i>mimīɔ'ī-</i> (reduplicated) several break off (irregularly related to singular form)

Several of these verb stems are also used as the second element in compound verbs. The whole verb may be characterized as singular or plural in this way; a pluralizing *-q-a-* may thus become unnecessary, e. g. *ivi-* ONE DRINKS; *ivi-k'a-* SEVERAL DRINK, but *ivi-ŋwün'ī-* ONE DRINKS STANDING; *iviŋwaŋwi-* SEVERAL DRINK STANDING. Singularity or plurality of the object is not disturbed by composition, e. g. *paq-a-ŋwün'ī-* ONE STANDS AND KILLS ONE; *paq-a-ŋwaŋwi-* SEVERAL STAND AND KILL ONE; *qɔ'ī-ŋwün'ī-* ONE STANDS AND KILLS SEVERAL; *qɔ'ī-ŋwaŋwi-* SEVERAL STAND AND KILL SEVERAL. Similarly, note

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qwii- ONE TAKES ONE; *qwiiq-a-* SEVERAL TAKE ONE; *tu'um-a-* ONE TAKES SEVERAL; *tu'um:aq-a-* SEVERAL TAKE SEVERAL.

A small number of singular and plural verb stems are used only as second elements in verb compounds, e. g.:

<i>-kwa'(a)i-</i> one goes (see § 28, 1; practically suffix)	<i>-mia-</i> several go (less frequently used as independent stem)
<i>-ya'(a)i-</i> to die (independent stem), e. g. <i>tiiyii-ya'ai-</i> to die of hunger, to be hungry	<i>-tupi-</i> , <i>-tupa-</i> (only in compounds; perhaps identical with <i>tupi-</i> to be used up), e. g. <i>tiiyii-tcup-i-</i> several are hungry, <i>naŋa-ntupa-</i> several get angry
<i>U²qu'mpu-tcaq'ai-</i> one (thing) goes off in dust	<i>U²qu'mpu-tetcai-xw'ai-</i> several (things) go up in dust

The plural *-navitci-* TO BECOME (perhaps reciprocal *na-s* + *pitci-* TO ARRIVE: TO ARRIVE WITH ONE ANOTHER, TO GET TO BE AMONG THEMSELVES) either corresponds to singular *-fiq:aq'wi-* (also used independently) TO BECOME or is used as a verbal quasi-suffix of plurality, e. g.:

<i>qatcut-iq:aq'wi-</i> to not-become, one gets tired out	<i>qatcun:avitci-</i> several get tired out
<i>patcaq-wi-</i> one is (or gets) wet	<i>patcaq-winavitci-</i> several get wet
<i>tuɣwi-</i> fire goes out	<i>tuɣwinavitci-</i> fires go out

§ 55. *Verb syntax.*

Under this head may be conveniently grouped a number of phenomena that affect the verb in relation to other words in the sentence.

(1) SUBORDINATING ELEMENTS. Subordinate clauses, denoting cause, time, condition, concession, or attendant circumstance, are extremely frequent in Paiute. Those of these clauses that are used with logical subjects put them in the objective form. Thus, a sentence like WHEN I CAME, YOU WERE AWAY is rendered WHEN ME CAME, YOU WERE AWAY. In all probability the objective is in these cases to be interpreted genitively, the subordinating element as a specialized postposition; e. g. AT MY COMING, YOU WERE AWAY. This receives some support from the fact that a few of the ordinary postpositions may be suffixed to verb forms (see 2 below). However, of the verb-subordinating elements only *-yu-* (see c below), possibly also *-qu-* (see c), is employed also with nouns (see § 50, 4, 49). The

tense elements *-pa-* (§ 32, 4) and *-q'ai-* (§ 32, 3) may precede the subordinating suffix, but not the other tense elements. Five subordinating suffixes are found, the first three of which introduce clauses referring to the subject of the main clause, the other two clauses with a different subject.

(a) *-t-si-* gerund. Subordinates in *-t-si-* are here termed gerunds because they have no expressed subject, though they may have an object. Their logical subject is always the same as that of the main clause. They indicate antecedent circumstance or activity and are most appropriately translated in English by participial phrases: HAVING —ED. It is at least possible that the gerund *-t-si-* is etymologically related to the animate noun suffix *-tsi-* (§ 24, 1, f); such a sentence as HAVING SO DONE, HE RETURNED would then originally have meant THE ONE WHO DID SO RETURNED. Examples are:

maa'itsiŋw imi'ŋwa'aiŋwA pa(i)ŋ'k-wa' find-gerund-him (inv.) thou-with-him (inv.) return-hither-will; having found him with you, (he) will come home
ŋi'k-aŋmü-ts- niŋ-i's'its iŋwa't-uk-aŋp-i'ŋa' after having so done (plur.), having returned, (they) caused (it) to rain
ŋi'ts-, ŋi'ŋuts- having so done, then (frequently used as sentence connector); *ŋi'ŋutsiŋwA* then he (inv.)
ni' nən:s'e-i' qwiŋ'teteq-aŋ'wuts- I dream-present bear-become-gerund, I dream that I turned into a bear

Future gerunds in *-va t-si-*, *-mpa t-si-* BEING ABOUT TO—are also very common and frequently found in idiomatic turns. Examples are:

aŋa'n^{vz}k-ava-tsiŋwaŋw a't^{vz}k'ai' how-do-plural-future-gerund-him (inv.)-ye say-plural-present? being about to do what with him say ye? what do you (plur.) say you are to do with him?
e'ina'ŋwavin-i' quna'iaraywA qwii'va-ts 'an-i'k-zA coyote-like fire-obj.-our (inclus.) take-future-gerund do-present, it seems Coyote does so being about to take our fire, Coyote acts as though intending to take our fire
ni'uanca-ŋA pA^{vz}q'umpa-tsiŋm iya't-i' qoq-wi me-preterit-he (vis.) kill-future-gerund-me vainly shoot, he vainly shot being about to kill me, he tried to kill me but shot in vain

(b) *-kai-* WHEN, WHILE, AS; appears as spirantized *-ŋai-* or nasalized *-ŋqai-*. This is a true subordinating suffix, attached to verb forms whose subject is the same as that of the main verb. While *-t-si-*

forms denote antecedent activity, *-kai-* forms denote contemporaneity of action. Examples are:

sv'v^wʼaŋWA qarī'm' mīaxa' tīŋwī'wa' if (§ 60, 2, d)-he (inv.) sit-move-as fall-will; if he rides, he will fall down

qa'-(ai)γī tī'qa'γa' sings while eating

yaγa'γaitcaŋ ivi'ŋu cry-as-preterit-he (vis.) drink-momentaneous; while he cried, he drank

qa'-(a)i paγ(a)'iŋka' sings while walking

qa^zqa't-ī' pīγa' cua'ŋumŋkaaik-wA sat (iteratively) while eating it (inv.) up each time

-kai-c-u- (with enclitic *-c-u-*; see § 19, 2, k) often implies immediate sequence: AS SOON AS, e. g.:

a'īχaic-U cina'ŋwaφi quna'mantī wī'qa'm' mī'kai'p'īγa' say-as-just coyote fire-at-being (obj.) covered; as soon as Coyote said so, (he) covered some of (the) fire

Concessive clauses of the same subject as the main clause are formed by appending *-c-ampa-* (§ 19, 2, j) to *-kai-*, e. g.:

iyā'vaχaŋqaic-ampa-ŋA though fearing him (vis.), (he went to meet him)

(c) *-yu-* WHEN, WHILE, AS. This subordinating suffix seems to be identical in meaning with *-kai-* (see b above). It is suffixed only to stems or verb suffixes ending in *-ai-*. It always replaces *-kai-* after verb suffixes ending in *-ai-* (e. g. resultative subordinate *-q'ai-yu-* WHEN SAYING, not **-q'ai-χai-*). After verb stems in *-ai-*, *-kai-* is used (e. g. *ai-χai-* WHILE SAYING), unless followed by enclitic *-c-ampa-*, but not, e. g., *-c-u-* (hence *ai-χai-c-u-*, but *ai-yu-c-ampa-*). Examples of *-yu-* clauses are:

niŋwī'χaiyu' u'nu person-be-as-thou do! act like a person!

naŋqa'q'ai'yūq-wA when (he) heard it (inv.)

Clauses in *-yu-c-u-*, analogous to those in *-kai-c-u-* and *-ku-c-u-*, are found after verbal suffixes in *-ai-*, e. g.:

ŋni'k'aiyuc-U wī'k-U pīγa' do-resultative-as-just fall-momentaneous-past; while so doing, (he) fell down

Concessive clauses in *-yu-c-ampa-* replace forms in *-kai-c-ampa-* after all verbs in *-ai-*, e. g.:

imi'nteu' aru'^a pan-ɔ'xqwaiyuc-ampA na'a'ivätcī thou-interrogative
art be-wet-when-only burn-usitative-participle, art thou wont to
burn even when wet?

qa'tev qu'qew'η'waiyucampa not shoot-negative-as-only; though not
shooting, (he kept on singing)

(d) *-qa-* WHEN, IF. This subordinating suffix characterizes antecedent temporal and conditional clauses whose subject is different from that of the main clause. Examples are:

sv'v^wa-ηA tən-a'qant tɔγɔ'q-wwa' if-him (vis.) hit-if-me (= my)
run-will; if I hit him, (he) will run

imi'A p.ɔ'qa'ηutīqa'amt maηac-U yaχa'ra-u-' thee (= thy) kill-
passive-if-thee (= thy) he (vis.) cry-will; if you get killed, he will
cry

nī' naya'i'wik-a-η.ɪ yaya'x-Aqaiχu' I anger-die-if-him (vis.; = his)
cry (momentaneous)-perfective-irrealis; if he had got angry, I
would have cried

uū'ηvqwa-η.ɪ fiv^w'p'ina-x.ɪ yu'α'q-a-p'īγa' do-momentaneous-him
(vis.; = his) earth-into entered; when he did so, (it) went into (the)
earth

MA'tca'ianqīq-a-η.ɪ u'v'k-U-p'īγa' reach-for-when-him (vis.; = his)
fall-momentaneous-past; as he reached for (it), (it) fell down

(e) *-ku-* WHILE, AS; appears as spirantized *-γu-*, nasalized *-yqu-*, or geminated *-qu-*. This subordinating element also is used in clauses whose subject is different from that of the main clause. Unlike *-qa-* clauses (see e), however, *-ku-* subordinates generally indicate contemporaneity of action. Examples are:

uηwa'(u)xv qan-ut'īηwai' rain-when house-close-present; when (it)
rains, (he) shuts the door

nī'amī p'ūn'k'ai(y)amī pɔ'y.ɪ'qaxoamī I-them (vis.) see-them (vis.)
run-plural-while-them (vis.; = their), I see them running

tA'v'p-a(u)xv evening-when, in the evening

ya'a'ixutca-ηant qīma'ηwituγwanv die-when-preterit-him (vis.; =
his)-I other- to (§ 50, 4, 14)-momentaneous; I went away while he
died

t.ɪ'cī'ayqv dawn-when, at dawn

mam-a'utsl.ɪ ts-pi'ηum-iyqūηw.ɪ woman (obj. = genitive) appear-
momentaneous-usitative-when-her (inv.), whenever the woman
went out

-q-u- is not so freely used. It is regularly employed after verbalizing *-kai-* TO BE, TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, a and b), resultative *-q'ai-* (§ 30, 9), perfective *-q'ai-* (§ 32, 3), and negative *-ŋwa'ai-* (§ 57, 2, b). The *-ai-* of the first three of these elements becomes *-a-*, the *-a'ai-* of the last becomes *-a(·)'*. Examples are:

nī'ni a'ip'atsiγaqunt me (= my) boy-be-when-me (= my); when I was a boy, (it happened)
maa'ip'īγai(y)anA piŋwa'xa q-U find-past-him (vis.) wife-have-when; found him having (her) for wife
ŋu'k'a-q-uαŋ'əai' while he was doing so, (it happened)
ya'a'iyqw'aik'a-q-ouŋA when he (vis.) had gone out hunting
tī'qa'q-αŋwa'q-ut-uαc-ampa though others are not eating (for *-c ampa-* see below; for order of impersonal *-t-ua-* see § 29, 14)
-q-u- seems to be used also with a few verb stems, e. g.:
tava'ia maŋ'w'c'ik:zU sun-obj. rise-when, when (the) sun was up

Postpositional *-q-u-* referring to time (see § 50, 4, 37 and 41) may be identical with subordinating *-q-u-*; cf. also *v'tcuq-U* IN THE MORNING (§ 60, 2, a). In such a form as *tuxwa'r'uiŋuq-U* WHEN (IT) BECAME NIGHT, *-q-u-* is perhaps dissimilated from *-ŋqu-*.

Enclitic *-c-u-* (§ 19, 2, k) may follow *-ku-* as well as *-kai-*, e. g.:

a'ixucuaŋA as he (vis.) said so, (something happened)
-c ampa- (§ 19, 2, j) is used in concessive clauses, e. g.:
yaγa'x-ucampāŋwa even if he (inv.) cries
ŋm'ŋumŋqvcamḡa q-anū do-momentaneous-usitative-when-only-it (vis.)-them (vis.; = their), though they were wont to do it

(2) VERB FORMS SUBORDINATED BY POSTPOSITIONS. A less important group of verb subordinates is of local significance. These are formed by suffixing to the verb, in a manner analogous to subordinate forms already discussed (see 1 above), certain nominal postpositions. Examples have been found of verbal local subordinates in *-p-a-* (participialized *-p-a-nī-*, § 50, 4, 38; and in compounded forms: *-p-a-ntuγwa-*, § 50, 4, 38; *-p-a-yu-*, § 50, 4, 38); *-va-* (§ 50, 4, 37); and apparently *-yu-n-ia-* (§ 50, 4, 49). Doubtless several other postpositions may be used to make subordinate clauses of local reference.

(3) PRESENT FORMS AS LOOSE SUBORDINATES. Now and then a verb form in present *-yī-* (§ 32, 1) occurs as a sort of loosely employed subordinate to a preceding verb, not necessarily of the same tense. Examples are:

pijī'a-ŋa ma'ip-i'ya i(y)ä'n-uyäq-a heart-obj.-his (vis.) find-past
 this-at (§ 50, 4, 1)-present-it (vis.), found his heart (that) it is
 present there, found his heart right there

qatcu qa'va'ŋwa' pa'a'n-i' not sing-will-negative high-present, will
 not sing (it) is loud, will not sing loud

(4) SYNTACTIC USE OF PARTICIPLES. Participles are extremely in evidence in Paiute. They are employed in a variety of syntactic ways:

(a) Attributively, when they may often be translated as relative clauses or as adjectives.

(b) Denominatively, e. g. *to'ŋwantī* FIGHTING > FIGHTER, secondarily HAVASUPAI INDIAN; *uw'a'nt aī* THERE-BEING IT, THE THING THAT IS THERE.

(c) Adverbially, particularly with verbalized postpositional forms, e. g. *tümp'la-ŋ'ava'nīa pīnu'k'a'* ROCK-OBJ.- HE (VIS). IT-AT-BEING-OBJ. LOOK, i. e. HE LOOKS THERE AT THE ROCK rather than HE SEES THE ROCK THAT IS THERE.

(d) Predicatively after verbs, particularly substantive verbs, e. g. *v'ite aro'ami ayan an-i'ntēi* THIS (INAN.) IS-USITATIVE HOW DOING? HOW DOES IT WORK? *qatcu an-i:k' uŋwa'ŋwa'ait-i'* NOT DOES RAINING (NEG.), IT DOES NOT RAIN.

(e) In lieu of finite verbs, particularly after independent personal pronouns. Such participles may be considered as special cases of predicative usages (d), the substantive verb being omitted. They refer to general time as a rule. Examples are:

a'iminfimū say-usitative-participle-plural, (those) wont to say, (they) always say

nī' to'ŋwantī I fighting, I am a fighter

i'mi cū'χaxwai't-uim-untim thou squaw-bush-get-go-causative-usitative-participle-me, you always cause me to go to get squaw-bush twigs

(5) SYNTACTIC USE OF ADJECTIVES. Practically all adjectives are properly verbal in form. As such, they may be predicatively employed, like any verb; or, in participial form, attributively or denominatively (e.g. *a't-i' toŋ'q-wūcī* GOOD-BEING RUNNING, GOOD RUNNER). They may also be employed, in their bare stem-form, as the first, rarely second, elements of noun compounds (see § 18, 1, d and e).

A few adjectives are properly nominal in form, e. g. *ma'p-ūts*

SMALL; *v't'ümpü* OLD. An independent adjective may be used attributively to refer to an incorporated noun, e. g.:

ma'p'ütsuA wana'rupi'ya' little-obj. net-make-past, made a little net

§ 56. *Substantive verbs.*

(1) FORMATION OF SUBSTANTIVE VERBS. Substantive verbs are formed from the demonstrative stems *a-* and *u-* by means of a verbalizing *-ro'a-*: *aro'a-* TO BE (vis.), *uru'a-* TO BE (inv.). These forms may be used with all nouns, animate or inanimate, and independent pronouns. These simple forms are also used as the nucleus of a set of substantive verbs of specific pronominal reference, composed of the pronouns *uŋwa-* HE, *um'ü-* THEY, and *uru-* IT, to which are respectively appended (not phonetically suffixed) *aro'a-* for the visible, *uru'a-* for the invisible, forms. It is remarkable that the *u-* pronouns, which are properly invisible, should be used in visible substantive verbs as well, visibility and invisibility being expressed by the *a-* or *u-* of the verb proper. The pronominal substantive verbs thus are:

<i>uŋw aro'a-</i>	he is (vis.)	<i>uŋ uru'a-</i>	he is (inv.)
<i>um^w aro'a-</i>	they are (vis.)	<i>um uru'a-</i>	they are (inv.)
<i>ur aro'a-</i>	it is (vis.)	<i>ur uru'a-</i>	it is (inv.)

These may be conveniently written as single words, e. g. *uraro'a-* IT IS (vis.). The present tense of substantive verbs is designated either by the normal *-yü-* (§ 32, 1) or, more frequently, by the absence of a tense suffix. The substantive verb may also take on other tense suffixes, the modal *-vü-* (§ 33, 2), the usitative suffixes (§ 30, 10 and 11), the participial *-rĩ-*, and the nominal abstract *-n'a-* (§ 25, 3).

(2) USE OF SUBSTANTIVE VERBS.

(a) In perhaps the majority of cases the substantive verb follows and is phonetically disconnected from its predicate noun or subject; an adverb, however, may precede and the predicate noun follow the verb. In these cases the final vowel of the word preceding the substantive verb is elided. Examples are:

cina'ŋwaw aru''^α coyote it-is
v'ite aro''amü' qa'teU quna''ap·A this (inan.) be-usitative not fire-
 negative, this (that we have been burning) is not fire
qate aro''^α tiv^wa'tsü'ap·A not it-is wolf-negative, it is not Wolf

- imi'aru' aru' aru' aṁA* thee (= thy)-interrogative it-is being (= property), does it belong to thee?
aro'ap'īya' (it) was
aṅai aro'avi' i'mi p'ini'k'aiḱ'antī whom be-would thou having-seen?
 I wonder whom you saw?
nari'γiv'iyantim^w aru'an'impīya' reciprocal-friend-being-plural he (inv.)-usitative-past, (they) were always friends to each other
aḫav oru'avi' uni'n'nintē what-at be (inv.)-would do-continuative-participle? where would (he) be doing? I wonder where (he) is!
aḫav oru'avi' uru'ari what-at be-would be? I wonder where it is!
a'ḫawantēq'anīaq' uḡwaru'^a having-hidden-it (vis.) he-is, he must have hidden it
pu'ḫant uwaru'^a medicine-man he-is
tiv^w'ts-ampa-ḡ uḡuru'ai' very-only-he (vis.) he-is (inv.)-present, truly he is
nī'u'um^waru' niḡw'ntsiḡwīnu me (= my) they-are person-plural-my, they are my persons
p.¹²qa'ḡvīīp'īḡantim umuru'^a kill-passive-past-participle-plural they-are (inv.), they are having been killed, they must have been killed
uḡwa'iaḫ uraru' aru'an.I him (inv.; = his) it-is being (= property), it is his
'a'(i)yuḫv'p' ururu'ai' good-irrealis-past passive partic. it-is (inv.)-present, it would be good

(b) A second method of employing substantive verbs is to attach them to the preceding predicate noun or subject (noun or independent pronoun), a glottal stop separating the *a-* or *u-* of the substantive verb from the preceding final vowel, which is preserved; e. g. *itcī' 'aru'a-* THIS (INAN.) IS beside *'ite aru'a-*. Perhaps such forms as *itcī' 'aru'a-* may be considered as verbs with incorporated nominal (or pronominal) subject (§ 18, 2, f, ε); e. g. *itcī'aru'a-*, *cīnaḡwari'uḡwaro'a-*. Forms of this type are obligatory for independent pronouns of the first and second persons. Examples are:

- sari'tu aro'^a* dog it-is
na'a'ints'isu' aru'^a little-girl it-is (absolute: *na'a'intsu's-*)
imi' 'aru' ^wm'a'niqaiw'ntī thou art thus-resultative-future-participle, you'll be continuing in that way
iḡa' 'aro'^a nī'ni' she-here is me (= my), this is my (wife)
atēi' 'aru'om'i' this (inan.) is-usitative, this really is (your dead relatives' brains)

m^wa'ri'aru^a that (inan. vis.) is (how I move about)
wa'nari'xi'vuy' uwaru' tamı two-reciprocal-friend he (i. e. they 2)-
 are we 2 (inclus.), we 2 are friends (-*vuy'* assimilated to *u-* from -*vi'*,
 thus confirming above hypothesis of composition; note also use of
 third personal pronominal substantive verb with first personal
 pronoun, suggesting that pronominal substantive verbs define
 number and animate *versus* inanimate, but not person)

nana'ri'xi'vuy' uwaru' ^um^wα'mi plural reciprocal-friends he (= they)-
 are they (vis.), they are friends (-*vuy' u-* < -*vuy'u* *u* *w-* < -*vü* *wi'*-
u *w-*; *u* *w-*, instead of *um^w-*, after animate plural -*üw-* by "number
 dissimilation," cf. § 42, 5)

cina'hwav' uwaro^a it was Coyote

nari'γwınapu' uwaru^a powerful he-is (absolute: *nari'γwınapı*)

(c) The idea of BEING OF, BELONGING TO is normally expressed, as
 illustrated above in several examples, by preceding the substantive
 verb with an objective form of genitive significance, e. g.:

nı'niaru' aro' aro'ana me-interrogative is being, is it being of me?
 is it my property?

nı'ni' uwaru^a me he-is, he is mine

imi' uraru' (*aru'ana*) thee it-is (being), it is yours

By a curious idiom, however, the logical owner is sometimes put
 in the subjective, the thing owned in the objective, as though the
 substantive verb were to be translated directly as TO OWN, e. g.:

atci'an aro'ai' this (inan.)-obj.-I be- present, this is mine, I own this
 (literally, apparently, I AM OF THIS)

taywa' 'aro'am:i qa'tcu quna'ap'aiA taywa'i ari we (inclus.) be-
 usitative not fire-negative-objective us (inclus.; = our) it (sub-
 jective); we own not (real) fire, the (fire that is) ours (literally,
 apparently, WE ARE OF UNREAL FIRE; note that *taywa'i ari*, though
 logically in apposition with objective *quna'ap'aiA*, is subjective
 in form)

(3) USE OF INANIMATE PRONOUNS IN LIEU OF SUBSTANTIVE VERBS.
 There are commonly used constructions in Paiute that are analogous
 to such English locutions as IT IS I WHO — with predicate pronoun,
 except that there is no substantive verb expressed, the IT doing
 service for it. The pronominal form for IT employed in Paiute is
 the inanimate visible enclitic, -*aq-a*. It is regularly preceded, it
 would seem, by enclitic -*a-*, -*'a-* (§ 19, 3, a). There is always a

strong emphasis on the independent pronoun to which the *-aq·a-* is attached. Examples are:

nī'a·q·'əai' I-*a-* it (vis.), it is I (for 'əai' see § 60, 3)

im'i'ni(y)a·q·uc·v thou-like-it, maybe it is you (*-ma·q·* probably < *-na-a-aq·a-*; for *uc·v* see § 60, 3)

ᵐmᵂα'ηa·q·A, mᵂαη'a'q·A that one it is, it is he (vis.)

ᵐmᵂαη'a'q·A nī'ni pī'm'k·aik·ain·A that (vis.) -'a- it (vis.) me (= my) see-perfective-verbal noun, it is he whom I saw, that's the man I saw
itē'i'a·q·A nī'ni pīvᵂa qarī'n·ani this (inan.) -a- it (vis.) me (= my) which-at staying-my, this is where I stay

ᵂu'ri'a'q·A pīvᵂa'nfimᵂanayqwan an·i'p·i'ni that (inv.)-'a- it (vis.) which-at-being-from-my do-past passive partic.-my, that is where-from my having been done, that is where I am from

Somewhat similar to these constructions is the explanatory use of *mᵂa'ri-* THAT (inan. vis.), equivalent to THAT IS WHY —, e. g.:

mᵂar 'a'ivᵂiaη UR tō'ca'p·a(i)ya·tsiaη·A that now-he (vis.) it (inv.) white-breasted-he (vis.), that is the (why) now he (is termed) "white-breasted" (note that *UR* serves as article pronoun to 'a'ivᵂiaη·A *tō'ca'p·a(i)ya·tsiaη·A*)

§ 57. NEGATION.

Negative forms are generally preceded by the negative adverb *qatcu-*, less often *qa*. The latter, though closely attached to the following word, is not a prefix, as shown by the unaffected phonetic treatment of the negated word, e. g.:

nī qa qarī'ηca'a I not stay-negative, I was absent

mam·u'c·v qa yura'φ·A²qay'wai'timī they are unconquerable

qatcu- is evidently compounded of *qa* and an element *-tcu-* which clearly goes back to spirantized *-tu-* (cf. usitative participle *-vatcī-* < *-va-tī-*, § 25, 6, c; and postpositions in *-pa-tc . . .* < *-pa-t . . .*, § 50, 4, 37); this is proven by comparative evidence, cf. Mono *gadu, garu* NOT. The noun, independent pronoun, or verb that is negated is provided with a negative suffix or negative modification of a verbalizing suffix. All such negative elements contain a glottal stop. Somewhat infrequently, negative forms are found unpreceded by a negative adverb.

(1) NEGATIVED NOUNS AND PRONOUNS. All nouns and independent pronouns, including nominal derivatives of verbs (e. g. past passive participles in *-p·i-*, agentives in *-vi-n*, and even gerunds in

-tsi-), take as negative suffix *-'ap-a-* (*-a'ap-a-*, *-āp-a-*). Negative usitative participles (cf. § 25, 6, c) end in *-'ap-atci-*; for negative forms of ordinary active participles in *-ti-*, see 2, b below. This suffix precedes objective *-ya-*. Examples are:

qatc aro''^a fiw'a'tsia'ap:A not it-is wolf-negative, it is not Wolf
qanul''ap:A house-negative, not a (real) house
qatc ina'mpitsiāp'ai' not badger-negative-obj., not a badger (obj.)
qatc 'a't'inənəc:ipi''ap:A not good-dream-past passive partic.-
 negative, what has not been well dreamt, not a good dream
qatc ^a'a't'inənəc:w'ap:A not a good dreamer
qatc ^a'a't'inənəc:itsi'ap:A not good-dream-gerund-negative, not having
 dreamt well
qatcu''uŋw i'i'vā' pi'tcādap-atci not-he (inv.) here arrive-negative-
 usitative participle, he is not wont to arrive here
qatc imi''ap:A not thou-negative, it is not you

(2) NEGATIVED VERBS. Several negative elements are used.

(a) *Absolute negatives in -'ap-a-*. The absolute (tenseless) verb is negatived precisely like a noun, e. g.:

imi'ntcaŋA qa p.A^zqa'ŋuāp:A thou-preterit-him (vis.) not kill-
 negative, you did not kill him
qatcu'ni qā'i'(y)ap'anl not-me bite-negative-me, do not bite me!

(b) *Non-absolute negatives in -ŋwa'ai-*. The form in *-ŋwa'ai-* without specific tense element functions as a negative present, e. g.:

nī' qatcu'aŋA qa't'uiŋwa'^a I not-him (vis.) sing.-cause-negative, I
 do not let him sing

The future negative suffixes *-ŋwa'ai-* to *-va-* (§ 32, 4), e. g.:

qatcun tini'ava^aŋwa'aini not-me tell-future-negative-me, do not tell
 on me

The *-va-n-ia-* future (§ 32, 5) inserts the negative suffix between *-va-* and *-n-ia-*, hence *-va-ŋwa'ain-ia-*. A somewhat puzzling form in *-va-n-iŋwa'ai(n-ia)-* also occurs. Examples are:

qatcu'^azqŋA p'ün'k'aiwa-ŋ'wain-i' he (vis.) will not see it (vis.)
qatcu'aŋ ^a'a't'inənəc:va-n-iŋwa'ain-i' he (vis.) will not dream well
qatcu'aŋ ^a'a't'inənəc:va-n-iŋwa'^a he (vis.) will not dream well (stated
 as prediction)

The negative active participle ends in *-ŋwa'ait'ĩ-*, e. g.:

qa nənə'c'iywai't'ĩ not dreaming
qate^u 'a'(i)yuŋwai't'ĩmü not one who is good (among) several

The negative correspondent of subordinating *-kai-* (§ 55, 1, b) is *-ŋwa'ai-yu-* (§ 55, 1, c), e. g.:

na'nuaj'waiyucampaŋA nĩru'xwA without saying anything, (give) him (vis.) to me

In certain forms *-ŋwa'ai-* is replaced by two-moraed *-ŋwa'a-*. The negative form of subordinating *-ku-* (§ 55, 1, e) is *-ŋwa'qu-*, e. g.:

tĩ'qa'q'αŋwa'quc'amparaŋwA eat-plural-negative-while-only-we (inclus.), while we are not eating

There are absolute verb forms in *-ŋwa'ap-a-*, a suffix apparently combining *-ŋwa'a(i)-* and *-'ap-a-* (see a). It is not evident how they differ, if at all, from ordinary negative absolutes in *-'ap-a-*. Examples are:

qateu'tea-mü paai'iyəŋwa'ap-uc'U not-preterit-they (vis.) countable (?)
 (-)negative-again, they were many in number (*paiyə-* is only used as negative verb; cf. *qateu'raŋwA paai'iyəŋwa'aic'U* we (inclus.) are many)

Forms in *-ŋwa'ap-a-vi-* seem to be agentives of negative absolutes in *-ŋwa'ap-a-* (but cf. negatived agentives in *-vi'ap-a-*, 1 above), e. g.:

nü' qate ampa'x'atuiŋwa'ap-a'phi I not talk-cause-negative-agentive, I (am) one who causes not to talk, I do not allow to talk

(c) *Negative forms of verbalizing -kai-*. The verbalizing suffixes *-kai-* TO BE and *-kai-* TO HAVE (see § 26, 1, a and b) become *-'ai-* in the negative. This *-'ai-* takes the place of any specifically negative suffix.

Examples are:

<i>atc'i'ya'</i> has a bow	<i>qa'tc atc'i''a'a</i> has not a bow
<i>a'a'ŋavĩ'gai'p'ĩ'ya'</i> had arms	<i>a'a'ŋavĩ'dai'p'ĩ'a'</i> had no arms
<i>taŋwa'ŋqai'va-nti</i> being about to have teeth	<i>qa'tcu taŋwa'aiva-nti</i> not going to have teeth
<i>nĩŋwĩ'aya'</i> (it) has a person, a person is there	<i>nĩŋwĩ'a'a'</i> (< <i>-a-a'</i>) no person is there

pa'ʼγaivāteī wont to be water *qateuʼruʼa q- iʼiʼvā paʼaʼaivāteī*
not-interrogative-it (vis.) here
water-be not-usitative-parti-
ciple, is there not wont to be
water here?

The negative participle corresponding to positive *-kantī-* BEING, HAVING (§ 26, 1, a and b) is *-ʼait-ī-*, e. g.:

naŋqaʼvaγanti having ears *naŋqaʼvaʼait-ī* earless
qunaʼqaxantimī having fire (plur.) *qaʼteu qunaʼiʼniḱ-ait-īmī* not fire-
owned-plural subject-not have-
participle-plural, not having
fire (plur.)

As we have already seen (§ 32, 6), narrative past *-p-īγai-* is compounded of past passive participle *-p-ī-* and *-γai-* TO HAVE. Its negative correspondent is therefore *-p-īʼai-*; *-γai-p-īγai-* HAD —, WAS — is doubly negated to *-ʼai-p-īʼai-*. The negative correspondent of participial *-p-īγanti-* (§ 25, 6, e) is *-p-īʼait-ī-*. Examples are:

qariʼp-īγaʼ sat *qaʼteu qariʼp-īaʼa* did not sit
pīniʼḱaip-īγaʼaik-wA saw it *qaʼteu pīniʼḱaip-īʼaʼaik-wA* did
(inv.) not see it
nīʼciʼm-wiαp-īγanti having ever *qaʼteu nīʼciʼm-wiαp-īaʼit-ī* having
let go of any one never let go of any one

The negative verbalizing *-ʼai-* appears as *-ʼa-*, *-aʼ-* before subordinating *-q-u-*; *-aʼq-u-* WHEN HAS NOT, WHEN IS NOT thus corresponds to positive *-kaiγu-*, e. g.:

c-ciʼnaŋwari(y)aʼq-ut-uac-ampA coyote (distributively)-not be-when-impersonal-only, though others were not coyote-like

(d) Negatives in *-n-aʼai-*. A few verbs, chiefly verbs of sight, use *-n-aʼai-* as negative suffix instead of the normal *-ŋwaʼai-* (b above); participialized, *-n-aʼait-ī-*. Unlike *-ŋwaʼai-*, however, *-n-aʼai-* precedes future *-va-* and is followed by narrative *-p-īγai-*.

nīʼ pīniʼt-uinaʼa I see-cause-negative, I do not let (him) see
majaʼc-uaqA qa p-īniʼn-aʼa he-it (vis.) not see-negative, he does not
see it (but: *majaʼc-uaqA qa p-īniʼḱ-aiŋwaʼa* he does not look at it)
pīniʼn-aʼaiγU while not seeing
qateuʼuq-wA pīniʼn-aʼaip-īγaʼ not-it (inv.) (he) saw

*qatcu'*q-wa^amī satsi'n'naiva'áq-wámī not-it (inv.)-dual peep-negative-
 future-it (inv.)-dual, (you) 2 shall not peep at it
-ric-u'ai-n'a'ai- to pay no attention to (see § 50, 4, 29)
qatcu'ay 'a't'ínwnc-in-a'^a not-he (vis.) good-dream-negative, (I
 guess) he didn't dream well (but also: *qatcun* 'a't'ínwnc-iywa'^a
 not-I well-dream)
m^wá'ya-q-A maa'in'in-adit'i that one it (is) who has not been touched

(e) *Negative participle in -n·u(w)a'ait'í-*. This form is perhaps the negative participle corresponding to usitative *-n·íⁿ* (§ 30, 11), e. g.: *qa'tcu* na'a'in·u(w)a'ait'í never having burned.

§ 58. REDUPLICATION.

Numerous reduplicated forms have already been quoted in the course of this paper. The process is freely used both in nouns and, especially, in verbs. It is frequently accompanied by glottalization or consonantal gemination or both. The reduplication is practically always initial; only a few cases of morphologically non-significant final reduplication occur. An initial vowel (v) reduplicates to v'v'-' (v'v'-'-, 'v'-'-). If the word begins with a consonant + vowel (cv), the reduplication includes both (cv-'-, rarely cv'-'-). A stem, however, that has a nasal consonant following initial stopped or affricative consonant + vowel (cvcⁿ) includes the nasal in the reduplication (cv-ⁿ); the nasal of the reduplicating syllable is assimilated, if necessary, to the first consonant of the stem. The consonant following a reduplicating cv- may be either spirantized or geminated, according to type. Verbs and nouns with reflexive prefix *na-* reduplicate the *na-*, not the stem; verbs with instrumental prefixes reduplicate the prefix, not the stem (e. g. verbs in *ta-^o* WITH THE FOOT reduplicate to *ta'ta'-^o*). In the following, examples of reduplication are classified as to function, secondarily as to phonetic type.

(1) CONSTANTLY REDUPLICATED NOUNS. A small number of nouns occurs only in reduplicated form. The reduplication seems to have no morphological significance. Reduplicating types cv-^g and cv-ⁿ both occur. Examples are:

qA^zqa'RA quail
tU'tu'γuaφi supernatural helper
mam-a'uts woman; *mam-a''acaγw(ə)its* old woman
tanta'hwavi- man's brother-in-law
pīmpī'n'ncavīyaip'ī toad

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ovi'-mpimpin-araApütsi-ηwü last, youngest of all (reduplication probably has distributive function)

pampi'ni bucket (reduplicating vowel different from that of stem)

An example of reduplicating *cv*-ⁿ in the case of a stem without internal nasal is *pompö'tsats*· LIZARD (var.).

(2) DISTRIBUTIVE REDUPLICATION IN NOUNS. Distributive forms of nouns are quite frequent. They are not true plurals, though sometimes, particularly in the case of animate nouns, practically equivalent to such. A distributively conceived noun is practically always logically plural at the same time, but need not be.

(a) Type *v'v*-:

ïηa''p-its· baby
ηavi- arm

ï'i(·)'η'ap·itsiηwü babies
a'a'ηaviχai'p'ïγa' each had an arm

(b) Type *cv*-^s:

pö' trail
pia- mother
piηwa- wife

pöw'ö trails
pivi'araiηwA our (inclus.) mothers
pivi'ηwa-mü their (vis.) wives

(c) Type *cv*-^{s,1}:

pA'tca'raηwA our (inclus.) shoe(s)
patsi- older sister

pA'pa'tca'raηwA our shoes (one pair to each)
pA'pa'tsiamü their (vis.) older sister

tötsi''ait-ï headless

tö'tö'tsi''ait-ïmü each having no head, headless people

wüγi- vulva

wüwü'xüA vulvas (obj.)

yu'u- leg

yu'yu''uxwai'p'ïγa' each had a leg

naηwa- tracks

nan·a'ηwaraηwA our (inclus.) tracks

moa- father

mom·q'a(i)ya(u)φü (their) own fathers (obj.)

(d) Type *cv*-ⁿ:

¹ In the case of stems beginning with *w*, *y*, and *n* there is no possibility of distinguishing spirantizing and geminating reduplication. Such examples will be arbitrarily considered as coming under geminating reduplication. Stems beginning with *s*, *c*, generally also *m*, have geminating reduplication.

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<i>punqu'hw̄irαwA</i> our (inclus.) horses (owned collectively)	<i>pumpu'ηquhw̄irαwA</i> our horses (one or more owned individually by each one of us)
<i>qu'ni</i> house	<i>qayqa'ni</i> houses

(3) DISTRIBUTIVE REDUPLICATION IN VERBS. Distributive activity nearly always involves plurality of subject in transitive or intransitive verbs or of object in transitive verbs. Hence the distributive form of the verb is frequently enough the practical equivalent of a plural verb. Certain verbs, indeed, consistently use the distributive form instead of one with pluralizing *-qa-* (§ 31, 1, e); e. g. *p̄im p̄i'n'ɪʒkai-* SEVERAL LOOK AT, not **p̄ini'k̄aik̄a-*.

(a) *Type v'v-*:

<i>uḡwai-</i> to hang	<i>u'u'ḡwai'yīq-wA</i> hangs them (in-an.) all
<i>im̄w̄i-</i> several arrive	<i>im̄'m̄iip̄'iyā'</i> (they) arrived each by himself

(b) *Type cv-*^s:

<i>quw̄i-</i> to take one object	<i>quw̄i'w̄i-</i> several take one object
<i>tea'a'ip̄'iyā'</i> took hold of	<i>tea'a'ip̄'iyāiam̄i</i> they (vis.) each took hold of

(c) *Type cv-*^g (most frequent type of distributive verb):

<i>tava'cup̄i</i> dry (past passive participle)	<i>ta'ta'φAcup̄i</i> all dry
<i>mU'qu'ntai'</i> is straight	<i>mumu'q'untai'</i> several are straight
<i>pA'qa'ηU</i> to kill one person	<i>pA'pa'q-aηU</i> several kill one
<i>sa'ηqai'</i> (it) is unripe	<i>sA'sa'ηqai'</i> several things are unripe
<i>tɔ'qwa'ai'</i> patches one	<i>tɔ'tɔ'q-wa'ai'</i> patches several
<i>na'a'ip̄'iyā'</i> fire was burning	<i>nan-a'aip̄'iyā'</i> there were fires burning

(d) *Type cv-*^g

<i>qa'ivaγanti</i> having a mountain	<i>qa'q-aivaγanti</i> having mountains, mountainous country
<i>pa'</i> spring	<i>pa'p-a-γanti</i> spring (distributively)-having, places with springs

(e) Type $cv^{-k} \dots'$:

<i>wün'ai-</i> to throw down	<i>wüw'ün'ai p'ü'gai(y)aq.1</i> (they) threw him (vis.) down
<i>pa(i)yi-</i> to return	<i>pa'pa'(i)yi' p'ü'ga'</i> all returned

(f) Type cv^{-n} :

<i>puŋqu'wai-</i> to have a horse	<i>pumpu'q'u'wa'</i> (dissimilated from <i>pumpu'ŋqu-</i>) each has horses
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(g) Type $cv^{-n} \dots'$:

<i>pünik'ai-</i> to look at	<i>pümpü'n'iz'ka'</i> several look at
<i>tóna'i'</i> stabs	<i>tóntó'n'A'z'qai'</i> several stab

(h) Type $cv^{-n} \dots'$ ^k :

<i>pan'a'ga-</i> several go home	<i>pampa'n'A'z'qai'</i> (they) go home in parties; <i>pampa'n'na-q'aqwa'- ai-</i> to go home, each group by itself
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(4) ITERATIVE REDUPLICATION IN VERBS. Iterative verbs, i. e. verbs indicating the repetition of an action, are reduplicated in a manner very similar to distributive verbs, though the iterative is to be considered as a form distinct from the distributive. In some cases the iterative and the distributive are phonetically identical, in others there is some difference of form. On the whole, stem gemination and glottalization tend to be more frequent in iteratives than in distributives; contrast, e. g.: *qwü'wi'ü-* SEVERAL TAKE ONE OBJECT (< *qwü-*) with *qwü'qwü'ü-* TO TAKE ONE OBJECT SEVERAL TIMES.

(a) Type $v'v \dots' \dots' \dots' \dots' \dots' \dots'$ ^k):

<i>ivi-</i> to drink	<i>i'ip'i'</i> drinks repeatedly, sips
<i>ampa'gai'</i> talks	<i>a'a'mpa'z'qai'</i> talks repeatedly
<i>u'wi'</i> smells	<i>u'u'q'wi'</i> smells several times, sniffs around
<i>u'cu'q'wi'</i> whistles	<i>u'u'c'uqwi'</i> whistles several times
<i>o'w'wi'</i> roars	<i>o'w'w'wi'</i> roars several times
<i>A'ti'xi</i> to nurse	<i>'a't'ixi</i> to nurse several times

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(b) *Type* cv-^s:

<i>tavin'na-</i> to put out one's breast, to strut	<i>tara'vvn'na-ai'</i> keeps putting out (his) breast
<i>paŋwai-</i> to yell	<i>pava'ŋwai-</i> to yell several times
<i>pi'pi't-a'ni'</i> vomits (momentane- ous reduplication; see 5, c)	<i>pivi'ztan'ni'</i> vomits several times
<i>toŋo'q-wi'</i> runs	<i>toŋo'z-oqwi'</i> runs several times

(c) *Type* cv-^g:

<i>ta'pu'q-wi'</i> jumps	<i>ta'ta'p-uqwi'</i> keeps jumping, skips
<i>qu'qwi''</i> shoots	<i>qu'qo'q-wi'</i> shoots several times
<i>ti'qa'i'</i> eats	<i>ti'ti'q-ai'</i> eats several times
<i>wi'wi'i'</i> dances	<i>wiwi''i'</i> dances repeatedly
<i>nu'qwi'p-iŋa'</i> ran	<i>non-u'q-wi'p-iŋa'</i> kept running, ran time after time
<i>swa'i'</i> whittles	<i>s-si'vai'</i> whittles many times
<i>kwi'p-a</i> to hit	<i>kwi'kwi'p-a</i> to hit several times
<i>yu'mu'q-wi'</i> starts (on being startled)	<i>yu'yu'm'nu'q-wi'</i> starts several times

(d) *Type* cv-^g . . . ^g . . . :

<i>ti'v-wi'n-aŋai'</i> leads	<i>ti'ti'p-i'naq-ai'</i> leads away several times
<i>naŋa'r-iŋqi'</i> to dodge (durative); <i>naŋa't-iŋqi'</i> (momentaneous)	<i>nana'q-a'iŋqi'</i> to dodge one time after another

(e) *Type* cv-^g . . . ' . . . :

<i>qa'i'</i> sings	<i>qa'qa''ai'</i> sings repeatedly
<i>maŋwa'vai'</i> creeps	<i>mam'ma'ŋwava'i'</i> creeps in starts
<i>naŋa'm-i'</i> is sick	<i>nan-a'xa'mi'</i> is sick several times
<i>tua'i'</i> gives birth	<i>tu'tu''ai'</i> gives birth several times
<i>tc.a'qo'itcai'</i> takes off clothes	<i>tc.a'tca'q-oitcai'</i> takes clothes off several times
<i>qwi'i'</i> takes one object	<i>qwi'qwi''i'</i> takes one object sev- eral times

(f) *Type* cv- . . . ' . . . ^g . . . (types d and e combined):

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<i>yaya'i'</i> cries	<i>ya(i)'ya'q-ai'</i> cries several times
<i>nüntci'γai'</i> (it) shakes	<i>nün'üntciq(ε)i'</i> (it) shakes several times

(g) Type *cv*ⁿ . . . ' . . . :

<i>pün-i-</i> to see, look	<i>pümpü'n'ni'</i> looks repeatedly
<i>tön-a-</i> to stab	<i>töntö'n'nai'</i> stabs several times
<i>fün'i-a-</i> to tell	<i>fünti'n'iai'</i> tells several times
<i>pön-a-</i> to stoop and stick out one's buttocks	<i>pömpö'n'na.i'</i> stoops several times sticking out (his) buttocks

(5) MOMENTANEOUS REDUPLICATION IN VERBS. A considerable number of verbs form their momentaneous (or inceptive) form (see § 30, 3-8) by reduplication. Momentaneous reduplication differs radically from distributive and iterative reduplication in that there is no accompanying stem gemination or glottalization. There is a certain amount of overlapping of forms (e. g. *tü'tü'q-a-* TO EAT SEVERAL TIMES; TO START TO EAT), but, on the whole, reduplicated momentaneous forms are sharply distinguished from corresponding reduplicated distributives and iteratives, e. g. *qa'qa'rü-* TO SETTLE DOWN (< *qari-* TO SIT): *qa'qa't'ü-* TO SIT SEVERAL TIMES; *qay-a-* TO START OFF SINGING (< *-qa-* TO SING): *qa'qa''a-* TO SING SEVERAL TIMES; *a'av-i-* TO BEGIN LYING DOWN (< *avi-* TO LIE): *a'a'p-i-* TO LIE SEVERAL TIMES; *yaya'γa-* TO BURST OUT CRYING (< *yay-a-* TO CRY): *ya'ya'q-a-* TO CRY SEVERAL TIMES.

(a) Type *v'v*^s:

<i>avi-</i> to lie down	<i>a'a'phi</i> to begin lying down
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This type does not seem to be freely used. Thus, *ivi-* TO DRINK forms no momentaneous (or inceptive) **i'i'vi-*; *iviyu-* is the appropriate form (§ 30, 5).

(b) Type *cv*^s:

<i>qa-</i> to sing	<i>qay-a'-</i> to sing (momentaneously), to start in singing; <i>qay-a'tca·ŋA</i> he (vis.) finished singing
<i>kiεŋqü-</i> to laugh	<i>kiχi'εŋqü-</i> to start in laughing
<i>paγ(a)i-</i> to walk	<i>pava'γ(a)i-</i> to start to walk
<i>pai-</i> to call	<i>pava'i-</i> to call (momentaneously)

(c) Type *cv*^g:

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tīq-a- to eat
pītcī'- to arrive

nūntcīγa- to shake
qarī- to sit
yaγa- to cry

γɔγɔ- to copulate with

yuγwi- several are seated
wīn-ī- to stand, be standing

(d) *Type cv-ⁿ:*

tīn-ia- to tell

tī'tī'q-a- to eat up, to start to eat
pī'pī'tcī-, pī'tcī- (§ 10, 3) to arrive
 (momentaneously)

nūn-ī'ntcīγa- to start in shaking
qā'qā'rī- to sit down, settle
yaya'γa- to begin crying, burst
 into tears

γɔγɔ'γɔ- to copulate with (mo-
 mentaneously)

yuyū'γwi- several sit down
wīwī'n-ī- to stand up

tīntī'n-ia- to tell on; *tīntī'n-iaŋqī-*
 to tell to (momentaneously)

(6) FINAL REDUPLICATION. This type of reduplication is very uncommon in Paiute. It is confined to a small number of verbs, in part onomatopoeitic. Sometimes an *-i-* follows. Such are:

pā'-sɔ'rɔrɔi-tcī waterfall (participle of verb with incorporated *pa-*
 WATER)

tūmp^wi'-s-iaavai-tcī precipice (participle of verb with incorporated
tūmp^wi- ROCK)

cū'rur'u-, cū'r'uru- to make a noise as of an object whirling down
qī'rīrī- to sound like a hard object played over a toothed or notched
 surface

qwinu'n'nu- to turn around

ta-ya'nunun-ŋqī- to have one's feet dangling

§ 59. NUMERALS.

(1) NUMERAL STEMS PROPER. The numerals of Paiute are:

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>cv-</i> | 9. <i>cū(w)ā'rɔγɔmā'cūŋwi-</i> |
| 2. <i>wā-</i> | 10. <i>tɔγɔ'mā'c-ūŋwi-</i> |
| 3. <i>pai-</i> | 20. <i>wā'mā'cūŋwi-</i> |
| 4. <i>wā'tcī'ŋwi-</i> | 30. <i>pā'imā'cūŋwi-</i> |
| 5. <i>man-i'γi-</i> | 40. <i>wā'tcī'ŋwīmā'cūŋwi-</i> |
| 6. <i>nava'i-</i> | 50. <i>man'γimā'cūŋwi-</i> |
| 7. <i>nava'ikavai-</i> | 60. <i>nava'imā'cūŋwi-</i> |
| 8. <i>wā'ā'ŋwā'cūŋwi-</i> | 100. <i>cv'yut-ɔγɔmā'cūŋwi-</i> |

The stem *cv-*, in its meaning of ONE, is generally provided with an enclitic *-cu-* (§ 19, 2, k), e. g.:

cv'yuc-U one (cardinal attributive); objective *cv'q-uc-U*
cv'tac-U once
cv'yuyuc-U to become one
cv'it-uywanumA, *cv'it-uywanum^wac-U* for one night
cv'yuvv' one (in counting)

Without enclitic *-cu-*, *cv-* is often used to mean OTHER, THE OTHER, e. g.:

co'yU other; *cv'y ayA* other he (vis.), another one; *cv'(i)y arī* other it, another (thing); *cv'YUcinaywaw ayA* other-coyote he (vis.), the other coyote
co'q-unA other one (apparently *co-* + objective *-q-u-* + verbal noun suffix *-u-a-*); *co'q-un ayA* the other one
co'q-U again, once more
co'v^wantī the other; *co'v^wantimī* the others (anim.)

Only 1, 2, and 3 seem to be primary numeral stems. 4 is probably based on 2, *wa-* being reduced to *wa-*. 5 and 10 evidently contain *ma-* HAND. 6 is compounded of reciprocal *na-* (§ 22, 1) and *pai-*THREE, hence means properly DUALITY OF THREES (cf. Nahuatl *nahui* FOUR < DUALITY OF TWOS; Hopi *na'leyi* FOUR < *leiyi* TWO, *navai* SIX < *pa'hio* THREE, *na'nal* EIGHT < *na'leyi* FOUR). 7 is clearly based on 6. 8 (*wa'a'ηwateūηwi*) is somewhat irregularly reduplicated from 4 (*wa'teūηwi*). 9 is compounded of *cu(w)a^s* NEARLY (§ 20, 12) and 10. 10 is properly *MA'cū'ηwi*, *təγ'v-* (§ 20, 15) meaning JUST, QUITE. *-c-ūηwi-* (cf. perhaps *-t-ūηwi-* of 4) is obscure, but is probably another form for ONE (< Shoshonean **sūwi* or **simi*; cf. Shikaviyam *ccwi-* ONE, Mono *cūwi*, *cūmu*); *mac-ūηwi-* may thus have meant ONE PAIR OF HANDS. 20, 30, and so on up to 100, are respectively compounds of 2, 3, and so on, and ten; *-MA'cū'ηwi-* always appears as such, instead of alternating, as would be expected, with *-ma'c-ūηwi-*. 100, rather curiously, consists of ANOTHER (*cvyu-*) and JUST-TEN.

Cardinal and adverbial suffixes to numeral stems are discussed in § 36.

(2) EMPLOYMENT OF NUMERALS. Numerals enter into syntactic relations in one of three ways:

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(a) As independent nominal forms, attributively or denominatively. Subjective forms end in *-yu-* (see § 36, 1), objectives in *-qu-*. Examples of numerals in *-qu-* are:

cv'quc: *u'qwi'yutsiχaiwätcī* one (obj.) arrow-little-have-usitative-participle, wont to have one arrow
wa'qutcani qava'x two-obj.-preterit-I horse-get, I received two horses
paa'ik:zU three (obj.)
man'ixuk:U pateü'ηwiχaiprya' five (obj.) daughters-have-past, had five daughters

(b) As first elements of noun compounds; they geminate following stopped and affricative consonants. Examples of compounded numerals are:

wa'qimantsiηwī two strangers
wa'n:u(y)a-viηw amī the two chiefs
wa'm'a^acaγ^woitsiηwī two old women

Before vowels compounded *wa-* appears as *wa'n-* (perhaps < *wa-* + reciprocal *na-*), e. g.:

wa'n'aip:atsiηwī two boys (*a'ip:ats* boy)
wa'n'aiφApütsiηwī two young men (*a'ifApüts* young man)

Before nouns indicating time (such as DAY, NIGHT, MONTH, WINTER), 1 appears as *cv-i-*; 2 as *wai-*; 3 as *pai(y)ε-*; 4 as *wa'tcü'ηwiyu-* (?); 5 as *man:vyu-*; 6 as *nawai-*. These forms do not suffer vocalic unvoicing of their third mora. Examples are:

cv'itavama one-day-on, for one day (= *cv'yuc:U tavam*)
cv'itömum one-winter-on, for one year
wa'it'avamani' two-day-on-like, for two days in number
pa'i(y)εt:uywan:um three-night-on, for three nights
man'ixiyut'avam'an: for five days in number
nava'it'avamani' for six days in number

(c) As verbs, based on forms in *-yu-*, with or without verbalizing *-ηqai-* (§ 26, 1, a), e. g.:

cv'yuc:U to become one; *cv'yUqwanuc:U* several become one
nana'c:v-yuηqawaiyuc:U reciprocal (distributively)-one-be-subordinating-just, as (they) are one among (them)selves, one by one

waa'(i)yuyq̄iŋ'um^vini two-for-become-dual-me, they 2 (have)
become two for me

(3) QUASI-NUMERALS. A number of elements that are not true numerals are related in meaning and form. These are:

(a) *man^v-*, *man-u-* ALL. As subjective form is used *man^v'n-ia-*, *man'u'n-ia-* (for enclitic *-n-ia-* in numeral forms see § 36, 1); as objective, *man^vq-u-*. Examples are:

man^v'n-u(y)a(i)ya'q-axa' aru'q-wA qv'n'I'ka' all-plural- (§ 52)-imperative (§ 52)-then! it-under lie; all (of you) lie under it, then!
man^v'q-oaqa' pu'tcu'tcuwarĩ all (obj.)-it (vis.) knowing, knowing it all
pa'm-anun'u' quite all, every one

For *man^v'q-upa(n)tcĩ-* see § 37, 2.

(b) *nan'in'na-* DIFFERENT, BOTH (inanimate), e. g.:

nan-i'n'naŋwitux-wA to, in (2) different directions

In compounds this appears as *nan'in'naq-u-* (apparently with numeral objective *-q-u-*), also, it would seem, before certain postpositions, e. g. *-va-* AT. Examples are:

nanu'naq-(w)aya'ya'ma'q-A both (obj.)-end-on-its (vis.), at both its ends
nan-i'n'naq-ova'ŋA both (obj.)-at-his (vis.), on both sides of him

This quasi-numeral is based on *nan-i-* SEPARATELY (as adverbial prefix, § 20, 5; as independent adverb *nan-i'c-u-*, § 60, 2, d).

(c) *naŋwa'ai-* BOTH (animate): consists properly of reflexive-reciprocal stem *na-* (§ 46) and postposition *-ŋwa'ai-* TOGETHER WITH (§ 50, 4, 11): WITH EACH OTHER. *naŋwa''q-u-* functions as independent objective and as first element of compounds. Examples are:

naŋwa''a, *naŋwa''aic-U* both (people)
naŋwa''q-uaya'm pa'qa'ŋu'p̄i'gai(y)aya'mü both (obj.)- he (vis.; = they)-them (vis.) kill (sing.-dual)-past-he (vis.; = they)-them (vis.), they 2 killed both of them
naŋwa''q-up-u'uni both (obj.)-eye-my, both my eyes; *naŋwa''q-u-p-u'im-ani* with both my eyes

(d) *q̄ima-s* OTHER. This stem may be either compounded (e. g. *q̄ima'ŋanini* MY OTHER HOUSE) or used independently. In the latter

case it has pronominal forms for the subjective (see § 39, 2); a numeral form in *-q-u-* (*c-u-*) for the object, e. g.:

qĩma'q-vcuni qaχa'ʼa-va-ʼc-U other (obj.)-just-I sing (momentaneously)-will-again, I will sing also another one

§ 60. ADVERBS.

There are two main classes of independent adverbs in Paiute, those whose position is entirely free (these generally precede verbs or come first in their clause), and those which lean on (though not enclitically attached to) a preceding word. The former type is more numerous.

(1) DERIVATION OF ADVERBS. A number of adverbs are really demonstratives, e. g. *ai-* THEN; *ma-* THUS. Many others are special adverbial stems (e. g. *qa* NOT), provided, in some cases, with nominal suffixes (e. g. *ai-vʷi-* NOW, *tivʷi-tsu-* VERY). Certain enclitic suffixes, particularly *-c-u-* (§ 19, 2, k) and *-n-ia-* (§ 19, 2, d), are appended to some adverbial stems, e. g. *nava-c-u-* IN VAIN; *na'a-c-u-* SEPARATELY; *tivʷi-c-ampa-* SURE ENOUGH; *t'iŋwĩ-n-ia-* HURRIEDLY; *miɔ-n-ia-* FAR AWAY. Some adverbs contain postpositional suffixes, e. g. *tĩ-na'ŋqwa-* UP HITHER (cf. § 50, 4, 18); *taγu'-p-a-* NEAR (cf. § 50, 4, 37). For local adverbs in *-tiγa-n-ia-*, *-tɔγɔ-n-ia-* see 2, b below.

(2) FREE ADVERBS. The adverbs of free position may be classified into temporal adverbs, local adverbs, adverbs of degree, and modal adverbs. They are employed either as true adverbs (e. g. *qĩ'aŋwɛ ya''a* YESTERDAY DIE(D)), often serving as bases for postpositional suffixes (e. g. *qwa'ut-uywa-* OFF-TO, THE OTHER WAY < *qwau-* OFF); or, in part, as verbs (this is particularly true of local adverbs, e. g. *tivʷa'im-uk-Upiγa'* DOWN-MOVING-INCEPTIVE-PAST, COMMENCED TO GO DOWN).

(a) Temporal adverbs:

ai- THEN, NOW (of rather indefinite temporal significance; comes first in clause as peg for enclitics; of demonstrative origin, see § 43, 5 and § 44, 2, c). It is generally followed by enclitic *-tea-* (§ 19, 1, a) even when there is no reference to past time. Examples are:

a'itcaqwa cv'yuc-U piya'ŋwɛ uru'a'nani then-preterit-it (inv.) one be-left being (inv.)-my, then I have one left over
'a'iamĩ t'iŋwĩn(y)a'amĩ t'i'qa'i' then-they (vis.) quickly-dual eat-present, see how fast they 2 eat

- a'iv^wi-* NOW (probably *ai^s* NEW and nominal suffix *-vi-*, § 24, 1, b)
i'-c-u- LONG AGO (perhaps related to *i'-^o* OLD)
i't-u-c-u- FORMERLY, USED TO (perhaps assimilated from *i't-ⁱ-c-u-* < *i'-^o* OLD and participial *-t-ⁱ-*)
i'tcuq-u- (EARLY) IN THE MORNING, Ute *uv'tcuq-u-* (< *i-*, perhaps cf. two preceding adverbs and postpositional *-tcuq-u-* relating to time, cf. *vaticuq-u-*, § 50, 4, 37)
ivä'tcīa- EARLY; also locally: FAR AWAY, WAY OFF (*-vätcīa-* may be objective participle of postposition *-va-* AT, § 50, 4, 37)
it'i'-c-ampa- (*i'ti'c-ampa*, often heard *tī'c-ampa*) ALWAYS (for enclitic *-c-ampa-* see § 19, 2, j)
narī'v^wia- ALWAYS, CUSTOMARILY (perhaps contains reflexive *na-*)
oi't-a-vi- ANY LONGER (*qatcuv oi't-aφi* NO LONGER I —)
pina'ηqwa- AFTER A WHILE, SOON (*pi-* REAR, cf. § 21, 3, and postpositional *-nanqwa-*, § 50, 4, 18)
qī'aywi- YESTERDAY
u'v^waiyauq-u- THEN, THEREUPON (see § 50, 4, 41; frequently used as sentence-connector in narrative)
wi't-u-c-u- LONG AGO (cf. *i't-u-c-u-* above)

(b) *Local adverbs:*

- ivī-* WAY, FAR (e. g. *i'φi tiv^wa'* WAY DOWN WEST; perhaps misheard for *i'φA*, cf. *iva'tcīa-* under a)
mi(y)ɔ-, *miɔ-n'ia-* FAR OFF, AT A DISTANCE; *mi(y)ɔ''itswa-* AT A LITTLE DISTANCE (diminutive *-tsɔ-*, § 35, 1; postpositional *-va-*, § 50, 4, 37);
miɔ'-t'īyan'ia- AT A GOOD DISTANCE
ɔ'ɔ'iv^wmi- ON ONE'S BELLY
ɔ'ɔ'iv^wmin: avi' I lie on my belly
pan-a'ηqwa- COMING DOWN, NORTH (probably WATERWARDS; *pa-* WATER, reduced from *pa-*; postpositional *-nanqwa-*, § 50, 4, 18). May be verbalized
pimi't-uγwa- BACKWARD (< *pi-* REAR, cf. § 21, 3, and postpositional *-mit-uγwa-*, § 50, 4, 13)
pit-cu'a'mi- DOWNWARD
qwaia- BEYOND, OPPOSITE (generally followed by postpositional *-ηqwa-*, § 50, 4, 16)
qawaηwa- (perhaps < *qawau-* off + *-a-* > **qawawa-*): *qawaηwa'ntcuγwa-* A LITTLE FURTHER BEYOND (postpositional *-ntcuγwa-*, § 50, 4, 30)
qawau-^o OFF, AWAY; *qud'ut-uγwa-* THE OTHER WAY (postpositional *-t-uγwa-*, § 50, 4, 30). May be verbalized

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tī-ⁿ, *tī*(·)*i*-ⁿ UP; objective *tī*·*ŋqu-n-ia*- FURTHER UP; *tī*'*ntuɣwa*- UPWARD, NORTHWARD (postpositional *-ntuɣwa*-, § 50, 4, 30); *tina'ŋqwa*- COMING UP (*tī*- reduced from *tī*-; postpositional *-naŋqwa*-, § 50, 4, 18). May be verbalized; see also *tuɣu*-ⁿ

-tīɣa-n-ia- (*-tɔɣɔ-n-ia*-) local adverbializing element appended to certain adverbs or postpositional phrases (perhaps related to verb *tīɣai*- TO BECOME; enclitic *-n-ia*-, § 19, 2, d), e. g.:

mava'i'tīɣan-i', *mava'i'tɔɣon-i'* at a certain distance, way off

muɔ't-īɣan-i' at a good distance

u'u'rainfī'an-i' close towards it

tiv^wai-^o DOWN, WEST; *tanfī'v^wai-* FAR WEST. May be verbalized

tovi''i-tsi- FOR A SHORT DISTANCE (*-tsi-* probably diminutive, § 35, 1)

tuɣu-ⁿ UP (evidently related to *tī*-ⁿ, see above; cf. also *tuɣu-mpa-*

SKY): *tuɣu'ntuɣwa*- UPWARD (postpositional *-ntuɣwa*-, § 50, 4, 30)

tcaɣi'p-a- NEAR (< *tcaɣi-^o*, not occurring independently, and postpositional *-p-a*- AT, § 50, 4, 37)

waq·(a)i'-ⁿ HITHER. May be verbalized

(c) *Adverbs of degree:*

a'iv^wi-c-u- ENOUGH (probably *a'iv^wi-* NOW, see a above, and enclitic *-c-u-*, § 19, 2, k)

tiv^wi'-tsi- VERY (*-tsi-* probably nominal suffix, § 24, 1, f); *tiv^wi'ts-n-ia*- GREATLY; *tiv^wi'ts-sampa-* REALLY, OF COURSE (enclitic *-c-ampa-*, § 19, 2, j)

(d) *Modal adverbs:*

aya-c-u- ONLY, JUST (?) adverbially used independent personal pronoun HE, § 39):

*im*i'*'aik·aya-c·ən·ɔ'c-uap-itciχa'* thou say he early-breathe-arrive-subordinating (nearly-arrive = wake up); you say, but just waking up

*'ar*i'*k-i-* ALMOST, NEARLY

imp^wa'i- hortatory:

imp^wa'iaŋ aiva' let-he (vis.) say-will, let him say

iya't-ia- IN VAIN, TO NO PURPOSE (probably objective participial form in *-t-ia-*)

it-i'a-n-ia- TOO BAD, UNFORTUNATELY:

i'ti'a-n-i aik·ɛA too bad you say, I'm sorry you say

iv^wi- hortatory, *iv^wi-ya-* hortatory with dual or plural subject;

iv^wi'-campa-n-ia- SOMEHOW, ANY OLD WAY; *iv^wi'-n-ia-* HURRY AND —! (cf. *tī'ŋwi-n-ia-* below). Examples are:

iv'w'i'' uŋwα'vatcux-wAqwa'aic' itc'i'' yaŋw'va' niŋw'i'mpi' hortatory-thou him (inv.)-to-go-again this (inan. obj.) carry-shall liver (obj.); go ahead! go again and bring her this liver

iv'w'i'ni nī'm^w iv'χw'aiŋumpa'amī hortatory-I we (exclus.) drink-go-momentaneous-future-dual, let us two go in order to drink

iv'w'i'n-i(y)a^a tīnu'A hortatory-like-thou tell! hurry up and tell!

ma' THUS, IN THAT WAY (as described) (lengthened form of demonstrative stem *ma-*, § 43):

ma'A^z qa'p'īγa' thus (he) sang

ma-n-i-c-ampa- BARELY (probably lengthened *man-i-* TO DO THUS and enclitic *-c-ampa-*, § 19, 2, j); see § 53, 1, a

maŋaia-c-u- ON THE OTHER HAND (adverbially used independent objective personal pronoun HIM, § 39):

maŋa'iac' imi'χain'i' on the other hand you too

nava-c-u- MERELY, FOR FUN, WITHOUT PURPOSE, IN VAIN

na'a'-c-u- DIFFERENTLY, SEPARATELY

nan-i'-c-u- SEPARATELY (cf. § 20, 5; § 59, 3, b)

qa, qatcu- NOT; see § 57

sv'v^wa- PROVIDED THAT, IF (perhaps *cv-* ONE and postpositional *-va-* AT, § 50, 4, 37):

sv'v^waŋw ampa'χαχu'ŋwA if he (inv.) talks

cu(w)a'-r'ua- PERHAPS (probably *cua-* NEARLY, § 20, 12, and interrogative enclitic *-r'ua-*, § 19, 2, f)

tī'ŋwi-n-ia- QUICKLY, IN A HURRY (cf. adverbial prefix *tī'ŋwi-* . . . *n-ia-*):

tī'ŋwi'n-ia^a quickly-thou! hurry!

tī'ŋwini(y)a'mī tī'qa'mi' quickly-they (vis.) eat-usitative, they 2 always eat in a hurry

tiv^wi'-c-u-, tiv^wi'-c-ampa- SURE ENOUGH (for *tiv^wi-* cf. *tiv^wi'-tsu* VERY, d above)

umpa'i(a)-, umpa'ia-c-ampa- I DON'T CARE IF, NO MATTER:

umpa'in-i'ⁱ no matter how thou (wilt test) me

^umpa'i(y)αŋwini I don't care how ye (will do to) me

^umpa'iacampa-ŋA ya'a'iva' however-only he (vis.) die-will, I don't care if he dies

^uu'mp^wic-a-, ump^wi'c-a-c-ampa- ONLY FOR FUN

(3) ADVERBS BOUND IN POSITION. These are almost all of demonstrative origin. They are much more difficult to define than the preceding set of adverbs.

a', *'a'* (lengthened form of demonstrative stem *a-*, § 43) follows quoted word, like Sanskrit *iti*; *no!* Examples are:

w̄iγ̄imp a' n̄ia'χaīva-n̄li vulva thus name-have-future-participle,
(it) will be called "vulva"

qam̄i'v̄w̄uits̄ a' na'aganti' rabbit-eye-noun suffix (obj.) thus
name-having (obj.), being called (obj.) "rabbit-eyed"

pāa'n̄ a' my aunt, ho!

ĩγ̄ir INDEED, TRULY. This common adverb tends to amalgamate loosely with preceding personal pronouns, independent or enclitic. Thus, *n̄i' ĩγ̄ir* is generally heard as *n̄i'ĩγ̄ir*; *imi- ĩγ̄ir* appears as, not *i'm ĩγ̄ir*, but *imi'ιχ̄ir* (in general, *-i- ĩγ̄ir* becomes *ιχ̄ir*); *-aη ĩγ̄ir* often coalesces to *-aη ḡir* (stopped *g* is sometimes heard for *γ* in others of these cases also). Present forms tend to take on preterital significance with *ĩγ̄ir*. Examples are:

n̄i' ĩγ̄ir n̄n̄s'c'c' I indeed dream-present, I did indeed dream

imi' ιχ̄ir uηwaro''a thou indeed anim. sing.-is, you indeed have
always been

mam̄a''caγw̄its̄ ιχ̄ir uηwa old-woman indeed she (inv.), the
old woman indeed

a'ia-η q̄ir 'a'ik̄:zA that (inan.)-obj.-he (vis.) indeed say, that
indeed he says

a'ian ιq̄ir 'a'ik̄:zA that indeed I (always) say

imi'ñc̄u'a-q' ĩγ̄ir ivi'ηv thou-interrogative -it (vis.) indeed
drink-momentaneous, you *did* drink it

ĩηq̄i'' INDEED (Ute form of *ĩγ̄ir*, sometimes used also in Paiute)

'*ca'i'*, '*ca'i'* (objective inanimate invisible demonstrative in origin; see § 42, 9 and § 43, 5) frequently used adverb (generally post-verbal) of quite elusive significance. It seems to have emphasizing force. It is particularly common after *ĩγ̄ir* (see above); with preterital *-tca-* and *-γwa-* (§ 19, 1); after gerund *-t:si-* (§ 55, 1, a); in irrealis forms (§ 33, 1), particularly such as indicate unfulfilled desire (WOULD THAT . . . !); after futures in *-pa-* (§ 32, 4); after *-m̄i-* ALREADY (§ 30, 13); and after substantive verbal *-aq̄a-* IT IS (§ 56, 3). In many cases it seems to turn absolute or present verb forms to past tense forms (probably only by implication).

Examples are:

tv̄zqw̄i'y'aiηq̄īȳian'am 'ca'i' shame-die-to-present-he (vis.)-thee,
he *is* ashamed of you

pāzqa'ηv̄ti'tcaro'a-η 'ca'i' kill-passive-preterit-interrogative-he
(vis.), did he get killed?

A'p̄i'iȳian ĩγ̄ir 'ca'i' sleep-present-he (vis.) indeed, he was indeed
sleeping

i'η ĩγ̄ir 'ca'i' yes, (he) was

pA^xqa'ηutsi'ij'w²qi' having killed him (inv.)
uηwa'ηuq·v'q·waxa' 'əqi' would that it (inv.) might rain!
"mpa'ia^campant' 'əai' *pA^xqa'umpant* no matter-only-me-thou
 kill-shall-me, I don't care if you kill me
tī'qa'm·i·yāaη 'əai' he (vis.) is eating already
imi'ä·q' 'əai' it is thou
nī'ni 'əai' *pA^xqa'ηutu^cai* me kill-impersonal-me, somebody
 killed me
imi'η'wai^aη iηqī 'əqi' yaa'ijqw'əi' thou-with-he (vis.) indeed
 hunt-go-present, with you indeed he went hunting
U^xqwa'i' (objective inanimate invisible third personal pronoun in
 origin; see § 39 and § 42, 9) sometimes occurs instead of 'əai'.
 It is frequently used in songs as practically meaningless padder:
uqwaya. Examples are:

nī'a·q' U^xqwa'i' it is I
i'm U^xqwai iηw'it·ux·wA thou indeed (shouldst turn) in the other
 direction
o'^u, 'o'^u SO, THEN, REALLY (probably adverbialized use of invisible
 demonstrative *w'u'-*, § 43), e. g.:
'aγa'v o'^u he-at so, so at his place
pina'ηq 'o'^u (< *pina'ηqWA 'o'^u*) soon so
ma^d'in·iηun·i 'c o'^u touch-momentaneous-me-again so, touch me
 then again
ma^va'c o'^u so at that same place

Note that *-c·u-* and *o'^u* amalgamate to *-c·o'^u* and permit of vocalic unvoicing before *-c-*.

uru'a·c·u- OTHERWISE (objective inanimate invisible demonstrative and third personal pronoun; see § 39), e. g.:

ini't·uγwa' i^vi'ηumpaA^xqan uru'ac·U this-away-thou drink-mo-
 mentaneous-will-it (vis.)-I otherwise; go away, or I will drink it
uc·u- (probably invisible demonstrative stem *u-* + enclitic *-c·u-*)
 emphasizing particle, e. g.:

'i'γan(y)a·q' u'c·U this (anim.)-like-it (vis.) truly, maybe it is
 this one here
uφ^wA THEN, NOW (perhaps < invisible demonstrative stem *u-* +
 postpositional *-va-*, § 50, 4, 37) weakly emphatic particle, e. g.:
i^vw'i' oφ^wA go ahead, thou, then!

ur^wai' THEN, AND, AS TO (apparently < *uw'ayū-*, cf. *uw^wa-* above)
 common emphasizing and connective particle; frequent after
-c·ampa- ONLY, EXCEPT (§ 19, 2, j). Examples are:

imi' uv^wai' iŋa''^a as to thee, well?
a'itcaram u'v^wai' where-preterit-we 2 (inclus.) now? where, now,
 are we?
axa'n·wa·ŋan u'v^wai' what, then, shall I do with him (vis.)?
 'i'tc uv^waiYU and this (inan.) (is how it got to be)
maŋa'c·amp uv^wai' except that one (anim.)

§ 61. INTERJECTIONS.

Interjections are of two types: simple vocables expressing emotion or desire and without definite grammatical form, and words of definite grammatical form, generally adverbs or terms of demonstrative origin, that are secondarily employed as interjections.

(1) SIMPLE INTERJECTIONS:

a' HO! (e. g. *paa'n· a'* MY AUNT, HO!; cf. § 60, 3)
 'q, 'q̄, 'q̄' surprise, disgust
 'aa'ik·wI, a'a'ik·wI, 'e'ik·wI OH!
 aa'ik·ʒ OH!
a wawa' meaningless cry in myth
 'α', 'i', e'·i cry on guessing in hand-game
i'ha + great joy
 i· YES!
 i'i'ŋA, 'i'ŋA YES! iŋa''^a WELL?
 i'ra', i'ra'·i' fear
 i'ri' prohibitive: DON'T!
 'ŋ' (nasalized breath + voiced guttural nasal) disappointment,
 vexation
 c + DON'T! SHUT UP! used also in driving away dogs
 p'ma.i' YES! ALL RIGHT!
ɥm^wu'ya· (*u'* and *ya·* are equally high-pitched) great fear
o'v^wa', o'v^wa''^a YES! (*qa'tcu* NO! is merely lengthened form of
 negative adverb *qa'tcu* NOT)
wa'·χɔ'·ɔ' wa'·χɔ'·ɔ' imitates frog's croaking
yɔ'·ɔ'v^win·i', yuv·'v^win·i' HAIL! HURRAH!

(2) SECONDARY INTERJECTIONS:

a'iv^wic·U ENOUGH! (cf. § 60, 2, c)
iv^wi- ALAS! (cf. § 60, 2, d), e. g.:
 i'v^wi t·i'γi'v^winI alas, my friend!

iv^wi' '(U^x)*qwa* O poor—! (followed by objective, e. g. *iv^wi'* '*qwa*
ni'nua O poor me! *iv^wi'* '*U^xqwa ni'm^wɬ'* O poor us (exclus.!);
'*U^xqwa*, '*qwa* abbreviated forms of *U^xqwa'i'*)

iv^wi'yayap'i alas-cry-past passive partic., too bad!

mai'ik-i, *mai'k' qwa'c'u* greeting: HELLO! (*mai-* probably demonstrative,
§ 43, 5; *qwa'c'u* evidently third singular animate invisible pronoun,
§ 39)

tiv^wi'ts-sampa SURELY! OF COURSE! (cf. § 60, 2, c)

um^wa'c-ampa'a' (rhetorically lengthened form of *um^wa'c-ampa* THAT
(VIS.)- ONLY) ENOUGH! BE QUIET!

o'nicampa (rhetorically lengthened form of *'u'nicampa* THAT (INV.)-
DO-ONLY) ENOUGH! BE QUIET!

ya'nu (< *iyā'nu*, § 50, 4, 1) HERE I AM! PRESENT!

§ 62. IDIOMATIC USAGES.

A few remarks on verbs of doing and saying are all we need offer here. As numerous examples scattered through this paper have already shown, verbs of doing and saying are frequently used in Paiute in a wider sense than is customary in English. Verbs of doing, i. e. verbs in *-ni-* (§ 26, 2, b; § 43, 3; § 44, 2, a), often refer, in a loose manner, to any activity or state but those of speech, sound, and mental operation. A correspondingly loose reference to activities and states of the latter sort is made by verbs of saying (*ai-* and *mai-*, § 43, 6). Thus, *un-i-* TO DO and *ai-* TO SAY are equivalently used in expressions in *-na-cu-(v^wi-)* (ONE'S OWN) —ING AGAIN implying continuous and exclusive activity, e. g.:

tī'qa'n-acuv unī'k-ʒA he keeps on eating (lit., does his own eating again)

A'pī'inac-u(a)n unī'k-ʒA I do nothing but sleep

qa'nA'cuv^w a'ip-ī'ya' he kept on singing, did nothing but sing (lit.,
said his own singing again)

(1) VERBS OF DOING. Further examples of the generalized use of demonstrative verbs of doing are:

qa'iva vūcit-ṅni anī'k-ai-p-ī'ya' mountain-lie-diminutive-participle-like
do-resultative-past, like a little plateau (lit., mountain-lying) (it)
was

an-i'vuruyī (song form) do-move about present, goes thus from place
to place

nī'c-amp an-i'k-ʒA I-only do, it is only I

man'c'mikup'vga' thus (as described)-do-moving-inceptive-past, began to do that sort of movement, began to copulate (euphemistic reference clear from context)

u^mα'n'ikain'uxuar'uav'o' thus-do-resultative-usitative-modal (§ 19, 2, c)-interrogative-indefinite, is one wont to be doing thus? that is not how one should be

im'p' qm'k'zA nu'yu'xaxa' what does (inv.) while moving? what is it that moves?

ni'axain' qm'va'n'c' I too shall do so, I'll go too (meaning determined by context)

qm'avixā' while lying and doing so, while lying as described

ni' imi'A qan'va qm'n'ni' I thee (= thy) house-at do-continuative-present, I stay at your house

qm'u'm'niaxaic'v do-move-subordinating -just, while on (his) way

Corresponding generalized verbs of doing, happening, being, when of interrogative application, are expressed by *agan-i-* TO DO WHAT? TO ACT HOW? TO HAVE WHAT HAPPEN TO ONE? (see § 44, 2, a). English HOW and WHY are regularly to be expressed in Paiute via an interrogative verb of doing. WHY DID YOU EAT IT?, e. g., has to be rephrased TO ACTING HOW, DID YOU EAT IT?

(2) VERBS OF SAYING. The corresponding generalized usage of verbs of saying finds less ready analogy in English. First of all, *ai-*, particularly in its usitative form, frequently means TO MEAN, TO REFER TO rather than literally TO SAY, e. g.:

a'inteu'a-y' a'imu' that-interrogative-he (vis.) say-usitative, is that what he is wont to say? he does not mean that

i'v'gai a'imuzka' this (anim.)-obj. say-usitative-perfective, has been always referring to this one

For *ai-* . . . *nia-* TO THINK, see § 19, 2, d.

Examples of *ai-* as generalized verb of sound and mental operation, the precise nature of the reference being clear from the context, are:

ni' iyir' a'im'c' I indeed am wont to say = always have that dream
aga'n'vutsi'qv a'ik'zA what-do-momentaneous-gerund-he (inv.) says,
what happened to him that he says so? = what has happened to him to make him cry?

ava'nt o'p'ac'qu'c' a'iva'nti' it-at-being that (inv.)-in manner-same-like say-future-participle, (what is) there will be saying in just

the same manner = (everything that is) there (at the house) will be making the same sounds as ordinarily (so that people will not know it has been abandoned)

A number of verbs of sound or mental operation consist of *ai-* TO SAY preceded by some more specific word, e. g. *ampa'(i)yan'ia-ai-* NOISE-LIKE SAY, THERE IS NOISE GOING ON; *'an'ia-cu-ai-* WHAT (OBJ.)- AGAIN SAY? TO TEASE. Examples are:

ampa'(i)yan'ı a'ik'zA noise is going on

'ava'ηwiti ampa'(i)yan'ı a'iyucampa it-in-being (obj.) noise-like say-while-only, even if inside it there is noise going on

'an'ı'Acuηwĩn a'ik'amı' what (obj.)-again-ye-me say-plural-usitative? ye always tease me

TEXT.

COYOTE SETS THE PARTURITION CUSTOMS.

<i>cina'ηwanv'aγw</i> ¹ Coyote-quotative- preterit	<i>ayA</i> ² he (vis.)	<i>m^wα'va</i> ³ there	<i>qanu'γa</i> ⁴ dwell,	<i>piηwq.'η⁵</i> his (vis.) wife
<i>ay</i> ⁶ she (vis.)	<i>ayā'ruχw</i> ⁷ to him	<i>a'ip'īγa</i> ⁸ said,	<i>cū'xayqūxw'ain</i> ⁹ "Go to get squaw- bush twigs for me	<i>'a'ic:tcuw^wa-t'ηn</i> ¹⁰ being about to make gathering-basket I
<i>aik</i> ¹¹ say	<i>ηmα'nti</i> ¹² being there- from (obj.)."	<i>v'mai</i> ¹³ "Yes,"	<i>a'ip'īγa</i> ¹ said	<i>cina'ηwαφl.</i> ¹⁴ Coyote.
				<i>ηni'ηut^s</i> ¹⁵ Then
<i>'o'xpa'ηqw'aip'īγa</i> ¹⁶ went off in yonder direction		<i>cū'v^wimpiaiγaw</i> ¹⁷ his own squaw-bush	<i>'u'ra</i> ¹⁸ towards it (inv.).	<i>tiv^wtc</i> ¹⁹ Very
<i>miō'n<i>·</i>i</i> ²⁰ far distant	<i>ηni'n'ni'p'īγa</i> ²¹ was doing along	<i>naηqa'p'īγa</i> ²² heard	<i>qa'p'i</i> ²³ singing (obj.).	<i>'a'ik^w</i> ²⁴ "Oh!"
<i>a'ip'īγa</i> ¹ said	<i>cina'ηwαφl,</i> Coyote,	<i>pua'ru'aiyurwən<i>·</i>ixain<i>·</i>i</i> ²⁵ "it seems I am getting supernatural power,		<i>cu'wαru'ani</i> ²⁶ almost-inter. -I
<i>nō'n<i>·</i>ō'c<i>·</i>i</i> ²⁷ dream,	<i>narī'v^wi</i> ²⁸ already	<i>puα'xant</i> ²⁹ medicine-man	<i>ηηwaru</i> ³⁰ am	<i>ni'ī</i> ³¹ I."
<i>ī'v^waiγauq<i>·</i>v</i> ³² Then	<i>naηqa'fsaywīni'p'īγa</i> ³³ stood and listened,	<i>qatcu'iq<i>·</i>w<i>·</i>A</i> ³⁴ not it (inv.)	<i>naηqa'p'īγa</i> ¹ heard.	
<i>ī'v^waiγauq<i>·</i>s</i> Then	<i>paγa'in^yzqiv'p'īγa</i> ³⁵ started off,	<i>ηni'ηut</i> ³⁶ Then	<i>naηqa'p'īγai'cuq<i>·</i>w</i> ³⁷ again heard it (inv.),	
<i>tira'c<i>·</i>k<i>·</i>wōp'īγaic<i>·</i>v</i> ³⁸ again stopped.	<i>ηni'ηut</i> Then	<i>naηqa'fsaywīni'p'īγaic<i>·</i>u'q<i>·</i>w</i> ³⁹ again stood and listened to it (inv.),		
<i>'a't<i>·</i>maηq^zp'īγai'k</i> ⁴⁰ heard it well	<i>ō'v^waiγauq</i> ³² then	<i>qa'q'p'i</i> ⁴¹ singing of many (obj.).	<i>nīm^wi</i> ⁴² "We (excl.)	

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<i>an'k-a</i> ^{a43} are doing	<i>kwī' m v^u r̄c̄ntk̄ am' aγā'</i> ⁴⁴ journeying in order to eat people,"	<i>a'ik̄-ɛ̄Ap̄iγā'</i> ⁴⁵ said (pl.)			
<i>qa' m' m̄iaγā</i> ⁴⁶ singing along	<i>tuγumpapaiya' a ruq̄ wA</i> ⁴⁷ beneath sky-vault	<i>n̄nts̄l' k̄ am̄iaγā'</i> ⁵⁰ flying along	<i>m̄a m' u' c</i> ⁵¹ those (vis.)		
<i>ɔv̄ n' aγq̄ aγw</i> ⁵² geese	<i>am'</i> ⁵³ they (vis.)	<i>waa' n' iγa v̄ iγw</i> ⁵⁴ Two chiefs	<i>am' nanu'' naq̄ w̄ oγaγa m̄ a x̄ q̄ am</i> ⁵⁵ they at both ends of it (vis.) (vis.) they (vis.)		
<i>w̄ i n' m' i a p' i γā'</i> ⁵⁶ stood while journeying.	<i>c̄i n̄ a' η w a v</i> ⁵⁷ Coyote	<i>a η'</i> he (vis.)	<i>p̄ i n' k̄ a i p' i γā' a i m'</i> ⁵⁸ saw them (inv.).		
<i>v̄ v' a i γ a u q̄ w</i> ⁵⁹ Then	<i>a' i p' i γā'</i> , said,	<i>n̄ i' ʔ i</i> "I	<i>m̄ a n' ɔ' q̄ w o q̄ w A</i> ⁶⁰ all (obj.) them (inv.)	<i>q̄ a n' u' t' r̄ i a i'</i> ⁶⁴ camp-places (obj.)	
<i>p̄ a' p' a γ a n̄ i'</i> ⁶² spring-having (pl. obj.)	<i>q̄ a' q̄ a i v̄ a n̄ t s i γ a n̄ i'</i> ⁶³ mountain-having (pl. obj.)	<i>m̄ i m' u' a n̄ t s i γ a n̄ i'</i> ⁶⁴ divide-having (pl. obj.)			
<i>kw̄ i' kw̄ i' t̄ c u a t c u t̄ c̄ i'</i> ⁶⁵ knoll-having (pl. obj.)	<i>p̄ a v̄ a' n' n̄ ɔ a n̄ t s i γ a n̄ i'</i> ⁶⁶ valley-having (pl. obj.)	<i>m̄ a n' ɔ' q̄ v</i> ⁶⁶ all (obj.)			
<i>n̄ i γ w̄ i' a i' y a q̄ w</i> ⁶⁷ their (inv.) people (obj.)	<i>p̄ v' t̄ c u' t̄ c u γ w a i' y u q̄ w</i> ⁶⁸ know them (inv.).	<i>i v' u' a n</i> ⁶⁹ Go ahead (pl.) me	<i>γ u n' η u t s'</i> then		
<i>n̄ i'</i> ⁷⁰ I	<i>n̄ a' u p' a n</i> ⁷¹ like self me	<i>m̄ a m' a' n' u i</i> ⁷² make (pl.) me,	<i>n̄ i' η u m</i> ⁷² I you	<i>γ u n' η u t s'</i> then	<i>m̄ q̄ i' m p̄ a η u m'</i> ⁷⁰ shall lead you, ⁷¹
<i>a' i p' i γā'</i> said	<i>c̄i n̄ a' η w a φ i.</i> Coyote.	<i>' a n̄ i' a η</i> ⁷⁵ What he (vis.)	<i>a' i k̄-ɛ̄</i> ⁷⁶ say	<i>c̄i n̄ a' η w a v</i> Coyote	<i>a η'</i> , he?"
<i>a' i k̄-ɛ̄ p̄ i γā'</i> ⁴⁵ said (pl.)	<i>n̄ a r̄ i' ɔ' w̄ i η u q̄ w a x̄ a'</i> ⁷⁷ while asking each other.	<i>m̄ a n' ɔ' q̄ o y a q̄'</i> ⁷⁸ All (obj.)	<i>p̄ v' t̄ c u' t̄ c u γ w a r</i> ⁷⁹ them (vis.)	knowing	
<i>a' i γ a η</i> ⁸⁰ that he (vis.)	<i>' a i k̄'</i> ¹¹ say	<i>u r u' a c</i> ⁸¹ them (inv.)	<i>t̄ i v' u' i' p' i'</i> ⁸² lands (obj.)	<i>p̄ u' u' r a i n a η</i> ⁸³ whither our (inclus.)	<i>γ u n' n A.</i> ⁸⁴ doing.

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maŋa'c.⁸⁵ *ĩv^waiyaug·v* *na'vŋ'wa·m*.⁸⁶ *aŋ* *a'ip'ĩga'*, *im^wa'iaŋ*⁸⁷
That then their (vis.) he said, "Let him
one (vis.) chief (vis.) (vis.) (vis.)

*a'iva*⁸⁸ *m^wα'ŋ*⁸⁹ *cina'ŋwav* *aŋ* *qa'tc* *'a'iyuŋwai't·im*⁹⁰
shall that Coyote he not being good (neg.);
say (vis.) (vis.),

maad'if'vŋk'ĩv^wa·ŋaraŋwA.⁹¹
he (vis.) will cause us (inclus.) to be found out."

cina'ŋwav *ymu'rqwa·x*⁹² *NU^xqwi'm'miap'ĩga'*⁹³ *wa'a'ŋipax·pĩga'*.⁹⁴
Coyote moving under ran along, shouted while
them journeying.

'aa'ik·w.²⁴ *a'ip'ĩga'* *na'vŋ'wa·mĩ*.⁸⁶ *an'χaiaraŋwA*.⁹⁵
"Oh!" said their (vis.) chief, "so doing he (vis.)
us (inclus.)

maad'if'vŋk'ĩx·qw'aiva.⁹⁶ *ĩv^wĩ'araŋwA*⁹⁷ *na'p'antvŋwa·ŋ*⁹⁸
will perhaps cause to be Let us (inclus.) together him (vis.)
caught. him (vis.)

wĩ'ci'amamaxava·ŋ.⁹⁹ *a'ip'ĩga'* *na'vŋ'wa·m'*. *ĩv^wa*¹⁰⁰
shall give him (vis.) said their (vis.) chief. Down
feathers,"

ymu'ŋut· *a·ŋa'vantux·w*¹⁰¹ *yuvα'k'ipĩga'*¹⁰² *cina'ŋwavi'*.¹⁰³
then on to him flew down (pl.) Coyote (obj.).

cina'ŋwαfi *na'q'·tŋq'pĩga'*.¹⁰⁴ *wĩ'ci'amamax·pĩgaiyaŋ*¹⁰⁵
Coyote dodged several times. Gave (pl.) him feathers

*na'p'antux·wA*¹⁰⁶ *cina'ŋwavi* *a'ik'·pĩga'*, *ĩv^wĩ'ca'*¹⁰⁷ *nəntsi'q·v*¹⁰⁸
together, Coyote said (pl.), "Go ahead fly off
(obj.) (obj.)

*marĩ*¹⁰⁹ *av'tcutci*¹¹⁰ *a'o'ra'*¹¹¹ *ma·m·a'ĩ*¹¹² *ymu'ŋuts·* *paiyi'ŋumpa'*.¹¹³
that little ridge towards from on then shall return."
(obj.) (obj.) it that

v'mai, *a'ip'ĩga'* *cina'ŋwαfi* *nəntsi'q·v·pĩga'*¹¹⁴ *a·v'tcutci*¹¹⁵
"Yes," said Coyote, flew off, little ridge
(obj.) (obj.)

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<i>qawai'ηqwɔp</i> ¹¹⁶ beyond	<i>nɔ'ntsī'p'īγa'</i> ¹¹⁷ flew.	<i>an'an</i> "What I	<i>'aik-ɜ,</i> say?"	<i>a'ip'īγa'</i> said
<i>na'vŋ'wa-m'</i> their chief.	<i>um^wα'na-nt</i> ¹¹⁸ "About to be doing thus	<i>ɥearu'</i> ^a he is	<i>m^wα'ηA</i> that	<i>cina'ηwaw</i> Coyote
<i>aj'</i> he,	<i>gateu'raŋwA</i> ¹¹⁹ not us	<i>tiv^wl'tsiχava-η'wa'it-iraŋwA</i> ¹²⁰ being about to obey (neg.) us."		<i>cina'ηwafɪ</i> Coyote
<i>qɔ'niip'īγa</i> ¹²¹ came back	<i>a-r'teuti'</i> little ridge (obj.)	<i>manahqwpai'yiq-w</i> ¹²² from its (inv.) other side,		<i>'a-mu'φA</i> ¹²³ at them
<i>pu'teiip'īγa'</i> ¹²⁴ arrived.	<i>ɔ'v^waiyauq'</i> Then	<i>maŋac</i> that one	<i>na'v</i> chief	<i>aj'</i> he
				<i>a'ip'īγa'</i> said,
<i>gateu</i> "Not	<i>nɔ'ntsī'n'va-ηwa</i> ¹²⁵ shall be flying around	<i>nŋm^wi'ɔax-tux-w</i> ¹²⁶ around us, (exclus.)	<i>gateu</i> not	<i>wa'a'ηva-ηwa</i> ¹²⁷ shall shout,
<i>gate</i> not	<i>qa'va-ηwa</i> ¹²⁸ shall sing	<i>pa'a'n-i'</i> ¹²⁹ loud."	<i>v'mai,</i> "Yes,"	<i>a'ip'īγa'</i> said
				<i>cina'ηwafɪ</i> Coyote.
<i>ma'n-un</i> ¹³⁰ All	<i>ya'c'iyup'īγa'</i> ¹³¹ started to fly	<i>tuγu'mpai</i> ¹³² sky (obj.)	<i>'aura'</i> ¹²³ towards it.	<i>tiv^wa</i> ¹⁰⁰ West- ward
<i>ɥnts</i> ¹³⁴ then	<i>ya'c'p'īγa'</i> ¹³⁵ flew (pl.)	<i>pu'u'rai</i> ¹³⁶ whither their own	<i>ɥuŋ</i> ¹³⁷ do	<i>u'u'ra'</i> ¹⁸ towards it (inv.).
				<i>cina'ηwaw</i> Coyote
				<i>aj'</i> he (vis.)
<i>a-m'ɔ'ax-tux-w</i> ¹³⁸ around them	<i>nɔntsī'vurup'īγa'</i> ¹³⁹ flew hither and thither.		<i>iv^waiyauq-w</i> Then	<i>a'ip'īγa'</i> said
<i>na'vŋ'wa-m'</i> their (vis.) chief,	<i>wi'ci'aia-ŋaraŋ</i> ¹⁴⁰ "His (vis.) feathers (obj.) we (inclus.)	<i>ɔv'd'q-ay-umpa-c</i> ¹⁴¹ shall again pull out (pl.),		<i>maa'it'ɥk'</i> he (vis.) will
<i>tiv^wa-ŋaraŋw</i> cause us (in- clus.) to be found out	<i>uru'ac</i> ¹⁴² that (obj. inv.)	<i>ani'χa'</i> ¹⁴³ doing."		<i>ɔ'v^waiyauq'ɔaj</i> ¹⁴⁴ Then him (vis.)
<i>teatca'i'p'īγaiam</i> ¹⁴⁵ they (vis.) took hold of	<i>tuγu'mpapaiya'ava-ntux-w</i> ¹⁴⁶ at sky-vault,			<i>wi'si'aia-η</i> ¹⁴⁷ his (vis.) feathers (obj.)

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- ova'q-ayup-iyā'*¹⁴⁸ *cina'ηwaw* *ay'* *pi'tcu''ami*¹⁴⁹ *cu'r'urup-iyāin-i'*¹⁵⁰
 took off (pl.). Coyote he downward made noise of
 (vis.) whizzing
- tiv'w-i'p-uw'a-nti'*¹⁵¹ *kwi'pa'p-iyā'*¹⁵² *tA'pa'e-pīy*¹⁵² *yni'ηuts* *pina'ηwA'*¹⁵⁴
 being on ground fell, lay senseless, then soon
 (obj.)
- cuwa'p-itcp-iyā'*¹⁵⁵ *sa'a'p-i'*¹⁵⁶ *pīnu'k-ai'p-iyā'*¹⁵⁷ *a'ik-w*, *a'ip-iyā'*,
 came to. Mush (obj.) saw. "Oh!" said,
- tīyī'vuts-ηwup-ani'*¹⁵⁸ *sa'a'm-amar-qaini'*¹⁵⁹ *a'ip-i'χa'* *ti'qa'xai'k-wA'*¹⁶⁰
 "my friends, it have given (pl.) said while eating
 seems, me mush," it (inv.).
- pīnanηq*¹⁵⁴ *ɔ'v'aiyauq'* *ti'qa'm-au'p-atsi'q-w'*¹⁶¹ *ci'p'i'χīru-*
 Soon then having finished eating felt like
 it (inv.)
- tca'q-ai'p-iyāin-i'*¹⁶² *maad'ini'pīy*¹⁶³ *yni'ηuts* *t'ʔsi'va-nī'αfi'*¹⁶⁴
 cold thrill going touched then being at his own
 through head, head (obj.).
- 'aa'ik-w*, *a'ip-iyā'* *cina'ηwafī*, *tcɔ'p'i'k-iar'on*¹⁶⁵ *yni'k-a'*¹⁶⁶ *ti'qa'χa'*¹⁶⁷
 "Oh!" said Coyote, "brains-obj.- was in-
 inter.-I deed doing
- a'ip-iyā'*. *pi'pi't-a'nit'vax-pīyā'*¹⁶⁸ *na-ηa'i'ai'p-iyā'*¹⁶⁹ *cina'ηwafī*,
 said. Tried to vomit. Was angry Coyote,
- iv'w'in*¹⁷⁰ *naηwa'x-pa'mpa'amī'*¹⁷¹ *tiv'w-a'im'miap-iyā'*¹⁷² *cina'ηwafī*
 "Let me shall follow their Traveled west Coyote,
 (inv.) tracks."
- 'a-v'ηupīyā'*¹⁷³ *pīnanηq* *ɔ'v'aiyauq'* *naηqa'p-iyā'ainī'*¹⁷⁴
 passed night Soon then heard them (inv.)
 after night on
 journey.
- qa'm-ia'nami'*¹⁷⁵ *cina'ηwaw*, *a'ik-pīyā*, *u'v'w-a-η'*¹⁷⁶ *naηwī'rīraxwɔp-a'*¹⁷⁷
 their (inv.) "Coyote," said "there right among
 singing while (pl.), she (vis.) people
 moving along.
- a-vi'* *ma-m-a'ute'*¹⁷⁸ *uη'* *imi'*¹⁷⁹ *uηw*¹⁸⁰ *'a'e-intuina'amī'*¹⁸¹ *v'mai*,
 lies woman she of you she your liking." "Yes,"
 (inv.),

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<i>a'ip'iyā'</i> said	<i>čina'ηwaφi.</i> Coyote.	<i>'ava</i> ¹⁸² There	<i>'ari'ac</i> ¹⁸³ that (inan. obj.)	<i>qanl'p'i</i> ¹⁸⁴ former camping place (obj.)	<i>'ava</i> there
<i>pi'tciw'āip'iyā'</i> ¹⁸⁵ went and arrived,	<i>pU'ca'χaip'iyaiāη'</i> ¹⁸⁶ looked for her (vis.)	<i>mam'a'utsi</i> ¹⁸⁷ woman (obj.),	<i>ηni'χaic'uaη'</i> ¹⁸⁸ so doing her (vis.)		
<i>maad'ip'iyā'</i> ¹⁸⁹ found.	<i>axa'n-wa'ηan</i> ¹⁹⁰ "How shall I her (vis.) do	<i>u'v'ai</i> ¹⁹¹ then?"	<i>a'ip'iyā'</i> said	<i>čina'ηwaφi.</i> Coyote.	
<i>uηwa'vantuywa'ηup'iya'</i> ¹⁹² Got on top of her (inv.),	<i>saxwi'ai'ayw</i> ¹⁹³ her (inv.) stomach (obj.)	<i>uw'a'an</i> ¹⁹⁴ on it (inv.)			
<i>wüw'i'n'ixqur'iyā'</i> ¹⁹⁵ began to stand stamping.	<i>ηni'xci'uηw</i> ¹⁹⁶ So doing to her (inv.)	<i>wü'ik'up'iya'</i> ¹⁹⁷ fell out	<i>maηa'c</i> that one		
<i>iyā''piti</i> ¹⁹⁸ baby	<i>aη'</i> he (vis.).				
<i>axa'n-wa'ηan</i> ¹⁹⁰ "In what way shall I do to him (vis.)	<i>uw'ai</i> ¹⁹¹ then?"	<i>a'ip'iyā'</i> said	<i>čina'ηwaφi.</i> Coyote.	<i>ü'v'aiyauq'uηwA</i> ¹⁹⁹ Then him (inv.)	
<i>yü'ik'ip'iya'aiηwA</i> ²⁰⁰ swallowed him (inv.),	<i>paiyi'k'p'iya</i> ²⁰¹ came back	<i>'u'ra</i> ¹⁸ towards it (inv.)	<i>tüw'p'uaiāuφi.</i> ²⁰² his own country (obj.).		
<i>a'v'ηupax-p'iyaic'v</i> ²⁰³ Again passed night after night on journey,	<i>saxwi'a-φA^xqahqip'iya'</i> ²⁰⁴ had stomach-ache.	<i>ma'n</i> ²⁰⁵ "In that	<i>un-wü-nü</i> ²⁰⁶ being about way to do		
<i>mam'a'uts</i> ¹⁸⁷ woman,"	<i>a'ip'iyā'</i> said	<i>čina'ηwaφi.</i> Coyote.	<i>ü'v'aiyauq'</i> Then	<i>qumu'ntuañip'iya'</i> ²⁰⁷ heated stones on fire.	
<i>ηni'ηum-i-ts</i> ²⁰⁸ After doing so	<i>wa'a'p'i</i> ²⁰⁹ of cedar	<i>pa'pa'raηqai</i> ²¹⁰ limb (obj.)	<i>o'mA</i> ²¹¹ on it (inv.)	<i>püri'rüp'iyā'</i> ²¹² hung on;	
<i>ηni'x'uηw</i> ²¹³ while he (inv.) did so	<i>iyā''piti</i> baby	<i>aη'</i> he	<i>wü'ik'up'iya'</i> fell down.	<i>ü'v'aiyauq'</i> Then	<i>m'w'ot'iyān'i</i> ²¹⁴ when at consid- erable distance

FOOTNOTES.

¹ *cīnaŋwavi-* COYOTE, only used in myths; *-vi-* noun suffix (§ 24, 1, b); *i < ī* (§ 3, 3, b); *-y'a-* quotative enclitic (§ 19, 2, m); *-γw* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-γwa-* preterital enclitic (§ 19, 1, a).

² Post-nominal pronoun (§ 42, 1).

³ *m^wa'-*, *m^wa'-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-va'*, final form (§ 8, 1, d) of *-va-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 38).

⁴ *qani-*^s HOUSE; *-γa'* spirantized (§ 16, 1), palatalized (§ 13, 4), final (§ 8, 1, e) form of *-kai-* verbalizing suffix TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). TO HAVE A HOUSE > TO DWELL.

⁵ *piŋwa-* wife; *-aŋa-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). *piŋwa-aŋa-* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) to *piŋwa ŋ*; *a* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2).

⁶ See note 2; final vowel elided (§ 7, 1).

⁷ *aŋa-* third person animate singular pronoun (§ 39; 39, 3); *-ruγwa-*, elided (§ 7, 1) to *-ruγw-*, *-ruχw-*, postposition (§ 50, 4, 30).

⁸ *ai-* to say; *-p'īγai-*, in final form (§ 8, 1, e), tense suffix of myth narrative (§ 32, 6).

⁹ *cīi-*^s SQUAW-BUSH TWIG; *-xa-* verbalizing suffix TO ACQUIRE (§ 26, 1, c); *-ŋqi-* indirective FOR (§ 29, 11); *-xw'ai-* TO GO IN ORDER TO (§ 28, 3); *-n* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ni-* pronominal enclitic ME (§ 40; 40, 3). Imperative in form (§ 52).

¹⁰ *'a'ic-i-*^s < *'a'ic-i-*^s (§ 3, 3, a) GATHERING-BASKET; *-tcu-* < *-ru-*, *-tu-* (§ 13, 3) TO MAKE (§ 26, 1, d); *-v^wa-* < *-va-* (§ 14, 3, b) temporal suffix of future time (§ 32, 4); *-t^ŋ-* < *-tsi-* (§ 3, 2, c.; § 13, 7, a) gerund (§ 55, 1, a); *-n* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ni-* pronominal enclitic I (§ 40), subject of following verb, to which gerund is morphologically subordinate.

¹¹ *ai-* TO SAY; *-k-* elided (§ 7, 1) and palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-q-a-* tense suffix (§ 32, 2).

¹² *ŋ-* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) form of *u-* invisible demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-maⁿ-*, *-maⁿ-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 7); *-nti'* < *-ntia-* (§ 8, 1, a) objective form (§ 49, 1) of participial *-nti-* (§ 25, 6, a). Form is objective because logically dependent on objectively thought *cīi-* of preceding verb (note 9); GET SQUAW-BUSH TWIGS BEING THEREFROM > GET SOME OF THE SQUAW-BUSH TWIGS.

¹³ See § 61, 1.

¹⁴ See note 1. *-φi* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-vi-*.

¹⁵ *ŋu-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-ts* elided from *-tsi-* gerund (§ 55, 1, a). HAVING SO DONE = THEN.

¹⁶ *'o'x-* < *'o'o-* (§ 8, 2, b) < *'o'-'* (§ 10, 1) contracted from demonstrative stem *'o'-'* (§ 43, 1) and *-u-*; *-u^pa(·)-ⁿ* postposition (§ 50, 4, 35); *-ŋqwa'ai-* TO GO (§ 28, 1); *-p'īγa'* as in note 8.

¹⁷ *cīī-*^s as in note 9; *-v^wī-ⁿ* < *-vī-ⁿ* (§ 14, 3, b) nominal suffix for PLANTS (§ 24, 1, e); *-mpī-* nominalizing suffix used with possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 1, d); *-a-* possessive suffix (§ 24, 2, a); *-i-* glide (§ 5, 1); *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-u-* glide (§ 5, 2); *-v* elided (§ 7, 1) form of *-vī-* reflexive possessive (§ 40, 4). Form is objective because in apposition with following postpositional phrase (§§ 49; 50, 3).

¹⁸ = *u'ura'*. *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-'ura'* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-'urai-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36).

¹⁹ Adverb of degree (§ 60, 2, c).

²⁰ *mīō-* local adverbial stem (§ 60, 2, b); *-n_i* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-nia-* enclitic LIKE (§ 19, 2, d) appended to several adverbs.

²¹ *ūni-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-n'ni-* continuative (§ 30, 12); *-p'īya'* as in note 8. WAS DOING ALONG used in idiomatic sense (§ 62, 1) to refer to movement.

²² *naŋqa-* TO HEAR.

²³ *qa-* TO SING; *-p'ī'* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-pia-*; *-p'ī-* past passive participial suffix (§ 25, 5, a), *qa-p'ī-* meaning literally WHAT HAS BEEN SUNG; *-a-* objective (§ 49, 1), noun being direct object of preceding verb.

²⁴ Elided (§ 7, 1) from *'aik-wi-* (§ 61, 1).

²⁵ *pua-*^s SUPERNATURAL POWER, SUPERNATURAL; *-ru'a-* verbalizing suffix TO BECOME (§ 26, 1, f); *-i-* glide (§ 5, 1); *-yu-* assimilated (§ 3, 3, f) from *-yī-* present temporal suffix (§ 32, 1); *-ruō-* = *-ru'a-* (§ 3, 1, c) interrogative enclitic (§ 19, 2, f) going with following enclitic *-γain ia-* to mean APPARENTLY; *-n_i* subjective pronominal enclitic (§ 40, 2); *-χain i'* palatalized (§ 13, 4) final (§ 8, 1, a) form of modal enclitic *-γain ia-* (§ 19, 2, a).

²⁶ *cuwα-* with glide *-w* (§ 14, 3, a) modal adverb NEARLY (§ 60, 2, d) generally used as verb prefix (§ 20, 12); *-ru'a-* interrogative enclitic (§ 19, 2, f); *-n_i* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of subjective pronominal enclitic *-ni-* (§ 40, 2), subject of following verb. NEARLY? = PERHAPS.

²⁷ Final form (§ 8, 1, c) of *nōn:ōi-yī-*; *nō-* inorganically lengthened (§ 4, 2, a); *nōn:ōi-* TO DREAM; *-yī-* present temporal suffix (§ 32, 1).

²⁸ Temporal adverb (§ 60, 2, a).

²⁹ *pua-*^s as in note 25; *-xant* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-xanti-* HAVING, present participle (§ 25, 6, a) of *-γai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). HAVING SUPERNATURAL POWER = MEDICINE-MAN.

³⁰ Substantive verb of animate singular subject (§ 56, 1), compounded of *uŋv* HE (§ 39, 1) and *aru'a-* TO BE (§ 43, 4). Note following first personal subject despite its composition with third personal element.

³¹ Independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); nasalization secondary (§ 6, 2).

³² Properly *u'v^waiyauq v*, pronunciations with *ī-* and *ō-* due to careless articulation of unemphatic word. Temporal adverb (§ 60, 2, a) composed of demonstrative *u-* (§ 43, 1) and *-v^waiyauq-u-* labialized (§ 14, 3, b) from *-vaiyauq u-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 41).

³³ Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *naŋqalca-* TO LISTEN consists of *naŋqa-* TO HEAR (cf. note 22) and rare suffix *-tca* (§ 26, 1, j); *-ŋw'īni-* postvocalic (§ 13, 2) form of *vīni-* to stand, secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2); *-p'īya'* as in note 8.

³⁴ *qatcu-* NOT (§ 57) broken because of following element; *-' . . qwa-* pronominal enclitic IT (INV.) used objectively (§ 40, 3), in final form (§ 8, 1, a).

³⁵ So frequently heard for *paɣa'in^uNU^xqwi-* compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *paɣai-* with inorganic *-a-* (§ 3, 2, a) TO WALK; *nuq'wi-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) to *-n^uNU'qwi-* TO STREAM, RUN; *-p'iyá'* as in note 8. TO WALK-STREAM = TO START OFF.

³⁶ Simplified from *ɣni'ɣuts* (§ 13, 7, a). For analysis see note 15.

³⁷ *naŋqa-* TO HEAR; *-p'iyai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-cu-* enclitic suffix AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k); *-' . . . qw* as in note 34.

³⁸ *tirac'ikwa-* TO STOP; *i > i* (§ 3, 3, b); *-ci-* < *-c'i-* unvoiced to *c'i-*, *-c-* (§ 8, 2, a); *-kwa-* > *-kwə-* (§ 3, 1, c); *-p'iyai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-c'u* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of enclitic *-c'u-* AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k).

³⁹ As in note 33, except that *-ŋw'i-* is labialized to *-ŋu-* (§ 3, 3, d); *-c'u-* and *-' . . . qw* as in note 37.

⁴⁰ Adjective-verb compound (§ 18, 2, b). *'a't'i-* WELL irregular participial form in *-t'i-* (§ 25, 6, a) of verb stem *'a'yu-* TO BE GOOD; *-na'ŋq^x-* < *na'ŋqA-*: *naŋqa'-* TO HEAR (§ 10, 1); *-p'iyai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-' . . . kwa-* enclitic pronominal object IT (inv.) (§ 40, 3) dissimilated (§ 13, 7, c) from elided *'kw* (§ 7, 1) to *'k*.

⁴¹ *qa-* TO SING; *-q'-' = -qA-* unvoiced form (§ 8, 2, a) of *-qa-* suffix indicating plural subject (agent) of verb (§ 31, 1, c); *-pi'* = *-pia-* as in note 23.

⁴² Independent subjective personal pronoun (§ 39, 1) with preserved final vowel followed by *'* because coming before *ani-* TO DO (§ 7, 3).

⁴³ Song form for *an'k^xA. anu-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-k'a-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-qa-* as in note 41.

⁴⁴ Myth form. *kwi-mv^urαⁿ* of unknown significance; *-nuk'a-* nasalized (§16, 3) form of *tiq'a-* TO EAT; *-mia-* plural verb of movement (§ 18, 2, a) TO GO IN ORDER TO (§ 28, 3); *-ɣa'* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-ɣai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b).

⁴⁵ *ai-* and *-p'iyá'* as in note 8; *-k^xA-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *-qa-* as in note 41.

⁴⁶ *qa-* TO SING; *-m'mia-* TO MOVE WHILE -ING (§ 28, 4); *-ɣa* as in note 44.

⁴⁷ *tuɣumpa-^o* SKY; *-pa(i)ya^a-ruq wA* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 45).

⁴⁸ *nontsi-* TO FLY; *-k'a-* as in note 45 (but voiced form); *-mia-* and *-ɣa'* as in note 44.

⁴⁹ Independent subjective pronoun (§ 39, 1).

⁵⁰ *wan-aŋqa-* GOOSE; *-ŋw* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ŋw'i-* animate plural (§ 48, 1).

⁵¹ Post-nominal pronoun (§ 42, 2).

⁵² Compound of numeral stem and noun (§ 59, 2, b). *waa-*, *wa-* TWO; *ni(y)a-v-* CHIEF with nominal suffix *-vi-* (§ 24, 1, b); *-ŋw-* as in note 52.

⁵³ Compound of quasi-numeral and noun (§ 59, 3, b; § 59, 2, b). *nani'na-* BOTH, DIFFERENT (with inanimate nouns); *-q(w)ə-* objective suffix (§ 59, 2, a) used also in composition; *yaɣa-* END; *-maxqam = -maxqamī* (§ 8, 2, a); *-ma-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 7); *-aqamī* unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) form of *-aqamī-* combined pronominal enclitic (§ 41, 1, e) referring to subject and possessive of noun with postposition (§ 41, 2, d).

⁵⁴ Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *wīnu-* TO STAND; *-m'ia-* SEVERAL JOURNEY; *-p'iyá'* as in note 8.

⁵⁷ Cf. note 1. *-vi-* elided (§ 7, 1) to *-v*.

⁵⁸ *pīni-* TO SEE, LOOK; *ī* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2); *-k'ai-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-q'ai-* resultative (§ 30, 9), regularly suffixed to *pīni-* in its normal sense of TO SEE; *-p'iyai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6) broken (§ 15, 2, a) to *-p'iy'a'ai-* by following pronominal element; *-'* . . . *m'* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of objective pronominal enclitic *-'* . . . *mī-* THEM (INV.) (§ 40, 3).

⁵⁹ As in note 32. Final *-u-* elided (§ 7, 1); *-w* glide (§ 14, 3, c).

⁶⁰ *manə-* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *manə-* ALL (§ 59, 3, a); *-q'wo-* objective *-q'o-* (§ 49, 1; § 59, 2, a) with glide *-w-* (§ 14, 3, c) and glottalized *q'* (§ 15, 2, b) due to following pronominal element; *-'* . . . *q'wA* objective pronominal enclitic (§ 40, 3) pleonastically referring to following objective noun, to which *manə-q'wo-* is attributive.

⁶¹ *qanu-* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *qani-* house; *-t'vīa-* reduplicated plural of *-t'ia-* PLACE OF (§ 25, 4, a); *-i'* final form (§ 8, 1, c) of objective *-ya-* (§ 49, 1). Object used genitively with *nūwī'ai'yaq'w* below (note 67): I KNOW THE PEOPLE OF ALL THE CAMP-PLACES.

⁶² *pa'pa-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, d) of *pa-ə* WATER, SPRING; *-γantī'* = *-γantīA* objective form (§ 49, 1) of *-γantī-* HAVING (§ 25, 6, a) participial form of *-γai-* TO HAVE (§ 26, 1, b). Objective in form because modifying *qa'u't'vīai'*.

⁶³ *qa'q'aiva-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, d) of *qaiwa-* mountain; *-nts-ə* diminutive (§ 35, 2); *-γantī'* palatalized form (§ 13, 4) of *-γantī'* as in note 62.

⁶⁴ *mī'm'ia-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, c) of *mīa-ə* DIVIDE generally in form *mīa'γantī-*; *-nts-* and *-γantī'* as in note 63.

⁶⁵ *kw'kwī'tcuwa-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c) of *kwitcuwa-ə* appearing generally in participial form *kwitcu'va-rī-* KNOLL; *-tc-* assimilated (§ 13, 8, e) from *-ts-ə* diminutive (§ 35, 2); *-tcī'* = *-tcīA* objective form (§ 49, 1) of participial *-tcī-* (§ 25, 6, a) assimilated from *-rī-*, *-tī-* (§ 13, 3). Syntax as in note 62.

⁶⁶ *pa'va'n'nəa-* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *pava'n'nəa-* reduplicated plural (§ 58, 3, b) of *pa'n'nəa-* HOLLOW, VALLEY generally in form *pa'n'nəa-γantī-*; *-nts-* and *-γantī'* as in note 63.

⁶⁷ *nūwīa-* PEOPLE OF (A PLACE) consisting probably of *nūwī-* PERSON and possessive *-a-* (§ 24, 2, a); *-i-* glide (§ 5, 1); *-ya-* objective (§ 49, 1); *-'* . . . *q'w* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4), THEIR (INAN.) referring to *manə-č-q'woq'w* . . . *pa'va'n'nəantsiγantī'*. Object of following verb.

⁶⁸ *pū'tcu'tcuγua-* TO KNOW probably contains instrumental prefix *pu-ə* (§ 21, 4); *-i-* glide (§ 5, 1); *-yu-* < *-yī-* present tense (§ 32, 1); *-'* . . . *q'w* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

⁶⁹ = *iv'vīyan* (§ 13, 6). *iv'vī-* hortatory adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-ya-* dual-plural imperative enclitic (§ 52); *-n* elided (§ 5, 1) from *-ni-* ME (§ 40, 3).

⁷⁰ Subjective in form because object of imperative construction (§ 39, 1; § 52).

⁷¹ *na-* reflexive pronominal stem (§ 46); *-u'p'a-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 35); *-n* for *-ni* voiceless (§ 8, 1, a) form of *-ni-* ME (§ 40, 3).

⁷² *ma-m-a-* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *mam-a* - reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c) of *ma-* TO MAKE INTO; *-ni* as in note 71. Observe that ME is expressed four times in this sentence.

⁷³ *nĩ-* secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *nĩ-ɪ* (§ 39, 1); *-num* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-numi-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3). For combination of independent and enclitic pronoun, see § 40, 6, a.

⁷⁴ *mqi-* nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *moi-ⁿ* TO LEAD; *-mpa-* future of intention (§ 32, 4); *-num'* = *-numi* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-numi-* as in note 73.

⁷⁵ Elided (§ 7, 1) and contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *'ama-aŋa-*; *'ama-* objective WHAT? with verb of saying (§ 44, 1, d); *-aŋa-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

⁷⁶ As in note 11, except for voiceless form (*-k^ʰ* = *-k^ʰA*; § 8, 1, a) of suffix.

⁷⁷ *na-^s* reciprocal prefix (§ 22, 1); *-riv^{wi}ŋu-* spirantized (§ 16, 1) from *tiv^{wi}ŋu-* TO ASK probably containing momentaneous *-ŋu-* (§ 30, 5); *-qwa-* labialized (§ 14, 3, c) from *-qa-* plural suffix (§ 31, 1, c); *-χa'* = *-γa'* as in note 44.

⁷⁸ *ma-n-əqo-* as in note 60. *-yaq'* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *-ya-aqA*; *-ya-* probably for *-y'a-* quotative enclitic (§ 19, 2, m); *-aqA* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

⁷⁹ *pu'tcu'tcuɣwa-^s* TO KNOW as in note 68; *-r* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ri-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). For indicative use of participle, see § 55, 4, e.

⁸⁰ *ai-* inanimate demonstrative (§ 43, 5); *-y-* glide (§ 14, 2); *-aŋ* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *-a-aŋ*; *-a-* objective (§ 49, 1); *-aŋ* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-aŋa-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

⁸¹ = *uri'a-c-u-* objective independent inanimate pronoun (§ 39, 1).

⁸² = *tiv^{wi}p'ïA* objective (§ 49, 1) of *tiv^{wi}p'ï-* LAND containing nominal suffix *-p'ï-* (§ 24, 1, d). Object of *pu'tcu'tcuɣwar*, takes up *-aqA* of note 78.

⁸³ Assimilated (§ 3, 3, f) from *pï-'urai-*; *pï-* relative pronoun (§ 45); *-'urai-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36); *-naŋ* < *-naŋw* (§ 13, 7, c) < *-naŋwa-* (§ 7, 1) apparently dissimilated from, if not misheard for, *-raŋwa-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

⁸⁴ *ŋni-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-nA* suffix of verbal noun (§ 25, 3) used as equivalent of relative clause (§ 45).

⁸⁵ Independent animate singular pronoun (§ 39, 1) anticipating following *na'vŋ'wam aŋ*.

⁸⁶ *na-vc-* CHIEF; *-ŋ'wam-* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ŋ'wa-am-ï-*; *-ŋ'wa-* possessive suffix (§ 24, 2, b); *-am-ï-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

⁸⁷ *imp^{wai}-* modal adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-aŋ* as in note 80, anticipates following *cina'ŋwam aŋ'*.

⁸⁸ *ai-* TO SAY; *-va* final form (§ 8, 1, d) of *-va-* future suffix (§ 32, 4).

⁸⁹ Animate singular demonstrative (§ 39, 1) used attributively with following noun.

⁹⁰ *'a(ï)yu-* TO BE GOOD; *-ŋwai'* negative suffix (§ 57, 2, b); *-tï-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); *-m'* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-mï-* animate plural suffix (§ 48, 1).

⁹¹ *maai-* TO FIND OUT; *-lɪ-* contracted (§ 4, 1, c) from *-lwi-* causative suffix (§ 29, 12); *-ŋk'-* = *-ŋk'i-* voiceless form (§ 10, 1) of *-ŋk'i-* indirective suffix (§ 29, 11); *-ti-* = *-t'i-* passive suffix (§ 29, 13); *-v^waŋa-* < *-va-aŋa-* (§ 14, 3, b; § 4, 1, a); *-va-* future (§ 32, 4); *-aŋaraŋwa* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-aŋaraŋwa-* enclitic pronouns of subject and object (§ 41, 1, d; § 41, 2, a).

⁹² *ŋmu-* animate plural personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-ŋqwa x-* = *-ŋuqwa x-ɪ* unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a and 2, a; § 10, 1) from *-ruq wa-γi-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 31).

⁹³ *NU^zqu-* TO RUN; *-m'mia-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 4); *-p'i'γa'* tense suffix (§ 32, 6).

⁹⁴ Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *wa'a'ŋi-* unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) from *wa'aŋi-* TO SHOUT; *-pax-* = *-pax-ɪ-* unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *-paγ(a)ɪ-* TO WALK, TO — WHILE JOURNEYING; *-p'i'γa'* as in note 93.

⁹⁵ *ani-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-xai-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-γai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b); *-aŋaraŋwa* as in note 91.

⁹⁶ = *maa'it'ɪŋk'i'i-* (§ 8, 2, a and b) as in note 91. *-qw'ai-* apparently semi-temporal use of *-q wa'ai-* OFF (§ 28, 2); *-va* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-va-* future suffix (§ 32, 4).

⁹⁷ *ɪv^wi-* modal adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-aŋaraŋwa* as in note 91, except that functions of subject and object are reversed.

⁹⁸ Contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *na-u^pantuγwa-aŋa*; *na-* reciprocal pronoun (§ 46); *-u^pa-ntuγwa-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4); *-aŋa* enclitic pronominal object (§ 40, 3).

⁹⁹ *w'i'cia-* so heard for *w'i'cia-* FEATHER incorporated as noun object (§ 18, 2, f, γ); *-mamaxa-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c), indicating plurality of subject, of *maγa-* TO GIVE; *-va-ŋ'* contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from *-va-aŋa*; *-va-* as in note 96; *-aŋa* as in note 98.

¹⁰⁰ *ɪv^wai-* (§ 7, 2) local adverb (§ 60, 2, b).

¹⁰¹ Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *aŋa'vantu-γwa-*; *aŋa-* animate singular personal pronoun (§ 39, 1 and 3); *-vantuγwa-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 47).

¹⁰² *yu(w)ak-i-* TO FLY DOWN (plural subject) unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a); *-p'i'γa'* as in note 93.

¹⁰³ = *cina'ŋwaviA* objective form (§ 49, 1) because referring to postpositional phrase (§ 49, 2; see note 101).

¹⁰⁴ Abbreviated form (§ 10, 3) of *nana'qAtiŋq'i'p'i'γa'*; *nana'qAti-* reduplicated iterative (§ 58, 4, d) of *naγat-i-* momentaneous form (§ 53, 2, b) of *naγar-i-* TO DODGE; *-ŋq'i-* indirective (§ 29, 11); *-p'i'γa'* as in note 93.

¹⁰⁵ *w'i'ci'amamax-* as in note 99, except that *-maγa-* is unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) to *-max-*; *-p'i'γai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-y-* glide (§ 14, 2); *-aŋ* = *-aŋa* as in note 98.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. note 98.

¹⁰⁷ *ɪv^wi-* modal adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-'* second person singular subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2); *-ca'^a* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, i).

¹⁰⁸ *nontsi-* TO FLY; *-q u-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 7).

¹⁰⁹ Inanimate demonstrative elided (§ 7, 1) from *maria-* objective (§ 39, 1 and 4) in agreement with following noun.

¹¹⁰ *avi-* TO LIE; *-tci-* assimilated (§ 13, 8, e) from *-tsi-* diminutive suffix (§ 35, 2); *-tci-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); objective *-a-* (§ 49, 1) elided (§ 7, 1). Form is objective because construed periphrastically with following postpositional phrase (§ 50, 3).

¹¹¹ *a-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-'orai-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36).

¹¹² Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *mam aiu-* = *mam-ayu* (§ 13, 6); *ma-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-m-a-yu-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 7).

¹¹³ *pa(i)yī-*, *pa(i)yi-* TO RETURN; *-ηu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-mpa'* final form (§ 8, 1, d) of *-mpa-* future suffix (§ 32, 4).

¹¹⁴ See note 108. Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *n̄n̄tsi-* TO FLY.

¹¹⁵ *a-vi-* secondarily lengthened from *avi-* (§ 4, 2, a). See note 110.

¹¹⁶ *qwaia-* local adverb (§ 60, 2, b); *-ηqwap a-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 16) labialized (§ 3, 1, c) to *-ηqwap-a-*.

¹¹⁷ Cf. note 114. *-tsi-*, *-tsi-* < *-tsi-* (§ 3, 2, b). Note durative force (§ 30) of verb because unprovided with *-qu-* suffix.

¹¹⁸ *mwā'na-* TO DO THUS (§ 43, 3); *-va-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-nt* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-nti-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). For syntax see § 55, 4, d.

¹¹⁹ *qatcu-* negative adverb (§ 57); *-raηwa* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

¹²⁰ *tiv^wtsiχa-* TO OBEY; *-va-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-η'wai-* negative (§ 57, 2, b); *-ti-* = *-ti-* (§ 3, 3, b) participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); *-raηwa* as in note 119. For pleonastic use of pronoun see § 40, 5.

¹²¹ *qəni-* TO COME BACK; secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) to *qəni-*.

¹²² Probably for *mana'ηqwa-pa(i)'yu-q wa* (§ 3, 5, c). *manaηqwap-a(i)-yu-* compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 7 and 49) apparently here used as independent word following objective form of noun (§ 50, 3); *-' . . q-wa* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4) referring to *a-vi'tatci'*.

¹²³ Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and rounded (§ 3, d) from *'amī-* independent animate plural third personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-φA* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-va-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 37).

¹²⁴ Abbreviated form (§ 10, 3) of *pi'pi'tci-* reduplicated momentaneous form (§ 58, 5, c) of *pitci-* TO ARRIVE.

¹²⁵ *n̄n̄tsi-* as in note 117; *-n'i-* continuative suffix (§ 30, 12); *-va-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-ηwa'* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-ηwa'ai-* negative suffix (§ 57, 2, b).

¹²⁶ *n̄im^wi-* independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-ɔax-itux-wa* voiceless form (§ 8, 1, a and 2, a) of *-ɔaxit-uγwa-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 26).

¹²⁷ *wa'aŋi-* TO SHOUT; *-va-ηwa'* as in note 125.

¹²⁸ *qa-* TO SING; *-va-ηwa'* as in note 125.

¹²⁹ Final form (§ 8, 1, c) of *pa'a'n i-yi-*; *pa'an-i-* TO BE HIGH, LOUD; *-yi-* present temporal suffix (§ 32, 1). For syntax, see § 55, 3.

¹³⁰ Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) from *man-u-nia-* ALL (§ 59, 3, a).

¹³¹ *ya:c i* SEVERAL FLY; *-ηu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-p iγa'* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6).

¹³² *tuγumpa-* SKY analyzable into *tuγu-*ⁿ UP (§ 60, 2, b) and nominal suffix *-mpa-* (§ 24, 4, b); *-i* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ia-*, *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

¹³³ = *a'u'ra'* *a-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1) referring to preceding noun; *-'ura'* postposition (§ 50, 4, 36).

¹³⁴ *γm-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-ts-* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-ts-* gerund (§ 55, 1 a).
HAVING SO DONE > THEN.

¹³⁵ *ya c-* unvoiced form (§ 8, 2, a) of *ya c i-* SEVERAL FLY.

¹³⁶ *pu'urai-* as in note 83; *-v* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-v-* reflexive possessive pronoun (§ 40, 4).

¹³⁷ *γm-* TO DO; *-γ* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-γu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5).
For absolute verbal form in relative clause, see § 45.

¹³⁸ Read *a'm:ɔ'ax-itux-wa* secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a), assimilated (§ 3, 3, e), contracted (§ 4, 1, f), and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *am'iaγit-uγwa-*; *am'ī-* animate plural independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-aγit-uγwa-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 26).

¹³⁹ < *nɔnts-* (§ 3, 2, b) TO FLY; *-vuru-* compounded verb stem TO GO FROM PLACE TO PLACE (§ 18, 2, a).

¹⁴⁰ = *w'ic'a-ya-aγa-raγwa-* (§ 13, 6; § 4, 1, a; § 13, 7, c); *w'ic'a-* FEATHER; *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-aγaraγwa-* combined subjective and possessive enclitic pronouns (§ 41, 1, d and 2, d).

¹⁴¹ *wa-* TO PULL OUT (HAIR, FEATHERS); *-q a-* suffix of plural subject (§ 31, 1, c); *-γu-*ⁿ momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-mpa-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-c u* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-c u-* enclitic AGAIN (§ 19, 2, k).

¹⁴² *urua-* objective inanimate pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-c-* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-c u-* as in note 141.

¹⁴³ *ani-* TO DO; *-χai'* < *-χai-* (§ 13, 4; § 8, 1, e) subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b).

¹⁴⁴ = *u'v'aiyauq u-* (§ 3, 5, e) THEN; *-aγa* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

¹⁴⁵ *tcatca'i'* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, b) of *tca'ai-* TO TAKE HOLD OF; *-p'iyai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-amī-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

¹⁴⁶ *tuγumpa-* SKY; *-pa(i)ya-va ntuγwa-* compounded postposition (§ 50, 4, 45 and 38).

¹⁴⁷ = *w'ic'a-ya-aγa-*. Cf. note 140.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. note 141.

¹⁴⁹ Local adverb (§ 60, 2, b).

¹⁵⁰ *cur'uru-* onomatopoeic stem with final reduplication (§ 58, 6); *-p'iyai-* as in note 145; *-n i'* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-n ia-* modal enclitic LIKE (§ 19, 2, d).

¹⁵¹ *tiv^wi p u-* rounded (§ 3, 3, d) from *tiv^wi p'ī-* EARTH; *-v wa-* < *-va-* (§ 14, 3, b) postposition (§ 50, 4, 38); *-nti* = *nti a* objective (§ 49, 1) form of participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). For syntax, see § 55, 4, c.

¹⁵² *kwi'pa'* TO STRIKE, FALL ON.

¹⁵³ *ta'pa'ci-* TO LIE SENSELESS; *-p'iy* over-elided (§ 7, 4) from *-p'iyai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6).

¹⁵⁴ Temporal adverb (§ 60, 2, a).

¹⁵⁵ *cu(w)a-σ* TO BREATHE (dur. *cua-q a-*, mom. *cua-γ'wi-*); *-pitci-* TO ARRIVE. TO BREATHE ARRIVE = TO COME TO, TO REVIVE.

¹⁵⁶ *sa'a-* TO MAKE MUSH; *-p'i'* = *-p'iA* objective form (§ 49, 1) of past passive participial *-p-i-* (§ 25, 5, a), MUSH-MADE > MUSH. Object of following verb.

¹⁵⁷ See note 58.

¹⁵⁸ *tīγivwī-* FRIEND rounded (§ 3, 3, d) to *tīγivvū-*; *-tsi-* noun suffix (§ 24, 1, f); *-γwū-* rounded (§ 3, 3, d) and secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) from *-γwī-* animate plural suffix (§ 48, 1, b); *-na-* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, d); *-ni* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

¹⁵⁹ *sa'a-* MUSH incorporated object (§ 18, 2, f, γ); *-mamax-* unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *-mamaγa-* reduplicated distributive (§ 58, 3, c) of *maγa-* TO GIVE; *-qai-* perfective suffix (§ 32, 3); *-ni* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

¹⁶⁰ *tī'qa'-s* TO EAT > *tī'qa'-s* (§ 3, 3, b); *-xai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b); *'kwa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

¹⁶¹ *tī'qa'-* TO EAT; *-mau'p-a-* TO FINISH second stem in compound verb (§ 18, 2, a); *-tsi-* < *-tsi-* (§ 3, 2, b) gerund (§ 55, 1, a); *'qwa-* as in note 160.

¹⁶² *cī'pī'-s* incorporated noun COLD with probably instrumental function (§ 18, 2, f, α); *-qirutca-* TO HAVE A THRILL GO THROUGH ONE'S HEAD; *-qai-* resultative suffix (§ 30, 9); *-pīγai-* temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); *-ni'* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, d).

¹⁶³ *maaini-* TO TOUCH consisting of instrumental prefix *ma-* (§ 21, 1) and stem *-aini-* not occurring independently; *-pīγ* as in note 153.

¹⁶⁴ *tō'tsī'-* < *tō'tsū'-* (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1; § 3, 2, b) HEAD; *-va-ⁿ* postposition (§ 50, 4, 38); *-nli-* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a); *-α-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-φī* unvoiced form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-vī-* reflexive possessive (§ 40, 4). For syntax, see § 55, 4, c.

¹⁶⁵ *tcō'pī'k-i-* BRAIN contains instrumental prefix *tcō-^o* (§ 21, 8); *-a-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-r'ō-* contracted (§ 4, 1, f) from *-ru'a-* interrogative enclitic (§ 19, 2, f); *-n* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ni-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

¹⁶⁶ *γni-* TO DO; *-k'a'* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and final (§ 8, 1, e) form of *-qai-* perfective suffix with inferential implication (§ 32, 3).

¹⁶⁷ *tī'qa'-s* TO EAT; *-χα'* final form (§ 8, 1, e) of *-γai-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, b).

¹⁶⁸ Compound verb (§ 18, 2, a). *pī'pī't'a'ni-^o* reduplicated form (§ 58, 5, c) of momentaneous significance TO VOMIT; *-tīγax-* < *-tīγa-* (§ 3, 3, b; § 8, 2, b; § 10, 1) TO TRY, TO PRACTISE.

¹⁶⁹ *nanai'ai-* TO BE ANGRY < TO DIE OF ANGER; *nanā-* ANGER incorporated instrumental noun; *-i'ai-* < *y(a)'ai-* (§ 13, 6) TO DIE.

¹⁷⁰ *īwī-* hortatory adverb (§ 60, 2, d); *-n* for *-ni* (§ 8, 1, a) subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2), subject of following verb.

¹⁷¹ = *nanwa'-vpa-ⁿ* (§ 8, 2, a); *nanwa-* TRACKS; *-vpa(·)-ⁿ* postposition (§ 50, 4, 35); *-mpa'amī* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-mpa-* + *'mī-*; *-mpa-* future suffix (§ 32, 4); *'mī-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). For use of postpositional phrase as verb of motion, see § 50, 2.

¹⁷² *tivwai-* local adverb verbified (§ 60, 2, b); *-m'ua-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 4).

¹⁷³ Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from 'aviŋu-; 'avi- TO LIE; -ŋu- momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5). 'aviŋu- TO LIE DOWN MOMENTANEOUSLY > TO CAMP OVER NIGHT.

¹⁷⁴ naŋqa- TO HEAR; -p iŋa'aimi broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from -p iŋai- (§ 32, 6) + -' . . . mi- (§ 40, 3).

¹⁷⁵ qa- TO SING; -mua- SEVERAL JOURNEY verb stem generally appearing in compounds (§ 18, 2, a) as plural verb of movement; -na- suffix of verbal noun (§ 25, 3); -' . . . mi' possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4).

¹⁷⁶ Contracted (§ 4, 1, a) from w^wa-aŋa- u- demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); -v^wa- < -va- (§ 14, 3, b) postposition (§ 50, 4, 38); -aŋa subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2) anticipating following nominal subject WOMAN.

¹⁷⁷ niŋwi- < niŋwi- (§ 3, 3, b) PERSON, PEOPLE; -riŋaxw< < -riŋaxua-^o (§ 3, 1, c) nominal base of compound postposition (§ 50, 4, 28); -pa elided (§ 7, 1) from -p a- postposition (§ 50, 4, 38).

¹⁷⁸ Secondarily lengthened (§ 4, 2, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from mam-a''utsi- WOMAN; mam-a'u- reduplicated stem (§ 58, 1); -tsi- noun suffix (§ 24, 1, f).

¹⁷⁹ Objective form of independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1) used genitively (§ 39, 4).

¹⁸⁰ Post-nominal pronoun (§ 42, 4): THE ONE WHOM YOU LIKE, in apposition with preceding WOMAN.

¹⁸¹ 'a'c intui- TO LIKE probably containing causative -ntui- (§ 29, 12); -na'amī broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from -na- verbal noun suffix (§ 25, 3) + -' . . . mi- possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). Verbal noun here used as practical equivalent of subjective relative clause see § 45).

¹⁸² 'a- demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); -va elided (§ 7, 2) from -va- postposition (§ 50, 4, 38).

¹⁸³ Independent third personal pronoun (§ 39, 1) used as demonstrative qualifier of following noun.

¹⁸⁴ Elided (§ 7, 1) from qanip'ia-; qanu- HOUSE; -p i- past-passive participial suffix (§ 25, 5, b), here used as temporal noun suffix PAST (§ 24, 3, b); -a- objective suffix (§ 49, 1). THAT FORMER CAMPING PLACE is objective because in apposition with 'a- of 'ava IT-AT (§ 49, 2).

¹⁸⁵ puci-, puci- TO ARRIVE; -xw'ai- suffix of movement (§ 28, 3).

¹⁸⁶ pu'ca'xai- TO LOOK FOR contains pu-^o instrumental prefix (§ 21, 4); -p iŋai- temporal suffix (§ 32, 6); -aŋ' objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

¹⁸⁷ See note 178. -tsi' elided (§ 7, 1) and dulled (§ 3, 2, b) from -tsia-; -a- objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

¹⁸⁸ ŋu- TO DO; -xai- palatalized (§ 13, 4) from -ŋai- subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, a); -c-u- modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, k; § 55, 1, a); -aŋ' objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3), object of following verb.

¹⁸⁹ maai- TO FIND.

¹⁹⁰ axan- TO ACT HOW? (§ 26, 2, b; § 44, 2, a); -va ŋan contracted (§ 4, 1, a) and elided (§ 7, 1) from -va-aŋa-ni-; -va- future suffix (§ 32, 4); -aŋani- combined subject and object enclitic pronouns (§ 41, 2, a).

¹⁹¹ Connective adverb (§ 60, 3).

¹⁹² *uŋwa-* animate singular independent personal pronoun (§ 39, 1); *-ʷvantuɣwa-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 47) verbified (§ 50, 2); *-ŋu-* voiceless form (§ 8, 2, a) of *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix with transitional significance (§ 30, 5).

¹⁹³ *saxwaa-* STOMACH, BELLY; *-ia-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-ʷ . . . ŋwa* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ʷ . . . ŋwa-* possessive enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 4). Objective because referring to following postpositional phrase.

¹⁹⁴ *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-vʷaʷana < -vaʷana* (§ 14, 3, b) postposition (§ 50, 4, 47).

¹⁹⁵ *wiʷiʷnʷi-* reduplicated momentaneous form (§ 58, 5, e) of *wiʷni-* TO STAND; *-qu-* inceptive suffix (§ 30, 7).

¹⁹⁶ *ŋnu-* TO DO; *-x-* = *-xʷ-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) and voiceless (§ 8, 2, a) form of *-ŋu-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, e); *-cuʷuŋw* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-cu-* modal enclitic (§ 19, 2, k) + *-ʷ . . . ŋwa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

¹⁹⁷ *wiʷi-* TO FALL; *-kʷ-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 7).

¹⁹⁸ *iŋaʷ-* BABY; *-pi-tc < -pi-tst-* (§ 7, 1) noun suffixes (§ 24, b and f).

¹⁹⁹ = *uʷvʷaiŋauŋu-* THEN (§ 60, 2, a) + *-ʷ . . . ŋwa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

²⁰⁰ *yiʷik-i-* TO SWALLOW; *-piŋaʷaiŋwa* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-piŋai-* (§ 32, 6) + *-ʷ . . . ŋwa-* as in note 199.

²⁰¹ *pa(i)yi-*, *pa(i)yu-* TO RETURN; *-k-i-* HITHER (§ 28, 5).

²⁰² *tivʷip-i-* EARTH, COUNTRY rounded (§ 3, 3, d) to *tivʷip-u-*; *-a-* possessive suffix (§ 24, 2, a); *-ia-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1); *-u-* glide (§ 5, 2); *-fi* voiceless form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-vi-* reflexive possessive pronoun (§ 40, 4).

²⁰³ Cf. note 173. *-pax-* = *pax-i-* < *-paŋ(a)i-* (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) TO WALK, as compounded verb stem (§ 18, 2, a) WHILE JOURNEYING, FROM PLACE TO PLACE.

²⁰⁴ *saxwaa-^s* STOMACH incorporated as local noun (§ 18, 2, f, δ); *-φAʷqaŋŋi-* spirantized (§ 16, 1) and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *paŋa-ŋŋi-* TO HAVE A PAIN; *-ŋŋi-* indirective suffix (§ 29, 11).

²⁰⁵ Elided (§ 7, 1) from *man-i-* TO DO IN THAT WAY (§ 43, 3) here used as demonstrative adverb.

²⁰⁶ *un-i-* TO DO (§ 43, 3); *-vü-ⁿ < -va-ⁿ* (§ 3, 1, a) future suffix (§ 32, 4); *-nti* participial suffix (§ 25, 6, a). Participle used in lieu of finite verb (§ 55, 4, e).

²⁰⁷ Unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) from *qumʷntuar-i-* TO HEAT STONES ON FIRE containing instrumental prefix *qu-^o* (§ 21, 12).

²⁰⁸ See note 15. *-m-i-* AFTER (§ 30, 13).

²⁰⁹ = *waʷaʷp-iA* objective form (§ 49, 1) of *waʷap-i-* CEDAR TREE; *waʷa-^o* CEDAR; *-p-i-* noun suffix for plants (§ 24, 1, e). Object used genitively (§ 49, 2) with following noun.

²¹⁰ *paʷpaʷraŋga-* LIMB, BRANCH reduplicated noun (§ 58, 1). *-i* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

²¹¹ *o-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-ma* postposition (§ 50, 4, 7).

²¹² *piʷriʷi-* TO HANG ON of durative form (§ 30).

²¹³ *qu-* TO DO; *-xu-* palatalized (§ 13, 4) from *-yu-* subordinating suffix (§ 55, 1, e); *-' . . . ŋw* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-' . . . ŋwa-* subjective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 2).

²¹⁴ *m^wu-* adverbial stem FAR AWAY (§ 60, 2, b); *-tiyan i'* < *-tiyan ia-* (§ 3, 3, b; § 8, 1) local adverbial suffix (§ 60, 2, b).

²¹⁵ *qu'qwa-* WOOD incorporated as object (§ 18, 2, f, γ), absolute form *qu'qwa'-p i*; *iynna-* (§ 13, 6) TO CARRY IN ONE'S ARM; *-yw'ai-* suffix of movement (§ 28, 3); *-yü-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5).

²¹⁶ *na'ai-* TO BURN; *-ti-* contracted (§ 4, 1, c) from *-t'ui-* causative suffix (§ 29, 12); *-p'iyai'k-wa* broken (§ 15, 2, a) and unvoiced (§ 8, 1, a) from *-p'iyai-* (§ 32, 6) and *-' . . . k-wa-* objective enclitic pronoun (§ 40, 3).

²¹⁷ Cf. note 207. *-qai-* perfective suffix (§ 32, 3); *-na-* suffix of verbal noun (§ 25, 3); *-v* elided (§ 7, 1) from *-vi-* reflexive possessive pronoun (§ 40, 4).

²¹⁸ *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-v^wa'a'χ* < *-va'a'γi-* (§ 14, 3, b; § 7, 1) postposition (§ 50, 4, 46).

²¹⁹ *yut'ui^s* TO BE WARM (in reference to water). *-ci'* = *-ci'a*; *-ci-* participial suffix assibilated (§ 13, 3) from *-ti-*, *-ri* (§ 25, 6, a); *-a* objective suffix (§ 49, 1) Objective in form to agree with following noun.

²²⁰ Elided (§ 7, 1) from *pa ia-*, *pa ya-*; *pa-* WATER; *-ya-* objective suffix (§ 49, 1).

²²¹ *ivi-* TO DRINK.

²²² Contracted (§ 4, 1, d), assimilated (§ 3, 3, f), and unvoiced (§ 8, 2, a) from *tsi-i'q un'wa nimpī-ru-*; *tsi-* < *tsi-* (§ 3, 2, b) instrumental prefix (§ 21, 9); *-iq un'wa-* (?) verb stem used with prefix *tsi-* to indicate TO SCRATCH THE HEAD WITH A STICK; *-nimpī-* suffix of noun of instrument (§ 25, 2); *-ru-* verbalizing suffix TO MAKE (§ 26, 1, d).

²²³ Secondarily nasalized (§ 6, 2) and elided (§ 7, 1) from *uma-*; *u-* demonstrative stem (§ 43, 1); *-ma-* postposition (§ 50, 4, 9).

²²⁴ *nan-* reflexive prefix (§ 22, 1); *-tsi'x qun'^a* probably < *-tsi'-iq un'wa-* (§ 3, 2, b; § 8, 2, a; § 10, 1) see note 222.

²²⁵ Elided (§ 7, 1) from *'i'n i-* TO DO IN THIS WAY (§ 43, 3), here used as demonstrative adverb.

²²⁶ *niⁿ* PERSON, HUMAN BEING incorporated object (§ 18, 2, f, γ); *-ntua-* nasalized form (§ 16, 3) of *tua-* TO GIVE BIRTH denominative verb from *tua-* CHILD (of some one) (§ 47); *-ŋqī-* indirective suffix (§ 29, 11); *-ŋu-* momentaneous suffix (§ 30, 5); *-ts-* final form (§ 8, 1, a) of *-tsi-* gerund (§ 55, 1, a).

[TRANSLATION].

Coyote, it is said, was living there. His wife said to him, "Go and get squaw-bush twigs for me, who am going to make a gathering-basket, I say, out of them." "All right," said Coyote, and then he journeyed off in yonder direction towards his squaw-bush. He was very far away (when) he heard singing. "Oh!" said Coyote, "it looks as though I am going to be a medicine-man; perhaps I am going to dream. Already I am a medicine-man." And then he stood and listened, did not hear it. And then he started off. Then he heard it again, stopped again. Now again he stood and listened to it; this time he already heard well the singing of many: "Thus we do, traveling in order to eat people," said they, singing along under the sky, those geese, as they flew along. The two chiefs stood at either end of the line as they travelled along. Coyote saw them, and then he said, "Of all the camping places—those with springs, those with mountains, those with divides, those with knolls, those with valleys—all their people I know. Do you then make me into one of yourselves, and I shall lead you," said Coyote. "What did Coyote say?" said they, asking one another. "He says that he knows all those lands towards which we are going." That chief of theirs then said, "Let that Coyote talk, he is not a good one. He will cause us to be found out."

Coyote ran along under them, shouted as he went along, "Oh," said their chief, "in doing so he might cause us to be found out. Let each one of us give him feathers," said their chief. And then down on to Coyote they flew. Coyote kept dodging. Each one gave him feathers; they said to Coyote, "Go ahead! fly off towards that little ridge, and from it then you will return." "All right," said Coyote, and off he flew, flew beyond the little ridge. "What did I say?" said their chief. "That Coyote will always be doing thus, he will not obey us." Coyote returned from the other side of the little ridge, arrived where they were. Then that chief said, "You shall not keep flying around us, you shall not yell, you shall not sing out loud." "All right," said Coyote.

All set off flying towards the sky; westward, then, they flew off whither they were bound. Coyote flew back and forth around them. Then their chief said, "Let us pull out his feathers. By doing that (which he is doing) he will cause us to be found out." And then they took hold of him under the sky and pulled out his feathers. Down

came Coyote, making a whizzing noise; he fell upon the earth and lay senseless. Then, after a while, he came to. He saw mush. "Oh!" said he, "my friends, it seems, have given me mush," he said, as he ate it.

Then, after a while, when he had finished eating it, he felt as though a cold thrill went through his head; and then he touched his head. "Oh!" said Coyote, "is it my own brains that I have been eating?" said he. He tried to vomit. Coyote got angry (and said), "Now I will follow in their tracks." Coyote journeyed westward, he camped several nights on his way. Then, after a while, he heard them as they moved along singing. "Coyote," they said, "there in the midst of the people lies the woman whom you like." "All right," said Coyote. There at that old camping place he arrived. He looked for the woman and, in so doing, found her. "What, then, shall I do to her?" said Coyote. He got on top of her, stood stamping on her stomach. Just as he did so, that baby fell out.

"What, now, shall I do with him?" said Coyote. And then he swallowed him, and he turned back towards his own country. Again he camped several nights on his way; he had a stomach-ache. "In that way will it always be with a woman," said Coyote. And then he heated stones on the fire. After doing so, he hung on to a cedar limb; as he did so, the baby dropped down. Then he went off to a considerable distance for an armful of wood. He arrived, built a fire of it. He lay on top of the bed made of rocks that he had heated; he drank warm water. Then he made a head-scratcher and scratched his head with it. "In this way shall it be with a woman when she has given birth to a child," said Coyote.

Texts of the Kaibab Paiutes and Uintah Utes

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TEXTS OF THE KAIBAB PAIUTES AND UINTAH UTES.

INTRODUCTION.

The text material presented in this paper belongs to two rather distinct, though closely related, dialects of the Ute-Chemehuevi branch of Plateau Shoshonean. The bulk of the paper is devoted to mythological and other texts obtained in 1910 (February to May) from Tony Tillohash, a young Kaibab Paiute from Kanab, in southwestern Utah; the balance, to mythological texts and one tale recorded in English, secured in 1909 (August and September) from Charlie Mack, a Uintah Ute from White Rocks, Utah.

The Ute texts were obtained at White Rocks in the course of a brief trip among the Utes of Uncompahgre and Uintah reserves. A further series of thirty Ute tales was obtained in English by my colleague, Dr. J. A. Mason; these were published under the title of "Myths of the Uintah Utes" in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* for July-September, 1910 (pp. 299-363). I should not fail to add that Dr. Mason also obtained a series of interesting pictographs in the course of a reconnaissance of Nine Mile Canyon, some distance south of Uintah Reservation. This material is still unpublished.

More substantial for linguistics than the Ute work were the results obtained from Tony, who was in 1910 just about to complete his course at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. Through the kindness of Dr. G. B. Gordon, the director of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and of the superintendent of the Indian School, arrangements were made to have Tony housed in Philadelphia and employed at the Museum, so that he might be rendered available as a source of information for further Shoshonean researches. Tony proved an excellent informant. Though young and absent from his native home for about five years, he was of a naturally conservative temperament and possessed of a remarkable memory. Hence he was better informed on the subject of tribal lore than could normally have been expected. His unflinching good humor and patience also helped materially to lighten a task that demanded unusual concentration. (Indeed, in all my linguistic experience, I doubt if phonetic perception has ever been so severely taxed as in recording Shoshonean dialects of the Ute-Chemehuevi group.) Besides the Kaibab Paiute texts here presented, there were

secured from Tony supplementary material for the grammatical and lexical study of his language; a series of over two hundred songs, chiefly ceremonial, recorded in text and on the phonograph; and a considerable body of ethnological information. The grammatical data have been worked up into a sketch of the Paiute language, which forms the first part of this volume. The lexical material follows in the third part. The songs and the ethnological data will form the subjects of future papers. Tony, further, proved valuable as a first-hand source for a seminar in American Indian linguistics that I was then giving at the University of Pennsylvania. Last, but not least, he was a delightful companion at all times and is remembered with the friendliest feelings by all who came in contact with him in Philadelphia.

The linguistic relation of Southern Paiute (to be carefully distinguished from Northern Paiute or "Paviotso") to Uintah Ute is close. Indeed, they are not so much closely related languages as mutually intelligible dialects of the same language. This probably applies to all the dialects of Ute-Chemehuevi, which may be defined as a dialectically differentiated Shoshonean language stretching from Uncompahgre Ute in central Colorado to Chemehuevi in southeastern California. The texts embodied in the present volume are therefore illustrative of one of the most widespread languages of aboriginal America, though the specific dialects of the texts, Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute, cover only restricted territories in southwestern Utah and northwestern Arizona and in northeastern Utah respectively. No attempt has been made to normalize the texts, which are given here precisely as heard. The phonetic system used is that described in the report of the Phonetic Committee of the American Anthropological Association;¹ the symbols are defined in the key prefixed to the texts. Those wishing to make an analytical study of the language are referred to the Paiute grammar which precedes; the necessary lexical assistance is given by the Paiute dictionary which follows.

In their mythological affiliations the tales recorded here evidently correspond closely to the Ute, Shoshone, and Comanche tales already published by Kroeber, Mason, Lowie, and St. Clair. References to parallel tales have been confined to Plateau Shoshonean. Further parallels from other Plateau tribes, from Plains tribes to the east, and from California and Washington-Oregon tribes to the west are

¹ See Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 66, no. 6, 1916.

given in the papers mentioned. On the whole, the relation of Southern Paiute mythology to that of the Northern Shoshone is very close, perhaps even closer than might have been expected.

In conclusion, I should like to express my indebtedness to the late Dr. Gordon's kind help which was given me throughout the prosecution of my Shoshonean studies.

EDWARD SAPIR.

Ottawa, June 5, 1918.

Chicago, July 16, 1930.

KEY TO THE PHONETIC SYSTEM EMPLOYED.

VOWELS.

1. Monophthongs.

- a as in German Mann.
- ɑ like u of English but.
- ä as in English hat.
- â as in French patte; midway between a and ä. A nuance of a that is characteristic of Ute.
- e close as in French été. Occurs only rarely, as nuance of i or of a-ä-ε.
- ε open as in English met.
- i close as in French fini.
- ɪ open as in English it.
- o close as in au of French chapeau.
- ɔ open as in German voll, but less clearly rounded.
- ω approximately like aw of English law, but more nearly approaching a.
- u open as in English pull, sporadically close as in English rule; always close when long (uː).
- uː long and open as in English poor, but without r-glide.
- ĩ high-back-unrounded-narrow (Sweet's terminology); may be produced by completely unrounding close u, without modifying tongue position of u. On first acquaintance this vowel impresses one as a "muddied" nuance of ü, but its formation is quite unlike that of French or German ü. Its semivocalic form is γ (see below), to which it is related as u to w or i to y. ĩ, ü, and i are modified forms of ĩ.
- ĩ high (or high to mid)-back-unrounded-wide; related to ĩ approximately as ɪ to i or ε to e. It is apt to sound like a "muddied" ö or a dull a.
- ü not a true ü as in French or German, but duller in timbre. Probably high-mixed-rounded-wide; apt to sound like a rapid diphthongal i^u.
- ĩ high-mixed-rounded-wide; approximately like i of English (American) first, but without r-quality.
- ö as in German schön or Götz (i. e. close or open in quality). Rare in Paiute, but very common in Ute, where it corresponds to Paiute ɔ.

- ^a and other superior vowels:
 weakly articulated, but not completely unvoiced, vowels. They are frequently glides, sometimes they are reduced from fully articulated vowels. After their own vowel, generally long, e. g. a^a, they denote "pseudo-diphthongal" rearticulation. Before and after glottal stops (ʔ) they are murmured in Paiute, after glottal stops they are whispered in Ute.
- A and other small-cap vowels:
 completely unvoiced vowels, pronounced with full breath. They may be defined as voiceless breath modified by various vocalic timbres.
- q̣ and other vowels with subscript hook:
 nasalized vowels; nasalization is either weakening of ŋ (see below) or secondary, due to presence of preceding or following nasal consonant. ẉ, nasalized w, occurs sporadically in Ute as development of ʋ.
- ị, ʋ̣, ị weakly articulated, but not completely unvoiced, nasalized vowels.
- á and other vowels with superscript ʔ :
 glottalized vowels, i. e. vowels interrupted by a series of weak glottal stops. This type of articulation is sometimes referred to as "glottal r." ẉ, glottalized w, occurs sporadically as development of uʔ. á is secondarily developed from aʔ or ʔa; similarly for other vowels.
- ʋ̣, ị̣ unvoiced forms of ʋ, ị; may be defined as voiceless nasalized breath with u and ị timbre respectively. This type of articulation is rare.

2. Diphthongs.

aí, äi, äi, ei, oi, oi, ui pronounced as diphthongal combinations of a, á, ä, e, o, o, and u respectively with following i. These diphthongs are either inorganic, i arising as glide before following y, or organic, in which case the first vowel is sometimes heard doubled, e. g. aai, ooi. In certain cases the two vowels are pronounced with a drag, indicated as a.i; in others, the i is rather faint, indicated as aⁱ.

aï diphthongal combination of a and i.

au diphthongal combination of a and u (cf. ou of English gout). aau, a.u, and a^u are also found.

- aI (and similarly for other diphthongs):
as above but with second element of diphthong voiceless.

CONSONANTS.

- p intermediate or unaspirated surd stop of labial position; intermediate character most marked initially and in second portion of geminated (lengthened) p; tends to be semisonant after m. Aspirated (p') before voiceless vowels or as substitute for p+ voiceless vowel.
- b sonant labial stop. Found in Ute as sporadic development of p after m, less often initially.
- t intermediate or unaspirated surd stop of dental position. Types of articulation parallel to those for p (see above).
- d sonant dental stop. Found in Ute as sporadic development of t after n, less often initially.
- k intermediate or unaspirated surd stop of mid-palatal position. Found chiefly, as variant of q, between preceding back vowel and following i. Types of articulation parallel to those for p (see above).
- g sonant mid-palatal stop. Found in Ute as sporadic development of k after ŋ, less often initially.
- q intermediate or unaspirated surd stop of back-palatal or, frequently, velar position (velar character most pronounced before ə and ĩ). Types of articulation parallel to those for p (see above).
- g sonant back-palatal or velar stop. Found in Ute as sporadic development of q after ŋ, less often initially. Also occurs intervocally as lightly stopped development of γ, rather frequently in Ute, seldom in Paiute.
- kw, gw, qw, gw labialized forms of k, g, q, g respectively. When k and q are aspirated surds, w appears as voiceless w.
- k̤ intermediate or unaspirated surd stop of front-palatal position; approximately like ky of English cue. Found regularly as development of q, (k) after i. Types of articulation parallel to those for p (see above).
- g sonant front-palatal stop. Found in Ute partly as sporadic development of k̤ after ŋ, (ŋ); partly intervocally as lightly stopped development of γ.

- s voiceless sibilant, as in English so. In Ute s is regularly intermediate in place of articulation between s and c, in Paiute it is generally pure in quality.
- c voiceless sibilant, as in English she.
- ts intermediate or unaspirated surd affricative of s- position. In Paiute, like ts of English hats; in Ute, intermediate in place of articulation between ts and tc. Types of articulation parallel to those for p (see above).
- tc intermediate or unaspirated surd affricative of c-position, as in English chat. Types of articulation parallel to those for p (see above).
- dj sonant affricative of c-position, as in English judge. Found in Ute as sporadic development of tc after n, less often initially.
- m as in English me.
- M voiceless m.
- m^w m pronounced with lip rounding of w and followed generally by rapid w-glide. Before voiceless vowels it appears as m^w, with voiceless w-glide.
- n dental nasal, as in Italian.
- N voiceless n.
- n^y palatalized n, i. e. n modified by y-contact of the tongue.
- ŋ mid-palatal, back-palatal, or velar nasal, corresponding in position to k and q. Like ng of English sing.
- N rarely occurring voiceless form of ŋ.
- ŋw labialized ŋ. Always treated as simple consonant, analogously to kw, qw.
- ŋ^w ŋ followed by voiceless w; developed from w before voiceless vowels.
- ŋ front-palatal nasal, corresponding in position to k̄. Approximately like gn of French gager.
- ŋ, ɲ syllabic forms of n and ŋ. ŋ like -on of English button.
- v bilabial v, as in Spanish, but never tending to become lightly stopped b.
- ϕ bilabial f; unvoiced v.
- w as in English.
unvoiced w, like wh of English white.
- v^w bilabial v with approximate acoustic effect of w due to inner rounding. A labialized nuance of v, to be carefully distinguished from w.

- ϕ^w unvoiced v^w.
- r lightly trilled tongue-tip alveolar r. Never so lightly trilled as to be heard as sonant d, as happens in some American languages.
- R Unvoiced r. Its exact timbre changes with that of the voiceless vowels that follows it. Before ī, it is perhaps cerebral, with a thickish e-like quality.
- γ voiced mid-palatal, back-palatal, or velar spirant, corresponding in position to k and q; like North German g of *sagen*.
- x unvoiced form of γ; like ch of German *Bach*.
- z intermediate in type of articulation between γ and x. A nuance of γ that is found in Paiute.
- ȳ voiced front-palatal spirant; acoustically close to, but to be carefully distinguished from, y. Related to γ as k̄ is to k, q.
- ȷ unvoiced form of ȳ; like ch of German *ich*.
- z̄ intermediate in type of articulation between γ and ȷ. A nuance of γ that is found in Paiute.
- γw, xw, ȳw, ȷw, ȷ̄w labialized forms of γ, x, z, ȳ, ȷ, and z̄ respectively. Before voiceless vowels w of xw and ȷ̄w appears unvoiced to w.
- y like y of English *yes*.
- Y unvoiced form of y; differs from ȷ̄ in being pronounced with less energy.
- h as in English. Occurs in Paiute as sporadic modification of s.
- ʼ breathing occurring finally, medially after voiceless vowels, or initially before vowels.
- ː voiceless nasalized breath. Found more frequently in Ute than in Paiute.
- ʽ glottal stop.
- p̣, ṭ, ḳ, q̣, ḳw, q̣w, tṣ, ṭc glottalized forms of p, t, k, q, ḳ, kw, qw, ts, and tc respectively. These consonants are pronounced with simultaneous closure and subsequent simultaneous release of oral point of articulation and of glottis. They have a snappy effect altogether different from the cracked effect of the glottalized stops and affricatives of many West Coast languages. They are developed from ʽ + stopped consonant (or affricative) or from stopped consonant (or affricative) + ʽ.

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^m, ^s, ^c, ^{ts}, ^w, ^ɾ, ^x, ^ʃ, ^y weakly or very rapidly articulated forms of m, s, c, ts, w, ɾ, x, ʃ, y. They arise either by reduction of these consonants or, more frequently, as glides. ^s, ^c, ^{ts}, ^x, and ^ʃ are generally sharpened forms of ' after voiceless vowels.

ACCENTS AND OTHER DIACRITICAL MARKS.

- ' denotes that preceding vowel is stressed.
- denotes that preceding vowel or consonant is long.
- + denotes excessive length of preceding sound.
- < "derived from."
- > "from which is derived."
- () enclose words in English translation not found in the Indian original.
- [] enclose meaningless elements in Indian song texts.

I. PAIUTE MYTHS.

1. Tiv^wa'tsina'va'vujw.

WOLF AND HIS BROTHER.¹

tiv ^w a'tsina'va'vujw		n ^w α'va'am'	qari'p'ĩγa'.	'iva'tci	
Wolf and his brother		there they (inv.)	(2) dwelt.	Early	
ɔ'na't'α'cianq ²	qa'p'ĩγa'	tiv ^w a'tc	anj'	ĩv'ca' ^a	
when was early morning	sang	wolf	he,	"Go ahead, now!"	
paa'iram ³	ujw	ujwα'vate	wara'x'ani- ⁴ ɣwa' ^a .		
of us 2 aunt (obj.)	she (inv.)	to her (inv.)	go to ask for grass seeds.		
tnpu''	ank'a'	punt'avɣa'.	u'mai,	'aip'ĩγa'	
What you	are doing	while lying down looking?"	"All right,"	said	
cna'ujwaɸt,	ɣ'im	cuwa'p'itei	a'ɔɸt	ni''ca' ^a	
coyote,	"you	are waking up	now,	but I	
wi'tuc	cuwa'p'itei	ɔ'nu't'α'cianq'.	cna'ujwaɸt		
long ago	am waking up	when was early morning."	Coyote		
pa'γa'n ⁵ qwp'ĩγa'	pa'a'iaiv	u'ujw	qa'nu'	'u'ra'	
started off	his own aunt (obj.)	she (inv.)	house (obj.)	towards it	
wara'x'ani- ⁴ ɣw'aiɣa'.	uwa'vatei	uv ^w a	p'tcɣw'aip'ĩγa'		
while going to ask for grass seeds.	To her (inv.)	there	went and arrived		
qant'vaanw ⁵	ɔai'	pa'a'iaiv	u'ujw.	pa'a''anw	qa'tc
at her (inv.) house	it (inv.)	his own aunt (obj.)	she (inv.).	His (inv.) aunt	not
uv ^w a	qari'p'ĩá' ^a	qant'aɸi.	tuwα'tsujwzcujw		
there	sat (neg.)	her own house. (obj.)	Only her (inv.) sons		
uv ^w a	qari'p'ĩγa'im ⁶	qant'anw.	a'itcanw	p:ya'ujum	
there	they 2 sat	her (inv.) house (obj.).	"Where is she (inv.)	your (pl.) mother	



TONY TILLOHASH, KAIBAB PAIUTE INDIAN, IN HIS CARLISLE SCHOOL UNIFORM

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- u'ηw, she (inv.)? a'ip'īya' said cma'ηwaφi. coyote. tīya'xw'aiya'aη', "She went to gather seeds,"
- a'ip'īya'aīm' they 2 said qw'a'γanti' grizzly bear (obj.) tuwa'tsηw, sons, pina'ηqw'aηw "soon she (inv.)
- pi'tciva'n'c', will arrive," ma'ip'īya'aīm'. thus they 2 said.
- cma'ηwaφi Coyote ma ntcu''aia-vip'īya waited for lying down u-v'wa there qant'aηw her (inv.) house (obj.);
- pina'ηqwa soon pa'a''aηw his (inv.) aunt pi'tcipīya'. arrived. pa'a''aηw aunt ma'ip'īya', said thus,
- pina'ηqwa "Soon tī^xqa'va^an'c' will eat^{6a} s-a'a'p'c', mush (obj.)," ma'ip'īya' thus said
- pa'a''aηw. his (inv.) aunt. uv'wa'^antin' "Yonder me ma'va'tcan' my masturbator ya'ηqik^x bring to,"
- a'ip'īya' said pa'a''aηw. his (inv.) aunt. tuwα'tsηw Children uwa'ru'wap'īya'aik-w gave it to her
- mava'tcaīya'aηw her (inv.) masturbator (obj.) piyε'īyaφī. their own mother (obj.). piya''aηw Their (inv.) mother qwī'īp'īya'aik-w took it,
- a-vi'p'īya' lay pa-wi'zarux-wa.⁷ on (her) back. sina'ηwaφi Coyote pñn'k'aip'īya'aīw. saw her (inv.)
- pa'a'n^x, "My aunt," aip'īya, said, ima'^aqwōam "with this it (inv.) I you (obj.) un'ηqījumpa' shall do for,⁸ pa'a'nipūts', my auntie,"
- a'ip'īya' said cina'ηwaφi. coyote. yaγō'p'īya'aīw Copulated with her (inv.) cina'ηwaφi coyote pa'a'iaφī his own aunt (obj.).
- q'nicamp', "Enough," a'ip'īya' said pa'a''aηw. his (inv.) aunt. qa'tc', "No," a'ip'īya' said
- cina'ηwaφi. coyote. qwtγα'ts Grizzly bear citcu''mank'pīya put claws into untu'q-u'wa'aηw his (inv.) back (obj.)⁹

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u ^w a'x-arux-w through it.	a'wüe ^u , "Enough,"	a'ip-ïya' said	cina'ñwaφI. coyote.	qa'tc, "No,"
a'ip-ïya' said	qwi'yats. grizzly bear.	cina'ñwaφI Coyote	qwi'ti'k-ïpïya ¹⁰ got up suddenly,	unt'ñwuts. then
təγə'q-pïya'. ran off.	qwiya'ts. Grizzly bear	qwi'ti'k-ïpïya'. arose.	cna'ñwavi "Coyote (obj.)	
untu'q-ua'añw his (inv.) back (obj.)	pñi'tk-aiyaq', look at it,"	a'ip-ïya' said	qwiya'mauma'uts. grizzly-bear woman.	
cna'ñwaφI Coyote	paiyiq-w'a'ip-ïya went back home,	'a-vi'p-ïya lay	'əa-'va'anaφi on his own back,	
qatcu'q-wa'añw not it (inv.) him (inv.)	pñi'tk-ai't-ut'p-ia'. allowed to see.	pa-vi''ñw His (inv.) elder brother	tiyi'ai' ¹¹ deer (obj.)	
towa'tsi child (obj.)	pa ^x qa'p-ïya killed,	unt'ñuts then	untu'q-ua'añw his (inv.) back flesh (obj.)	ya-'q-ïpïya'. brought.
cina'ñwaφI Coyote	tü'qwi''aip-ïya' was ashamed,	qa'tc not	əa'iyafï his own back (obj.)	pñi't'uma'aip-ïya' caused to be seen;
tiv ^w a'ts. wolf	pu'tcu'tcuγwap-ïya. knew.	o'vaiyaq ^{xu} Then	A'piti'tuip-ïya'añw. caused him to sleep.	
sna'ñwaφI Coyote	mñi'tc-pïya rolled over	uñwa'vatcañwitux w. towards him.	'a-ni'ən "What (obj.) I	'aik ^x say?"
a'ip-ïya' said	tiv ^w a'ts. wolf.	mñi'tc-qa'añw When he (inv.) rolled over	untu'q-ua'añw ¹² his (inv.) back flesh	qa'tc' not
ma'a'nñwa'aq-w was (neg.) there it (inv.);	uv ^w a''aq there it (inv.)	untu'q-uv back flesh (obj.)	'wa'i' it (obj.)	ma-va'tcañpïya. fastened on.
unt'ñts. Then	sna'ñwavi coyote (obj.)	untu'q-ñ his (inv.) back flesh	u'ñtc-u'ñt' again as was	na-ya'p-a-ñpïya'. became.

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u'v ^w aiyauq ^x Then	tīv ^w a'ts [·] wolf	qa'p'ṛṛaaic [·] u, again sang,	īv ^w ṛ' ^{''} "Go on!		
uṅ ^w α'vateuxwqwa' ^{''} aic [·] u to her set off again	iteī' ^{''} this (obj.)	qwa'i' ¹³ it (obj.)	ya ṅu'tva' shall carry		
nṅju'ṃpt' ^{''} liver (obj.)	tī'qa'va n'ṅ ^w her (inv.) being about to eat	ur. it (inv.).	ṅn'ts [·] pa ^x qa'ṅutsi'ṅju Then having killed her (inv.)		
ma n'ṵ'q [·] u all (obj.)	ma [·] avī things (obj.)	qa n't'ṅju her (inv.) house (obj.)	pīv ^w a [·] 'antī'ṅju whereon (obj.) she (inv.)	pī'n't'nu't' ⁻ had been wont to look	
numpi' ^{''}	ma [·] anō'q'ṵq [·] w all (obj.) it (inv.)	nc [·] 'va shall carry on back	ma [·] avīa'ṅju her (inv.) things (obj.)	pa ^x qa'ṅutsi'ṅju having killed her (inv.)	
'ṵai', her (obj.),''	a'ip'ṛṛa' ^{''} said	tīv ^w α'ts [·] . wolf.	'ṅmai', "Yes,"	ma'ip'ṛṛa thus said	cna'ḥwaḥi coyote.
'ṅn't'ṅuts [·] Then	cna'ḥwaḥi coyote	pa [·] aḡä'in ^y 'nu ^x q ^w ip'ṛṛa' ^{''} walked along	qa n't'ṅju her (inv.) house (obj.)		
u'u'ra towards it	pa [·] aiya'ḥi. his own aunt (obj.).	ṅn'ts Then	uv ^w a there	pi'pi'teḡwa ^a aip'ṛṛa' ^{''} went and arrived	
tuwa'tsuḡwa'ṅju her (inv.) sons (obj.),	uv ^w a''a-m' ^{''} there they (inv.)	qa rī'p'ṛṛa'aim' ^{''} (2) they (inv.) stayed	qa n't'ṅju her (inv.) house (obj.)		
piya'iyav'ṛ'ṃ? their own mother (obj.)	qa ni'vä'. in house.	i'ε'nt [·] , "Here is,"	a'ip'ṛṛa' ^{''} said	cna'ḥwaḥi coyote,	
nṅjuḡmp "liver it	a'iyṅjuḡmi your (pl.) uncle (obj.)	tī'qa'vaa nṅjuḡmi your (pl.) being about to eat (2)	ma'ik'ain'ṅju. his (inv.) saying so."		
waa na'ip'atsujw Two boys	tī'qa'p'ṛṛa'aik [·] wamī. they (2) (inv.) ate it (inv.).	ṅn't'ṅuts [·] Then	A ^x pu'ḥp'ṛṛa'aim' ^{''} they (2) (inv.) slept,		

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cina'ɥwaɸi	na'ɥwa''aɣ'uum'	pa ^x qa'ɥupɿɣa'aim'.	ɥni'ɥuts
coyote	both (obj.) of them (inv.)	killed them (inv.).	Then

A^xpo't'tuip'ɿɣaaim'.
caused them (inv.) to sleep.

pina'ɥqw	piya''am'	pi'tc'pɿɣa.	ɥni'ts	'a'ip'ɿɣa,
Soon	their (inv.) mother	arrived home.	Then	said,

uv ^w a-'antini	ma-va'tcɔn'	ya'ɥqik ^x .	u'vaiyauq'	cina'ɥwaw
"Yonder me	my masturbator	bring to."	Thereupon	coyote
a'ip'ɿɣa,	A ^x pi'iyi'a mī,	a'ip'ɿɣa.	u'vaiyauq'ɥ	
said,	"They (2) are sleeping,"	said.	Thereupon	

na-n-ɔ'oc o'o'q w	ɥwa'ruɣwəp'ɿɣa'aik w.	iyɛ'nU,	a'ip'ɿɣa
by himself it (inv.)	gave it (inv.) to her.	"Here is,"	said

cina'ɥwaɸi,	nɥwu'ɥmp	aRi	a'ip'ɿɣa	cina'ɥwaɸi.	ɔ'vaiyauq
coyote,	"liver	it,"	said	coyote.	Thereupon

qwt'yaɣantī	nɥwu'ɥmpɿ	u ^x qwa'i'	tī ^x qa'p'ɿɣa'aik-wa.	ɥni'ts
grizzly bear	liver (obj.)	it (obj.)	ate it (inv.).	Then

A'pɿ'i'pɿɣa	qwi'r'k-ɿpɿɣa	sna'ɥwawɿ	ma-ru'arup'ɿɣa
slept;	got up,	coyote (obj.).	jumped and reached for,

cina'ɥwaɸi	na- ^o ɣa't-ɥqɿp'ɿɣa. ¹⁴	ɥni'ɥuts	pa ^x qa'ɥupɿɣa''aiɥw
coyote	dodged quickly.	Then	killed her (inv.),

ma-n-ɔ'q'ɥ	ma-'avīa'aiɥw	na-'avaip'ɿɣa	tīɣa'n ^x pɿɣa'aiɥw
all (obj.)	her (in.) things	gathered,	butchered her (inv.),

pU ^x qwt''aiɥw	ɥɥwa'i'pɿɣa	ma-'avīma.
her (inv.)	hung up	on brush.
	bladder (obj.)	

ɥni'ɥuts	sɥma'i'qa'aip'ɿɣa''aik-wa.	u'v ^w aiyauq'ɥ	ma-n-ɔ'q'ɔq'
Then	remembered it.	Thereupon	all (obj.) of them (inan.)

ma-'avīa'ɥw	n-ɔ'ɔp'ɿɣa	qa'iva-vɿcit ɥni	a-ni'k ^x -aip'ɿɣa
her (inv.)	carried away	like plateau	did
things (obj.)	on his back,		

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ma-'a ^v uujw her (inv.) things	u'r. they (inan. inv.).	unt'ηuts· Then	nō'v'q ^x upīyaaik·w started to carry them (inv.) on his back,
pa·γā'in ^y q ^w 'ip·īγa went off	tō·v'īts·.	unt'ηuts· Then	cuma'ī'qai'pīyaaik·w remembered about it (inv.)
pū'qwt'vī bladder (obj.)	u'rū it (inv. obj.)	ūwa'ī'kainaφī his own hanging.	unt'ηuts· Then
pa·y'η ^x pīγa started back			
o'p'ac· through that (inv.) same way,	unt'ηuts· then	MA'tea'ī'zηqīp·īγa'aik·w reached for it (inv.).	unt'īts· Then
pū ^x qu'v bladder			
u'r it (inv.)	wī'ī'k·upīγa dropped down	tīv·w'ī'p'uv ^w a·ntux·w. on to ground.	ī'vaiyauq ^x U Thereupon
cna'ηwav coyote			
a'ip·īγa, said,	y'tu'χwa ^a y't "Why don't you get a leg?"	q'nī, a'ip·īγa said	cna'ηwaφī. coyote.
pa·γa'ī'ī, "Walk!"			
a'ip·īγa, said,	nūjw'ī'χaiyU "like person	ū'nī, a'ip·īγa said	cna'ηwaφī. coyote.
'a·tci'αφī His own bow (obj.)			
u'ū'rain ^x pīγa went for it,	y ^w wa'vaiyuj ^x pīγai'k·w brought them (inan. inv.) back	ū ^x qwt'yuaφī. his own arrows (obj.).	unt'ηuts· Then
qū'qwt'p·īγa'aik·w shot it (inv.)	ū'qwt'yū'ηη' his (inv.) arrows,	ma·n·ū'n·ī all	tū'p ^w ī'k·upīγa. were used up.
unt'ηuts Then	'a·ate'īm'aq·uφ with his own bow it (inv.)	kwi'pa'p·īγa. struck.	'unt'ηuts· Then
cīmī ^x pīγa'aik·w let it (inv.) go,	paiy'ī'η ^x upīγa started back	'u'ra'. towards it.	
na·ηqa'p·īγa Heard	pū ^x qwt'vī bladder	ainpa'γaux·U talking	cna'ηwaφī, coyote,
ηī' "I			

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mu^xqwt'za^uw'aivä-ni nī'nī tuwa'tsuwα'. y'mai', a'ip'īya
I shall go to call for my children (obj.)." "Yes," said
help

cina'ηwaφI. un't'ηuts· pa'iyiq-w^ooip'īya qa-n'av u'ra
coyote. Then went returning his own toward
house it,

pt'tc'χwa'aip'īya qa-n'va-φī' o'vatyauq^x a'ip'īya
went and arrived at his own house. Thereupon said

cina'ηwaφI, cu'q'ucutem ini'a-m'antīya-η' NA'cī'm^wī',
coyote, "Just one (obj.) of her things forget,"
I did

a'ip'īya cina'ηwaφI. un't's· tiv^wa'ts a'ip'īya, t'v'ī'"ca"
said coyote. Then wolf said, "Go ahead!

ta-ūwa'ī^xkaiyuwa'^a.¹⁵ cina'ηwaφI 'y'mai', a'ip'īya
go and hang by your Coyote "Yes," said,
feet."

u^o'xpa^ap'īya. un't's· wa'a'p'im' na-ū'waip'īya
went through Then on cedar hung himself,
yonder way.

ūwa'ī^xkaip'īya su'yuc ta^ava'ma. un't'ηuts· pa-y'k'ip'īya
was hanging just one on day. Then started to
return,

pt'tc'p'īya qa-n'va-φī'. un't'ηuts ivä'tc: qno't'a'cīanq'
arrived at his own Then early when it was
house. early morning

tiv^wa'ts· qa'p'īya a'ip'īya tiv^wa'ts', t'v'ī'"ca"^a
wolf sang; said wolf, "Go ahead,

cina'ηwaφI na'ū)wa.ixwa'a'ic·U. 'y'mai, a'ip'īya
coyote! go and hang yourself again. "Yes," said

cina'ηwaφI u^o'xpa^ap'īyaic· un't'ηuts uv^wa'c· na-
coyote, again went off then there hung
through yonder way; again

u'ηwaip'īya. un't'ηuts· cu'yut'a·vam·æc· ūwa'ī^xkaip'īya.
himself. Then on one day again was hanging.

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ʔni'ts· Then	ta'ci'p·aux·u when it was evening	paiy't'k·ip̄ya started to return,	pi'tcip̄ya arrived	qa·ni't'va·φ. at his own house.
tī'c·amp Always	ʔni'tn̄mp̄ya kept doing thus	cna'ηwaf̄i. coyote.	ɔ'vaiyauq·u Then	
cna'ηwaf̄i coyote	tia'vī service- berry bush	ʔm'α'ntī from it	uru'v'wīχap̄·īya. obtained arrow sticks.	paiy't'k·ip̄ya Started to return
qa·ni't'av his own house (obj.)	u'ra toward,	pi'tc'p̄ya arrived	qa·ni't'va·φ at his own house, (obj.)	uru'v'wī arrow sticks (obj.)
ʔni'ts· Then	tiv'w'a'ts· wolf	tīηwī'niā hurriedly	tu'u'm'p̄ya'it'k·w picked them (inan.) up	uru'v'wī arrow sticks (obj.)
u'qwa'it' them (obj.),	ma'aru'·um'η'x̄up̄ya'it'k·w pulled it off	Λ'st''aiyaq̄·x̄w their (inan. inv.) bark (obj.),	ta'·a'rup̄·īya made shirt	
cna'ηwavyanw coyote (obj.) he (inv.)	uv'w'a'·antī from on top	Λ'st'·aiya·q·x̄ their (vis. inan.) bark (obj.)	ta'·a'rūη'x̄p̄ya'ia·x̄- made shirt (of) it	
qaη'. ¹⁶ for him.	ʔni'ts· Then	na·n·ɔ'·v for himself	ʔni'ηk'p̄ya made for	uru'q̄·wa·x̄tī from below
Λ'st'·aiyaq̄·x̄w their (inan. inv.) bark	u'qwa'it' it (obj.)	ma'aru''um̄ηup̄ya'it'k·w. pulled it (inv.) off.	uruc These (inan.)	ʔni'ts then
u'x̄w'·ʔni't' like arrows	naiya'p̄·a·a'η'x̄p̄ya. turned into.	ʔni'ts· Then	x̄wī'ci'av̄i feathers (obj.)	u'mw on them
ma'·va'tcan'x̄p̄ya. fastened on.	ɔ'v'w'aiyauq·x̄ Thereupon	a'ip̄·īya said	tiv'w'α'ts· wolf,	iv'w'it''ca'·a "Go ahead!
qwa'it'·ka.izwa'a. go and hang!"	u'mai', "Yes,"	a'ip̄·īya said	cna'ηwaf̄i coyote,	u'x̄·pa·ap̄·īya went off in yonder way,

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uv ^w a there	qa rī'p īγa stayed	cī'na'ηwaφī. coyote.	tīv ^w t'η ^x upīγa Asked	ma'n'ə'q ^x u all (obj.)
nηwī''aiya φī his own body (obj.),	unt'ts then	ma rī'c that (inan.)	piya/i'pīγa was left	qwa'cī'yan his tail
a'rī. it.	unt'ts Then	a'ip īγa said	cna'waφī, coyote,	i'mi "You
				nīv ^w i'nanqavate wont to come behind me,
imi'nteu ^u you (inter.)	tūmpa'γa'. have mouth?	ant'axa'aiηqwo' What, pray, did	aimī' always	pa'vī'n my elder brother
uηwa he	tā'qwa'i'kaiγwa' 'Go and hang by your feet,'	aiγa'. saying?"	qwa'cī''ηw His (inv.) tail	a'ip īγa, said, "You
pu'tcu'tcuγwa'yīq·w understand it (inv.),	a'iy that (obj.) you	γīr indeed	a'imta. always say.	na'uηwaiγwa'ai' ⁱ 'Go and hang yourself!'
a'intcua·η that (inter.) he	'a'imī' always says;	uru'v ^w īγaxwə'ai' ⁱ 'Go and get arrow sticks,'	a'ia·η that he	γīr indeed
				'a'imī'. always says."
γ'mai' "Yes,	uṃa'icampa'a'a' ¹⁷ only that (obj.) you!	nī''q·w I it (inv.)	pu'tcu'tcuγwa'yīq·w know it (inv.),"	
a'ip īγa said	cī'na'ηwaφī. coyote.			
u'v ^w aiyauq· Then	uru'v ^w īzap īγa obtained arrow sticks	cī'na'ηwaφī coyote,	tīv ^w t'tsava''an' very many	
no'p īγa carried on his back,	qa nī'va φī at his own house	pī'tciγwa'aip īγa. went and arrived.	unt'ts Then	pa'vī''uηw his elder brother
uru'q·upīγa made arrows	u ^x qwt'yuu' arrows (obj.),	ta.'a'urup īγa made shirts	tīv ^w t'ts very	'a'va''an' many

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pīma'uφī wherewith their own	na'uq·wηqu't·u'ava· ^a na. ¹⁸ being about to fight.	ĩv ^w aiyauq·' Then	tiv ^w a'ts· wolf
qa'p·ĩγa sang	t'·tcuq·u, when it was morning,	ĩv ^w 'ĩ'ca' ^a , "Go ahead!"	a'ip·ĩγa said
cna'ηwaφI, "Coyote,	na·u'ηwaiγwə'aic·u, again go and hang yourself,"	a'ip·ĩγa said	tiv ^w α'ts· wolf.
si'nα'ηwαφI Coyote	pu'tcu'tcuγwa'αp·ĩγa understood	ampa'γana'ηwa. his (inv.) talking.	
qa'tc Not	ə'vaiyauq· this time	ηwa'ĩ ³ kai p·ĩá' ^a was hanging,	uru'v ^w iγap·ĩγa obtained arrow sticks
'a·va''an'. many.	ə'vaiyauq· Then	ηqqa'q·wīcari' lightning (obj.)	pūn't'k·aip·ĩγa saw
i·ve'tci' way off	tiv ^w a'' in west	tiv ^w t'p·ĩ' land (obj.)	qīηwa·'ava· ^a nti'. at edge.
a'ip·ĩγa said	cna'ηwaφI, coyote,	um ^w a'r "that (inan.)	aro''avi might be
a'ip·ĩγa said	cna'ηwaφI. coyote.	'α "Why!	puwa'ru' ^w a'iyuru'αni, Am I obtaining super- natural power?"
cna'ηwaφI, coyote;	na·ĩ'v ^w t "always	puaγantī medicine- man	nĩ'', I,"
ə'v ^w aiyauq·u Then	cna'ηwaφI coyote	paiy't'q·wə'aip·ĩγa went returning,	nu ^x qwt'm ⁱ yap·ĩγa rushed along,
qa·nt'va·φ at his own house	pi'tciγwa'aip·ĩγa. went and arrived.	unt'ts Then	a'ip·ĩγa said
nĩ'' "I	ηqqa'q·wīcari' lightning (obj.)	pūn't'k·a', see,"	a'ip·ĩγa said
			cna'ηwaφI. coyote.

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pa·v't'ɪŋw His (inv.) elder brother	tiv'w'ts very	a't'impu'tcu'tcuɣwa'ap'ɪɣa'aik·wa well understood it (inv.)		
aŋqa'q·wi'carī lightning (obj.)	'ɔa'ia. that (obj.).	ɔ'v'waiyauq·xw Then	a'ip'ɪɣa said	pa·v't'ɪŋw his (inv.) elder brother,
iv'w't'ca'a "Go ahead!	uru'v'wɪɣaxwa'a. go and get ar- row sticks."	ɣ'mai', "Yes,"	a'ip'ɪɣa said	cna'ɪwaɸi coyote.
o'x·pa·p'ɪɣa Went off in yonder way	cna'ɪwaw coyote,	u'v'w'a·anti being there (obj.)	uru'v'wɪɣap'ɪɣa gathered arrow sticks;	cna'ɪwaɸi coyote
aŋqa'q·wi'carī lightning (obj.)	pūini'k·aip'ɪɣa saw	co'q·u. one (obj.).	s'nα'ɪwaɸi Coyote	
ta'pu'q·wip'ɪɣa jumped	ma·va'x'tiɣanɪ'. to big distance.	ɔ'v'waiyauq·' Then	pa·y't'q·wɔ'aip'ɪɣa went returning	
cna'ɪwaɸi coyote,	NU ^x qw't'm'iyap'ɪɣa. rushed along.	ɪn'ts· Then	ciri''i'p'ɪɣa was afraid,	
qa·n't·va·ɸi at his own house	p'te:ɣwa'aip'ɪɣa went and arrived	cna'ɪwaɸi. coyote.	'aa'ik·w "Oh!	
pa·v't'ni my elder brother,	tca·a'ɣ't'p· near	a'·uɸi now	nɪ' I	aŋqa'q·wicarī lightning (obj.)
pūini'k·a'aik·wa. see it (inv.)."				
ɪ'v'waiyauq·u Then	pa·v't'ɪŋw his elder brother	a'ip'ɪɣa, said,	cna'ɪwaw "Coyote,	iv'w't'ca'a go ahead!
uru'v'wɪɣaxwɔ'aic·u, again go to obtain arrow sticks,"	a'ip'ɪɣa. said.	ɣ'mai', "Yes,"	a'ip'ɪɣa said	cna'ɪwaɸi coyote,
u'x·pa·p'ɪɣa. went off in yonder way.	ɪn'ts Then	u'v'w'a·anti there	uru'v'wɪɣap'ɪɣa obtained arrow sticks,	ɔ'v'waiyauq· thereupon

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anqa'q-wi'carī lightning	tiv'w'ts· very	tca·γt'p· near	unt'ηupīya. did.	cī'na'ηwafī Coyote
tī'ηwnt' hurriedly	payt'η*xupīya started to return,	qa·nt'va·φ at his own house	pt'tcīγwa'aip'īya. went and arrived.	'a'ik·w "Oh!"
a'ip'īya said	cīna'ηwafī, coyote,	imp'ī'' "What (obj.) you	ant'k'a' are doing	pī'ni'avtza' lying down and looking?
um ^w a'n*kaimi'aγwar'onoa. ¹⁹ One should not be doing thus."		uni'vītcit'ī'γa While being attacked	uηwā'c he (inv.)	tiv ^w 'a'tc wolf
an' he	pūηqa'a·v't'p'īya. kept lying down.	ō'v ^w aiyauq· Then	a'p'ō-rūηqa'nt' cave (obj.)	
uv ^w a'uηwituγwa'mī into it they (inv.)	qa'qa'rpīya'ainī. they (2 inv.) escaped.			
ō'v ^w aiyauq·xū Then	tiv ^w α'ts wolf	a'ip'īya, said,	tiv ^w 'ī'ca' "Go ahead!	i'mī you
na ^a γu'q·wηqī't'ū'u, fight,"	a'ip'īya said	tiv ^w 'a'tc wolf	an'. he.	'p'mat', "Yes,"
a'ip'īya said	cīana'ηwafī, coyote,	imi'ntcu'a'q'· "You (inter.) it (vis.)	nī'ni my	pīηwa'ntuγwaq'ai- on whom my
n·anan'. ²⁰ depending?	imi'' You	'a·ru'' are	um ^w α'nīkaivā·ntī in that way being about to be doing	nī'ni my
na·γu'q·wηqī't'ū'aux·ū. when fighting."		ō'v ^w aiyauq·ū Then	sīana'ηwāv coyote	an' he
qu'tca'q·arīa light gray (obj.)	ma·a'q·aip'īya had on,	tūηqa'nt' cave (obj.)	uv ^w 'ī'mītux·w out of it	
ts·p't'ηupīya. emerged.	'aa'ik·w "Oh!	tiv ^w α'ts·, wolf,"	'a'ik·pīya said (pl.)	uwa'ri rain (obj.)
tuwa'ts·ηwī. children.	qa'tc' "Not	aro''o it is	tiv ^w 'a'tsta'ap·' wolf (neg.),	cī'nā'ηwav coyote

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aru''u, it is,"	a'ik'pīγa said (pl.)	umα'ηwantī. from among them.	et'na'ηwaw Coyote	uw't'ηwāγantī canyon (obj.)	
uv''a'a-x-ī over it	ta'pu'q-wīpīγa jumped,	paiy't'ηUpīγa returned	cna'ηwaw coyote	o'p'ac. through that same way.	
ī'v''aiyauq. Then	a'ip'īγa said	cna'ηwafI, coyote,	īv''ī'ca" "Go ahead!	i'm you	
a'ūφI now	na·γu'q-wηqī't'u''u. fight."	γ'inaī', "Yes,"	a'ip'īγa said	tīv''a'ts wolf	
an', he,	i'mī "you	qa'te' not	nī'nī me	pñt'k'aiva'ηwa' will look at (neg.)	uni'nani my doing,
pu''w't'yaφī own eyes (obj.)	wi'tu'v''uwaq'aiva'. will keep covered."	ū'mai', "Yes,"	a'ip'īγa said	cna'ηwafI. coyote.	
unt'ts. Then	cna'ηwaw coyote	a-v't'p'īγa. lay down.	pa''v't'ηw His (inv.) elder brother	tīv''t'ts very	
a'a't'ī' good (obj.)	ma''a'aq'aip'īγa had on,	sa·γwa'γa r blue		uru''ap'īγa it was,	
sə'ī'tsint' ²¹ like soldier	na·ya'φA ^x qaip'īγa. looked.	ī'v''aiyauq·U Then		tīηqa'nī cave (obj).	
uv''t'mīux-w from it	ts·pī'ηUpīγa. came out.	'a'ik-w "Oh!	um''α'ηa·q'ī, it is that one,"	a'ik'pīγa said (pl.)	
q'wari rain (obj.)	tuwa'tsηw. children.	tīv''a'ts. Wolf	qu'qwt'p'īγa shot	ini'tux-w at this	
ya·γa''amantīa·q·w at its end,	unt'ts then	uru'c it (inv.)	qəw'ī'na·p'īγa. was mowed down.	unt'ts Then	
ina'ηqwa'patcī' on other side from this	ya·γa''amantīγa·q·w at its end	qu'qwt'p'īγa'aic·U again shot,	u'p'ac again in that way		
a-n'ηUpīγa did	qəw'ī'na·p'īγa. was mowed down.	ə'v''aiyauq·U Then	cna'ηwafI coyote		

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pūin't'k'aiṗ-īṡa looked	uwa'vatcī' at him	pa ^a v't'aṗī. his own elder brother (obj.)	a'ik-wi, "Oh!"	a'īṗ-īṡa, he said,	
um ^w a'riar'uwa-ṡ' "that (inan. obj.) (inter.) he	nī'n: me	a'ṡawantcūqīm ^w ī' has been hiding from		pa-v't'ni my elder brother?	
qu'qw't't'u'a'c-uyaṡwa ^a ṡano', "Would he would get shot!"		a'īṗ-īṡain-t' thought		cna'ṡwaṗI. coyote.	
tīv ^w t'ts-amp' Truly indeed	cna'ṡwawt coyote (obj.)	pa-v't'ṡw his (inv.) elder brother	pa ^x qa'ṡutīxpīṡa. was killed.		
'aa'ik-w, "Oh!"	a'īṗ-īṡa said	cna'ṡwaṗI, coyote,	nī'n: "my	pa ^a v't'ni my brother	pa ^x qa'ṡuti', is killed,"
a'īṗ-īṡa. said.	nṡwū'ntsṡw People	am' they	co ^v 'v ^w antīm ^w others	ma ^a no'q'ṡ all (obj.)	
ma ^a v'īa'ajw his (inv.) clothes (obj.)	qwīṡwī'xpīṡa'aik-w. took (pl.) them (inan. inv.).				
ṡ ^v 'w'aiyauq ^x U Then	pa ^a na ^x qwa'aīṗ-īṡa. went and returned (pl.).			ma ^a va' ^a campa ^a ṡ' "There only he	
cna'ṡwaw coyote	a'ṡ' he	tūnqa'ṡyav his own cave (obj.)	a ^a -va'ṡwi in it	yī'a'īq ^w 'ṡaivā', shall die off,"	
a'ik'pīṡa. said (pl.).	t'v ^w 'aiyauq' Then	cī'c'mīap-īṡa'ainṡw left (pl.) him (inv.)		cna'ṡwawt coyote (obj.)	
una ^a -ṡt'ux-w inside it	tūnqa'nt' cave (obj.),	un'ts- then	pa ^a na ^x qwa'aīṗ-īṡa. went and returned (pl.).		
kiya'p-ī Round dance	tīṡa'ī ^x k'aīṗ-a ^x pīṡa took place while journeying;	ma ^a -v clothes	ur they (inv. inan.)	ma ^a noq'ṡ all (obj.)	
um ^w u ^v 'v ^w 'antux-w on to them	kwī'pa'mīpīṡa. were thrown.	waa'q-U Two (obj.)	mauma ^a 'cṡṡoṡtsṡw old women (obj.)		
'a mu ^v 'v ^w 'antux-w on to them	kwī'pa'mūnūnpīṡa were wont to be thrown	maa ^a -v clothes	ar they (inan.)	tīv ^w α'tsī' wolf (obj.)	

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maa'ʼa ɲʼ.	ta'ci'aŋqu	kiya'p'ā'am'	ɔ'a'xavatacuɣwap'īɣa
his clothes.	When it was	round dance	(2) went into it
	morning	(obj.) they (inv.)	
wa'm-a-a'cɔɣwɔitsɪŋw	pivi'av	am'	
two old women	their own	they.	
	mothers		
ɔ'v ^w aiyauq·u	ci'na'ɲwav	a'ɲʼ	iv ^w 'ni, aip'īɣa, ni'ni
Then	coyote	he,	"Let me," said, "my
pa ^a vt'si'en'	ma-'avia'a'ɲʼ	yu'wa'xwɔ'aivä',	a'ip'īɣa
my little elder	his (inv.)	shall go to	said
brother (obj.)	clothes (obj.)	bring,"	
cina'ɲwafɪ.	i'v ^w aiyauq·u	cina'ɲwafɪ	pa ^a ɣa'n ^y xqwtɪp'īɣa
coyote.	Then	coyote	started to go
na ^a ɲwa'xupa'a-m'	tiv ^w i'ts	ɔ'ī'aip'īɣa	cina'ɲwav a'ɲʼ.
through their	very	was lean	coyote he.
tracks;			
ɔ'v ^w aiyauq·u	'iva ^a 'an'	atei'p'īɣava',	a'ip'īɣa cina'ɲwafɪ.
Then	"Here I	shall put away	said coyote.
		bow and arrows,"	
i'v ^w aiyauq·'	ɯn't'p'īɣa	'a ^a tei'	A ^x qa'i' yuna'āip'īɣa
Then	did so,	bows (obj.)	them put down in
			(inan.) several places
pɔ'p'a ^a	cina'ɲwav	a'ɲʼ.	yuu-'ru'a'p'īɣa ɯn't'm'ya'χaic·
along	coyote	he.	Became fat again doing so
trail			on his way
o'p'a ^a	na'ɲwa'vt'	ci'na'ɲwav	aɲʼ. cuwa'ɲwa'tei'p'īɣa'aim'
through	tracks	coyote	he. Nearly caught up with
that	(obj.)		them (inv.)
qa'nt'p'iv ^w a ^a nt	u'R	qu·n	u'R na ^a na'āip'īɣaaic·
at deserted	it (inv.),	fire	it still was burning
camp			in several places.
'a'ik-w,	aip'īɣa	cina'ɲwafɪ.	ɔ'v ^w aiyauq·u pa ^a ɣa'n ^y xqwtɪp'īɣa
"Oh!"	said	coyote.	Then started off
miyα'naɲwavi	o'p'a ^a .	ɔ'v ^w aiyauq·u	cina'ɲwav a'ip'īɣa,
traveled track	through	Then	coyote said,
(obj.)	it.		

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ite "This (inan.)	aro''avi' would be	a·γa'nī how	'a-ni'ntc', doing?"	a'ip-īγa said	cna'ηwαφī, coyote,
i'vā-nt "here	ar it	i'ī'tcīz' this (obj.)	mī'ra-'antsiγantī' little divide (obj.)		ava-'antī', thereat?"
a'ip-īγa said	cna'ηwαφī. coyote.				
ī'v ^w aiyauq·U Then	nīηwu'aiyauφī his own body (obj.)	ma- ^a nō'q·U all (obj.)	tīv ^w i'ηupīγa asked		
cna'ηwαv coyote	an'. he.	na-ηqa'vaiyaφī His own ear (obj.)	tīv ^w i'ηupīγa, asked,	i'ite "This (inan.)	
arō'amt' always is	a·γa'n how	a-ni'ntc', doing?"	a'ip-īγa said	cna'ηwαφī. coyote.	
ō'v ^w aiyauq·U Then	na-ηqa'v'ajw his (inv.) ear	yō'ōixpīγa fluttered,	qa'tc not	a-mpa'x-pī'ra'a talked (neg.)	
nanqa'v'aj ^w his (inv.) ear	ur. it (inv.).	ma-ri'campa That (inan.) alone	qwa'c'ayan his tail	ar it	piya'īpīγa. was left.
ī'v ^w aiyauq·U Then	cna'ηwαv coyote	a'ip-īγa, said,	imi'nteu' "You (inter.)	tūmpa'γa' have mouth,	
nīv ^w i'nanqōavac, being wont to come behind me?"		a'ip-īγa said	cna'ηwαφī. coyote.	ō'v ^w aiyauq·U Then	
qwa'c'ayan his tail	ar it	a'ip-īγa, said,	i'mī "You	pu'tcu'tcuγwar'iq·w knowing it (inv.),	
a'i that you	īγīr indeed	'a'imḡ. always say."	u'v ^w aiyauq·w Then	a'ip-īγa said	qwa'c'aj his tail
ar it	cna'ηwαvī, coyote (obj.),	i'tcī "This (inan.)	i'ī'tcīz' "This (inan. obj.)	mīγa-'antsiγantī' little divide (obj.)	

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ava-'antī thereat,'	a'ī'namī your saying	wa'm-a'a'cəγwəitsəwə' two old women (obj.)	a-n'mina, always doing,"
a'ip-ṭīya said	qWA'ci'yan his tail	aR. it.	ma-'a'caγwəitsəw' "Old women they (inv.)
a'imintīm', always saying (plur.),	uv ^w 'a-'ac-ampəjanw "There only he (inv.)	tūnqa'nəav his own cave (obj.)	uv ^w q'ḥwī therein
ya'a'iq-wə'aivä', shall die off,'	a'ip-ṭīya'aim' ²² said (2)	ma- ^a mu'c those	wa-'ama-a'ca- two old
γwəitsəw women	a'mī. they."	ṭiv ^w aiyauq·u Then	a'ip-ṭīya said
um ^w a'c-ampa'a', "Enough of that you!"	a'ip-ṭīya, said,	qWA'ci'ni "my tail,	ni'q-wA I it (inv.)
pu'tcu't-cuγwa'yīq-w, know it (inv.),"	a'ip-ṭīya said	cna'ḥwəfi. coyote.	ma- ^a nə'q·u all (obj.)
ə'v ^w aiyauq·u Then	cna'ḥwəfi coyote	pa- ^a γa'n ^y qwiṭ-ṭīya started of	o'pā' ^a through that
mīya'və. traveled trail (obj.).	ṭiv ^w aiyauq·u Then	pṛni'k'aiṭ-ṭīya saw	waa-'ma-a'caγwəitsəwə' two old women (obj.)
mīya-'antsγantī little divide (obj.)	uv ^w a-'antī there	pə- ^r u'm'aməfi with their (2) own canes	tiv ^w ṭ'p-ṭī ground (obj.)
kwi'kwi'p- ^a pṭīya. hit several times.	maa'ip-ṭīya'aim', Said (2) thus,	uv ^w a-'ac-ampəjanw "There only he (inv.)	cna'ḥwəfi coyote
ya'a'iq-wə'aivä' shall die off	ya-γa'n-av his own crying	um ^w a'nəyqW, with it,"	a'ip-ṭīya'aim' said (2)

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wa'm-a ^a caγwōitsujw.	ɔ'v ^w aiyauq·u	cna'ηwaw	a'γap'ini'-
two old women.	Then	coyote	in hiding
k̄aip'īγa'aim	uni'z'um'.	ci'nA'ηwafɪ	tiv'ts·
watched	their (2)	Coyote	very
them (2)	doing so.		
na ^a η'a'īaip'īγa	p̄ini'k̄ai'z'umī.	ni'ηwum'	m ^w im ^w i''
was angry	seeing them (2).	"I you (pl.)	you
			(pl. obj.)
y'īa'it'īiva·η'um',	a'ip'īγa	cna'ηwafɪ.	ɔ'v ^w aiyauq·u
will cause you	said	coyote.	Then
(pl.) to die,"			
cna'ηwafɪ	pa ^a γa'n ^y xqwrp'īγa	qīma'ηwɪ'tux·w	pɔ'ɔ
coyote	started off	otherwards	trail
			(obj.)
uγu'm·aηwit·ux·w	mɪ'γɔ	uv ^w a'ηwtuγwanup'īγa	wa'ma ^a caγwōi-
away from it,	far	turned into it	two old women
	away		(obj.)
tsujwa'	um ^w γ'uwα'mijyU. ²³		
	in front far away.		
	of them		
cna'ηwafɪ	na·mpī'n'in·ip'īγa.	'a'ik·w,	a'ip'īγa
Coyote	looked for tracks.	"Oh,"	said
wa'ma ^a caγwōitsujw,	ci'naηwa·vin·tγa·'a'		'ani'n'ni'.
two old women,	"like coyote you		are doing."
a'ip'īγa'aim'.	'a'ik·w	a'ip'īγa	cna'ηwafɪ,
said they (2).	"Oh,"	said	coyote,
			i'tc
			aro"
			"this is
			(inan.)
aγa'n	ani'ntc',	a'ip'īγa	cna'ηwafɪ.
how	doing?"	said	coyote.
			ɔ'v ^w aiyauq·u
			Then
wa'm-a ^a caγwōitsujw,	itci'	'uraru''	ani'ntc'
two old women,	"this	it is	doing
	(inan. obj.)		
cna'ηwawɪy	aηw	pa ^a vi'tsi	pa ^x qa'vanaγaγa
coyote	he	elder	returning (pl.)
(obj.)	(inv.)	brother	from killing
		(obj.)	uηwa'ixcua·m'
			him (inv. obj.)
			they

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c̣ina'ɥwavy	aɥw	uv ^w a'ntiγwɔc̣	cɪ'cɪm'ĩaq'ĩ, ²⁴	a'ip'ĩya'aim'.
coyote (obj.)	he	at that same	are leaving,"	they (2) said.
	(inv.)	place		
ɔ'v ^w aiyauq̣u	c̣ina'ɥwavy	a'ip'ĩya,	'ɔ'	nĩ''ɥwaw
Then	coyote	said,	“(disgust),	I him
				(inv.)
pa ^x qa'ɥupĩya'aiχooŋ'.	aγa'n ^y ka ^a va ^a tsĩχ ^w a ^a ɥw'ajw	m ^w 'ɥnwɪ		
would have killed him	Being about to act (pl.) how	you (pl.)		
(inv.).	did you (pl.) him (inv.)			
pĩ'mpĩn'iṣka'	c̣ina'ɥwavy	aɥw,	a'ip'ĩya	c̣ina'ɥwavy
be looking	coyote (obj.)	he (inv.)?"	said	coyote
(pl.) on				
aɥ'.	ɔ'v ^w aiyauq̣u	c̣ina'ɥwavy	a'ip'ĩya,	^w wa'nuntea ^a m ^w ĩn'
he.	Then	coyote	said,	“Over there I them
				(inv.) have
nĩ'ni	pĩ's'ɔatsũɥwa nɪ	c̣m ^w 'x-qai'tm'	ɥnɪ'tsin'	nĩ'
my	my children (obj.)	left them (inv.),	then I	I
paɪyt'q-wɔ'aivä,	a'ip'ĩya	c̣ina'ɥwafɪ.		
shall go and	said	coyote.		
return,"				
ɔ'v ^w aiyauq̣u	pa-yɪ'ɥupĩya	c̣ina'ɥwafɪ.	ɥnɪ'ts	
Then	set off to return	coyote.	Then	
a'γa'mɔ'c'ɪk'aip'ĩya'aim'	nĩγa' ^a ntsɪγantĩ	ɔ'v ^w a'.		
hid from them (inv.)	divide (obj.)	there.		
ɔ'v ^w aiyauq̣u	wa ^a 'ma ^a 'caγwɔitsɥw	o'p'ac'um	a ^a nɪ'p'ĩya	
Then	two old women	in that same	(2) did;	
		way they (inv.)		
c̣ina'ɥwafɪ	pa ^x qa'ɥupĩya'aim'.	'ɔɔ''ai'γɔm	ma ^a nɔ'q̣	
coyote	killed them (inv. 2).	Their (inv.)	all (obj.)	
		bones (obj.)		
wɪ'tɔ'n'iṣpĩya'aik-wa	ɥnɪ'ts	c̣ina'ɥwafɪ	sa ^a na'ɥw'aiyaɔĩ	
shook them (inan.	then	coyote	his own gum-	
inv.) out;			penis (obj.)	
o'p'a'a	cɪ'nt'k'pĩya	ma ^a ma ^a 'caγwɔits	A'st'ai'.	ɥnɪ'ts
through	stuck through	old woman (obj.)	skin (obj.).	Then
that				

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o'p'a'acunt as in that same way	na-ya'p'a- ^a ηUpiγa. got to appear.	unt's. Then	co'q. one (obj.)
una- ^a γtt-uγwαp'iγa went inside her	na- ^a no- ^o c'i himself	cna'ηwaw coyote	aη'. na-ηwa''aic. he. Both
o'p'a'ap'iγa'aim' they (2) went through that	mi'yav ^o traveled trail (obj.),	qant'va-mi at camp they (inv.)	pi'tc'χwa'aip'iγa. (2) went and arrived.
a'ik-w "Oh!	c'i'nanwawini' like coyote	pivi'aiaraηw our mother (obj.)	tca'nar ^o ont ^o q-wai'. skin is put on self."
'a-ni'Acuηwuni "That just you (pl.) me	a'ik-ami'. always say."	i'v ^w aiyauq-u Then	pi'tc'p'iγa'aim' they (2) arrived
wa'm-a'caγw ^o itsiηw two old women;	ava- ^a na'am' much they (inv.)	tr ^x qa'p'iγa. (2) ate.	a'ik-w "Oh!
c'i'nanwawini like coyote	p ^{te} 'iaranwa our mother (obj.)	tca'nar ^o ont ^o q-wai' skin is put on self;	'a'iam' behold them
t'i'ηw ^u niya''am' quickly they (inv.)	ti'qa'i'. (2) are eating."	ta- ^a mpiniyaηw "You (pl.) tiring	ni ^m w'i' us (excl. obj.)
a'ik-a-mi' always say	niya'q-aχain ^u miwī while calling (pl.) us (excl.)	uwa'iac-u him (inv. obj.)	cna'ηwawt niya- ^a va'. coyote (obj.) at name.
i'ni ^m iAcam ^o pan ^u miwī In this way we (excl.) merely always do	miyo-r ^o anwa long distance we (incl.)	mi'yax-u when trav- eling (pl.),	ti'γi-'ya'tza'aim' when 2 are very hungry
t'i'ηw ^u niya'amwī quickly 2	tr ^x qa'mi'. always eat."		
i'v ^w aiyauq-u Then	kiya'p- round dance	ar it	ti'γa'i'piγa began to take place
ma- ^a mu'c-u those	waa- ^a ma- ^a caγw ^o itsiηw two old women		Λ'ti'x-Iqarip'iγa (2) sat and nursed

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ĩĩ'ŋ'ap tɕɕɔwɔ'. babies (obj.).	unt'ts. Then	ma ^a nó'q̄ uŋ'wanĩ all (obj.) of them (inv.) they	q̄w ^o 'ó'ip'ĩɣa killed.
ĩ'v ^w aiyauq̄. Then	ɔ'no't A'ɕaŋq̄U when it was early morning	'a ^a mu'e. they	wa'ma ^a 'ca ɣwóitsɔw two old women
kɕya'p'ia'amĩ round dance (obj.) they (inv.)	u'w'a'xavateu ɣwap'ĩɣa'aim'. they went (2) into it.	unt'ts. Then	wa'a'iyu two
tĩv ^w 'ts very	a'a't'ĩ good	tɔɣó'q̄ w ^o 'óiteu ^w ɔw two runners	un ^w u'nantux ^w opposite them
wĩnĩ'p'ĩɣa. (2) stood.	ɔ'v ^w aiyauq̄U Then	ma'ri'e. that (inan.)	ma' ^a v'ujw ar his (inv.) it clothing
tĩv ^w 'atsɕ wolf (obj.)	'a ^a mu'v ^w 'antux ^w on to them	kwi'pa'p'ĩɣa hit	'a ^a mĩ'ac. them
wa'ma ^a 'ca ɣwóitsɔwɔ'. two old women (obj.).	ta'pu'q̄ wipĩɣa Jumped	ɕna'ɣwɔv coyote	a ^a mu'v ^w 'anti' upon them
waa'q̄ w'am' two (obj.) them	towa'tsɔwɔwɔ. her children (obj.).	tca'ɣa ɣai'. ²⁵ "Let skin be on them!"	a'ip'ĩɣa said
ɕna'ɣwɔɕɕ. coyote.	unt'ts Then	a ^a mu'e. they	waa'iy am' two they
ari'acuum' that (inan. obj.) same they 2	wa'ma ^a 'ca ɣwóitsɔw ²⁶ two old women	pĩ'ĩ' aiya.ŋ' her skin (obj.)	na ro.'aŋU- came to have
pĩɣa. on self.	ĩ'v ^w aiyauq̄U Then	ɕna'ɣwɔɕɕ coyote	ma ^a va'is'tĩ'an'ɕ' far off
ta'pu'q̄ wipĩɣa. jumped.	ĩ'v ^w aiyauq̄U Then	tĩ'ntɔɣó'q̄ w ^o wpĩɣa ran hard	ɕna'ɣwɔɕɕ coyote,
tĩv ^w 'ĩ'ts very	miyó'n'ɕ' far	wĩnĩ'm'ɣap'ĩɣa stood while moving	ɕna'ɣwɔɕɕ. coyote.

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unt's Then	'a·amu'c they	a'ik·pī'ya, said,	'a·n'·an "That I	'a'ik·' said,
cīna'ḡwavi coyote	'uḡwaro'·a, he is,"	a'ik·pī'ya. said (pl.):	ma·ma'·rnap·ī'ya'aiḡw. All pursued him (inv.).	
cīna'ḡwafi Coyote	qa·tcu't·t·ḡai'pī'ya began to give out;	a·vi'tctct little ridge (obj.)	uv·w'a'·a·x·i over it	
ya'uq·wīpī'ya ran	tīv·t's very	qm·u·'u·wa'mī. in front of them.	ḡv·w'aiyauq·u Then	qatc' not
ma'up·ap·ā'ā' was visible (neg.);	uv·w'a·'anti' being there (obj.)	pu'ca'ḡaik·pī'ya hunted for (pl.),	qatcu'·uḡw not him (inv.)	
ma·ma'·i'pā'·a. found (pl. neg.).	ī'v·w'aiyauq· Then	qm·u'ḡwantī one of them	a'ip·ī'ya, said,	
iḡantiya·'q· "This one it (is)	u'c, perhaps,"	a'ip·ī'ya said,	t·t·ūmpī old (obj.)	sa·ri·'i·ḡwtcap·ī' dog-excrement (obj.)
ta·ḡwa't·sīq·w. having kicked it (inv.).	wa'a'ḡuḡup·ī'ya Yelled out	cīna'ḡwafi coyote;	ma·va'·i'tī'ḡan·t' far off	
ta'pu'q·wts· having jumped	tī·ntḡḡḡq·wīpī'ya ran hard	cīna'ḡwafi coyote,	ma·ma'·rnap·ī'ya'aiḡw all pursued him (inv.).	
unt'c· In same way	a·an'ḡuḡpī'ya did	cīna'ḡwafi. coyote.	a·vi'tctct Little ridge (obj.)	uv·w'a'·a·x·i over it
ma·'ani·'icampa barely	ya'uq·wīpī'ya ran over	s't·na'ḡwafi coyote;	mīyī'ḡqa·nīvīnī like gopher-pile	
na·ya'p·a·ḡuḡpī'ya. turned into.	unt'c· In same way	a·ani'k·pī'ya. did (pl.).	uv·w'a·'anti' Being there (obj.)	
pu'ca'ḡaik·pī'ya hunted for (pl.),	qatcu'·uḡw not him (inv.)	ma·ma'·i'pā'·a. found (pl. neg.).	ī'v·w'aiyauq·u Then	

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um ^w i'ηwanti, one of them	i'ηanta·q· "This one it (is)	u'c·, perhaps,"	a'ip·i'ya said,	m̄yi'ηqanvi' gopher-pile (obj.)
ta· ^a ηwa't·siq·w. having kicked it (inv.).	cna'ηwaφI Coyote	ma· ^a va'i'ti'yan·t' far off		tA'pu'q·wipī- again jumped;
yaaic·U	maama'rnaq·upī'yaic·uηw. again all began to pursue him (inv.).			
unt'c· In same way	a· ⁿ n'ηupī'ya did	cīna'ηwav coyote	a'η' he,	a· ^u φI now
nīa'rīntrī'qa'η'wī'pī'ya. turned into wind.	i'v ^w aiyauq·U Then	pu'ca'γaik·'pī'ya'aiηw sought (pl.) him (inv.),		
qatco'o'ηw not him (inv.)	maama'i'pīā' ^a . found (pl. neg.).	o'v ^w aiyauq·w Then	a'ik·'pī'ya, said (pl.),	
nīv ^w a·'uηwat·uiḡ·a· ^a va· ^a raηw. "Let us cause (pl.) snow to fall."		o'v ^w aiyauq·U Then	tī'v ^w it· very	
nīv ^w a· ^a ηwap·i'ya. ²⁷ snowed.	cna'ηwav Coyote	o'v ^w aiyauq·U then	tūqa'nuntsi little cave (obj.)	
qna· ^a γit·uγwap·i'ya. went into it.	tīv ^w i'ts Very	ava''an much	nīv ^w a·'ηwap·i'ya snowed,	
cna'ηwaφI coyote	nīv ^w a't·a·ma'γa·p·i'ya. went out to see how deep snow was.	unt'·ts· Then	pī'nanqW soon	qa'tc not
uv ^w i'mitux·wpīā' ^a . got out (neg.).	qa·ts Rat	a'η he	'a· ^a na·'x· therein	qa·nt'·ḡaip·i'ya. had house.
'a'ik·w, "Oh!"	a'ip·i'ya said	cna'ηwaφI, coyote,	tīγī'v ^w in' "my friend	qa·'ts· rat,
cq·nt'mānt·i'ymn' some of your tinder me	ma·'x·, give,"	a'ip·i'ya. said.	ψ·māi', "All right,"	a'ip·i'ya said
qa·'ts rat	aη' he,	ym ^w a'ntī'a'ajw some of it (obj.) him (inv.)	cq·nt'·aiyaφī his own tinder (obj.)	ma· ^a γa'p·i'ya. gave.

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ĩ'v ^w aiyauq·u Then	cna'ñwaφi coyote	na'a'it'iiipĩ'ya caused to burn;	ũt'ñumĩ'ts· after having done so
pu'wi'ñq'qup·ĩ'ya made noise by sucking in between closed lips,	ũt'ñsñw then him (inv.)	qa'tsi rat (obj.)	pa ^x qa'ñuĩ'ya. killed.
ĩ'v ^w aiyauq·u Then	tĩ ^x qa'p'ĩ'ya'añw. ate him (inv.).		
miya'p·utsi' Little (obj.)	car'a'ya'ná'mpu'itsi little shell (obj.)	uv ^w a'ñwtux·wpi'ya. went into it.	
ũt'ñts· Then	nĩ'a't'·uintñwa'ñtsiaφĩ his own little wind- causer (obj.)	pa ^a ·va'ti'pĩ'ya' commenced to call,	nĩ'a't'·u'ñt causing to blow
a'r it	ǝ'v ^w aiyauq·u then	p'tcipĩ'ya'. arrived.	iya't·uχwa ^a ñ' Here through him
'a·va'a·x·i thereover	ya·ñw't'χwa'aip'ĩ'ya'. went carrying along.	u'v ^w a There	tca ^x qĩ'ip'ĩ'ya. stopped moving.
pñq'a'vaaip'ĩ'ya'aik·w Kept calling it (inv.);	a'iyucampañw although he (inv.) said,	qa'tc' not	n't'yu'x ^w pĩ'a'. moved.
ĩ'v ^w aiyauq·u Then	cna'ñwaφi coyote	pñt'k'·aip'ĩ'ya' saw	tñqa'nivĩatsiaφĩ his own little cave (obj.),
uv ^w a'ñw therein	qa·ñi'p'ĩ'ya'. sat.	ĩ'v ^w aiyauq·u Then	uv ^w t'ñitux·w out of it
ts·pi'ñuĩ'ya'. emerged.	ĩ'v ^w aiyauq·u Then	nñwĩ'aai'yañw his (inv.) body (obj.)	pa ^a ·v't'aφĩ his own elder brother (obj.)
ta'c't'anti dawn (obj.)	uru'q·wa under it	ta'c't'aχa·nvi ant-hill (obj.)	u'v ^w a ^a ñ' on it
ǝ'v ^w aiyauq·u Then	pa'iyiq·w ^ǝ aip'ĩ'ya' went and returned	qa·n'vāntuγwauφĩ. to his own house.	

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an't'anj'ə "What he (inv.)	a'imt' always say	pa'v'n my elder brother	ujw, he (inv.)"	a'ip'īya', said,	qatcu'aq. "Not them (inan.)
itei' these (inan. obj.)	pñnt'k'aiva'əḡwa'a shall look at (neg.),'	a'iza', saying?"	a'ip'īya' said	cna'ḡwaḡI coyote.	
ī'v'waiyauq'U Then	ma'v'īa'əḡw his (inv.) clothes (obj.)	ma'əno'q'U all (obj.)	pī'ni'n'nip'īya looked over;		
ḡni'za'aik'w while doing it (inv.)	pu'cu't'Uqwi'yan his (inv.) medicine (obj.)	U'pa'ḡUḡpīya'. untied.	ḡn'ḡUqwa'a- When he (inv.) did		
q'wa'əḡw it (inv.)	tiv'wi'ts. very	tuḡwa'r'ḡUḡpīya'. became dark.	'a'ik'w, "Oh!"	a'ip'īya' said	
cna'ḡwaḡI, coyote,	'i'tciyan "This (obj.) he	'a'imt' always say,	qatcu'əq' 'Not it	pñni'k'aiva'əḡwa' shall look at,'	
aiza'. saying."	ī'v'waiyauq'xU Then	naḡqa'p'īya'aiḡw heard him (inv.)	'ə'ə'ḡwḡz'u'ḡw his (inv.) roaring		
uv'a''ai there	watci'k'ai'naḡw. his (inv.) having been put.	ci'na'ḡwaḡI Coyote	wa'a'ḡip'īya' yelled		
naḡqa'tsiq'w, having heard it (inv.),	ya'n, "Here (I) am,"	'a'ip'īya', said,	ma'va'ac "in that same	ari' it (obj.)	
tḡḡa'niv'atsiəḡi, own little cave (obj.),"	a'ip'īya'. said.	ə'v'waiyauq'U Then	cna'ḡwaḡI coyote		
qu'qwi'p'īya shot,	A'ta'q'wətsi crow (obj.)	wa'ci'yai'əḡw his (inv.) feathers (obj.)	u'mA there- with	uru'q'wanti' feathered arrow (obj.)	
qu'qwi'p'īya'. shot.	'ḡn'ḡUqwa'əḡw When he (inv.) did	tiv'wi't very	tuḡwa'r'ḡUḡpīya'. became dark.		

i'v ^w aiyauq·u Then	ma ^a ni'n·t all	wa'ct'yav feathers	ar they (inan.)	tu'p ^w t'k·upī'ya' gave out,	
ma·ri'c·amp only that	anqa'q·wa ^a nanj'wantsi red-shafted flicker ²⁸ (obj.)		anj' he	wa'ct'yaa·ŋ' his feathers	
piya'ipī'ya'. were left.	i'v ^w aiyauq·əq·w Then it (inv.)	cna'ŋwafī coyote		qu'qwt'p·ī'ya'aik·w shot it (inv.)	
tu·yu'ntux·wa. upward.	ŋi'ŋuqwa'aq·wa'anjw When he (inv.) did it (inv.)		tca ^x pī'nkiŋupī'gain·t' became clear-like in appearance,		
si'na'ŋwafī coyote	cuwa'ī'pī'ya'. was glad.				
i'v ^w aiyauq·u Then	pīv ^w a'anjwafī whereat his own him (inv.)	watcī'k·aina having put		u'raip·ī'ya. went towards it.	
'uv ^w a'antux wpi'γ To that former (obj.)	ŋnt'ŋuts· having done,	qatc not	ŋnt'ts then	u'v ^w a there	'a·vī'p·ī'ā' ^a lay (neg.)
pa·vi'ya ^a ŋ his elder brother (obj.)	anj' he	nŋwī' ^a . body.	ə'v ^w aiyauq·' Then	cna'ŋwafī coyote	
na·mpu'c·a·γaip·ī'ya' looked for tracks,	qatcu''uq·w not it (inv.)	maa'ip·ī'ya'. found.		pina'ŋqwasampaq·w But soon it (inv.)	
ŋnt'zai·c·u again doing	maa'ip·ī'ya. found.	o'x·pa'anjw Through yonder him (inv.)		na·ntī'napi'ya' tracked	
cīna'ŋwav coyote	anj' he	pa·vi'av his own elder brother (obj.);	ŋnt'ts· then	qa·nt'' house (obj.)	maa'ip·ī'ya'. found.
'aa'ik·w, "Oh!"	a'ip·ī'ya', said,	wa·a'iyuntk·aitcuajw "two traveling, it turns out, (inter.) he (inv.),		m·wari'aq', that it,"	
a'ip·ī'ya' said	na·mpī'n'ini·i'za'. while looking around for tracks.	ə'v ^w aiyauq·u Then		tu·γwa'r'ŋupī'ya became dark,	

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yni'ts then	qə'ʔip'īya'.	yni'ts	ə'no't·A'ctanqu	cina'- coyote
	all went to sleep.	Then	when was early dawn	
ŋwav he	u ^x qwa'iyanaɣw'aip'īya'.	yni'ts·	ma ^a no'qə	all (obj.)
	went to get wood.	Then		
ma ^a vi' plants (obj.)	tiv ^w i'ŋupīya,	'imi'nteu	aro'' ^a	qu'pa'raɣavac' being wont to pop in burning?"
	asked,	("You (inter.)	are	
a'ip'īya' said	cina'ŋwafɪ.	qa'teu,	a'ik ^x pīya'	cu'yuc one
	coyote.	"No,"	said (pl.),	
yni'ts then	pi'yai'pīya'.	cina'ŋwafɪ	tiv ^w i'ŋupīya'aik ^w ,	asked it (inv.),
	was left.	Coyote		
i'm "You	'a ⁿ i'avac',	a'ip'īya'	cina'ŋwafɪ.	nī'' "I
	accustomed to	said	coyote.	do what?"
	do what?"			
qu'pa'raɣavac', (am) wont to pop in burning,"	a'ip'īya	əɣontava'c-up'ī.		
	said	dried-up fir.		
iv ^w aiyauqu	cina'ŋwav	a'ŋ'	ma ^a no'q·	um ^w a'nti thereof (obj.)
Then	coyote	he	all (obj.)	
iyə'napīya'. carried in arms.	yni'tsiq ^w	na'a'it'u'ip'īya		uru'c that (inan.)
	Having done it (inv.)	made fire;		
yni'ŋuts· then	qu'pa'raɣap'īya'.	muru''va ^a ntu'ɣwami,	a'ip'īya',	said,
	popped in burning.	"On to your blankets!"		
qo'na "fire,	pa ^a vi'ni,	a'ip'īya'	cina'ŋwafɪ.	iv ^w aiyauqu Then
	my elder brother,"	said	coyote.	
pa ^a vi'yan his elder brother	aŋ'	tə'mp't'n'a·p'īya'	tī'ŋwini	aŋa'c. he.
	he	doubled up legs	quickly	
cina'ŋwafɪ Coyote	maa'ip'īya'aiŋw	mauma''utsi'	pa ^a vi'av	aŋ' he elder brother (obj.)
	found her (inv.)	woman (obj.)	his own	
pi'iywa'i'. wife (obj.).	'an'tan	'a'ik ^x	a'ip'īya'	cina'ŋwafɪ. coyote.
	"That I	said,"	said	

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ĩ'v ^w aiyauq·u Then	pa ^a vi'an his elder brother	a'ŋ' he	a'ip·ĩ'ya, said,	ĩ'v ^w 'ca' ^a "Go ahead!
cna'ŋwaφi coyote,	tĩna ^a 'a'χwa' ^a . go to hunt."		'y·'mai', "Yes,"	a'ip·ĩ'ya' said
cna'ŋwaφi coyote.	ĩ'v ^w aiyauq· Then	o'x·pa ^a p·ĩ'ya through yonder went,	uv ^w there	ŋn'ŋuts then
a'·ya'm'wci'a·vɪp·ĩ'ya' lay in hiding;		pina'ŋqwa soon	pa ^a vɪ'yan his elder brother	a'ŋ' he
tĩna ^a 'a'χwa'aip·ĩ'ya'. went to hunt.	ĩ'v ^w aiyauq·u Then		cina'ŋwav coyote	a·tcĩ'auφĩ his own bow (obj.)
ma·χɔ'p·t'nap·ĩ'ya'. broke.	ŋnt's· Then	paiyü'ŋupĩ'ya' started back	qa·ni' house (obj.)	'u'ra'. toward.
ĩ'v ^w aiyauq·w Then	a'ip·ĩ'ya', said,	pa ^a vi'teuan' "My elder brother (inter.)	u'ŋA he (inv.)	qĩma'q·uc·u another (obj.)
qa'te not	atci'a'a, has (neg.)	a'ip·ĩ'ya', said;	nĩ'nianteĩ "mine (perf.)	αRĩ it
'a ^a tcĩ'ni my bow	qɔ'pɔ'q·w, break,"	a'ip·ĩ'ya' said	cna'ŋwaφi. coyote.	qa·tcu'a'ŋ' "Not he
qĩma'q·uc·u another (obj.)	'atci'a'a has (neg.) bow	pa ^a vi'm your elder brother	u'ŋWA, he (inv.),"	a'ip·ĩ'ya' said
maŋa'e·u that	mauma''uts woman	aŋ'. she.	'y·'mai "Yes,"	'a'ip·ĩ'ya' said
uv ^w a ^a 'anti'γw'anw To there he (inv.)	wĩ'na'i'ipĩ'ya'aiŋ threw her (inv.) down		tiv ^w 'p·ĩv ^w a ^a ntux·wA on to ground;	
ŋnt'ŋsüŋw having done to her (inv.)	yɔ·χɔ'm'map·ĩ'ya'aiŋw. kept copulating with her (inv.).		u'niCampan "Enough me	q·ni, do!"

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a'ip'ĩya' said	ma'uma'uts woman	aj' she.	qa'tc, "No,"	a'ip'ĩya' said	cina'ñwaɸI. coyote.
añac She	ɔ'v'waiyauq·u then	mauma''uts woman	aj' she	ciya'vĩ quaking asp (obj.)	'u'raip'ĩya moved towards,
yni'ts then	yna'ªγtt·uγwap'ĩya went into it;	yni'ñuts· then		cina'ñwav coyote	añ' he
ciavĩ quaking asp (obj.)	u'ma thereon	pa'tca'a p'ĩya'. was fastened.			
pina'ñqw Soon	tĩw'a'ts wolf	aj' he	pi'pi'tcipĩya. arrived.	yni'ts Then	añac·u he
cina'ñwav coyote	a'ñ' he	a'ip'ĩya', said,	pa'ªvi't·ñ ²⁹ "My dear elder brother,	iyana'ñtcanI I have been here	
ci'avĩ quaking asp (obj.)	'a'na'ªx· therein	pa'tca''a', be fastened,"	a'ip'ĩya' said.	pina'ñqwa Soon	
a'ĩz'uñwa his (inv.) saying	añac·u he	tĩw'a'ts wolf	aj he	'ĩ't·a mpaªqap'ĩya'in't'. grew tired of.	
ɔ'v'waiyauq·u Then	ts qa'p't'nap'ĩya'aik·w cut it (inv.) off		wi'a'iyañw his (inv.) penis (obj.)	ci'na'ñwavt. coyote (obj.).	
ɔ'v'waiyauq·u Then	cina'ñwav coyote	a'ip'ĩya', said,	pa'ªvi'ni "My elder brother,	w'a'p'ĩ'təp'its· short-penisid	
qa'iva'ªc·ampant'·z'a'a, I shall be satisfied, then, merely,"		a'ip'ĩya' said	cina'ñwaɸI. coyote.	ĩ'v'waiyauq·u Then	
tĩw'ats· wolf	pa'ªno'ªγw'aít'ui'p'ĩya'aiñw. caused him (inv.) to go to carry water.		γ'maj', "Yes,"	a'ip'ĩya' said	
cina'ñwaɸI. coyote.	o'o'pa'a Off yonder	pa'ªno'ªγw'aip'ĩya. went to carry water.		yni'ñuts· Then	

TRANSLATION.¹

Wolf and his brother dwelt there. When it was early in the morning, Wolf sang, "Go ahead, now! Go to our aunt and ask for grass seeds.² What are you doing, lying down and looking?" "All right," said Coyote, "you are waking up now, but I have been awake long ago, ever since it was early morning." Coyote started off towards his aunt's house, on his way to ask for grass seeds. To her there he went and arrived at his aunt's house. His aunt was not there in her house, only her two sons were sitting there in her house. "Where is your mother?" said Coyote. "She has gone to gather seeds," said the two sons of Grizzly Bear; "she will come back soon," thus they said.

Coyote waited, lying down there in her house, and soon his aunt arrived. His aunt said, "Soon you will eat mush," thus said his aunt. "Affer instrumentum meum masturbationis³ quod ibi jacet," said his aunt, and the children gave their mother instrumentum ejus masturbationis. Their mother took it and lay on her back. Coyote saw her and said, "My aunt, let me do it for you by means of this,⁴ my auntie," said Coyote, et cum amita sua copulavit. "Enough!" said his aunt. "No," said Coyote, and Grizzly Bear put her claws into his back flesh. "Enough!" said Coyote. "No," said Grizzly Bear. Coyote got up quickly and ran off. Grizzly Bear arose and said, "Look at Coyote's back."

Coyote returned home and lay down on his back, did not allow (Wolf) to see it. His elder brother killed a young deer and brought home his back flesh. Coyote was ashamed and did not allow his back to be seen, but Wolf knew. Then he caused him to sleep, and Coyote rolled over towards him. "Did I not say so?" said Wolf. When (Coyote) rolled over, there was no back flesh of his there; in its place (Wolf) fastened on the back flesh (that he had obtained). Thereupon Coyote's back flesh again became as it had been.

Then Wolf again sang, "Go on! proceed again to her and carry this liver for her to eat. Then, having killed her, all things of her house whereon she has been accustomed to look, all her things shall you carry off on your back, having killed her," said Wolf. "Yes," said Coyote. And then Coyote walked along towards his aunt's house. Now he arrived there where were her sons—there the two of them were staying in their mother's house. "Here," said Coyote, "is your uncle's liver which he says you are to eat." The two boys ate it and fell asleep. Coyote killed both of them, and then caused them to appear to be sleeping.

After a while their mother arrived home. Then she said, "Affer meum instrumentum masturbationis quod ibi jacet!" Thereupon Coyote said, "They are sleeping," said he, and of his own accord gave it to her. "Here," said Coyote, "is this liver." And then Grizzly Bear ate the liver and fell asleep. (When) she got up, she jumped and reached for Coyote. Coyote dodged quickly, and then he killed her. All her things he gathered together, butchered her, and hung up her bladder on a bush.

And then he remembered (what Wolf had told him). Thereupon all her things he carried away on his back, and those things of hers were (piled up) like a plateau. And then he started off with them on his back and walked along for a short distance, when he remembered that bladder which he had hung up. So he went back along the same road, and reached for it. And then the bladder fell down to the ground, whereupon Coyote said, "Why don't you get a leg?" said Coyote. "Walk!" he said, "act like a person!" said Coyote. He went for his bow and brought it back (with) his arrows. And then he shot his arrows at it (till) they were all used up. Then he struck at it with his bow. Then he let it go and started off back towards (his things).

Coyote heard the bladder talking, "I will go to call my children to help." "All right," said Coyote, and then started back towards his house. He arrived at his house, whereupon Coyote said, "Just one thing did I forget of her belongings," said Coyote. Then Wolf said, "Go ahead! go and hang yourself with your feet downward." Coyote said, "All right," and went off in yonder direction. Then he hung himself on a cedar branch, remained hanging for one day. Then he started off for home, and arrived at his house. And then early in the morning Wolf sang; Wolf said, "Go ahead, Coyote! Go and hang yourself again." "All right," said Coyote, and went off in that same direction. Then in that same place he hung himself, and again for one day remained hanging. And then he started off for home when it was evening, and arrived at his house.

Always Coyote kept on doing thus. After that Coyote obtained sticks for arrows from a service-berry bush. He started to return towards his house, arrived at his house, and threw the arrow sticks down in a pile. And then Wolf picked the arrow sticks up in a hurry, pulled off their bark, and made a shirt for Coyote, from the outer bark he made a shirt for him. And then for himself he made one from their inner bark, pulled it off. And those (sticks) then turned

into arrows, and then he fastened feathers on to them. Thereupon said Wolf, "Go ahead! go and hang yourself." "All right," said Coyote, and went off in that direction; there Coyote stayed. He asked all parts of his body, until only that was left—his tail. Then Coyote said, "You who are always coming after me, have you a mouth? What did my elder brother mean when he said, 'Go and hang yourself'?" His tail said, "You know about it, that indeed you always say. 'Go and hang yourself,' that is not what he really means. 'Go and get sticks for arrows,' that indeed he always says." "All right! stop talking! I know about it," said Coyote.

Thereupon Coyote obtained arrow sticks, very many of them he carried on his back, and came home to his house. Then his elder brother prepared arrows and made very many shirts with which they were to fight in battle. Now then Wolf sang in the morning, "Go ahead!" said Wolf, "O Coyote, go and hang yourself again," said Wolf. Coyote understood whereof he spoke; this time he did not hang, but gathered very many arrow sticks. Now then he saw lightning way off to the west from the edge of the land. "Oh!" said Coyote, "I wonder what that means that it appears thus!" said Coyote. "Why! I wonder if I am getting to be a medicine-man!"⁵ said Coyote. "I have always been a medicine-man," said Coyote.

And then Coyote returned home, ran along, and arrived at his house. Then Coyote said, "I have seen lightning," said Coyote, but his elder brother understood that lightning very well. Thereupon his elder brother said, "Go on! go and get arrow sticks." "All right," said Coyote. Coyote went off in that direction, there he gathered arrow sticks. Once again did Coyote see lightning. Coyote jumped a big distance, and then Coyote returned home, ran along. Now he was frightened; Coyote arrived at his house. "Oh, my elder brother! near at hand now have I seen lightning."

And then his elder brother said, "Coyote, go ahead! go once more to get arrow sticks," he said. "All right," said Coyote, and went off in yonder direction. Then at that place he gathered arrow sticks. Now then lightning got to be very near. In a hurry Coyote started home, and arrived at his house. "Oh!" said Coyote, "what are you doing, lying down and looking? That is not how you should act." Although he was about to be attacked (by enemies), that Wolf kept lying down. And then into a cave the two of them escaped.

And then Wolf said, "Go ahead, you! go and fight!" said Wolf.

"All right," said Coyote. "It is not you on whom I depend. You will be acting like that when I go out to fight." Thereupon Coyote put on a light gray (shirt) and came out of the cave. "Oh, it is Wolf," said the children of Rain. "It is not Wolf, it is Coyote," said some among them. Coyote jumped over the canyon, and returned through the same way.

And then Coyote said, "Go ahead! do you now go and fight!" "All right," said Wolf. "You shall not look at what I do, you shall keep your eyes covered." "All right," said Coyote. And then Coyote lay down, while his elder brother put on a very good (shirt)—blue it was, and he looked like a soldier. And then he came out from the cave. "Oh, that one it is," said the children of Rain. Wolf shot at this end of the line, and then that (end) was mowed down. Then he shot also at the other end of the line, and in the same way it fared with them—they were mowed down. Now Coyote was looking at his elder brother. "Oh!" he said, "those (clothes) it is that my elder brother has been hiding from me. Would that he would get shot!" thought Coyote to himself. Sure enough Coyote's elder brother was killed. "Oh!" said Coyote, "my elder brother has been killed," said he. The other people took off all his clothes.

And then they all returned home. "Right there in his cave let Coyote die!" said they, and then they left Coyote in the cave. Then they returned home. As they were journeying along, dancing took place; all the clothes they threw on them—on two old women the clothes they always threw, Wolf's clothes. When it was morning the two old women, their mothers, went into the dance.

Now then Coyote said, "Let me go and bring my elder brother's clothes!" said Coyote. So then Coyote proceeded in their tracks; exceedingly lean was Coyote. And then, "Right here I shall put away bow and arrow," said Coyote. Thereupon he did so, the bows in several places along the trail Coyote put down. While on his way, following in the track, Coyote became fat. He nearly caught up with them at the camps that they had just occupied; the fires were burning yet in several places. "Oh!" said Coyote, and then proceeded on his way, following in the traveled track. And then Coyote said, "I wonder what it is that makes this so," said Coyote, "right here at this little divide!" said he.

Now then all parts of his body Coyote set to asking. He asked his ear, "What is it that makes this so?" said Coyote. Thereupon his ear fluttered, but did not talk. (He asked other parts of his body

until) only that tail of his was left. Thereupon Coyote said, "Have you a mouth, you that always come behind me?" said he. And then his tail said, "You are one that knows about it, that indeed you always say." And then Coyote's tail said, "This, whereof you say, 'This little divide there,' is the work of two old women," said his tail. "The old women are always saying, 'Yonder in his cave let him die!' say those two old women." And then Coyote said, "That's enough, my tail! I knew it all," said he.

And then Coyote proceeded on his way, following along in the traveled trail. Then he saw how two old women at yonder divide were hitting the ground several times with their canes. Thus they were saying, "Over there let Coyote die with his crying," said the two old women. Now Coyote watched them from his hiding place as they were doing thus; he was very angry as he saw them. "I shall cause you two to die," said Coyote. And then Coyote started off in another direction away from the trail; when far away, he came back to it far in front of the two old women.

Coyote acted as though looking for tracks. "Oh!" said the two old women, "you are acting like Coyote," said they. "Oh!" said Coyote, "what is it that this means?" said he. Thereupon the two old women said, "This means that they have just killed Coyote's older brother; but him, Coyote, they have left at that same place yonder." And then Coyote said, "Ha, I would have killed him. What did you two let Coyote go for?" said Coyote. And then Coyote said, "Over there I have left my children, and now I am about to return," said he.

And then Coyote started for home and hid from them at the divide. And then the two old women again did as they had done, and Coyote killed them. All of their bones he shook out; deinde *Canis suum penem gummis infixit per cutem unius feminae*, whereupon she appeared just as before. And then into one woman Coyote went himself. Both of them went along on the traveled trail and arrived at the camp. "Oh! it looks like Coyote with our mother's skin put on himself," (said the children of Rain). "You are always teasing me," (said Coyote). And then the two old women arrived, and much they ate. "Oh! it looks like Coyote with our mother's skin put on himself. See how fast they eat." "We are tired of what you keep saying about us, calling us by that Coyote's name. Indeed we always act in this way when we are journeying a long distance; when very hungry, we are wont to eat quickly."

And then, when it was evening, the round dancing took place.

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Those two old women were sitting nursing babies, and then all of them they killed. Then, when it was early morning the two old women went into the round dance. And then two very good runners stood opposite them. Now those clothes of Wolf fell on them, the two old women. Coyote jumped on to her two children⁶ and said, "Let my skin be on them!" And then those two children got to have on themselves that same skin of the two old women. Thereupon Coyote ran as hard as he could, very far on his way was he.

And they said, "That is what I said, it is Coyote," said they, and gave chase to him. Coyote started to give out; over a little mountain ridge he ran close ahead of them. Then he was no longer visible there; they hunted for him at that place, but did not find him. Thereupon one of them said, "Perhaps it is this one," as he kicked some old dog excrement. Coyote yelled out. Having jumped way off, he ran as fast as he could, and they gave chase to him. It happened to Coyote as before. Over a little ridge he ran and barely escaped; he turned into a gopher pile. It happened to them as before. They hunted for him there but could not find him, when one of them said, "Perhaps it is this one," and kicked the gopher pile. Again Coyote jumped far off and again they gave chase to him.

Again Coyote did as before. This time he turned into wind; and then they hunted for him but could not find him. Then they said, "Let us cause snow to fall," so then it snowed very much. And then Coyote went into a little cave. Very much snow had fallen, and Coyote went out to see how deep it was. After a while he was unable to get out. Rat was living therein. "Oh!" said Coyote, "my friend Rat, give me some of your tinder,"⁷ said he. "All right," said Rat, and gave him some of his tinder. And then Coyote built a fire, and, after he had done so, he began to imitate Rat's squeaking. And then he killed Rat and ate him up.

He went into a little shell and started to call his own wind. The wind then arrived; in this direction it went, carrying him over the snow. Yonder (his shell) stopped. He kept calling upon (his wind), yet despite his words (his shell) did not move. And then Coyote saw his own little cave, therein it was sitting. And then he came out of it. Thereupon before daybreak he put his elder brother's body on an ant-hill. And then he went back to his house.⁸

"What does my elder brother mean," said he, "when he says, 'Do not look at these things?'" said Coyote. And then he looked over all of (Wolf's) clothes, while engaged with them he untied (Wolf's)

medicine. As soon as he had done so, it got to be very dark. "Oh!" said Coyote, "this is what he means when he says, 'Do not look at them.'" And then he heard (Wolf) howling there where he had put him. Coyote shouted when he heard it, "Here I am," said he, "in that same place, that little cave of mine." Then Coyote shot, he shot an arrow feathered with a crow's feathers. As soon as he had done so, it got to be very dark. Now all the feathers gave out, except that the flicker's feathers were left over. Then Coyote shot the (arrow) up in the air. As soon as he had done so, it cleared up and Coyote was glad.

And then he went towards where he had put (Wolf). He came there but, having done so, he did not find his elder brother's body there. So then Coyote hunted for tracks but did not find them. But after a while, continuing his search, he found them. Going in yonder direction, Coyote tracked his elder brother; and then he found a house. "Oh!" said he, "it looks as though there are two. Look at that!" said he, as he looked around for tracks. And then it got dark and they all went to sleep. Then, when it was early morning, Coyote went to get wood. And all kinds of wood he asked, "Are you one that pops always when you burn?" said Coyote. "No," said they, until only one was left. Coyote asked it, "What are you accustomed to do?" said Coyote. "I am one that is accustomed to pop when burning," said a dried-up fir.

And then Coyote took along all that he could carry of it in his arms. Then he built a fire of it, whereupon that popped. "On to your blankets! Fire, my elder brother!" said Coyote. Thereupon his elder brother quickly doubled up his legs (that he had had stretched out). (In this way) Coyote found the woman, his brother's wife. "That is what I said," said Coyote.

And then his elder brother said, "Go ahead! Coyote, go hunting." "All right," said Coyote. So then he went off in yonder direction, and then he lay there in hiding. Soon after his brother went out hunting. Thereupon Coyote broke his bow and started home toward the house. And then he said, "Has not my elder brother another bow? My bow broke," said Coyote. "Your elder brother has not another bow," said the woman. "All right," said Coyote, and right there on the ground he threw her down. *Deinde cum ea copulavit.* "Stop doing thus to me!" said the woman. "No," said Coyote. So then that woman moved towards a quaking asp, and then she went into it. Then Coyote was left fastened to the quaking asp.

After a while Wolf arrived home, and then Coyote said, "My dear elder brother, here am I fastened in the quaking asp," said he. Not long after he spoke, Wolf got tired of it et tum penem Canis absceidit. Deinde Canis dixit, "mi frater, satis me habeam ita brevem penem habere," inquit. And then Wolf told him to go and carry water in a water-jar on his back. "All right," said Coyote, and off in yonder direction he went to carry water on his back. And then he turned back and arrived at the house. And when he was about to take off the water-jar (and put it on the ground), he could not take it off—it was fastened to his back. "Let me, then, be wont always to do in this manner merely, just carrying a water-jar always on my back," said Coyote.

And then Wolf said, "Go ahead! go and carry wood on your back." "All right," said Coyote, and off yonder he went for wood to carry on his back. And then he carried wood between (his back and) water-jar. He arrived at the house; now that wood would not come off his back. "Let me, then, have 'Wood-carrier' as name," said Coyote. And then he set fire to it, and Coyote burned up together with it.

	2. Po'p'a'q-w	ya·ya'p'ī	ti ^x qa'η'wip'ī.	
	How it	OF CRY	HAVING ARISEN.	
wī't-uc·	i'φα	tiv ^w a' ³¹	tanti'v ^w aip'a'	
Long ago	far off	down	in distant west	
ma·n'ō'q·xōpantc'pa'a'vūw		am'	nara'q·wüntcump'pī'ya'.	
all sorts of animals		they	assembled together.	
uv ^w a·i'	wa'ixpī'ya'.	maṇa'cu	cīna'ηwaw	aṇ' a'ip·ī'ya',
There	had a council.	That one	coyote	he said,
aṣa'n·iṣaiam	'a·n'·mi'	ta·ηwa'iy	aṇ ³²	nūwī'a·ηwaranwa
"How doing	always	of us	they	our people
they	do			
ma·nu'n·t	tcāwu'k·xqwa·tṣa', ³³		a'ip·ī'ya'	cina'ηwafī.
all	dying off?"		said	coyote.
iv ^w ī'raṇw	pa'm·anīn·t'	na·ra'q·wītcumpava'.		ūnī'ṇuts·
"Let us	quite all	shall assemble together		Then
ya·ya'ηq' qōiḵa·va·am'		u'·u'm ^w ī'	tcāju'k·xqwa'tcīm ^w ī'.	
shall (pl.) cry ahead		them	dying off (pl. obj.)."	
for them				

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um^wa'vac· o'u na·ra'q·wɪtcumpapī'ya' ma·nī'va·ntip·a'atsɪvɪŋw
Just there really assembled together all about to be animals

am'. na·ra'q·wɪntcumpanumūte 'ɔqai' uv^wi't·u^xqwap·ī'ya'
they. After having assembled (past) sang (pl.) songs.
together

maŋac· ī'v^waiyauq·u cina'ŋwav aŋ a'ip·ī'ya',
That one then coyote he said,

ī'v^wi'ni nī' qa·ʒa'·'ava'. ɸ·'maī', a'ik·'pī'ya'.
"Let me I shall begin to "Yes," said (pl.).
sing."

cina'ŋwav aŋ o'o cu'q·uc· uv^wt'amantiaφī qa·ʒa'·'pī'ya'.
Coyote he so one (obj.) of his own songs began to sing.

u^mw'a'campa'a', ma'ik·'pī'ya'ainw. qa'tc, a'ip·ī'ya'
"Only that you," said (pl.) to him. "No," said

cina'ŋwafɪ, qīma'q·ucun qaʒa'·'ava'·c, a'ip·ī'ya'.
coyote, "another (obj.) shall again said.
still I begin to sing,"

ī'v^waiyauq·ucū'u qīma'q·uc· qa·ʒa'·'pī'ya' tīv^wi'ts at·t
So then again another (obj.) began to sing very good
again (obj.)

uv^wi'aiauφī. cina'ŋwav iŋA na·va'cu cītca'ŋwaip·ī'ya'aim'
his own song Coyote this for fun fooled them
(obj.).

na·mī'ʒaʒa·n·av u'ma.
his own first therewith.
beginning to sing

uv^waiyauq·w ɔ'ip·ī'ya' cina'ŋwafɪ, īv^wi'ya·q·'
Then said coyote, "Go ahead
(pl.)

ma·n·īn·t' pampa'n'na·q·'qwo'a tīv^wt'p·īaiyanumI
all go off and return (pl.) your lands (obj.)

uv^wa'·'antux·w pu^vw'a'iyəŋunwɪ ɸnt'k·ipī'yaŋumI. ɸ·'maī',
thereto whence you you did hither." "Yes,"

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a'ik'anup'ïya'	ma'n'in't'	na'ntca'p'uruip'ïya'	
said (pl.)	all,	scattered apart	
tiv'w'p'ïaq'ayaφï	u'u'ra'.	marī'c'u	piv'w'a'iyuam
their own lands (obj.)	towards them.	that	whereat their
ar	kia'q'qain'	tümp'w'i't-r'qan'w'p'ïya'.	unt'ts
it	having danced (pl.)	turned to stone.	Then
um'w'an'tmananqwa	po'vō'ʼəyaip'ïya	'i'tcuwaiyu	po'p'a'q'w
from that	became trails;	in this way	how it
ya'ya'p'ï	t-r'qan'w'p'.	a'in'	nanqa'q'aip'ini.
of cry	having arisen.	That (is) my	what I heard.

TRANSLATION.⁹

(HOW THE "CRY" ORIGINATED)

Long ago way down in the far western country all sorts of animals were assembled together. There they had a council. That Coyote said, "For what reason is it that our people are all dying off?" said he. "Let us, every one of us, assemble together, and then let us cry for those who are dying off." There indeed were assembled together every kind of animal that was to be.¹⁰ After they had assembled together, they commenced singing songs.

Thereupon that Coyote said, "Let me begin the singing." "All right," said they. So Coyote began the singing of one of his songs. "Enough for you!" they said to him. "No," said Coyote, "I shall begin the singing of still another one," said he. Then again he began the singing of another one, a very good song of his. This Coyote had been fooling them just for fun with the song that he had first sung.

And then Coyote said, "Go ahead! all of you go back home, each to your own land, to there whence each of you has come." "All right," said they all, and scattered off towards their own lands. That place where they had danced turned into stone, and then from it trails arose in all directions. It is in this way that the Cry has come to be. That is what I have heard.

3. Mauma'q'ə:m'ɪ'p'ɪ'		po:p'a'a	tɪ'qa'ŋ'wɪp'ɪ.		
OF BEAR-DANCE		HOW	HAVING ARISEN.		
wa'n'aiφpitsɪw	tiv'ɪ'te	'at'ɪ	na-rɪ'γiv'wɪγ'antimw		
Two youths	very	good	being friends to each other;		
uru'an'ump'ɪ'γa'.	u'v'waiyauq'U	ya'a'ɪŋq'w'əip'ɪ'γa'aim'	na'ŋwa''a		
always were.	Then	they (2) went out to hunt	with each other;		
u'v'wa'm'	qwtcu'v'wari	u'ma	qa'ri'p'ɪ'γaaaim'.	u'v'waiyauq'.	
there they	knoll (obj.)	thereon	they (2) sat.	Then	
tɪ'γɪ'v'ɪŋw	a'ip'ɪ'γa',	nɪ'	ɪ'γɪr	nə'nə's'ɪ'	qwtɪya'teɪtɪ-
his friend	said,	"I	indeed	dream	having turned
qan'wɪts,	a'ip'ɪ'γa'	tɪ'γɪ'v'w'ɪŋw.	ɪv'wɪn	u'n'ɪŋuts.	
into grizzly bear,"	said	his friend.	"Let me	then	
qwtɪya'tsɪ	an'	qa'nɪ'	'ana.'a'γɪt-u'wampa'	imin	ɪn'ɪŋuts.
grizzly bear (obj.)	he	house (obj.)	shall go into;	you me	then
qatcu ³⁴	nɪni	tɪni'ava.'aŋwa'ainɪ	tiv'wɪ'ŋUqwat-u'ɔ'c'ampān		
not me	me	shall tell (neg.) on me,	even if they (indef.) ask about me		
'əqɪ'	qatcun	tɪni'ava.'aŋwa'ainɪ.	ɪn'ɪ'ts	ɔ'nə't'a'm-ar'uiŋqu	
(past)	not me	shall tell (neg.) on me.	Then	when it turns to early spring	
w'a'p-uməntɪ	wɪ'xqa'vinava'	ɪn'ɪŋutsɪq'w		ɪm'w'ɔ'ntɪ'	
being from cedar (obj.)	shall cut off (one),	having done it		being therefrom (obj.)	
wɪ'γ'əŋqɪ'n'ava'	ɪn'ɪŋuts	'ə-ra'va'	tiv'wɪ'p'ɪ	ɪna.'a'γɪt'ɪ'	
shall cut notches;	then	shall dig	ground (obj.)	into it,	
nɪ'	'ɪn'ɪ'ts	ɔ'v'waiyauq'.	pɪ'p'ɪ'tcu'v'a'ntɪ	'ɪ'p'mai,	
I	then	thereupon	being about to begin to arrive."	"Yes,"	
a'ip'ɪ'γa'	tɪ'γɪ'v'w'ɪŋw,	nɪ'	o'p'a'	an'va'nɪ	imi
said	his friend,	"I	in that manner	shall do	of you

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a'í'namI, your saying,"	a'íp'í'ya' said	tí'í'v'w'í'w. his friend.	í'v'waiyauq. Then	añac' he
tí'í'v'w'í'w his friend	a'í'j' he	ma·n·ó'q'·oq'· all (obj.) of it	ma·a'·v'í'zəfí his own clothes (obj.)	tca ^x qo'ítcap'í'ya'. took off.
í'v'w'í'n' "Go ahead me!	pí'nt'k'ain' look at me	ní' I	ma·n·a'·γ't·u·γwanquní as I go into that	qwt'ya'tsi grizzly- bear's
qa·ní'. house (obj.)."	í'v'waiyauq. Then	ai'γaic·u after saying	pa·γa'in ^y ·qwt'p'í'ya' went off	
qwt'ya'tsinqa·n·t grizzly-bear house (obj.)	'u'ra'. toward.	unt'ηuts Then	una· ^a ·γ't·u·γwanupí'ya'. went into it.	
ma·c·u That one	tí'í'v'w'í'w his friend	əŋ' he	ma·va'·c' just there	qa·rí'·ya' sitting after a while
pa'iyiq·wə'əip'í'ya'. went and returned.	í'v'w'í' "Go ahead!	u ^x qwai' that (obj.)	ní'ni of me	tí'í'v'w'í'aní my friend (obj.)
o'p'a' in that way	'a·n't'q'·wə'ainu, go off and do!"	a'íp'í'ya' said,	p't'c'pí'ya' arrived	qa·n't'va'. at house.
pinaŋqw After a while	o'v'waiyauq·u then	cuwa'ruγk· ^x pí'ya'ainw commenced to miss (pl.) him	a'í'f'p'itsi youth (obj.)	ŋa'í'. ³⁵ this (obj.).
tí'v'w'í'a·ŋ ³⁶ His friend (obj.)	ə'v'waiyauq·u then	tí'v'w'í'ŋuqwa·p'í'γaa'í'yan', asked (pl.) him,	imi'ntcu'a·ŋ' "You (inter.) him	
p'í'ni'k'ai'ujw see him	tí'í'v'w'í'a'm your friend (obj.)	u'ŋwa. he?	qatecu''uŋ Not he	í'ya'nunwa'a. is here (neg.).
cu·'warəa·ŋ'axain·t Perhaps (inter.) him	í'mí you	pa ^x qa'·ŋuqwa'ujw kill him off,	imi'ŋ'waia·ŋ with you	í'ŋqí indeed he

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'əq'i' (past)	ya'a'ijqw'əi'. goes to hunt."	qatcu''uŋw "Not him	ni' I	p'ŋni'ŋwa' see (neg.),"	a'ip'īya'. said.	
u'v ^w aiyauq·u Then	o'p' in that	a·n·t·p'īya' did	tīγī'v ^w iav of his own	uŋwa'i of him	friend	
a'ip'īya'aŋw. as he had said.	ʔo nu't·a·m·a'r'uiŋq·u When it turned to	maa'vī tree (obj.)	uma'nti' being there-		from (obj.)	
wi'yə'ŋqī·n'Λ ^x pīya'.	cut notches.	ə'v ^w aiyauq̄w Then	a'ik·a·ŋup'īya' said (pl.)			
qa nu'aγanti, being provided	a'ik·w "Oh!	qwt'aγantiraiw grizzly-bear us	ŋni'vitei·iranw, comes to attack		us,"	
a'ik· ^x Apīya' said (pl.)	mintə'n'nts. running away.	qatcu'i' "Not (pl.	mintə'n'ə·p', run away		(neg.),"	
a'ip'īγ said	a'ifputs youth	ŋA, this,	um ^w ə'ŋ "that one	anik·i does	nī'ni of me	a'ifΛ'- my
pīγariγīv ^w in', formerly-youth	a'ip'īya'. said.	ə'v ^w aiyauq̄· Then	q·mu'e·u they		friend,"	
mintə'n'nintem ^w running (pl.)	ən' they	mŋni'e kip'īya'. turned hither.	maŋac· That one	u'v ^w aiyauq·u then		
qwt'ya'tsiaiφAputs grizzly-bear youth	ŋ this	ov ^w a'.i' there	mauma'q̄·ə·n'auv ^w i't·u'pīya'. sang bear-dance songs.			
ma·ac· That one	ŋu't'ŋuts· then	qwi'yə'tsin·auma'uts grizzly-bear woman	ij' this	wi'ī'm'iap'īya'. danced back	and forth.	
u'v ^w aiyauq· Then	uv ^w a'·i' there	mauma'q̄·ə·ə'mip· bear-dance	aR it	tγa'ī'pīya took place;		
'i'teuv ^w ai' in this way	po'p·a'q·w how it	mauma'q̄·ə·miuv ^w t'avī' of bear-dance singing	po'p'·a' ^a how			
tīqa'ŋ'wəp'ī. having arisen.	ma'i That my	nŋni' ³⁷ of me	naŋqa'q·aip'ūni. what I heard.			

TRANSLATION.¹¹

(HOW THE BEAR DANCE ORIGINATED.)

Two youths were very good friends to each other. And then both of them went out to hunt; there the two of them sat on a knoll. And then one said to his friend, "I truly dreamt that I turned into a grizzly-bear," said he. "Now I will go into a grizzly-bear's den. And you shall not betray me; even if they ask about me, you shall not betray me. And then, when it has got to be early spring, you shall cut off a branch from a cedar, and, having done so, you shall cut notches into it. And then you shall dig into the ground, and thereupon I shall be arriving." "All right!" said his friend, "I shall do thus as you say," said his friend. Thereupon that friend of his took off all of his clothes. "Now look at me as I go into that Grizzly-bear den," and, having spoken thus, he went off towards the grizzly-bear den. And then he went right into it.

That friend of his, after sitting in that same place, went off home after a while. "To think of my friend going and doing thus!" said he, and arrived at the house. And then after a while they commenced to miss this young man. And then they asked his friend, "Did you see your friend? he is not here. Perhaps you have killed him; with you, truly, he went out hunting." "I did not see him," said he.

And then he did just as his friend had said. When it got to be early spring, he cut notches into the branch of a tree. Now the people of the camp said, "Oh! a grizzly bear is coming to attack us," said they as they ran away. "Do not run away," said this young man, "that one is my former young friend," said he. Thereupon they who were running away turned back. And then that grizzly-bear youth there sang bear-dance songs, while that grizzly bear woman danced back and forth. Now there took place the bear-dance, and this is how bear-dance songs arose. That is what I have heard.

4. THE ORIGIN OF PEOPLE.

í'φα	tiv'a'	mauma''acaγ'ois·	pa tei'ijw'aiφ
Far off	down west	old woman	with her daughter
qa ne'χaip'ĩγα'aim'.	ĩv'aiyaug·	qmts·	majac·
they two had house.	Thereupon	then	that one
mauma''acaγ'ois	aj'	a'ip'ĩγα',	ĩv'wi''ca'a
old woman	she	said,	"Go ahead!
			go to look for
			person,

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zwa'	unt'ηutsηw then him	ma-a'itsηw having found him,	imi'ηwa'aiηwa with you he	paiyt'k-tva'. shall come home."
ĩv'waiyauq. Thereupon	untts. then	maηac. that one	pa-tc'arη her daughter	arη' she through that direction
pu'ca'γaiχw'əip-ĩγa'. went to look for.		tiv'wi'p-ĩ Land (obj.)	'ai it (obj.)	ma-n'ə'q-əaq'. all (obj.) of it
pu'ca'γaip-ĩγaiyaq'. she looked over it,		qa-tc' not	nηwu'maip-ĩa' ^a found (neg.) person,	maηa'iacamp that one (obj.) only
o'wai'	cηna'ηwavy coyote (obj.)	arη' he	pĩni'k-ai-p-ĩγaiyaη'. saw him.	unt'ηut ³⁸ Then
ta'ci'p-anqwai'ix-u when it went off towards evening,		paiyt'k-wəip-ĩγa' went and returned	pi'p'tc'χw'ai-p-ĩγa' went and arrived	
qa-ni'va-aiηw at her house	pi'yaiyauφĩ. her own mother's.	ĩv'waiyauq-u Then	maηac. that one	piya-aiη her mother
arη' she	tiv'wi'ηup-ĩγaiyaη', asked her,	qatcu'ru' ^u "Not (inter.) you	nηwĩ'ntsiv'ĩnηwa' ^a see (neg.) person?"	
qatcu'anī, "Not I,"	a'ip-ĩγa' said	mauma''uts', woman,	u'w'waiya'campa'an' ³⁹ "him only I	
cηna'ηwavy coyote (obj.)	uη' he	pĩni'k-ai'ηw, see him,"	a'ip-ĩγa' said	maηac. that one
pa-tci'arη'. her daughter.	ĩv'wi''ca'anwaxa' ^a "Go ahead, then, him	pa'iyt'χwaa'ηw go to call him	cηna'ηwavy coyote	
uη'. him."	u'mai "Yes,"	a'ip-ĩγa' said	patec'η her daughter	u'ηwa. she.
unt'ηuts. Then	'o'xpa-m-t'əp-ĩγa' through that direc- tion journeyed	cηna'ηwavy coyote (obj.)	uηwa he	qa-ni house

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'u'ra'. toward it.	uv ^w a There	p-t'ct:χw'aip-īγa went and arrived	uηwa'iac-u of him	qa-ni'va' at house
cina'ηwavi'. of coyote.	ī'v ^w aiyauq-w Then	a'ip-īγ said	u'warux-wa, to him,	nī'ni "Of me
uηwa she	piya'ni my mother	pa'iy'im', calls you,"	a'ip-īγa'. said.	qa'tc, "Not,"
cina'ηwafi, coyote,	nī' "I	unt'va'ηwa', shall do (neg.),"	a'ip-īγa' said	cina'ηwafi. coyote.
nī'nia' "Me you	puηwa'ruv ^w a-n-tan', will make me wife,"	a'ip-īγa' said	mauma'uts. woman.	qa'tc "Not,
a'ik'an I said,	unt'va'ηwa', shall do,"	a'ip-īγa' said	cina'ηwafi. coyote.	ī'v ^w aiyauq-' Then
cina'ηwavi coyote	a'ip-īγa, said,	īv ^w i'n-uxa' ^a "Let me, then,	qu ^x qwiv ^w a-q-wa shall shoot it	si'ip-ī'a'm your urine (obj.)
'ḡai'. it.	ī'v ^w aiyauq-un Then I	unt'ηuts then	imi''ηw'aimpa' with you shall proceed	piyai'yam of your mother
u'ηwa she	qant house (obj.)	uv ^w a-ntux-wa, to it,"	a'ip-īγa' said	cina'ηwafi. coyote.
īv ^w i'χa' "Go ahead then,	uv ^w a'nu yonder	na-m-ī'χa'nintcuxwa' ^a first go and make a house,	ī'v ^w aiyauq-oq-wa' then it you	
'ḡai' will tamp it	ts-qur'uv ^w a-q-w will tamp it	cinī'mpīāni. ⁴⁰ my vulva."	u'-mai, "Yes,"	a'ip-īγa' said
cina'ηwafi. coyote.	'o'x-pa' In that direction	nu ^x qwi'ηqw'aip-īγa ran along,	unt'ηuts then	u'-v ^w a-nti' being there (obj.)
qa-ni'ntcuqup-īγa started to make a house,		unt'm-auq-up-īγai'iq-w. finished doing it.		ī'v ^w aiyauq-u Then
pīn'ηwīnq-īγa'aiηw stood watching for her,		pīn'k'ai-p-īγa'aiηw saw her		pa-na'ηqwaχo'ohw. as she came down.

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ĩv ^w aiyauq·u Then	a·vi't·t·ya·n·t'p·ĩya practiced lying down	uv ^w a'·uñwi therein	ka·n·t'ntcuq·wainafĩ. ⁴¹ his own house he had made.
uñ'ts Then	añac· she	ma·m·a'·uts̄ woman	añ she
			u'tu'e·uñwi'p·ĩyaian caused him to fall asleep
añ'a'iac him	cina'ñwavy coyote (obj.)	añ'· he.	ĩv ^w aiyauq· Then
			añac· he
			cina'ñwavy coyote
			añ he
A'pu'ĩ'pĩya slept,	añac· she	uñ'tñuts· then	ma·m·a'·uts̄ woman
			añ'· she
			añ'a'v'ana on him
pĩ'pĩ'teipĩya'· arrived.	t'·tsi'a·ñ' His head (obj.)	cina'ñwavy coyote's	añ'· he
			qa'n't'za- at
va·ntux·wa side	si'ĩ'p·ĩya' urinated,	cim ^w ·ĩ'xpi'yaian left him	ava'·ntuγwac·u at the same place
A'pu'izuañ'· (where) he was sleeping.	mi'γ̄o Far away	ti'qa'ñ'wits· having become	cuwa'p·tcut'·uip·ĩyaian·A. caused him to wake up.
mañac· That one	ĩv ^w aiyauq·u then	cina'ñwavy coyote	añ'· he
			cuwa'p·tcutp·ĩya'· awoke.
'aa'ik·w, "Oh!"	a'ip·ĩya, said,	aa'itcañw she	a·ya'x̄op̄ia·ñ' in what direction she?
			ivä'·n'ta·ñ'azain·t Surely she here was
wa ^x qĩ'k·i. come here."	ĩv ^w aiyauq·u Then	p̄ñt'k̄·aip·ĩya'aik·w saw it	si'ĩ'k̄·ai'nañwa what she had urinated;
uv ^w q'·uñwiñ ⁴² being therein (obj.)	ma·n·t'm'·yap·ĩya'· did thus to while moving.		
ĩv ^w aiyauq· Then	uñ'tñum̄zts· after doing so		ma·ri'·na ^x p̄ĩya'ainw pursued her,
wa'tcu'ñup·ĩya'ainw caught up with her,	uñ'tñuts· then	tca'a'ip·ĩya'ain caught hold of her,	uñ'tñuts·, then,
ĩv ^w ĩ'q̄·wzñt "Let me it	tōna'va'·q·w shall stab it	si'ĩ'p·ĩya'an, your urine,"	a'ip·ĩya' said

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cina'ηwαφI. coyote.	qa'tc', "No,"	a'ip'īγα' said	mam-a''uts; woman,	qa-ni'ntcuχwaaī', "go to make a camp,"	
a'ip'īγα'aiηw, said to him;	qatc "not	a'īφ now	A'pī'iva ηwa'a. shall sleep."	y'mai', "Yes,"	
cina'ηwαφI. coyote.	o'oxpa Through yonder way	NU*Qwi'ηq'wōip'īγαaic·U again ran along,	unt'ηuts then		
u'v'a·ntī being there (obj.)	qa-ni'ntcuPī'γαaic·U. again made a camp.	unt'ts Then	o'p'ac in that same way	a-ni'ηupi'γα did,	
A'pī'iq'wōip'īγα' went in order to sleep	qa-ni'ntcunūmūts·. after having finished the camp.	maηac· That one	mam-a''uts woman		
o'p'ac in that same way	a-ni'ηupi'γαia η'. did to him.	unt'ηuts Then	i'ī'tcī this (obj.)	aup'ac· in that same way	
a-ni'za' doing mother (obj.)	piya'iyav her own (obj.)	u'ηWA she (obj.)	qa-ni' house (obj.)	uv'a' there	pi'p'it'cixw'ōip'īγα'. went and arrived.
cina'ηwαv Coyote	aη he	aηa'vnaηqwaic· again behind her	ava' there	qanī't' house (obj.)	pi'tcixw'ōip'īγα'. went and arrived.
maηac· That one	ī'v'waiyauq·U thereupon	ma-m-a''ca ηwōitc old woman	aη she	a'ip'īγα', said,	
cina'ηwαv "Coyote,	ī'v'ī' go ahead (direction)	ī'tc' (in) this	qwau' off	tin-a'xwa'a. go to hunt."	'u'mai', "Yes,"
a'ip'īγα' said	cina'ηwαφI coyote,	'o'x'pa'a through yonder way	cina'ηwαφI coyote	tin-a'xw'aip'īγα'. went to hunt.	
u'v'a·ntux·WA At yonder place	tīγī'ai' deer (obj.)	pa'xqa'p'īγα' killed,	paiyt'k'ip'īγ came back home;	unt'ηuts· then	

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ti'ηwum'anmints·kain·t'.		ti'ntri*qap·iγ		qwα'ηwanti'
while being wont to do		Ate finely		being from
thus hurriedly."				her (obj.)
yu'w'u'tsmantia'aηw.		i'v'waiyauq·	a'ip·i'γa'	cina'ηwαφI,
from her fat.		Then	said	coyote,
i'γ'te' wīγzmp a·	n'ia'·χaiva·nti	qa'tcu	ta·ηwa''aiva·nti.	
"This vulva thus	being about to	not	being about to	
	have as name,		have teeth."	
i'v'waiyauq·w	a'ip·i'γa'	maηa'c·u	ma·ma''caγwōite	aη',
Then	said	that one	old woman	she,
i'v'wi''ca'a	tiv'wi'p·iai'yam	o'u'ra'	paiyt'k·wa'a	itci'
"Go ahead!	your land (obj.)	towards it	go and return,	this
				(obj.)
u'xqwai'	quna'vī'	nō'm'iyava'.	qatcu'a·q·	u'qwai
it (obj.)	sack (obj.)	shall carry on	Not it	it (obj.)
		back while going.		
u'pō'v'a·ηwaiyaq·	'ava'ηwitī	ampa'ian·t	a'iyucampa.	
shall untie it,	being there-	noise going	even if says."	
	in (obj.)	on		
'p'·mai	a'ip·i'γa'	cina'ηwαφI.	o'oxpa'	paiyt'k·wōip·i'γa.
"Yes,"	said	coyote.	Through	went and
			yonder way	returned.
u'v'·v'wai	a'ip·i'γa,	'ani'aη'ō	aik·* qatcu'aq·	u'pō'va·ηwa'
At that	said,	"What she	said,	'Not it
place				shall untie,'
a'izā',	a'ip·i'γa'	cina'ηwαφI.	i'v'waiyauq·u	cina'ηwavi'q·w
saying?"	said	coyote.	Then	coyote it
quna'vī	u'pa'ηUpī'γa'aik·w.		ma·va'ī'təγən·t	unt'ηuts·
sack (obj.)	untied it.		At yonder distance	then
qwitca'χarīp·i'γa.	'aa'ik·w,	a'ip·i'γa'	cina'ηwαφI.	wa·q·
sat and defecated.	"Oh!"	said	coyote.	Come
u'ra'	qu'navī'	pō'yanqip·i'γa'	ti'ηwntiya'·q·w	ma·ntcu'n'pī'γa-
toward	sack	came running,	quickly it	shut it (inv.).
it	(obj.)			

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'aik-w.	na n-i'nanjwɪtux-wa In different directions	pəvə'aɣaip-ṭɣa' trails arose	po'p'a-m' whereby they
ma n-ə'q upatcm:ŋwɪ'ntsŋwa' all kinds of persons (obj.)		mimi'ajoq-waina. traveling here and there.	piya'ŋ'wintēi' Being left over (obj.)
quna'v'i' sack (obj.)	kwi'tu'a va' at bottom	nŋwu'RUpiɣa'aik-w. made people thereof.	unt'ŋum'ix-qa-ŋ' After he did so
ma'up-at-i being through there	uŋwa'uaax-tuɣwanti' being round about him (obj.)	qaŋqa'nɪ houses here and there (obj.)	'o'p-at-i being through there
na-na''aip-ṭɣa'. fires burned.			

TRANSLATION.¹²

Way down to the west dwelt an old woman and her daughter. Now then that old woman said, "Go ahead! go look for a person and then, having found him, let him come home with you." And then that daughter of hers went off to seek in yonder direction; through all the lands she sought, but she found no person. Only that Coyote did she see. Then, when it commenced to be evening, she went off home; she arrived at her mother's house. And then that mother of hers asked her, "Did you not see a person?" "I did not," said the girl; "only that Coyote did I see," said her daughter. "Go ahead then! go after Coyote." "All right," said her daughter.

And then she travelled yonder towards Coyote's house. There she arrived, in his, Coyote's, house. Thereupon she said to him, "My mother calls for you," said she. "No," said Coyote, "I shall not do so," said he. "You will take me to wife," said the girl. "I said I shall not do so," said Coyote. And then Coyote said, "Let me, then, in urinam tuam immittere,¹³ and then I shall go with you there to your mother's house," said Coyote.

"Go ahead, then! first go and make a camp over there, and then vulvam meam fodes."¹⁴ "All right," said Coyote. In yonder direction he ran along, and then there he began to make a wickiup; he finished making it. And then he stood watching for her, and saw her coming down. Then he tried lying down in the camp he

had made. Now that woman made Coyote sleep, and then that Coyote slept. Then the woman came up to him. *Apud Canis caput urinam ea fecit*, and left him sleeping at that same place. Having got to be far away, she caused him to wake up. Then that Coyote awoke. "Oh!" said he, "where has she gone to? Surely she was coming here." *Deinde urinam ejus conspexit*; in it he did thus in motion.¹⁵

And then, after he had done so, he pursued her and caught up with her. Then he caught hold of her. And then, "*Feriam urinam tuam*,"¹⁶said Coyote. "No," said the girl. "Go and make a camp," said she to him; "do not sleep this time." "All right," said Coyote. Yonder again he ran along, and then in that place he made a wickiup again. Then it happened to him just as before, he went to sleep after he had made the camp. That girl did to him just as before. Now by acting (several times) in this same way she arrived at her mother's house. Coyote arrived at the house right after her still.

And then that old woman said, "Coyote, go ahead! go off to hunt in this direction." "All right," said Coyote, and off yonder Coyote went to hunt; at that place Coyote killed a deer. He came back home, and then the mother and daughter ate the meat. *Deinde illa virgo ossa cervi sub se posuit et illa vulva ejus ea moluit*. And then Coyote again went off to hunt. Very well he knew *virginem vulvam habere dentatam*. Then at that place he killed a mountain-sheep buck and brought him on his back to the house. And then that girl stuck the mountain-sheep's neck bone under herself. When she had done so, *illi dentes ejus vulvae relaxati omnes facti sunt*. Then, when it got to be night, he started to do so in motion.¹⁷ "In this way I always want to do, always doing so hurriedly," (said Coyote). He ate well of her fat.¹⁸ And then Coyote said, "*Hoc 'vulva' appellabitur neque dentes habebit*."

Then that old woman said, "Go ahead! go and return to your land. Take this sack along; do not untie it, even if sounds are heard inside of it." "All right," said Coyote, and proceeded to return in yonder direction. When at that place, he said, "What did she mean saying, 'Do not untie it?'" said Coyote. And then Coyote untied the sack, and some distance from it *consedit et defaecavit*. "Oh!" said Coyote. He came running towards the sack and quickly shut it. In different directions trails arose, through which all kinds of persons travelled in different directions. Of what was left over at the bottom of the sack he made people. After he had done so, all around that place, among houses scattered round about him, fires were burning.

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5. SPARROW HAWK AND GRAY HAWK CONTEND FOR A WOMAN.

um ^w α'va There	qa m'zantzaip'īgai'tuai'. people had jack-rabbit camp.	'u'v ^w aiyauq'u Then			
a-m'īhwant being from among them	aj he	eu'yuc one	pūwa'iaφ his own wife	pa ^x qa'p'īga'. beat.	
ī'v ^w aiyauq'. Thereupon	unts then	aja'e'u she	ma-ma'u'fs woman	aj' she	tōγō'q'p'īga'. ran off
qa'ivay mountain (obj.)	īruq-watux-wa. to under it.	manjac. That one	caγwa'xucav gray hawk	aj he	m ^w α'va there
qant'zaip'īga' had house	nīv ^w a'xanti snow-having (obj.)	a'ma thereon	piya'iyav his own mother (obj.)	aj she	
aja'īhwa' ^a . with her.	manjac. That one	u'v ^w aiyauq'u then	'u'xpa' ^a p'īga' went in yonder direction		
caγw'α'xcav gray hawk	aj' he;	mana'iac. that one (obj.)	un'ījuts then	u'v ^w a-ntuγwa'īj' yonder her	
qa'ivai mountain (obj.)	'aiā it	tōγō't urazwōava-ntuγwa-q'. just at its middle	maa'ip'īgaiān' found her		
ma-ma'u'utsi woman (obj.)	aj'. she.	paiyt'k wōip'īga' Turned back home	ma-īhwa' ^a with that one		
qant'va-ntuγwauφī. to his own house.					
ma-mu'e. Those	u'v ^w aiyauq'. then	qa m'xa-n'zantm ^w having (pl.) jack- rabbit camp	am' they		
cuwa'ru'k-īp'īga'aijw commenced to miss her	ma-ma'u'utsi woman (obj.)	aj'. she.	un'ījūt. ⁴³ Then		
mana'iac. that one (obj.)	thō'p-aiya'mpatsi ⁴⁴ white-breasted one (obj.)	aj' he	mu ^x kwi'x-qap'īgaiān'. called (pl.) on him.		

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manjac· That one	ï'v ^w aiyauq·U then	tiv ^{wi} 'p·ï earth (obj.)	k ^h wa· ^a vantmananqwa·q· starting from its edge	
p ^u 'ca'γaip·ïγaiyaq· looked around it,		ma·ri'c·amp only that	uv ^w ai then	piya'ï'pīγa' was left over
qa'ivaxarīr mountain peak	αR. it.	ta'c'p·anqwai'tx·U When it went off towards evening		p'tcixw'aip·ïγa' went and arrived
qa·mī'χani'aγantin ^{wi} · having (obj. pl.) jack- rabbit camp.		qatcu'uywαni "Not her I	pīni'ηwa', see,"	aip·ïγa', said,
marī'c·amp "only that	piya'·i' is left	niv ^w a'χant snow-having	αR, it,"	a'ip·ïγa' said
thō'p·aiyampats· white-breasted one.		i'tcuq·U When it was morning	p ^u 'ca'γaixw'aip·ïγa'aik·w went to look for it	
niv ^w a'χanti' snow-having (obj.);	ma·m·a'ntuγwa·η' thereon her		ma·m·a''utsi woman (obj.)	aj' she
maa'ip·ïγaiyan' found her	saγwa'xucavīya·η· gray hawk (obj.) her	αη he	piγwa'xa·q·U. that had as wife.	
paiyt'ηupīγ Returned home	o'p'αc· in the same way	qami'xaniva·ntux·WA. to jack-rabbit camp.	aγa'n ^y κava·tsuγwa- "In what way being about to do (pl.)	
ηw to say (pl.)?" him you	a'ip·ïγa'. said.	saχ ^w α'xucavīya·η "Gray hawk (obj.) she	u'ηWA he	qa'teU not
piya'xanqin'wa'it·mi to be overcome by others (obj.)	uηwα'φα at him	qa·ri'i stays	uηwα'c· she	mam·a''uts woman
uηw. she.	aχa'n ^y κava'ηwan How will you do (pl.) to him	uηt'ηuts', then?"	a'ip·ïγ said	a·ηac· he
thō'p·aiyampate white-breasted one	αη'. he.	ïv ^{wi} '?ηwaraηw "Let us him	witsi'ūwaratsī bird hawk	uηw he

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MU ^x qwi'x'qava ŋw.	'y'mai,	'a'ik'pī'ya'	MU ^x qwi'zavai*kap'ī'ya'-		
shall call (pl.) on him."	"Yes,"	said (pl.),	returned (pl.) from calling on him		
aiŋw	maŋa'iac	witsi'ujwaratsi	aiŋw.	uwa'ruŋw	aik'pī'ya,
	that one	bird hawk (obj.)	he.	To him	said (pl.),
	(obj.)				
'iv'v'ī'ijw	ma:m'a'uts	uŋw	uŋwa'ujwantuxw ⁴⁵	saŋwə'xucavɥ	
"Go ahead her	woman	she	away from him	gray hawk (obj.)	
uŋw	tiv'v'n-axaxwa'a.	uŋt'vaiyŋumixtsi''ijwa'		'əai'	
he	go and lead away.	You, after returning from doing so to her		(past),	
imi''uŋwa	puŋwa'xaiva',	a'ik'pī'ya'	ma'mu'c.	qa-mi'xan/-	
you her	will have as wife,"	said (pl.)	those	having (pl.) jack-rabbit camp	
ɣantm	əm'.				
	they.				
manjac.	ī'v'waiyauq.	witsi''ujwarats	aiŋ'	m'wəva'	
That one	then	bird hawk	he	there	
yī'v'va'	qa-rī'p'ī'ya'	qa'nacuv ^w	aip'ī'ya',	aŋa'n ^y *kava-tst-	
at doorway	sat	still his own singing	said,	"In what way being about to do (pl.)	
ŋwanjw	a'ī'kai	uŋwa'iac.	saŋwə'xucavɥ	uŋw	qa'teu
to him you	say (pl.)	him	gray hawk (obj.)	he	not
piya'zanqin'wait-unī'		tī'wi'v'n-an	uwai'.	mī'mi'ntcu'a-ŋ	
to be overcome by others (obj.)		having great power	him?	You (pl.) (inter.) him	
u'ŋwai'	pa'xpa'q'ava ŋw,	a'ik'arip'ī'ya'	ma-va'	yī'v'va	
him	will kill him?"	said sitting	there	at doorway	
qa-rī'za'.	ma-rī'c-cu'	'ant'k'arī'	nujwī'aj	ar	
sitting.	That merely	does so sitting	his body	it	

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qa'q·arīḡa'	marī'c·U	muḡu'anj	aR	marī'A	qa'ivaḡwrtcuvari'
sitting and singing,	that	his soul	it	that	mountain peak
				(obj.)	(obj.)
pavi'anj ⁴⁶	anj	anja'φα	pt'tetḡw'aip'ṛḡa'.	unt's	anj'
his brother	he	to him	went and arrived.	Then	he
ma·m·a'utsi	anj'	tsa'a'iviteḡw'aip'ṛḡa	'untc	a'ip'ṛḡa,	
woman (obj.)	she	went and took hold of	then	said,	
		on arriving,			
iḡa'	'aro''a	nī'ni	pṛḡwa'm·max·qai'pin'.		
"This one	is	mine	wife who has been given		
			to me (by many).		
ṛv'wanan	unt's·	na'ntan'waiṛucampa·ḡ'		nīru'x·w.	
Go ahead!	then	without saying anything		to me	
her me		her		(give)."	
qa·tcu'anan'	nī'	imi'ntcuḡwa'va·ḡ'wain·a·ḡ'	nī'ni	'uwaru''a	
"Not her I	I	shall (neg.) to you her	mine	she is	
		(give);			
piḡwa'ru·ḡwaip'ṛni,		a'ip'ṛḡa'	saḡwə'xucav	anj'.	qatcu
having been picked		said	gray hawk	he.	"Not,
up as wife by me,"					
ma'ian	'aik·x	"m'a'ianḡwaiyu'e·ampa	tḡwt'niya·ḡ'	ma'uḡp'a·ḡ'.	
that I	say,	though saying (neg.)	quickly her	let her go!	
		that,			
nī'ni	uwaru''a	piḡwa'mamax·qai'pin'	ma'ian	'aik·x.	
Mine	she is	wife who has been	that I	say."	
		given to me (by many),			
nī'niya·xain·t	uwaru''a	piḡwa'ruḡḡwaip'ṛni	aḡa'ntḡaianan		
"Mine, for my	she is	having been picked up	how doing		
part,		as wife by me,	her I		
unt's·	nī''	imi'ntcuḡwa'va·n·ianḡ'. ⁴⁷	qa'tc	"m'a'ianḡwaiyucamp' ⁴⁸	
then	I	shall her to you	"Not	though saying	
		(give)?"	(neg.)	that,	
tḡwt'ntya·ḡ'	ma'uḡp'a·ḡ'	pa ^x qā'umpa'qm ⁴⁹	uru'ac,	a'ip'ṛḡa'	
quickly her	let her go,	I shall kill you	otherwise,"	said	

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witsi'ujwarats. bird hawk.	'u·maḷi' "Yes,	qateu'aij not her	unt'za' ^a so doing
ma'up·ava·ḡwainṡya ḡ'. shall let her go (neg.).	'umpa'i'campani' I care not if you me	'ḡai'	pa ^x qa'umpa·ni, will kill me,"
a'ip·i'ya' said	saḡwa'xUCAḡI gray hawk	tca'a'ik·a.iyoaj holding her	aja'vumanḡqoaj'. by her arm.
maḡa'c· That one	witsi'ujwarats bird hawk	aj' he	s·ujqwa'nunḡ'qwat·i other (obj.) aja'v'ia·ḡ her arm (obj.)
aja'vumanḡqoaj' by her arm	tca'a'ik·a.ip·i'ya'. held.		
u·ma.i, "Yes,"	'a'ip·i'ya' said	saḡwa'xUCAḡI. gray hawk.	imi''aq· "You (obj.) it uv'wai' in that case
na·ḡa'i'aiḡ·amI when you are angry,	a·ḡa'n'nI how	tiv ^w i'p·i' earth	ti ^x qa'ḡ'wtiḡo' would become a'iḡai' saying you
aik· ^z . say?"	maḡac· That one	i'v ^w aiyauq·u then	witsi'ujwarats bird hawk aj' he
a'ip·i'ya', said,	nḷ'nia·q·' "I (obj.) it	na·ḡa'i'aiḡ·anI when I am angry,	tiv ^w i'p·i' earth
pa·ḡt'n·ax·qariḡu' would become foggy;	imi' you (obj.)	ov'wai' in that case,	iḡa'' ^a . well?" nḷ'nia·q·' "I (obj.) it
na·ḡa'i'aiḡ·anI when I am angry,	qa'q·aiva·ḡxanti those that are mountainous	u ^x qu'imputs'tsa.iḡw'aiḡunḡqu' would go off in dust,	
unt'ḡut· ^s then	yu·yu·'a·r'ḡ·ḡqu', all would become level,"	ma'ip·i'ḡ that said	ajac he caḡwa'xUCAḡI. gray hawk.
i'v ^w aiyauq· Thereupon	unt'ts then	a'ip·i'ya' said	caḡwa'xUCAv gray hawk aj' he piya'ia·v his own mother

anj' rux-wa, to her,	nī'ni "Me	'əqī' (past)	pA ^x qa'ŋu ^t u ^t zni they kill me,	sa'a'va ni shall boil me
ma-n'ə'q-u all (obj.)	nŋw'ā'ayzni. my body (obj.)"	ĩ'v ^w aiyauq-u Then	su'q-ue- one	maŋa'e- that one
pīra'iya-ŋ' her arm (obj.)	tə'tə'p' inap-ĩ'ya'. pulled out.	ma-n'ə'q-uaq'am' All (obj.) it they 2	ma-m'a''utsī woman (obj.)	
anj' she	nŋw'ā'aiya ŋ' her body (obj.)	na-va'i'pī'ya'i'qa'am'. they 2 divided it.	ŋnt'ŋumixtsiA ^x qa'am' They 2 after having done it	
maŋac- that one	witsi'ŋwarats bird hawk	anj' he	pA ^x qa'ŋUpī'yaianŋ' killed him	saɣwa'xucavi gray hawk (obj.)
anj'. he.	ma-n'ə'q-uaq- All (obj.) it	ŋnt'ŋuts- then	nŋw'ā'aiya ŋ' her body (obj.)	ma-m'a''utsī woman (obj.)
anj' she	nŋwī'aaxaiḡ'aina-ŋ' that she had had as body	co-'p'ar'uiŋumĩ'ts after having gathered together	u'nicunt'anj' ⁵⁰ as had been before her	
naya'p'a-ŋ ^x tui ^p -ĩ'ya'. caused to appear.				
maŋac- That one	ŋnt'ts- then	piya'-ŋ his mother	anj' she	saɣwa'xucavi gray hawk (obj.)
sa'a'p-ĩ'yaianŋ'. boiled him.	ŋnt'ts- Then	tīv ^w i'p-ĩ land (obj.)	ə-nə't- ^l 'ci ^a ŋqu when it dawned early	
tə'zūmpai' sky (obj.)	paiya-'m-ananq ^w coming from vault	qo-'x- ^l Apī'yaian't' was noise as of flapping wings,	ma-va''antī being on that (obj.)	
ŋnt'ŋuts- then	pampĩ'n-i' bucket (obj.)	wɪɣa-' ^a va-nti' being at edge (obj.)	ta-vi'p-ĩ'ya'. lit.	
qa'p-ĩ'ya' Sang	mava''an on that	'ai', it (obj.),	nī'' "I	pA ^x qa'x'oi ^a va-ŋw shall go and kill him

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witsi'qwaratsi bird hawk (obj.)	uŋwa, he,"	a'ip'īya'. said.	maŋac That one	ī'v'waiyauq·u then
piya'ŋ· his mother	aŋ she	a'ip'īya', said,	qīma'ŋaiac·uru' "Stranger (obj.) (inter.) you	aik· say
im'xīmaŋwznti' being strange to you (obj.)	pa ^x qa'xw'ōitexa· ^a xa'. claiming to go and kill?"	qa'tcu "No,	ma'ik·ani that I say;	
uwa'c·utezani he (past) me	nī'ni me	pa ^x qa'q·w'a'ijuni. kill me off."	uŋt'ŋuts· Then	
qa·mī'xan· jack-rabbit camp (obj.)	'ai' it (obj.)	u'u'raiŋupī'ya'. went towards it.	'a'ik·w "Oh!	saγwō'xucaviteaŋ gray hawk us
uŋt'vitci', comes to attack,"	a'ik· ^a apī'ya' said (pl.)	qa·mī'xan'γantīm' those having jack- rabbit camp	mmtō'n'nts· running off.	
maŋa'c·ampa Only that one	witsi'ŋqwarats bird hawk	aŋ' he	na·va'c·u without concern	qa· ^a vīp'īya' lay and sang
piŋwa'ia·v his own wife	aŋ she	aŋa'ŋwa' ^a . with her.	maŋac That one	caγwa'xucafi gray hawk
ma·n·ō'arup'ī'γaiyaŋ' jumped at him in order to hold down,	i'γat·i in vain	ma·n·ō'arup'ī'ya'. jumped at him in order to hold down.	uŋt'ŋumi'ts· After doing so	
maŋa'iac·u that one (obj.)	ma·m·a'utsi woman (obj.)	aŋ' she	tca'a'ip'ī'γaiyaŋ'. took hold of her.	
naŋwa'i' ^a cuaŋa'amī Both they 2 her	nari'tsaŋ'wap'ī'γaiyaŋ'am'. they 2 tried to jerk her away from each other.		uŋt'ŋuts· Then	
maŋa'c·u that one	saγwa'xucav gray hawk	aŋ' he	qa'sa'vuma·ŋa·fi with his own wing he	'aŋa'v'a·γit·ī' being over him (obj.)
kwi'pa'p'ī'ya' struck,	tō'tsi'a·ŋa his head (obj.)	wī'pī't'kiŋupī'ya'. grazed.	'a·rī'k·ī "Almost,	

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pa·vi't η	cua'φA ^x qaηjuntsan't'i.	ĩ'v ^w aiyauq·u	piya'm·
my elder	you have nearly	Then	their
brother,	killed me."		mother

am'	nan'n·'aηwituγwa'm'	tiv ^w ĩ'naxaηUpĩγa'.	m ^w ĩm'ntcu'
they	in different directions	led away.	"You (pl.)
	them		(inter.)

anck ^x	na·γĩ'm·aηujuc·u,	a'ip·ĩγa'aim'	wa'm·a·'caγwō'itsηw
do so	strangers to each	they 2 said	two old women
	other you?"		

tuwα'tsηwα'a'mauφ	tca'a'ĩk̄a.ĩ.
on their own sons	while holding on.

qwaia'ηqwa'patcaatca'x·qaηumi	to'mq'·uηun·t'
On the other side (past) you (pl.) it	make rumbling noise

nana'ηq^xAqaitcua·q·aηwĩ.
 you (pl.) (inter.) hear it?

TRANSLATION.¹⁹

At that place they had a camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits. Now a certain one among them gave his wife a beating, and then that young woman ran off towards the mountain. There Gray Hawk was dwelling on a snow-covered peak, and with him was his mother. And then that Gray Hawk went off in yonder direction and there, right in the middle of the mountain, he found the woman. He returned with her to his house.

Then those who had a camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits began to miss the woman, and they called upon the white-breasted one²⁰ (to find her). Then that one, starting from the edge of the land, looked all over it; only that mountain peak there was left. When evening approached, (he returned and) arrived where were those having a camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits. "I have not seen her," he said; "only that snow-covered peak is left," said the white-breasted one. In the morning he went off to look over the snow-covered peak and on it he found the woman whom Gray Hawk was having as his wife. He started back home over his former way towards the camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits. "What do you all say that you will do to him?" said he. "With Gray Hawk, him who is not easily to be overcome, dwells that woman. What, then, will you all do to

him?" said that white-breasted one. (Then someone said,) "Let us call upon Sparrow Hawk!" "All right," said they, and called upon that Sparrow Hawk. To him they said, "Go ahead! lead the woman away from Gray Hawk. After you have done so to her, you shall have her as your wife," said they who had a camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits.

Then there in the doorway Sparrow Hawk was sitting and kept singing, "What say you all that you will do to that Gray Hawk, him who is not easily to be overcome, who has great power? Will you slay him?" said he, as he sat there in the doorway. Only that body of his is doing so, sitting and singing, but his soul went off and arrived at that mountain peak where his elder brother was. Then, upon arriving, he took hold of the woman and said, "She here is mine, having been given to me for a wife. Do you, then, without saying anything, give her up to me!" "I shall not give her to you; she is mine, having been taken up by me for a wife," said Gray Hawk. "Do not say that, say I, but quickly let her go! She is mine, having been given to me for a wife, that is what I say." "But she is mine, having been taken by me for a wife. Why, then, shall I give her up to you?" "Without saying that, quickly let go! Otherwise I shall slay you," said Sparrow Hawk. "All right, by no means shall I let her go. I do not care if you kill me," said Gray Hawk, as he held her by her arm. That Sparrow Hawk was holding her by her other arm.

"All right," said Gray Hawk. "If you are angered, in what way would the land appear, say you?" And then that Sparrow Hawk said, "When I am angered, the land would become filled with fog. And as for you?" "When I am angered, the mountains would all go up in dust, then all would be a level space," said that Gray Hawk. And then Gray Hawk said to his mother, "Should I be killed, you shall boil all of my body." And then he wrenched off one of (the young woman's) arms. And between them both they divided her body, (each pulling her to himself). After they had done so, that Sparrow Hawk killed Gray Hawk, and after he had gathered together all parts of the woman's body, all that had formed her body, he caused her to appear as she had been before.

Then that mother of Gray Hawk boiled him. Then, when it dawned upon the earth, from the sky was heard a noise as of flapping wings, and on the rim of the bucket (wherein he had been boiled) he lit; thereon he sang, "I shall go and slay Sparrow Hawk," said he. And then that mother of his said, "Do you speak of a stranger, of one

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who is no kin of yours, since you talk of going to kill?" "No, that is what I say; (but) that one killed me." Then towards the camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits he proceeded. "Oh! Gray Hawk comes to attack (us)," said those having a camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits, as they ran away; but that Sparrow Hawk lay with his wife, as though nothing were happening, and sang. That Gray Hawk swooped down upon him to hold him down, swooped down in vain. After doing so, he caught hold of that woman; both of them tried to tear her away from each other. And then that Gray Hawk struck above him with his wing, but merely grazed his head. "Nearly, my elder brother, did you kill me," (said Sparrow Hawk). And then their mothers led them away in different directions. "Do you act as though you were strangers to each other?" said the two old women, as they held on to their sons.

Did any of you hear something make a noise on the other side?²¹

6. COYOTE SETS THE PARTURITION CUSTOMS.

cina'hwawiyaya	awA	m-wα'va'	qant'ya'	pijwa'ij	aw
Coyote, it is	he	there	dwel,	his wife	she
said (past),					
awaru'w	a'ip'iyā',	cii'xanqixw'ain'	'a'ic'itcuw'a-t-pn		
to him	said,	"Go to get squaw-	being about to make		
		bush twigs for me	gathering-basket I		
aik ⁵¹	umα'nti'.	y'mai,	a'ip'iyā'	cina'hwawij.	unt'ijuts
say	being there-	"Yes,"	said	coyote.	Then
	from (obj)."				
o'xpa-ηqw'aip'iyā'	cii'v-wimp'i'aiyauv		'u'ra'.	tiw't'ic'	
went off in	his own squaw-bush		towards it.	Very	
yonder direction					
miw'n-t	uni'n'nip'iyā'	nanqa'p'iyā'	qa'p'i'.	'a'ik w,	
far distant	was doing	heard	singing (obj.).	"Oh!"	
	along				
a'ip'iyā'	cina'hwawij,	pua'ru'a'iyuruon-tzain-t'	cu'wæru'anI		
said	coyote,	"Seems I am getting	almost		
		supernatural power,	(inter.) I		
no-n'oc'i'	nan'i'vwi	puα'xant	ijwari	ni' ⁵¹ .	
dream,	already	medicine-man	an	I."	

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ĩ'v ^w aiyauq·u Then	nanqa'ʔsanwɨn'p·ĩ'ya' stood and listened,	qateu''uq·' not it	nanqa'p·ĩ'ya'. heard.
ĩ'v ^w aiyauq·' Then	pa'ya'in ^y *qwt'p·ĩ'ya started off,	ɨn'ɨut· then	nanqa'p·ĩ'ya'cuq·w again heard it,
tɾa'e'kwəp·ĩ'ya'ic·u. again stopped.	ɨn'ɨut· Then	nanqa'ʔsanɨn:p·ĩ'yaic·u''q·w again stood and listened to it,	
'a't·manq ^x p·ĩ'yaik· heard it well	ɔ'v ^w aiyauq·' then	qa·'q·pi'. singing of	nɨm ^w ·t'' "We many (obj.)."
an'k·a· ^{s52} are doing	kwi'mɔ· ^u rənttk·am't'a'ya', ⁵³ journeying in order to eat people,"		a'ik·ap·ĩ'ya' said (pl.)
qa·'m'mta'ya singing along	tu'ɣumpapaiya·'aruq·' beneath sky-vault	nənts'k·amta'ya' flying along	ma·m·u'c· those
ɔva'n·aŋqəɨw geese	əni'. they.	waa'n·ya·'vɨw Two chiefs	am' they
maxqam they	wɨn't'm·ap·ĩ'ya'. stood while journeying.	cina'ɨwəv Coyote	əŋ' he
ɔ'v ^w aiyauq·w Then	a'ip·ĩ'ya', said,	nɨ'' ¹ "I	ma·n·ɔ'q·woq·' all (obj.) them
			qa·n't·t·ri'ai' camp-places (obj.)
pa·'p·a·ɣanti' spring-having (pl. obj.)	qa·'q·aiva·nts·ɣənti' mountain-having (pl. obj.)		mɨm ^w ·t'a·nts·ɣənti' divide-having (pl. obj.)
kwi'kwi'teuva'tetci' knoll-having (pl. obj.)	pa·va·'n'nəants·ɣənti' valley-having (pl. obj.)		ma·n·ɔ'q·u all (obj.)
nɨwɨ'ai'yaq·w their people (obj.)	pɨ'teu'teu'ɣwai'yɨq·w. know them.	ĩv ^w ·t'an Go ahead	ɨn'ɨuts· then (pl.) me
nɨ'' ⁵⁴ I	na'u'p·an like self me	ma·m·a·'ni make (pl.) me,	nɨ'ɨum I you
		ɨn'ɨuts· then	mɔq'i'mpa·ɨum', shall lead you,"

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a'ip'ĩya' cina'ŋwaɸI. 'ant'anj a'ik^x cina'ŋwav anj',
 said coyote. "What he say coyote he?"

a'ik'pĩya' nari'v'ŋuq'waxa'. ma'n'ɔ'q'oya'q' pu'tcu'tcuɣwar
 said (pl.) while asking each "All (obj.) them, knowing
 other. (he) says,

a'iyaj 'aik^x uru'ac' tĩv'w'ip'ĩ pu'u'rainaj⁵⁵ un'i'na.
 that he say them lands (obj.) whither our doing.

maŋa'c' i'v'waiyauq'u nta'v'uj'wa'm' anj a'ip'ĩya',
 That one then their chief he said,

im'p'wa'ian a'iva m'w'α'ŋ' cina'ŋwav anj' qa'tcu 'a'iyuŋwai't'ĩm'
 "Let him shall that coyote he, not being good
 say (neg.);

maa'it'ujk'tiv'w'a'ŋaraŋwa.
 he will cause us to be found out."

cina'ŋwav umu'rqwa'x' nu^xqwt'm'miap'ĩya' wa'a'ŋipax'pĩya'.
 Coyote moving under ran along, shouted while
 them journeying.

'aa'ik-w, a'ip'ĩya' nta'v'uj'wa'mi, an't'zaijanaraŋwa
 "Oh!" said their chief, "so doing he us

maa'it'ujk'tix'qw'aiva. i'v'w'iaŋaraŋwa na'p'antuɣwa'ŋ
 will perhaps cause to Let us him together him
 be caught.

wi'c'amamaxava'ŋ', a'ip'ĩya' nta'v'uj'wa'm'. tĩv'w'a
 shall give him feathers," said their chief. Down

un't'ujut' a'ŋa'vantux-w yuw'α'k'ip'ĩya' cina'ŋwavt'.
 then on to him flew down (pl.) coyote (obj.).

cina'ŋwaɸI na'q'atujq'pĩya.⁵⁶ wi'c'amamax'pĩyaiyan
 Coyote dodged several times. Gave (pl.) him feathers

na'p'antux-wa cina'ŋwavt' a'ik'pĩya', i'v'w'ic'a'a nants'q'u
 together, coyote (obj.) said (pl.), "Go ahead! fly off

marĩ av'tectei' a'o'ra' ma'm'a'i un't'ujuts' paiy't'jumpa'.
 that little ridge towards from on then shall return."
 (obj.) (obj.) it, that

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ʁ·mai, "Yes,"	a'ip·īya' said	cina'ḡwaḡi coyote,	nḡntsi'q·up·īya flew off,	a·v'·tctci' little ridge (obj.)
qwaia'ḡqwəp·' beyond	nḡntsi'p·īya·' flew.	an'an "That I	'aik·ʒ, say,"	a'ip·īya' said
nta·'vuy'wa·m·'. their chief.	um·ʒ·ntva·nt "About to be doing thus	uwaru'' ^a he is	m·ʒ·ḡA that	cina'ḡwav coyote
aḡ he,	qatcu'raḡwa not us	tiv·w'·tsi·ḡava·ḡ'wa'it·raḡwa. being about to obey (neg.) us."		cina'ḡwaḡi Coyote
qḡ·nīp·īya came back	a·v'·tctci' little ridge (obj.)	mana'ḡqwpai'y·iq·w from its other side,		'a·mu·ḡA at them
p'·tci·p·īya·'. arrived.	ḡ·v·aiyauq·' Then	maḡac· that one	nta·'v chief	aḡ he
qatcu "Not	nḡntsi'n'iva·ḡwa' shall be flying around	nḡm·w'i·ḡax·tux·wA around us,		qatcu not
wa·'a·ḡva·ḡwa·' shall shout,	qatcu not	qa·'va·ḡwa·' shall sing	pa·'a·n·i·'. loud.	ʁ·mai, "Yes,"
a'ip·īya' said	cina'ḡwaḡi. coyote.			
ma·'n·un·t All	ya·'c·ḡup·īya' started to fly	tuḡu'mpai sky (obj.)		'aura·'. towards it.
tī·v·wa Westward	ḡnt·s· then	ya·'c·p·īya·' flew (pl.)	pu·u·raiv whither their own	ḡnḡ do
				u'·ra·'. towards it.
cina'ḡwav Coyote	aḡ he	a·m·ḡ·ax·tux·w ⁶⁷ around them	nḡntsi'vurup·īya·'. flew hither and thither.	
ī·v·aiyauq·w Then	a'ip·īya' said	nta·'vuy'wa·m·', their chief,	wī·c'·aia·ḡraḡwa "His feathers (obj.) we	
ḡva·q·aḡ·um·pa·c· shall again pull out (pl.),	maa'it·ḡk·tiv·wa·ḡraḡw he will cause us to be found out	uru·ac· that (obj.)	ani·ḡa·'. doing."	

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ɔ'v ^w aiyauq'ɔaŋ'	teatca'i'p'ï'ya'am'	tu'γu'mpapaiya' ^a va ntu'x'w	
Then him	they took hold of	at sky-vault,	
wi's' aiya'ŋ	ɔva'q' aŋup'ï'γa'.	cina'ŋwaw	aŋ' pi'tcu' ^w amɪ
his feathers	took off (pl.).	Coyote	he downward
	(obj.)		
cu'r'urup'ï'γain'ɪ'	tiv ^w i'p'uv ^w a'nti	kwɪ'pa'p'ï'γa'	ta'pa'e'pï'γ
made noise of	being on ground	fell,	lay senseless,
whizzing,	(obj.)		
uŋ'ŋuts·	pina'ŋqwa	cuwa'p'ite'p'ï'γa'.	sa'a'p'i'
then	soon	came to.	Mush (obj.)
p'ɪn'k'aip'ï'γa'.	a'ik'w,	a'ip'ï'γa',	tï'γi'vuts'ŋwun'anɪ
saw.	"Oh!"	said,	"my friends, it seems,
sa'a'm'amax'qainɪ,	a'ip'ï'γa'	ti'qa'xaik'w.	
have given (pl.)	said	while eating it.	
me mush,"			
pinanqw	ɔ'v ^w aiyauq'.	ti'qa'm'au'p'utsi'q'w	ɛɪ ^x p'i'χ'ïru-
Soon	then	having finished	felt like
		eating it	
tca'q'aip'ï'γain'ɪ', ⁵⁸	maa'inɪpï'γ	uŋ'ŋuts·	tɔ'tsi'va'nti'xɔ'ɔ.
cold thrill going	touched	then	being at his own
through head,			head (obj.).
'aa'ik'w,	a'ip'ï'γa'	cina'ŋwafɪ,	teɔ ^x p'i'k'ar'ɔn
"Oh!"	said	coyote,	"brains (obj.)
			(inter.) I
uŋ'ŋuts·	ti'qa'χa',	a'ip'ï'γa'.	pi'p'i't'a'n'i't'γax'pï'γa'.
was indeed	eating?"	said.	Tried to vomit.
doing			
na'ŋa'i'aip'ï'γa'	cina'ŋwafɪ,	ïv ^w ɪn	naŋwa'x'pa'mpa'amɪ.
Was angry	coyote,	"Let me	shall follow their
		tracks."	
tiv ^w a'im'map'ï'γa'	cina'ŋwafɪ	'a'v'ŋupax'pï'γa'.	pinanq
Traveled west	coyote,	passed night after	Soon
		night on journey.	
ɔ'v ^w aiyauq'.	naŋqa'p'ï'γa'aimɪ	qa'm'ia'nam'.	cina'ŋwaw,
then	heard them	their singing	"Coyote,"
		while moving along.	

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a'ik'pīya, said (pl.),	u'v'wa η' "there she	nηwī'rīraxwōp:a' right among people	a'vi' lie;	ma m'a'utc woman	
uη' she,	imi' of you	uηWA she	'a'e'ntuina'amī. your liking.	u'mai, "Yes,"	a'ip'īya' said
cina'ηwaφī. coyote.	'ava There	'arī'ac. that (obj.)	qant'p'ī former camping place (obj.)	'ava there	pī'tcixw'aip'īya' went and arrived
pū'ca'zaiip'īyaian' looked for her		mam'a'utsī' woman (obj.),	uηt'zaic'uan' so doing her		maa'ip'īya'. found.
axa'n'va'ηan "How shall I her do		u'v'wai', then?"	a'ip'īya' said		cina'ηwaφī. coyote.
uηwa'vantīγwa'ηupīya' Got on top of her,		sazwt'ai'anjw her stomach (obj.)	uv'wa'an' on it	wīwī'n'ī'xqur'īya' began to stand stamping.	
uηt'xēu'ujw So doing to her,	wī'ī'k'upīya' fell out	maηa'e' that one	īja''pītc baby	an'. he.	
axa'n'va'ηan "In what way shall I do to him		uv'wai', then?"	a'ip'īya' said		cina'ηwaφī. coyote.
ī'v'waiyauq' uηWA Then him		yī'ī'k'ipīya'aiηWA swallowed him,	paiyt'k'pīya came back	'u'ra towards it	
tiv'w'p'uaiaiaφī. his own country (obj.).		a'v'ī'ηupax'pīyaic'ū Again passed night after night on journey,		sazwt'a'φa'xqa'ijqīpīya'. had stomach-ache.	
ma'm'· "In that way	un'vā'ntī being about to do	mam'a'uts', woman,"	a'ip'īya' said		cina'ηwaφī. coyote.
ī'v'waiyauq'· Then		quunū'ntuarīpīya'. heated stones on fire.	uηt'ηumīts· After doing so		wa'a'p'ī' of cedar

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pa'pa'ranqai limb (obj.)	o'ma on it	pīri''rīp'īya hung on;	uñt'x'uñw while he did so	īḡa''pīte baby
aḡ' he	wī'ī'k'upīya'.		ī'v'waiyauq'	m'w'ō't'īyan'ī' when at considerable distance
qu'qwa'īonaγw'a'īḡup'īya'.		pī'teipīya'		na'a'it'ip'īya'aik'w caused it to burn;
	went to get armful of wood.	Arrived,		
qumu'ntīarīq̄wainafī		uv'w'a'a'x	a-v'p'īya'	yu't'uitcī' being warm (obj.)
his own having heated stones on fire		on top of it	lay,	
pa-i water (obj.)	ivi'p'īya'.	uñt'ḡuts	tsī'q'uj'wanumpurpīya	qm with it
	drank.	Then	made hair-scratcher,	
uñt'ḡuts		nantsī'x'qun'apīya'.	i'in	uñt'vā'ntī being about to do
then		scratched himself in hair	"In this way	
ma'm'a'uts	nīntu'aḡqūḡuts,	a'ip'īya'	cina'ḡwafī.	
woman	having given birth to child,"	said	coyote.	

TRANSLATION.²²

Coyote, it is said, was living there. His wife said to him, "Go and get squaw-bush twigs for me, who am going to make a gathering-basket, I say, out of them." "All right," said Coyote, and then he journeyed off in yonder direction towards his squaw-bush. He was very far away (when) he heard singing. "Oh!" said Coyote, "it looks as though I am going to be a medicine-man; perhaps I am going to dream.²³ Already I am a medicine-man." And then he stood and listened, did not hear it. And then he started off. Then he heard it again, stopped again. Now again he stood and listened to it; this time he already heard well the singing of many: "Thus we do, traveling in order to eat people," said they, singing along under the sky, those geese, as they flew along. The two chiefs stood at either end of the line as they travelled along. Coyote saw them, and then he said, "Of all the camping places—those with springs, those with mountains, those with divides, those with knolls, those

with valleys—all their people I know. Do you, then, make me into one of yourselves, and I shall lead you," said Coyote. "What did Coyote say?" said they, asking one another. "He says that he knows all those lands towards which we are going." That chief of theirs then said, "Let that Coyote talk, he is not a good one. He will cause us to be found out."

Coyote ran along under them, shouted as he went along. "Oh," said their chief, "in doing so he might cause us to be found out. Let each one of us give him feathers," said their chief. And then down on to Coyote they flew. Coyote kept dodging. Each one gave him feathers; they said to Coyote, "Go ahead! fly off towards that little ridge, and from it, then, you will return." "All right," said Coyote, and off he flew, flew beyond the little ridge. What did I say?" said their chief. "That Coyote will always be doing thus, he will not obey us." Coyote returned from the other side of the little ridge, arrived where they were. Then that chief said, "You shall not keep flying around us, you shall not yell, you shall not sing out loud." "All right," said Coyote.

All set off flying towards the sky; westward, then, they flew off whither they were bound. Coyote flew back and forth around them. Then their chief said, "Let us pull out his feathers. By doing that (which he is doing) he will cause us to be found out." And then they took hold of him under the sky and pulled out his feathers. Down came Coyote, making a whizzing noise; he fell upon the earth and lay senseless. Then, after a while, he came to. He saw mush. "Oh!" said he, "my friends, it seems, have given me mush," he said, as he ate it.

Then, after a while, when he had finished eating it, he felt as though a cold thrill went through his head; and then he touched his head. "Oh!" said Coyote, "is it my own brains that I have been eating?" said he. He tried to vomit. Coyote got angry (and said), "Now I will follow in their tracks." Coyote journeyed westward, he camped several nights on his way. Then, after a while, he heard them as they moved along singing. "Coyote," they said, "there in the midst of the people lies the woman whom you like." "All right," said Coyote. There at that old camping place he arrived. He looked for the woman and, in so doing, found her. "What, then, shall I do to her?" said Coyote. He got on top of her, stood stamping on her stomach. Just as he did so, that baby fell out.

"What, now, shall I do with him?" said Coyote. And then he

swallowed him, and he turned back towards his own country. Again he camped several nights on his way; he had a stomach-ache. "In that way will it always be with a woman," said Coyote. And then he heated stones on the fire. After doing so, he hung on to a cedar limb; as he did so, the baby dropped down. Then he went off to a considerable distance for an armful of wood. He arrived, built a fire of it. He lay on top of the bed made of rocks that he had heated; he drank warm water. Then he made a head-scratcher and scratched his head with it. "In this way shall it be with a woman when she has given birth to a child," said Coyote.

7. THE THEFT OF FIRE.

m ^w α'va'	qa mi'zan'a γaip'īγai'tuai'	cina'ηwav	an	
There	people had jack-rabbit camp,	coyote	he	
aro'ap'īγa'	nt'a vuj'wa mī.	qa mi'ya'ik'pīγa.		
was	their chief.	Hunted (pl.) for jack-rabbits.		
umu'v'w'antuχw	un'ηuts·	maa'φī	tuγu'η'wop'īγa.	uv ^w a'
On to them	then	thing	fell down as	There
			from sky.	
un'ηuts·	ma·n·u'n·t	nara'q·witecump'pīγa.	imp	aro''a,
then	all	gathered together.	"What	is?"
a'ik'pīγa.	ī'v ^w aiyauq'·	sina'ηwav	a'ip'īγa,	t't'tc'
said (pl.).	Then	coyote	said,	"This
qu'nan·t	nayava'i'	miyō't'īm·ananqwa	na'a'intī	umant
like fire	seems,	from far distant	burning	being
		place	(obj.)	from it
aro''a.	tq ηwa''	'aroam·t'	qa'te·u	quna''ap·ai'
is.	We	are wont	not	fire
		to be		(neg. obj.)
tajwa'i	aR	na'a'it uiķ·anaranwa.	uni'ts·	ta'ηwa
of us	it	our causing (pl.) to burn.	Then	we
ti'qa'q'anaranwa	sa'ηqazooq w	ti'qa'q amt'.	ti ^v wt'·ts·	
our eating (pl.)	when it is raw	always eat (pl.).	Very	

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'a'iyuxuwaq' it would be good	't'ctararjwa this (obj.) we	qu·na'í' fire (obj.)	pívw'a·'ntim·ananqwa·q· from being where it	
uñt'ñuqwainA having done	ta·ñwa'í'yaq·w of us it	mam·a'aik·* find (pl.).	'a'iyuxu·p· Good would	
ur it	uru''ai' is	ta·ñwa'í' of us	tí'qa'q·anararjwa our eating (pl.)	qwa'sí't·uik·a·q·ə- when it is cooked,
waq·' when we eat (pl.)	tí'qa'q·axuA ^x qararjw when we eat (pl.) it	uru'añu' would be	su''aiyuxu·p·í, would very good,"	
a'ip·í'ya' said	cina'ñwaφI. coyote.	m·wa'va There	n·ara'q·om'qa·'yuc·u as were still gathered (pl.) together	
sina'ñwav coyote	añ he	a'ip·í'ya, said,	ívw'í'aq·' "Go ahead, it	wa'n·uyuaq·' there being it
tuγumpapaiya·'m·aiyu from sky-vault	pñn'k·aiñw'a'ññu go in order to see	pñma'nanqwa·q· wherefrom it	ur it	
'í'tcī' this (obj.)	tuγu''wina·q·'. it falling down from sky."	mañ'a'iac· That one (obj.)	añ'a'ruwx to him	maa'ivätcaiya·tcī chicken-hawk (obj.),
imi'' "You	'aro''* are	nõntsí'n'ivätec, being wont to fly around,"	a'ip·í'ya' said	cina'ñwaφI. coyote.
'v·'mai, "Yes,"	a'ip·í'ya' said	maa'vatcaiya·tc·. chicken-hawk.	ívw'aiyauq·' Then	
nõntsí'k·upí'ya' flew off	tuγu'ntux·w. upward.	uñt'ñuts Then	uññuts· having so done	
tív'w'p·í' earth (obj.)	'ava''a·x·I over it	qwau' off	nõntsí'p·í'ya'. flew.	mava'iyun·t From a distance
uñt'ñuts· then	wa'q· hither	am·u'uraic·u towards them again	paiy'ñupí'ya'. returned.	

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ĩv ^w aiyauq [·] Then	cina'ñwaw coyote	a'ip'ĩya, said,	ĩv ^w 'ca' "Go ahead,	i'm you
A'ta'q'ots [·] crow	nontsi'q [·] fly off	tuγu'ntux-w. upward."	u'mai, "Yes,"	a'ip'ĩya said
A'ta'q'ots [·] crow.	un'ñut [·] Then	nontsi'k-upĩya flew off,	uni'e [·] in that	ani'χw'aip'ĩya' went and did, same way
tiv ^w 'p'ĩ earth (obj.)	mava'a x i over that	nontsi'γw'aip'ĩya. went and flew.	uv ^w a'aiuc-u From there again	
waq i hither	mñni'e-ĩpĩya turned around	wa-q hither	umu''ura toward	umu'φ at them
				p'te'pĩyaic-u again arrived. them,
ma-n'ĩn t All	wiw'e'ya-χantĩm' having feathers (pl.)	tu'p ^w i'p'ĩya' were used up,	ma-ña'e-amp only that	
uv ^w ai' then	pa-γi' fish	añ [·] he	piya'i'pĩya'. was left.	cina'ñwaw Coyote
				a'ip'ĩya, said,
imi'nteu' "You (inter.)	aru''a are	wi'c'a-χant having feathers	un'ts [·] then	nontsi'va-ts [·] being about to fly.
ĩv ^w 'ca''a Go ahead	nontsi'mma'qĩñ'wA', try to fly,"		a'ip'ĩya' said	cina'ñwaw coyote
aña'ruχ-wA. to him.	u'mai, "Yes,"	a'ip'ĩya' said	paγi' fish	añ [·] he.
				un'tñuts [·] Then
tuγu'ntux-wA skyward	nontsi'q-upĩya'. flew off.		cina'ñwaw Coyote	a'ip'ĩya', said,
pĩ'pĩ't:naiya η'. ^{58a} "Follow (pl.) him with your eyes."		ma-m'u'e-uañA Those him		pĩ't:naip'ĩyaiañA followed (pl.) him with eyes
tuγu'mpaiya η sky (obj.)	a'a'ura' he	ti'iyañ' towards it	up he	nontsi'χuan' as he flew,
				un'ts:añ' then him
ma-m'a''añt'up'ĩyaiañ [·] (pl.) caused him to be lost.		ma-va There	un'tñuts [·] then	mantcu''aik'qai- waited (pl.) for him,

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p'ĩγaiay'	pina'ηqw soon	uñt'ηuts· then	p'itc'pĩγa. arrived.	iv ^w i'n'iya'a "Go ahead quickly	
tññ', tell,"	a'ip'ĩγa', said,	pññ'k aiñk'ai'nami, "what you saw,"	a'ip'ĩγa' said	cina'ηwaφI. coyote.	
iva'tc' "Far off	tiv ^w t'p'ĩ ⁵⁹ of land	qĩηwa'avañtĩ being at edge	na'na'aintcñi' like burning (pl.)		
pññ't'uαq'a, looks some- thing,"	a'ip'ĩγa' said	pa·γĩ' fish	añ'. he.	ani'an 'aik ^s , "What I say?"	
a'ip'ĩγa' said	cina'ηwaφI. coyote.	iv ^w t'rañwa "Let us	qu-na'i fire (obj.)	'çai' it (obj.)	
ya'm·ava'aq·w shall go (pl.) to fetch it	umu'ηwantux·w away from them	umĩ'ac·U them	quna'q·aγantimĩ'aq·w. having (pl.) it as fire.		
t'ite This	arç'ami' is wont to be	qa'tcU not	qu-na''ap·α (real) fire (neg.)	ta·ηwa'i of us	añ it
na'a'it·tñk·anarañwa, which we cause (pl.) to burn,"	a'ip'ĩγa' said	cina'ηwav coyote	añ'. he.	γ'mai, "Yes,"	
a'ik ^s p'ĩγa' said (pl.)	ma·n·u'n·t'. all.	iv ^w t'rañwaxa'a "Let us, then,	qu-na'i fire (obj.)	'çai' it (obj.)	
ya'm·ava'aq·w. shall go (pl.) to fetch it."					
ma·n·u'n. ⁶⁰ All	uñt'ηuts· then	ta·va'i' sun's	yaa'uq·win setting	u'u'ra' towards it	
pør'u'q·upĩγa'. started out (pl.).	cina'ηwavyañjami Coyote he them	moi'm'mtap'ĩγa' led along,	qwa·v'ĩηupax· stopped to camp		
pĩγa. (pl.) while traveling.	u'v ^w ai At that place	a'ip'ĩγa' said	cina'ηwaφI, coyote,	iv ^w t'ca' "Go ahead! you	

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mo't'utcats· humming-bird		tuγu'ntuxwa upward	nəntsī'k·u fly off,	uñt'ɥuts· then	
na'a'int burning	ur it	pñnt'k·aiɁwa'a. go and see."	'a'ijunīx·qa'aiɥw After he had said so	tuγu'ntuxw upward	
maɲa'e·u that one	mo't'utcate humming-bird	aɥ' he	nəntsī'k·upī'ɣa'. flew off.	qa'te·u Not,	
uñt'ɥutsic·ampa although having so done,		pñnt'k·aip·iá'aik·w saw (neg.) it,	pī'pī'te'pī'ɣa'. arrived back.	maɲac· That one	
o'vaiyauq·u thereupon	cina'ɥwaw coyote	aɥ' he	a'ip·ī'ɣa, said,	iv'vī'ca' "Go ahead!	
i'mi you	paγī' fish	nəntsī'q·uc·u fly off again	tuγu'ntux·wa upward."	maɲac· That one	
o'vaiyauq·u then	pa·γī' fish	aɥ' he	tuγu'ntux·w upward	nəntsī'k·upī'ɣa' flew off,	
pinanqw soon	uñt'ɥuts· then	pī'te'pī'ɣa. arrived.	uñt'ɥuts Then	a'ip·ī'ɣa', said,	
tea·Ɂt'p·aq·w "It near	aiv ^w now	uru''a, is,"	maɲac· that one	paγī' fish	aɥ'. he.
ī'v ^w aiyauq·u Thereupon		pəru'q·upī'ɣaaic·u again set out (pl.),	qwa·av·t'ɥupax·pī'ɣaaic·u. again stopped to camp (pl.) while traveling.		
su'tcaɁip· Very near	ī'v ^w aiyauq· thereupon	uru''ap·ī'ɣa' was	maɲī'e·u that (inan.)	qant'aɣant provided with houses	
ar it	pu'u'raiyam whither they	'an·t'n·a·mī. their so doing.	maɲac· That one	ī'v ^w aiyauq· thereupon	
sna'ɥwaw coyote	aɥ' he	a'ip·ī'ɣa', said,	m ^w ī'mi "You (pl.)	ma·n·u'n·t' all	qaiyqa'ni each house (obj.)
o'n·auq·wa among them		īm ^w ī'izw'aiva'. shall go and arrive	n'zain·t' I also	nia·'avt chief's	uɥwa he

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qan't'vaaunwi in house	pi'tet'ɣwa'aiva'. shall go and arrive.	un't'ɣuts. Then	m'wimi you (pl.)	mama'x-piəɸi what has been given to selves (obj.)
qatco''oq'w not it	ma-n'ə'q'oq'w all of it	t'i'qa'q'ava-ɣwa'a, shall eat (pl. neg.),		a'ip'ɣa' said
maɣac. that one	cina'ɣwav coyote	aɣ'. he.	um'wa'nti' "Being thereof (obj.)	taɣa'na-ɣ't'k-waɸi into own knees it
mara'ɣ*ka'va. shall put (pl.).		un't'sttsanwa Then we		cu'it-uɣwanum'wa-c'u on one night
naiya'ɣwɨqit-uə'xava' shall have hand-game with them;		n'i''i I	qə'co'vurup-tani my prepared roll to catch fire (obj.)	i't'ci' this (obj.)
pa'ɣiani my head- hair (obj.)	pīma''aq-wa to which it	wi'tea'q'ain having been tied	a'ma there- with	quna'q-wii'va'. shall take fire.
ta'ci'anti' Dawn (obj.)	ti'ɣa'ix-u when appearing	qu-na'ian my fire (obj.)	'əai' it (obj.)	uv'wa''a-x-i over it
*a'p-i'qova shall lean back and forth	'a'ɣwai'n-t like sig- nalling	ani'vā' shall do,	m'wim' you (pl.)	i'v'waiyauq. thereupon
i'pə-tsɨmɨ*qa'q'aiva'. will all be ready to start off (for race)."		'v'mai, "Yes,"	a'ik-ap'i'ɣa'. said (pl.).	
	un't'ɣuts. Then	pə-ru'q-upi'ɣaaic-u again started off (pl.)	tiv'wa'. down.	uv'wa'iya-a'ruq-wa Next to it
qa'ivavitei mountain ridge	uma thereon	pīn'uɣwɨp-i'ɣa' ⁶¹ sat down (pl.) and watched		ta-va'i'xkap-t'. (bushes) set fire to by several (obj.).
un'k-ajum'i'ts. After having so done (pl.)	mīn-i's-'its having gone back home (pl.)	uɣwa't-ɨk-aɣup-i'ɣa caused (pl.) to rain		uv'wa''antux-wa thereon

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ta·va'ĩ*kaq·a'in·a·pfi.	ma·n·o'n·t	untc	ari'c·u	qu·'n	ar
their own having- been set-on-fires.	All	then	those	fires	they
tu·γwi'navite'pĩγa'.	unt'ηuts·	ma·va''	yuγwi'z̄aaic·u		
went out (pl.).	Then	there	again sitting		
p̄oru'q·upĩγaaic·u	qant'aγant	u'u'ra'.	ma·va'	unt'ηuts	
again started off (pl.)	camp	toward it.	There	then	
ĩm'ĩ'ĩγw'a'ip'ĩγa'.	cina'ηwav	a'ip'ĩγa',	nĩm'w̄t	'an'k·z̄	
went and arrived (pl.).	Coyote	said,	"We (excl.)	are doing	
na·va'c·u	qant'vaγtk̄·ani·i·za'	tĩv'w̄t'p'ĩa'ianĩm̄wi		u'v'w·a·i	
just for fun	visiting around in houses,	our country (obj.)		from it	
ant'k̄·ani·i·za'.	ĩv'w̄t'anĩm	unt'ηuts·	naia'ηw̄w̄qĩq·anĩm̄i,		
doing about.	Go ahead (pl.) us (excl.)	then	play hand-game (pl.) with us,"		
a'ip'ĩγa'	maγac·	cina'ηwav	aγ'	n̄a·'v̄v̄amp̄aγaγw̄n̄ĩxāi.	
said	that one	coyote	he	standing and talking as chief.	
ĩv'w̄t'a·m	unt'ηuts	i'mĩ	ma·n·o'q·o	a'ivaiayanwan	am̄ĩ
"Go ahead (pl.) they	then	these	all (obj.)	my companions	they
qa·n̄t'an̄um	a'up'a'a	nana'c·v'yun̄qwaiyuc·		ĩĩ'm'oiya'	
your houses	throughout them	being just one to one another		will arrive (pl.)	
qa·n̄t'an̄um	ana'uq·wa,	a'ip'ĩγa'	cina'ηw̄a·fi.		
your houses (obj.)	among them,"	said	coyote.		
maγac	cina'ηwav	aγ'	n̄a·'v̄v̄w̄waiya·m'	qant'va'	
That one	coyote	he	their chief's	at house	
p̄t'c'pĩγa'.	cina'ηwav̄t	aγ'	wa'a·'mpi	sa'a'ηq̄ip̄ĩγait'uaiȳian̄'	
arrived.	Coyote (obj.)	he	cedar berries (obj.)	they made mush for him.	

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cina'ɨwaɸɪ coyote	tɨ'ntɨʔqap'ɨɣa. ate well.	ɨ'v ^w aiyauq·u Thereupon	naia'ɨwɨp· hand-game	ar it
tɨɣa'ɨ'pɨɣa' took place,	sina'ɨwaw coyote	an he	a'ɨvtaɨuɨwai'aiɸɨ with his com- panions	naia'ɨwɨqɨɨ'uzɨq ^x A- were hand-game
pɨɣa. gambled with.	ɨ'v ^w aiyauq·u Thereupon	ma·m·u'e· those	a'ik ^x Apɨɣa', said (pl.),	cna'ɨwavin·t' "Coyote, it seems,
qu·na'ɨ'niaraɨwa our possessed fire (obj.)	ya·x·ikaaɨ' has come to get	taɨwa'ɨwantux·wa. from us."	qa'te·u, "No,"	
a'ɨp'ɨɣa' said	cina'ɨwaɸɪ, coyote,	nɨ'mɨ (excl.)	na·va'e·u just for	'ant'ɨk'an·i·t' are doing about travel- fun
ni·iza' ing around	tɨv ^w t'p'ɨ' earth	ma·va'a·x·ɨ over that,	nɨ'mwɨ we	qa'te·u not
	(obj.)			qu·na'ɨ' fire (obj.)
wari'ɨɨwait'ɨm'. being (pl.) in need of (neg.).	nɨm ^w t'zain·t' We also	qu·naq·aɨzantɨm' having fire (pl.),	m ^w ɨm't'e·amp you only	
unt'ɨuts· then	qa'te·u not	qu·nai'ni'k'aiɨt'ɨm'. possessing (pl.) fire (neg.)."	ɨ'v ^w aiyauq· Thereupon	
naia'ɨwɨp· hand-game	ar it	tɨɣa'ɨ'pɨɣa' took place,	cina'ɨwaw coyote	a'ɨ he
				a'ɨvtaɨuɨwa'ɨ'aiɸɨ with his com- panions
naia'ɨwɨqɨɨ'uzɨq ^x pɨɣa' hand-game gambled with	tu·ɣwa'vaiɨu. at night.	unt'ɨuts· Then	ta'ci'ajqɨx·u when dawn came	
cna'ɨwaw coyote	an he	o'n·te in that same way	an·i'p'ɨɣa did	a'ik ^x ain·aɸɨ as he had said,
				qu·na'ɨ fire (obj.)
uv ^w a·'ax· over it	aa'p'ɨʔqap'ɨɣa. bent back and forth.	'aa'ik·w "Oh!	ci'naiwavin·i' coyote, it seems,	

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qu-na'iaranwa our fire (obj.)	qwii'va-ts· being about to take	'an i'k· ³ does,	'a'ianj' it (obj.) he	qu-na'i fire (obj.)
ava'a·x· over it	'aa'p·i ³ qui', bends back and forth,"	a'ik· ³ p'i'ya' said (pl.)	ma-m·u'c·u those	qa- house-
ni'zantim ^w having (pl.)	am'. they.	qa'tc·u, "No,"	a'ip·i'ya' said	cina'ηwafɪ coyote,
na·va'c·un "just for fun I	ani'k· ³ do	ni''i I	p̄ηqa'ma·n·um'yaxa', while doing so moving very fast,"	a'ip·i'ya' said
cina'ηwafɪ. coyote.				
ma-m·uc· Those	i'v ^w aiyauq·u thereupon	cina'ηwafɪ coyote (obj.)	an he	a'ivaianjwa·η his com- panions
i'ink· ³ qa'i'p'i'ya'. were ready.	maηa'ia·cu Of that one	'umuφa to them	'a'ηq̄iqain having been said to	
untc· in that same way	a·n·i'p·i'ya'. did.	cinaηwafɪ Coyote	i'v ^w aiyauq·' thereupon	q̄c'c̄v'iaφi his own tinder
qu-na'i fire (obj.)	wā'xava'·q·w into it it (inv.)	tc'i'nt'k· ³ p'i'ya'. stuck.	unt'ηutsiq·w Having done it	
ma· ^a va'i'ti'yan·i' far off		tA'pu'q·wip'i'ya' jumped,	wa'a'tc·i'ηup'i'ya. whooped.	
unt'ηum̄i'ts After doing so	^u m a'uxpa' ^a through that way	n̄ηv· ^u et·ux·w ⁶² in front of people	p̄ηqa'muγwin·in·iij- ran very quickly	
q̄ip·i'ya. ⁶³ moving head from side to side.	aa'ik· ³ 64 "Oh!	qatcu't·i'ya'iyini, I become not,"	a'ip·i'ya' said	
cina'ηwafɪ coyote,	qu-na'i fire (obj.)	'ai' it (obj.)	yaηw'·m'maxayaq·'. while going along carrying it.	i'v ^w 'aq· "Go ahead, it

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i'mi you	tcə́'íh̄k̄ [*] bluejay,	yanw't'mmī [*] quaq', take and carry it along,"		a'ip'í'ya' said	
cina'ηwaφi. Coyote.	yn't'ηuts Then	'o''u so	mana'e' that one	tcə.i'ηk̄ bluejay	
aηA he	qu-na'í' fire (obj.)	yanw't'm'maq'up'í'yaiaq'. took and carried it along.		'aa'ik-w "Oh!	
qaatcu't'c'yaiaiyini I become not.	m̄m'w't'ηwəntīəq. Being of you it	a'íφi now	yanw't'm'mī [*] quə'va', shall take and carry along,"		
a'ip'í'ya' said	tcə́'íh̄k̄ bluejay	aηA. he.	cina'ηwawiaq. Coyote it	aη' he	yanw't'm'mīqup'í- again took and
γaic'u. carried along.	yn't'ηuts Then	'm'w'α'va'ntuγwa-η' at that place him		tcə.i'ηki bluejay	aηA he (obj.)
pa'q'əηup'í'yaiaian' killed (pl.) him	cina'ηwawɪ coyote's	a'ive'cya'ηA. his companion (obj.).		tcə [*] pa'γaitcaq'- Tore (pl.) him	
p̄c'yaiaian' up to pieces,	na'nt'n'nanηwtuγwa-q' towards different directions it	nηwī'aiya-η' his body (obj.)		tcə'pu'ruik'p̄c'ya. threw (pl.) about.	
yn't'c Then	aa'ik'p̄c'ya, said (pl.),	'i'mi "You	tcə́'íh̄k̄izaiva'nti. being about to be bluejay."	tana'n'a-x- In his	
tuγwa-η' knee	tiv'w'a'í' pine-nuts (obj.)	ma'm'a'ip̄c'ya found (pl.)		a'γamma'et'k-wqaina-η'w which he had hidden	
caí'. (past).					
'yn't'ηuts Then	'm'a'ux'paāmī through there they		cina'ηwawɪ coyote (obj.)	aη he	a'ivianηuwa''ə- with his
q-uəη' compan- ions (obj.)	mam'a'rīnap'í'γai'tuāiyāmī. they were pursued.		yn't'ηuts Then	pina'ηqwa after a while	

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cina'ɨwaw coyote	aɨ he,	a'ive:yaɨwa·φī his own companions (obj.)	tʉ'pi'x·ucuan' when they were also used up,		
a'ip'ɨya' said	maja'iac· that one (obj.)	aja'ru·wa to him	wi'tca'iy roadrunner (obj.)	aɨ', he,	
ɨv'w'aq· "Go ahead, it	i'mi you	yaɨw'mmi'quaq· take and carry it along	i'te' this	qu'n· fire	aɨi. it."
ɨnt'ɨuts· Then	wū'tc roadrunner	aɨ' he	yaɨw'mmi'qup·i'ɨaiyaq· took and carried it along;	nampa'iaφī his own feet (obj.)	
nant'n'naɨwitux·wa in two different directions		tca'tca'p·a'ɨaitc'pī'ɨa' tore apart,		ma·m·u'c·u those	
ma·m·a'rinarim'w'i'am chasing (pl.) they		aɨ him	wi'tca'iy road-runner (obj.)	aɨ' he	
ma·m·a''aɨt'ɨp·i'ɨaiyaɨ'· lost (pl.) him		ɨnt'ɨutsiaɨ' Then him	na·nti'navuruqwaɨp·i'ɨaiyaɨ' tracked (pl.) him back and forth		
na·nt'n'naɨwitux·wa. in different directions.		itci "This (obj.)	'aru'q·wtux·wa, under it,"	a'ik·ɨpī'ɨa' said (pl.)	
na·nt'n'naɨwitux·wa in different directions		yu·ni'vuruɨwa'. while running about.	ma·m·u'c·u Those	cina'ɨwawt of coyote	
aɨ he	'a'ivtaɨuaɨ' his companions	qa'ivannanti' being on mountain (obj.)	qu'tst'k·ikap·i'ɨa'. built (pl.) a fire.		
tina'ɨqwantiacuyazwən·o' "Would that upwards		pīmpī'n'ni'kaiɨɨuɨqo·p·u'cu'yazwən·o', would that would look (pl.),"			
a'ik·ɨapi'ɨa' said (pl.)	cina'ɨwawt of coyote	aɨ he	a'ivtaɨuaɨ'. his companions.	i'v'w'aiyaɨqu·u Thereupon	

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ma m'ï'ñwanti being of them	pñi'k'aiiñUp'i'ya' looked	qa'ivai mountain (obj.)	u'u'rainti'. being toward it (obj.)				
aa'ik-w "Oh!	ma-riv-w at that	aro''a is	i'mpi what	ua't being thereat	ar it	qa'ivai mountain (obj.)	a-ma'nti'. being thereon?
aa'ik-w Oh,	na'a'int burning	ur it	ant'k'x, does,"	a'ik-ʒAp'i'ya'. said (pl.).	iv''i'rañw "Let us		
ava''antux-wa upon it	ñwa't'uiñ-añumpa', shall cause (pl.) to rain,"	a'ik-ʒAp'i'ya'. said (pl.).	tiv''e'amp Sure enough				
'o''u so	tu''ñwap-ai'k-ant'i being black-clouded (pl.)	tɔ'ɔ'i'm-a-va'ana right on that	qa'qa'r'i'p'i'ya'. settled.				
a'ik-w, "Oh!"	a'ik-ʒAp'i'ya' said (pl.)	cina'ñwavi of coyote	a'ivaiñw, companions,	ñwa'ñumpa-n-t- "It's going to rain			
'aq-w	tañwa''vantux-wa. upon us."	mañac That one	ñn'ñuts then	iv''aiñauq thereupon			
a'ip'i'ya' said	cina'ñwaf'i, coyote,	ama'ntiñarñwa "being thereof (obj.) we	a'ñarñwaywant'e'qaiva' shall hide (pl.)				
qu-na'i fire (obj.)	'aiA, it (obj.),"	a'i'ñaic-U while just saying	cina'ñwaf'i coyote	qu-na'manti being of fire (obj.)			
wi'qa'm'mi'kaip'i'ya'. covered over.	ma-r'i'e-U That	na'a'int burning	ar it	ma-n-ɔ'n-t' all			
tu'ɔwa'p'i'ya' went out,	ma-n-u'n-t' all	a-m-u'e' those	a'ivñarñwa-ñ his companions	añ' he			
patca'q-wñavit'ep'i'ya'. got wet (pl.).	ñn'ñuts Then	ma-r'i'e-U that	qu'n fire	ar it			
cua'ruɔwip'i'ya'. nearly went out.	ñn'ñuts Then	a'ip'i'ya' said	cina'ñwaf'i, coyote,	i'mi "You	qa'mi jack- rabbit	ti'rava' out in open	

TEXTS OF THE KAIBAB PAIUTES AND UINTAH UTES

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qa'rivatē' ʔv-w'ʔaq· t'tc' qu'n· ar a'γaŋwantc-ka'.
 being went go ahead this fire it hide!"
 to sit, it

maŋac·u qa·m· a'ŋ um-wαva' pari'iarava' ma·va''an'
 That one jack- he there out in rain⁶⁵ on that
 rabbit

qutcu'ŋ'wa q·arip·i'ya. u·m-w'αnaq·un a'intcuan a'ik·,
 sat on his haunches. "In that way I it (inter.) I say?"

a'ip·i'ya' cina'ŋwaφi. aatei'αφi tu'u'm·αts· qu'qwt'vap·i'γain-
 said coyote. His own bow having acted as though
 (and arrow) taken about to

'n'taŋwa. ŋnt'·ts· mari'e· uŋwa'r ar qa'pa'q·ip·i'ya'.
 shoot at Then that rain it stopped.
 him.

ʔv-w'aiyauq· ŋnt'·ts· maŋa'e·u qa·m· aŋ uγu'm·aŋwt·ux·wa
 Thereupon then that one jack- he away from it
 rabbit

qwau' sav'i'tcaz·ip·i'ya.⁶⁶ ŋnt'ŋuts· mari'e·u tiv-w'·ts
 off hopped off. Then that very

aŋqa'x·pī'ya'.
 was red.

ʔv-w'aiyauq· cina'ŋwaφi maa'vi' ma·n·ɔ'q·ɔ
 Thereupon coyote plants all (obj.)
 (obj.)

tiv-w'i'ŋUp·i'ya a'ip·i'ya, imi'ntcu' aru''·s pa·n·ɔ'x·qwa'i'-
 asked, said, "You (inter.) are even when wet

yucampa na'a'ivātē'. qa'tc·u ni''·i pa·n·ɔ'x·qwaaiy·u
 being went to "Not I when wet
 burn?"

na'a'in·uwa'ait·i, a'ik·x·pī'ya' ma·ri'e·u maa'v ar.
 being went to said (pl.) those plants they.
 burn (neg.),"

mari'e·amp uv-w'ai' saŋwa'v ar piya'i'pī'ya. aruγw
 Only that then sagebrush it was left. To it

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SAPIR

a'ip'ŷa' said	cina'ŷwaɸI, coyote,	imi'nteu' "You (inter.)	aru'' ^s are	pa·n·ɔ'x·qwai' when wet
na'aivāte'. being wont to burn?"	i'ŷA "Yes,	nī I	'aro'' ^a am	pa·n·ɔ'x·qwaaiyucampa even when wet
na'a'ivāte', being wont to burn,"	a'ip'ŷa' said	sa·ŷwav sagebrush	a'R. it.	i'v ^w aiyauq·u Thereupon
cina'ŷwaɸI coyote	na'a'it'ɸ'ŷa caused to burn	'a·ma'nti' being from it (obj.)	saŷwa'vī'. sagebrush (obj.).	
ma·n·ɔ'q·u "All (obj.)	maa'vī plants (obj.)	imi'n·a·x·I in you	quna'ŷwaxaiivā·ntī, being about to contain fire,"	
a'ip'ŷa' said	cina'ŷwav coyote	aŷ'. he.	uŷt'ŷuts Then	o'' ^u so
maa'v plants	ar they	quna'ŷwaxaiŷu'p'ŷa'. came to contain fire.		ma·n·ɔ'n·i' all
	qwaia'ŷq'pateatci ^x qa'' ^a mI Somewheres on other side did you it	tu'·mu·ŷu'n·t' make like rumbling noise	nana'ŷq ^x A- you (pl.) hear	
qaiteu'aq·aŷwī. (pl.) (inter.) it?"				

TRANSLATION.²⁴

At that place people had a camp for the hunting of jack-rabbits; Coyote was their chief. They hunted for jack-rabbits; and then a thing fell down upon them as from the sky. There, then, they all gathered together. "What is it?" they said. And then Coyote said, "This looks like fire, it is from far away from something burning. That which we have been burning as fire is not real fire, and what we eat we always eat raw. It would be very good if we find out whence this fire has come; it would be very good if what we eat were cooked, it would be extremely good if we ate it," said Coyote. As they were still gathered together there, Coyote said, "Go ahead! go over there in order to see whence came this which has fallen down

from the sky." To that one, Chicken Hawk, "You are accustomed to be flying about," said Coyote. "Yes," said Chicken Hawk. And then he flew up into the air. Then, having done so, off over the earth he flew; then from a distance back hither to them he returned.

And then Coyote said, "Go ahead! you Crow, fly up into the air." "Yes," said Crow; then off he flew. He went, and it happened to him in like manner, over the earth he went and flew; from there he also turned round hither, hither towards them, and he also arrived where they were. All those provided with feathers were used up, then only that Fish was left. Coyote said, "Have you feathers, then, so as to fly? Go ahead! try to fly," said Coyote to him. "Yes," said the Fish. Then up into the air he flew. Coyote said, "Do you all follow him with your eye!" Those watched his flight closely, as upward toward the sky he flew, then they lost sight of him. There, then, they were waiting for him; then, after a while, he arrived. "Hurry up and tell what you saw," said Coyote. "Way off at the edge of the land it looks as though fires were burning," said the Fish. "What did I say?" said Coyote. "Let us go to fetch that fire from those who are having it as fire. This of ours that we cause to burn is no real fire," said Coyote. "Yes," said they all. "Let us, then, go to fetch that fire."

And then all started out towards the setting sun. Coyote led them along; they stopped to camp over night while on their way. At that place Coyote said, "Go ahead! you Humming-bird, fly up into the air, and then go and see that which is burning." After he had said it, that Humming-bird flew up into the air. Though having done so, he did not see the (fire), and returned without result. Then that Coyote said, "Go ahead! you Fish, fly up again into the air." And then that Fish flew up into the air; then, after a while he came back. Then that Fish said, "Now it is near." Then they started off again; again they camped over night while on their way. Now that camp was very near towards which they were going. And then that Coyote said, "All of you will arrive (and be) distributed in each house. I for my part shall arrive and go into the chief's house. And then you shall not eat all of what has been given to you," said that Coyote, "(but) shall put some of it in your knees. Then one night we shall have a hand-game with them. I shall seize fire with my hair with which this cedar-bark tinder of mine is tied; when morning comes, I shall be signalling by leaning back and forth over that fire, then you shall all be ready to start off." "All right," said they.

Then they started off again downward. On the mountain ridge next to the (camp) they sat and watched bush-fires that had been made (by those that had fire). After they had done so, having returned home, (these) caused it to rain on the bush-fires that they had made; then all those fires went out. And then, when they had sat there, (Coyote and those with him) set off towards the camp. Now there they arrived. Coyote said, "We are visiting around in various camps without particular purpose, having come from our land. Go ahead! play, then, a hand-game with us," said that Coyote as he stood and talked like a chief. "Go ahead! then these fellow-men of mine throughout your houses will enter one by one, in each of your houses," said Coyote.

That Coyote arrived at their chief's house. They prepared mush out of cedar-berries for Coyote; Coyote ate heartily. Then the hand-game took place; they gambled with Coyote and his companions. And then those (who possessed fire) said, "It seems that Coyote has come to get our fire from us." "No," said Coyote, "we are engaged in traveling around without particular purpose over the land; we are not in need of fire. We also possess fire, so that you are not alone in having fire." Then the hand-game took place; they gambled with Coyote and his companions during the night. Then, when it dawned, Coyote did just as he had said, he bent back and forth over the fire. "Oh, it looks as though Coyote is about to take our fire, seeing that he is bending back and forth over the fire," said those camping there. "No," said Coyote, "I do so without purpose, when playing very fast," said Coyote.

And then those companions of Coyote were ready; what that one had said to them, just in that manner they acted. And then Coyote stuck his tinder into the fire. Having done so, he jumped far away and whooped. After so doing, he very quickly ran through there in front of the people, moving his head from side to side. "Oh, I am giving out," said Coyote, as he was running and carrying the fire. "Go ahead! you Bluejay take it and carry it along," said Coyote. So then that Bluejay took the fire and carried it along. "Oh, I am giving out. One of you now will take it and carry it along," said Bluejay. Coyote again took it and carried it along. Then at that place (those who were pursuing) killed Bluejay, Coyote's companion. They tore him to pieces and threw his body-parts about in different directions. Then they said, "You shall be a bluejay." In his knees they found pine-nuts which he had hid there.

And then through there they pursued Coyote and his companions. Then, after a while, when his companions had been used up too, Coyote said to that Road-runner, "Go ahead! you take and carry along this fire." And then Road-runner took and carried it along; he tore apart his feet (so that they left tracks) in different directions; those who were in pursuit of them lost track of Road-runner. Then they tracked him back and forth in different directions.²⁵ "(He is) under this," said they, as they ran hither and thither in different directions. Those companions of Coyote built a fire up on the mountain. "Would that they would look up this way!" said Coyote's companions. And then one of those looked towards the mountain. "Oh, what is that there on the mountain? Oh, it is something burning," said they. "Let us cause rain to fall on it," said they. Sure enough, then, black clouds gathered right over that place. "Oh," said Coyote's companions, "it is going to rain upon us." And that Coyote then said, "Let us keep some of the fire hidden." As soon as Coyote had spoken, he covered some of the fire. All of that fire (which was uncovered) went out; all of them, his companions, got wet. And then that fire (which was covered) nearly went out.

And then Coyote said, "You Jack-rabbit, who always sit out in the open, go ahead! hide this fire." That Jack-rabbit sat on his haunches over that (fire) out there in the rain. "Did I say (it should be done) in that way?" said Coyote; having taken up his bow and arrows, he acted as though about to shoot him. Then that rain stopped; and then the Jack-rabbit hopped off away from the (fire). Now that (fire) was very red.

Then Coyote asked all bushes and said, "Are you accustomed to burn even when wet?" "I never burn when wet," said all those bushes. Then only that sagebrush was left. To it Coyote said, "Are you accustomed to burn when wet?" "Yes, I am accustomed to burn even when wet." said the sagebrush. And then Coyote built a fire out of the sagebrush. "There shall be fire in all of you bushes," said Coyote. So then all bushes got to contain fire.

Did any of you hear something make a noise on the other side?

8. IRON-CLOTHES.

qm^wα'va cina'ηwaw an' qa-ni'χainq'tu'αp'īya' qa-mi'yaiḵ'a-nümpīya'· cina'ηwaw an' na'a'c-U yaa'inqw'ainümpīya' qīma'ηwitux-w tümp^wt' tna'ī u'u'rainṭi'ī tī'ci'ampa na'a'c-U yaa'imipīya'. cina'ηwaw an' pina'ηqwa tumpi' tna'ī u'u'rainṭi'an't' tī' yaa'ip'īya' tavu'ts ivā'iyu qwiri'k-īpīya. un'i'ηuts· tümp^wt' tna'ī u'u'ra' tī' cina'ηwaw an' marī'na'pīyai'īηwa. un'i'χai'īηwa tümp^wt' tna'va-ntux-wa wia'm-pivi' tōγō'iq-waciri' maa'ip'īya. 'aa'ik-w, a'ip'īya' cina'ηwafi uv^wa'ī um'a'nti' tī'qa'p'īya'. pina'ηqwa ta'va'ī' ya'uq-wipinūmyaγozq·a pa'iy'q-wōip'īya'. m^wα'vaiyuαq' pa'tca'iauφi' ta'ta'p'ōrō'p'īya. un'i'ηuts· qan't'vā'φi'pī'p'tcēpīya. i'v^waiyauq· o'ip'īya, 'tci'n' pa'tcan· α'r tō'tō'q-waānqī, a'ip'īya' piηwa'ia'v uηwarux-wa. tci'tca'α pa'tcan· a'r pa·γēi'tca'īηu wants't inavuruχuni. un'i'ts'tca-mi'iyu'p'a'α qwa'u' yo'n'nūu, a'ip'īya' cina'ηwafi piηwa'ia'v uηwa'ru'x-wa. piηwa'αqa-η'anj' pa'tca'ian' tō'tō'p·A^xqa-ηqīpīyaiyaq·anj' pa'tca'ian' ai'.

i'v^waiyauq· un'c· a-n'p'īya' qīma'ηwitux-wa yaa'inqw'aip'īya. o'v^waiyauq·U cina'ηwaw an' tōγō'muquntanqw'aip'īya' wia'mpivi' u'u'ra'. uv^wa p'tcēχwāaits· cina'ηwafi tī'qa'p'īya um^wα'nti'. un'i'χ·Ucu'uηw cuwa'rupik·upīya. un'i'ηuts· pa'iy'k-w'aip'īyaaic·U. un'i'c'·uq-w a-n'p'īya' pa'tca'iauφi' ta'pī'rup'īyaaik-w. un'i'c· a'ip'īya uwa'ru'x-wa piηwa'ia'φi', itci'n' pa'tca'n· a'r tō'tō'p·A^xqa-ηq, a'ip'īya' piηwaiav uwa'ru'x-wa. iyu'p'atca'mi' wants't inavunwan' qwa'u' yo'n'nūu qateu't·yai'ya'm un'i'ηuts, a'ip'īya' cina'ηwafi. un'c· a-n'p'īya' cina'ηwafi na'a'c-U yaa'inqw'ōip'īya' cu'·mu^xqunta'miap'īya' tümp^wt' tna'ī u'u'ra'. ava p'tcēχw'aip'īya' wia'mpivi'. ma'va'iyuαq' tī'qa'p'īyaic·uαq⁶⁷ maηa'c·U cina'ηwafi. cu'yuc·U qwivv'ā·m·a·q' wia'mpivi' piya'ī'pīya'. cina'ηwaw an' aru'q·wanan·qwpīya' wia'mpivi' mantca'ηqīp'īyaiyaq' wia'mpīα qwivv'ā·m·a·q' wia'mpivi' pa'tca'ī'k·anti'. MA'tca'ianqīq·a-η' wū'k·upīya. 'ā', a'ip'īya' cina'ηwafi un'a'p'āηwi wia'mpivi' i'ya'q·īpīya. un'i'ηutsiq·w MA'tsa'ianqīp'īyaiyaq' marī'ac·U wia'mpī'. un'i'ηuqwa-η' tiv^wt'p'ina-x·i y'α'q·a·p'īya. 'q, a'ip'īya' cina'ηwafi, ni'χain't' qate·U ni'ci'm·u-αp'īait·ī, a'īzaic· o'·a·γit·uχwānti' ora'p'īya' marī'ac·U wia'mpī'. un'c· zaic·U mōγwα'p'ī ma'ηwi' un'a'ηqīp'īya. 'a'ik-w, a'ip'īya' cina'ηwafi, impī'ani maa'ivā·n't'. pina'ηq un'i'χaic· iya'p·u·γō'pīa maηwi' un'a'η-qīp'īya. a'a'ik-w, a'ip'īya' cina'ηwafi, in'i'ntean niηwu'runi. un'i'ηuts· waa'iyu quna'vī' tī'qa'c·uajupīya' pa'iy'k-w'aip'īya' qa-ni'av u'ra'. un'c· a-n'p'īya' pa'tca'ia'φi' ta'pī'rī'p'īya'aik-w un'i'c·ik-w a-n'p'īya' maηac· piηwa'η an' cina'ηwavi' pa'tca'ia'η' tō'q·wa'p'īya.

8. IRON-CLOTHES.

There Coyote was camping with people; they were hunting jack-rabbits. Coyote always went off to hunt by himself, he would always go off in another direction towards the base of a cliff to hunt by himself. After some time Coyote hunted up close towards the cliff-bottom. Right here a cotton-tail rabbit started up; and there Coyote chased him up towards the base of the cliff. While he was thus engaged with him up to the base of the cliff, he found a wiamp-berry²⁶ bush that was just ripe. "Oh!" said he, and ate of it there. After a while, when the sun was just about to set, he turned home. Yonder he pounded his moccasins with a stone.²⁷ And then he came back to his house and said, "Patch these moccasins of mine for me," said he to his wife. "These moccasins of mine have become worn out while I was chasing around after antelopes. And then they ran off in this direction," said Coyote to his wife. His wife patched his moccasins for him.

And then he did the same thing, went off to another place to hunt.²⁸ Then Coyote went on straight ahead towards the wiamp-berry bush. Having arrived there, Coyote ate of it; in doing so again, they were nearly all gone. Then he turned back home again. He did to his moccasins what he had done before, he pounded them with a stone. He said the same thing to his wife, "Patch these moccasins for me," said he to his wife. "The antelopes that I have been chasing have run off in this direction; they are nearly tired out, then," said Coyote. Coyote did the same thing, went off to hunt by himself; he went right ahead towards the cliff-bottom, and there he arrived at the wiamp-berry bush. There that Coyote ate them again (until) one (berry) was left on top of the wiamp-berry bush. Coyote climbed the wiamp-berry bush and reached for the wiamp-berry that was hanging on top of the bush. As he reached for it, it fell down. "Hä," said Coyote, and climbed down the wiamp-berry bush. When he had done so, he reached for that wiamp-berry. As he did this, it went into the earth. "Hä," said Coyote, "I, for my part, have never let anyone go." So saying, he dug around that wiamp-berry and, in doing so, he tore some cedar bark out of the ground. "Oh!" said Coyote, "what shall I find?" After a while, while still engaged (in digging), he tore out of the ground dried deer meat that had been cached. "Oh!" said Coyote, "who has regarded me as a person?"²⁹ Then he ate up two sacks of meat and started off back towards his house. He did the same thing, he pounded his moccasins again with a stone. That

c'teuq: ync'e a'n t'p'č'ya' cina'ḡwaḡi tümp'w' t'ma'i u'u'rainq'w'öip'č'ya
uv'wa p'č'teč'w'öip'č'ya' cina'ḡwaḡi.

č'v'waiyauq-u maḡa'e-u tümp'w'n arö'ḡqwant aḡa qa'p'č'ya', qateu'-
teč'ni 'a't' inönas' äp'č' cina'ḡwaw'ian ḡw a'ik' č'ya'p'č'ya'aḡw⁶⁸ cuw'č'q'wa-
aič'u. č'v'w' ync'ḡuts uv'wa'n t'i'm' p'č'ni'č' aič'wa'a, a'ip'č'ya' pa' te'č'ḡwa-v
ḡmu'ruç-wa. ma'va'aiç'u p'öw'q' t'p'č'ya' u'u'ra' č'ya'p'u'ç'u'q'waiyač'i.
A'č'qa'naiç'wöw'p'a'm'i t'i'č'č'aaix-u ma'ri'e-u p'č'm'wa'x'qa'am a'r tu'tu'-
teuwx'p'i qate uv'w' w'nt'p'č'ya. 'anc'an 'aič', a'ip'č'ya' maḡa'e-u
tümp'w'n arö'ḡqwant aḡ'. maḡa'e-u cina'ḡwaw' aḡ' ma'va'aiç'u t'i'ntö-
č'w'q-wip'č'ya' qa'nt'av 'u'ra' mam'a'riḡap'č'yaian' qant'aç'anti u'u'ra'.
cina'ḡwaḡi qant'aç'anti w'a'xaruç-wa mu'q'unta t'öç'q'wip'č'ya'.
mava'ntuç'wa'q' qant'aç'anti man'ö'q'ö nḡw'w'aiya q' q'öç'ö'ip'č'ya' ai-
tuaiyiaq'. ma'm'a'caç'wöits- m'wa'u'pa'a w'i'ts'č'w'öiç'i ç'ayw'it'm'ma-
p'č'ya. a'ip'ate'č'eu' aro'a, 'aik'Ap'č'ya' t'iv'w'ḡuq'waxaiyaḡa maḡa'iaç-u
mam'a'caç'wöits'. qa'te-u na'a'ints'ts' aru'a, a'ip'č'ya' mam'a'ca-
ç'wöits. maḡa'iaç-u w'i'č'č'ia-ḡ' p'i'teu'č'maq' p'ina'riyaç'ian'
te'a'a'ik'aiç'it'w maḡaç- u'u' na'a'ints'ḡni'a naya'č'a'ç'qip'č'ya'.
ma'm'u'e-u pa'n'a'x'q'w'öip'č'ya' qant'av 'u'ra' tümp'w'n arö'ḡqwant
aḡ' pa' te'č'ḡw'wa'aiç'i. ync'ḡuts maḡa'iaç- a'ip'äts'an' p'ç'ä'ia-ḡ
aḡa'e-u tümp'w'n arö'ḡqwant aḡ' p'ç'wa'ç'w'ip'č'yaian'.

m'wava' mam'a'caç'wöits aḡ' w'i'ts'č'w'wa'aiç'i qari'n'ämp'č'yaaim'i.
t'öç'iv'i öra'n'ämp'č'ya' maḡa'e- w'i'ts'č'an' aḡ' a'ip'äts'. maḡa'e-u
mam'a'caç'wöite aḡ' a'in'ämp'č'ya' t'öç'iv'i ç'wai^{68a} öra'xa', 'i'te wits'č'wan'
w'a'č'v'at'ḡni' itci'ca'a cina'ḡwavi aru'änä ḡw to'p'a'n'öaç'ant ar'i,
a'in'ämp'č'ya' t'öç'iv'i öra'xa'äik-w. ync'č's maḡa'e- a'ip'ats aḡ'
nana'p'č'ya. ync'ḡuts pa'ç'a'in'nip'č'ya ync'č'aic-u na'n'ö'e-u t'öç'iv'i
öra'p'u'teuteöç'wöw'č'ya. ync'ḡuts t'öç'iv'i öra'n'naiç'w qa'te uv'wa'n-
tuç-wp'č'ya' teanw'ik'in'ämp'č'ya' t'öç'iv'i öran'naiç'w ar. aç'a'n'č'zaaik-w
ḡni'm'i' teanw'ik'iza' t'öç'iv'i öran'an öR^{68b}, a'ip'č'ya aḡaç- a'ip'ats aḡ'.
a'iv'w'in 'öai' p'ina's'ç'ax'upa-ni p'č'ni'č'aiya uv'wa'nti' t'öç'iv'i öra'n'zni,
a'ip'č'ya aḡaç- a'ip'ate an^{68c} naru'x-wa. č'v'waiyauq' öra'p'č'ya uv'wa'-
nti' ç'u na'n'naç'wöç'i p'č'ni'č'aip'č'ya' p'ina'e'ç'ax'upa'ç'i. ḡni'č'a'q'u-
ç'ḡ 'öai' t'i'ḡw'ina'vaip'č'ya'in'č'aq-w waa'vas- aḡ' nants'n'NA'ç'znti'.
ync'ḡuts ç'wau una'a'ç'it'ux-w ya'uq'wa-p'č'ya' t'öç'iv'i. maḡaç-
č'v'waiyauq-u w'a'v' um'wanti' ma'v'ö'x' t'öç'w'ap'č'ya. ync'ḡuts öra'p'č'ya-
aic-u nav'nanq'wöw'p'aq uv'wa'e-u ç'u na'p'č'ya' t'öç'iv'i öran'aç'i p'ina's'ç-
ç'a'x'upa'aç'i p'ini'n'ḡp'č'ya'. maḡa'e- ync'č's ç'u'ariç' aḡ' t'öç'iv'i-
öra'n'aḡa w'ç'q' i'xavateç'manaḡq'w t'öç'iv'i' ts'p'ḡu'p'č'ya. ync'ḡu-
tsiaq' t'i'ḡw'niya'q' ma'na'ç'p'č'ya. ḡni'ç'uwaç'aḡ' m'č'ni's'ip'č'ya

wife of Coyote did the same thing to them, she patched his moccasins. In the morning Coyote did as he had done before, he went towards the cliff-bottom. There Coyote arrived.

Now³⁰ then that Iron-Clothes³¹ sang, "I did not dream well, dreaming, as I did, that Coyote is eating up my dried meat. Go ahead, then, you two, yonder; go and see!" said he to his daughters. From there they started off towards their dried meat that had been cached. When they got near it, that which they had used as a landmark³² was not standing there. "What did I say?" said that Iron-Clothes. That Coyote ran away from there as hard as he could towards his house, and they pursued him towards the village. Coyote ran straight ahead through the village; there all the people of the village they killed. An old woman was carrying her great-grandson along in that direction. "Is it a boy?" said they, asking that old woman. "No, it is a little girl," said the old woman. *Parvum penem illius (pueri) deorsum inter ejus crures ea tenebat*, so that he looked like a girl.³³ They, Iron-Clothes and his daughters, went back home towards their house. And then that Iron-Clothes took that boy's mother as his wife.

Yonder the old woman and her great-grandson were living. She, the boy's great-grandmother, would dig bulrushes, and that old woman would say while digging those bulrushes, "*Haec (junci radix) peni mei pronepotis est similis magnitudine*, but this one is like Coyote's, black and hollow," she would always say when digging bulrushes. And then that boy grew up; then he walked around and, in so doing, he learned how to dig bulrushes by himself. Now what bulrushes he dug up did not stay there (where he placed them); the bulrushes that he dug up would disappear. "Why is it that the bulrushes that I have dug up always disappear?" said the boy. "Now this time I shall look between my legs at my roots which I have dug up," said the boy to himself. Then he dug, and looked between his legs at the spot where he put them. As he did so, one who was jointed in two places gathered them up quickly, then off into the bulrushes he entered. And then that (boy) made a ball out of mud. Then he dug again, again there behind himself he put down his bulrushes that he had dug up, and through his legs he kept on looking. Then that one, who had carried away his roots that he had dug up, came out from among the bulrushes, and, having done so, he quickly

ʔnɪ'tsɪan' ta-vɪp'ɪɣaiyaŋa wɑ'm'avəx'təq-waɣainav o'ma. ʔnɪ'ŋu-qwa-ŋ aŋa'e'u qa'yə'myantsɪɣa'⁶⁹ qwarə'vayai'p'ax-pɪɣa a'xava-teux-wa tə'ə'ivɪ. 'a'a'xava'⁷⁰ qwau' qwara'vayai'p'ɪɣa'. yu'u'n ar nants'ɪ'n'əŋqɪx-ɪ, a'ip'ɪɣa, ʔnɪ'tsmɪ tɪn'əŋqɪtsɪva'amɪ,⁷⁰ a'ip'ɪɣa aŋa'e-u. ɪ'v^waiyauq' aŋa'e' a'ip'ɪɣa a'ip'əte aŋ', uv^wa quə'ɪn'⁷¹ʔka ɔrap.⁷¹ ʔnɪ'k'⁷² u'n-ivəte uru'⁷²axqa ɔra'p' ur. ɪ'v^waiyauq'u paɪy'q'w'əi-p'ɪɣa' qanɪ'vü-ntuxwəfɪ.

i'teuq-w an'ɪ'e an'ɪ'p'ɪɣa' tə'ə'ivɪɔraɣp'ɪɣa. mava'aiyue-u qwara'vayai'p'ɪɣa' maŋa'e-u yu'ə'RA^xqəp'ɪ'na'q'aina-ŋ aŋ'. yu'un an'⁷² nants'ɪ'ŋəŋqɪx-ɪ, a'ip'ɪɣa a'xavaiyue-u tə'ə'ivɪ. 'ʔnɪ'tsmɪ tɪn'əŋqɪva'⁷³amɪ, a'ip'ɪɣa' maŋa'e' yu'u'RA^xqəp'ɪ'naq'aina-ŋ aŋ'. maŋa'e' ɪ'ɪ't-a mpa^xqap'ɪɣain'ɪ a'ɪɣuwəŋ'. a'ix-ɪcuaŋ u^xqwə'p'ɪ pənta'tsɪ-ɣəntɪa-ŋ' yu'ɪ'runɪp'ɪɣaiyaq'aŋ'. ɪv^w'ɪ'n ʔnɪ'ŋuts' tɪn'əŋqɪn', a'ip'ɪɣa a'ip'ate aŋ'. ʔnɪ'ts' m'ə'vaaiyuan' tɪn'əŋqɪp'ɪɣaiyan' a'ip'ɪɣa, ɪtɪ'aru' 'an-um'ɪ tə'ə'iv ur ɪtɪ' 'aru'⁷⁴əm'ɪ ɪnɪ'a'ŋwɪɣa'ɪ'pɪa'm u'ŋ' tə'ə'p'ɪ'k'ɪɣaɪ'pɪəmi' cɪna'ŋwaviy aŋ' maa'fɪka-ŋ' qəɣə'⁷⁵ip'ɪɣaɪ'. ʔnɪ'ŋuts' piya'⁷⁶m u'ŋ' qwɪwɪ'x-pɪai uŋwa'iac-u tɪmp^w'ɪ'n'arə'ŋqwat-ɪ⁷³ oŋ' piŋwa'ɣwɪp'ɪŋw, a'ip'ɪɣa' maŋa'e-u yə'ə'RA^xqəp'ɪ'naq'aina-ŋ a'ŋ'. maŋa'e' ɪ'v^waiyauq-w a'ip'ate aŋ', ɪv^w'ɪ'ts'⁷⁴ nəŋa'ɪ'aip'ɪɣa' paɪy'ŋ'upɪɣa' p'ɪtɪɣwa'aits' muntu'na-p'ɪɣa'.

pina'ŋqwa maŋa'e' wɪ'ts'əŋ aŋ' p'ɪtɪpɪɣa. ə'v^waiyauq-w a'ip'ɪɣa' maŋa'e' wɪ'ts'əŋ aŋ', qwɪ'k'ɪtsɪəq' ɪ't'ɪ'qa'q'ə'.⁷⁵ aŋac' a'ix-ɪcam-pa-ŋ' p'ɪ'ŋqamuntun'ɪ'kaip'ɪɣa. aɣa'n-ŋəŋqɪŋuqwaiyun'ɪ' anɪ'k'a' muntu'n'ɪ'kaai'. u'u'ŋwani'amɪ tɪn'əŋqɪq'a'aimɪ, a'ip'ɪɣa' maŋa'e' wɪ'ts'əŋ aŋ'. ɪ'v^waiyauq' maŋa'e-u pɪŋqa'muntun'ɪ'kaip'ɪɣa ɪ'tɪ'e amp' muntu'n'naɪvumɪp'ɪɣa. ʔnɪ'avɪɣaɪc' a'ip'ɪɣa, ɪv^w'ɪ'ni tə'ə'ŋqəwɪyump-a-ŋquni tɪɣa'n'nünp'ɪ'məni kwɪ'pa'ni ʔnɪ'ŋumɪx'tsunɪ 'a'ɪc'ɪyən 'a'ma tɪ'ŋwɪn'ɪyən 'a'm wɪ'qa'm'muŋunpa', a'ip'ɪɣa aŋa'e' a'ip'əte aŋ'. axa'n'ɣa'ɪ'mɪ pa^xqa'xa.im'ɪ', a'ip'ɪɣa' maŋa'e' wɪ'ts'əŋ aŋ' wɪwɪ'tea-yɪŋqɪxaiyan'. 'aŋac' a'ip'ate aŋ' a'ip'ɪɣain'ɪ, kwɪ'pa'ɣoop'u'cuya-ɣwən-əzɪ. ɪv^w'ɪ'e u'⁷⁶ maŋa'e' wɪ'ts'əŋ aŋ' kwɪ'pa'p'ɪɣaiyan'. ʔnɪ'ŋum'ɪ'tsəŋ'⁷⁶ tɪ'ŋwɪn'ɪyən 'a'ɪc'una-ŋ wɪ'qa'm'ŋup'ɪɣa' tea'm-pɪna-ŋqɪp'ɪɣaiyaq' ʔnɪ'ŋuts'. aru'q'wəmi' waa'iyunqɪŋ'ŋum'əni, a'ip'ɪɣa' maŋa'e-u mam'a'haɣwəite'⁷⁷ aŋ'.

ɪ'v^waiyauq-u mam'u'e' a'ip'ɪɣa'aimɪ' cɪna'ŋwavi aŋ' aŋa'ɪux-wa, ɪv^w'ɪ'ca' cɪna'ŋwafɪ mu^xqwɪ'ɣaxwa'⁷⁸ ɪ'ɪ'va'm' ʔnɪ'ŋuts' nara'q-wɪn-

seized them. As he did thus to them, (the boy) turned and hit him with the mud-ball that he had made. When he had done so to him, that one cried from pain as he went hopping along on one leg into the bulrushes; off there among them he was crying from pain. "Come and joint my leg for me," said he, "and I shall tell you something," said that one. Then the boy said, "There indeed lies what was dug up; in that way should it always be with what is dug up." And then he went back to his house.

In the morning he did as he had done before, came to dig up bulrushes. From that same place cried with pain he whose leg had been broken. "Come and joint my leg for me," said he from among the bulrushes again, "and I shall tell you something," said that one whose leg had been broken. That (boy) was getting tired of what he said. After he had spoken thus, (the boy) made a leg out of a stick that had one notch. "Go ahead! now tell me," said the boy. Then from there he told him and said, "These are not really bulrushes, these are really your dead relatives' brains, who were killed through Coyote's fault. Then your mother was taken away and has been taken by Iron Clothes as his wife," said that one whose leg had been broken. Then that boy became very angry; he started home, and having arrived, went to bed and covered himself up.

After a while that great-grandmother of his arrived. And then his great-grandmother said, "Get up and eat this." Despite her saying so he kept lying covered up. "What can have happened to you that you act thus, my dear, lying covered up? Perhaps some one has been telling you something," said his great-grandmother. And then that (boy) kept on lying covered up. He always used to lie covered up. While still lying thus, he said, "Go ahead and hit me with your seed-beater right in the center of my head, and after doing so to me, you shall quickly cover me with the gathering basket," said the boy. "Why have that done to you? to kill you?" said that great-grandmother of his, while going through the motion of hitting him. That boy thought, "I wish she would hit me!" and sure enough, then, his great-grandmother hit him. After having done so to him, she quickly covered him up with her gathering basket and then lifted it up from him. Under that her two great-grandsons were sitting. "There have come to be two great-grandsons for me," said the old woman.

And then those two said to Coyote, "Go ahead, Coyote, and call people together, and then they shall assemble together in this place."

teumpava'. 'p'mai, a'ip'č'ya' čina'ňwaɸI. aňa'q' uv'wai 'i'ňwaru'^{ax-}qantm' 'i'e'u'wznti cuwa'm^xqwizaw'aiyu, a'ip'č'ya' čina'ňwaɸI. um^wa'x'upa'p'č'ya' čina'ňwaw aň' m^xqw'č'zani'č'za' tümp^w'č'n-aro'ň-qwa'nti uň uňwα'vantux-wa. 'a'ip'č'ya' nana'x'qantimpa'a'vňw' iumu'ru'x-wa. pina'ňqwa maňa'iac'u tana'q'its:⁷⁸ aň' qan'vā'ntu'wα-p'č'ya'iyaj'. čina'ňwaɸI qate'u naá'n'ap'ä'^a. m^xqw'č'zani'č'za', a'ip'č'ya' čina'ňwaɸI. u'p'mai, 'a'ip'č'ya' tana'q'its, nō'ntzā'^a čina'ňwaɸI. 'č', a'ip'č'ya' čina'ňwaɸI, kiyα'p' iva'ai' tč'za'iva a'inctuan a'ik^x. uň'č'smi nī' nō'n'ne'va'^ami yuyu'wāit'i im' i'iva' qari'campa, a'ip'č'ya' čina'ňwaɸI. čina'ňwaw ūma'ivātecamp' tī'v'č'sm: a'ivāte' nava'c'u a'iza', a'ip'č'ya' tana'q'its. čina'ňwaɸI pa'γē'in^xq'w'ip'č'ya' nan-qa'q'ai'y'iqw a'i'ňai'wa čina'ňwaɸ wa^xqī'c'u qō'ňipi'č'ya aňa'ura'. i'v^w'i'm'č'za'^a m^wα'va'ntu'wa'ami qwau' nō'mi'quv'a'ami uň'č's'i mava'aiyu pa'γa'immi'quv'a' i'mi, a'ip'č'ya' čina'ňwaɸI. i'v'waiyauqu pi'ka'č'unavutsa'ň an'a'č'iyaj' nō'miqup'č'ya. i'ri' qateu'n' qī'i'ya-β'ant, a'ip'č'ya' čina'ňwaw ant'ňwā'vumaiyuanaj a'č'otsivč'u. nari'v'ini qateu'um an'k^x qī'i'va'ňwa'iyucampα, a'ip'č'ya' tan'a'q'its.

ma'va' u'v'waiyauqu u'c'p'ar'uzp'č' p'č'č'w'aip'č'ya'aim'. i'v'č'ya'q' o'č' maňa'c'ujumi čina'ňwaw aň' moč'mpa'ňum', a'ip'č'ya'⁷⁹ ma'm-u'c'u nava'č'itsujw zmi. um^wa'uxpa' o'w' čina'ňwaw aň' moč'p'č'ya'iyami "m^wa'va'iy a'ip'č'ya' čina'ňwaɸI, i'v'č'ya'ň' na'p'antu'č'wa'ň' maňa'c' a'ivean aň u^xqw'č'γu'm-ama'xa'ň, a'ip'č'ya' čina'ňwaɸI. qate'u nari'v'w'in aro'^a nī'ⁱ co'q'ue' o'č'wa.ivāteč'i, a'ip'č'ya' tA'sč'av aň t'rau-q-wv'č'v a'č'eim'aq'uc'wαč'i yajw'ňw'č'za'. m^wa'u'pa'^a čina'ňwaw aň' moč'p'č'ya'iyaq' uňw'č'aiya'q'. 'aa'ik-w, a'ip'č'ya' čina'ňwaɸI, 'imi'ntei'č'v'ni⁸⁰ u'p'aq'a', a'ip'č'ya' čina'ňwaɸI. nī'ne' an'č'ain a-wawα'⁸¹ na'γu'q'wipaijan un'a'γ'it'u'γw an'č'za' a'wawa',⁸¹ a'ip'č'ya' pi'ka'ay aň'. čina'ňwaw'ňwa pa^xqa'ňu'p'č'ya'aiňw. uň'č'sujw tī'm'č'p'č'ya'aiňw. uň'ňuts' miyč't'č'an'č' qu'qw'p'č'ya. uň'ňuts'č' u'ura' x^xqw'č'w'ip'č'ya' ya'vaiy'up'č'ya'aik-w ts'qu't'ňna'p'č'ya'aiňw uň'ňuts' uň'č'e' a'ip'č'ya', ma'n' i'v'w'ä'p'č'imi pi'ka'ayaxaiva-n-ti t'č'q'va'p-l, a'ip'č'ya' čina'ňwaɸI. ma'n'č'w'ň uň'ňuts' t'č'q'q'p'č'ya'aiňw.

i'v'waiyauqu pi'ka'ai' ta'γu'ut'č'cu'ň'w'p'č'ya'aim'. m^wa'u'pa'q' čina'ňwaw aň' moč'p'č'ya'iyaq' m^wα'va' yu'a'va' ta'γu'iteup'č'ya'. qateu'ruāq'⁸² i'v'ä' pa'aaivāte', a'ik^xp'č'ya. i'č'ň, a'ip'č'ya' čina'ňwaɸI, č'iva'q' wa'a'p'a'ts ur a' n'č'yaivāte',⁸³ a'ip'č'ya' čina'ňwaɸI. čina'ňwaɸI m^wα'va'nti' maa'vuruq-wati' č'rap'č'ya' NA'sč'x'ma'ňu'p'č'ya.

"All right," said Coyote. "Who, then, is it that is always ready? Long ago I almost went to call people together," said Coyote. Coyote went off in yonder direction, going about to call people together against Iron-Clothes; he spoke to different kinds of animals. Soon he came to that Rattlesnake's house. Coyote did not say anything. "Traveling around to call people together," said Coyote. "All right," said Rattlesnake. "Carry me, then, Coyote." "Ha!" said Coyote, "did I say that a round-dance was about to take place here? So I am to carry around on my back you who have no legs! You just stay here!" said Coyote. "Though Coyote is always saying that, he really is wont to say so merely in sport," said Rattlesnake. Coyote started to walk off, but when he heard what he had said, Coyote turned back again to him. "Let me, then, carry you along off to that place, then from there you will start to walk along," said Coyote. And then he started to carry him along in (Rattlesnake's) little rawhide bag. "Look out! don't bite me," said Coyote, as (Rattlesnake) was darting out his tongue from Coyote's shoulder. "It is my wont to act thus, but I shall not bite you," said Rattlesnake.

There, then, the two of them arrived at the gathering place. "Go ahead now! That Coyote will be your leader," said the two brothers. And so Coyote led them through that country. At yonder place Coyote said, "Do you, all of you, give that companion of mine one arrow each," said Coyote. "No! It is my wont to be provided with but one arrow," said Red Ant, as he stood and held his unfeathered arrow together with his bow. Coyote led the people through that country. "Oh!" said Coyote, "what friend of mine has been through here?" said he. "It is I who have done so, awawa!³⁴ while engaged in proceeding into the combat, awawa!" said Land Turtle. Coyote killed him and then roasted him in the ashes. Then he shot to a considerable distance and, having done so, he ran along towards the spot (his arrow had reached), brought it back with him, and poked the Turtle out with its point. Then, having done so, he said, "In that way shall it always be done to you, who are destined to be a hard-shell turtle. You shall always be eaten," said Coyote. And then they all ate him.

Now the Hard-shell Turtle's (spirit) caused them to be thirsty. Coyote was leading the troop to that country; there on the plain they were thirsty. "Is there not a spring hereabouts?" said they. "Yes," said Coyote, "right around here is the one that is called Cedar Spring," said he. Right there under a bush Coyote dug and covered himself

ḡnt'ḡuts i'v^waiyanq- aña'e- iyó'viteuate añ a'ip-ḡya, i'v^wi'ni nī'm^w i'v'ḡw'aiḡumpa'amī. itei'an 'əai' nī'ni ava'ḡwmi pa'iyu'āḡq'iv'am^wi- ni, a'ip-ḡya' ta'n-a'q'ite añ'. iyāt-uzwa'am' yuwa-'āḡanti uv^wa-'āx'-amī q'i'ī'ni^sk'ai'pḡya.in-ū'am'. piya-'m- añ' m^wα'va-nti' yua-'ava-nti' tīḡa'pḡya'. ma-m'u'e- añ'a'vantuzwa'am' pī'teu'amē'mī tuzu'ḡ- wip-ḡya' tūmpa'īya-ḡ'am- mari'ḡwa-ḡq^spḡya. aa'ik-w, a'ip-ḡya' ma- m'a'uts, aḡa'n'ḡum o'v^wai a-'ḡawanteiqai'va', a'ip-ḡya' piya-'m- añ'. uv^wa-'aiḡwa eina'ḡwaw ḡḡ' ta-ḡu'p-ā^xqai a'iveaḡwa-v ḡḡ ḡm'ḡwa'^a, a'ip-ḡya'aim'. v'mai, a'ip-ḡya' piya-'m- am', nī'ḡwmi yó'viteua'tsi- ḡa-'q'ḡḡum⁸⁴ tīḡa'n-umpiḡn ava'ḡwiḡumi yu-α'm'miava', a'ip-ḡya' pīya-'m- añ'.

ḡnt'siam' m^wa'u'pa'am' yuα'm'miap-ḡya'iyam' pa'ia^x qarī'ti 'a'ura'. mava'amī ma-m'u'e-u nava'tsiḡw am' tō-'aḡax-qarīpḡya'aim'. maḡac- a'ip-ḡya' piya-'m- añ', pḡm'k^s-aim' yó'viteua'tsiḡw am' ma'ī- k^s-ainani. qateu'ya mī pa-'āxavateux-w ḡaḡw'i'iyap'i, a'ip-ḡya'. ma-m'u'e-ḡḡwa nava'tsiḡw am' pa-'āḡavatsiḡwajwam' qwī'pḡya' pa'ru'q'wam iḡa'ḡupḡya'. ma-vu'ts-kḡq'pḡya'iyana'am' ma-m'u'e-u m^wqu'ntam' pa'iy'am um^wα'nti' tu'u'm^xqwōi'pḡya. iyāt-uzwanu- pḡya'aim' yuwa-'avi ava'^ax-i 'a'm'v^wam' pī'teḡw'aipḡya'. eina'- ḡwaw añ' cuwa'iy'a'ip-ḡya' ta-ḡu'y'aiḡa'. 'aik-w, a'ip-ḡya' eina'- ḡwafī, nī'ⁱ na-m'ī'ivivā' nō-'n'nteiḡañ', a'ip-ḡya' einaḡwafī. ma- n-ō'n-i ivi'k^s-apḡya' maḡa'ccampa tan-a'q'ite añ' piya'pḡya. i'v^win nī' ivi'vā', a'ip-ḡya'. yu'α'ḡq'qar'tuava^xqa-ḡan-o' mḡm'ḡwznt ivi'zuaḡ', a'ip-ḡya' eina'ḡwafī. qateu'ā^xqan-ūwani yu'α'ḡq'qar'tua- va'ḡwa', a'ip-ḡya' tan-a'q'its-. qa'te-u yu'α'ḡq'qar'tuava^{ax}qa-ḡan-o' a'ian a'ik^s, a'ip-ḡya' eina'ḡwafī. əa'q^xtuiva^{ax}qa-ḡ ḡru'ac- maḡa'e-u tana'q'ite añ'. quu'p-ḡḡap-ḡya'aik-w. m^wα'n-ḡumpa-q'añ' a'ian iḡir 'aik^s, a'ip-ḡya' eina'ḡwafī. m^wα'va-ntimanḡwa pa' ar nu^xqwt'k-upḡya' qana'uiḡwaḡantmpañwitu-wa. i'ī'tcia-q' wa'a'- p-a-te ur a'ik^s-ainani, a'ip-ḡya' eina'ḡwafī. a-va'ḡwi nava'q'iqap-ḡya'.

ə'v^waiyanq-u paḡa'in^vnu^xqwik'pḡya u'v^wa- eina'ḡwaw a'ip-ḡya, i'v^wi'raḡwa qu'qwt'tiḡa^xqava itei' tōha'tūmp^s'ai'. uv^wa-'ntuzw'α- q-w qo'q-wiḡap-ḡya'aik-w u^xqwt'yuan- ar am'ḡḡwantuḡwac-u pa'pa'iy'pḡya'. ma-m'u'ccamp o'v^wai' piya'pḡya'aim' ta'st'av añ' tana'q'its aḡa'ḡwa'^a. ta'st'av añ' qu'qwt'pḡya'iyaq- ḡnt'ḡuqwa-ḡ' tūmp a'r pu'ruq-wipḡya u^xqwt'yuaḡ ar m'ə'vaḡwit-ḡwḡa-ḡ' pa'iyū'- ḡupḡya'. maḡa'e-u ta-naq'ite añ' qū'pḡya'iyaq- ḡnt'ḡuqwa-ḡ' tūmp a'r tu'ḡm'ūnuq-wa-pḡya'in-t'. um^wa'u'p'α p'ōw'm'ya'pḡya'aic-u. wāntsvuḡqo'añ' añ' tūmp^wi'n-arc'ḡqwantī um^wα'va' yuwa-'ava' pḡn'ḡwīmp-ḡya. 'aa'ik-w, aik^s-pḡya, aḡa'n-ḡaḡaḡw u'v^wai' pa'pa'-

with moist earth.^{34a} Now then that young Mourning Dove³⁵ said, "Let us two go to find water to drink." "You two shall bring water for me in this (bag)," said Rattlesnake. The two of them, proceeding through this plain, flew over it, putting out their breasts and holding up their heads like doves. Their mother was gathering seeds at that place on the plain. Down upon her did the two of them fall as though from the sky and closed her mouth with their hands. "Oh!" said the woman, "how, then, shall I hide you?" said the mother. "Over there Coyote together with his companions are thirsty," said they. "All right," said their mother, "I shall carry you in the form of little mourning doves in my seed-beater."

And then she carried them through there towards the lake. There those two sisters, (daughters of Iron-Clothes,) sat watching. That mother of the boys said, "Look at the little doves that I have found. Do not take them into the water," said she. The two sisters took them right out into the water and dived into the water. The (doves) slipped out of the girls' hands; then they went straight and took some of the water. They started off through here over the plain and arrived where their companions were. Coyote was nearly dead from thirst. "Oh," said Coyote, "I shall be the first to drink, who have been carrying him around," said Coyote. They all drank, but that Rattlesnake was left over. "Let me drink," said he. "Some one of you shall hold it for him while he drinks," said Coyote. "No one shall hold it for me," said Rattlesnake. "No! let some one hold it for him, that's what I say," said Coyote, "that Rattlesnake will spill the water." Rattlesnake let the water spill out of his mouth. "That is what he will do, that indeed is what I said," said Coyote. Starting from that point the water flowed off through a canyon bordered with willows. Coyote said, "This is the Cedar Spring that I spoke of," said Coyote. In it they bathed themselves.

And then they started off on their way; yonder Coyote said, "Let us all practice shooting at this white stone." They shot at it there and the arrows all came back to them. They alone now were left over, Red Ant and Rattlesnake. Red Ant shot at it, and when he did so, the rock burst to pieces and his arrow came back into his hand. That Rattlesnake bit it, and when he did so, the stone became like a round black mass. They went on again through that country. The tame antelope (that Iron-Clothes had as guard) was standing there on the plain, standing looking in different directions.^{35a} "Oh!" said they, "how, then, are we going to kill him?" Circling about him

qavaŋ', a'ik^sp'i'ya'. ma'up'a' aŋa'oax-tux-wa tajw'xarup'i'yaiaŋ'.
 maŋa'e-u ta'e'av an' qan'a-u A^sqa'naŋqwo'p'i' m'a'a'yaŋtũmpa'
 qarip'i'ya'. cina'ŋwaw an' m^wz'va-ntux-wa moru'nav'i' tu'tu'p'i'na-
 p'i'ya' na'uwa'me-k⁸⁶ un'ŋuts: wa'te'm'miap'i'ya' maŋwa'vaxa'
 wants' an' aŋa'ura'. maŋac um^wz'va' pi'ka'xunavut-ŋna-xiv
 ŋwa'i'ka'i'p'i'ya. un'k'ayuc-u wi'k-up'i'ya' ti'rava-ntux-wa. tiv'ip'i'
 A'e'aruqwa-γ⁸⁷ aŋa'ora'i'p'i'ya' wants' an'. 'u'v^wa' so'ts'k'aip'i'ya
 y'e'n'ue un'k'aip'i'ya. un'mi'qup'i'yaaic-u tiv'p'i' aru'q-wa-x-i
 u'v^wa so'ts'ŋup'i'yaaic-u. i'v^waiyauq-u to'γ'at'araruq-wa so'ts'ŋup'i'ya
 un'ŋutsaq' ŋŋw'i'aiya-ŋ' pu'ca'yaip'i'yaiaq'. un'z'aic-uag'
 piyi'a-ŋ' maip'i'ya' tana'e'zaiya-ŋ' nari'yavantuγw y'a'n'uyiaq'
 ta^wv'u'v^wux-u. q'i'p'i'yaiaq' un'ŋuts: pa'a'iyon' u' paiyũ'ŋup'i'ya'
 qa'q'ŋup'i'ya un'ŋuts:

'a'ik-w, a'ip'i'ya' cina'ŋwafɪ, u'u'ŋwanantca⁸⁸ ŋe-u maa'it'uit'i'
 tana'q'ite ŋŋ', a'ixa ŋwa'i'skaina ŋav u'u'raŋqwa'aip'i'ya'. tiv'c'amp
 o'u pi'ka'xunavutsis-uaŋ ar mava- ŋŋwa'i'sk'aip'i'ya. 'an'an' aik',
 a'ip'i'ya' cina'ŋwafɪ. uv^wa'ntuγwa-q' tea'tea'p-a'yaite'p'i'yaiaq'
 quna'v'a-ŋ'. o'p'ac-u paiyũ'ŋup'i'ya' mava'ntux-wp'i'ya' wants' an'
 pu'v^wa wi'k'aip'antux-w. mava' un'ŋuts: maŋa'e-u tana'q'ite
 an' ti'v^wik'icara-q'aip'i'ya. a'a'ik-w a'ivaiyan, a'ip'i'ya', quna'vua'ami
 ya'ŋqixw'aijumpa', a'ip'i'ya' cina'ŋwafɪ. mava pi'te'z'w'aip'i'ya
 un'ŋutsizq' i'v^wi'campan' u' to'to'q'oa'p'i'yaiaq' cina'ŋwaw an' tea'-
 tea'p-a'yaite^sqainaφɪ. 'aŋa'v'aiŋqwa'ti'ze: aŋa'iae-u ta'e'av' an'
 wants an' kwi'pa'p'i'ya'. cina'ŋwafɪ ya'p'ite'z'w'aip'i'yaiaq'
 quna'v'a-ŋ'. un'ŋuts aya'ŋwaw' nōm'miap'i'yaiaŋ' wants' an'
 aŋa'vateux-wa. mava'iyuan' ti'qa'q'p'i'yaiaŋ' wants'vuyqoa-ŋ'
 tũmp^w'n-arō'ŋqwanti'.

'aa'ik-w, a'ip'i'ya' maŋa'e' tũmp^w'n-arō'ŋqwant an', a'iteaŋw
 qa'q'ŋup' wants'vuyqun ŋŋ' qateu'ŋŋwaiŋw i'i'v'a' pi'te'iaap'ate',
 a'ip'i'ya aŋa'e-u. o'v^waiyauq-u ma-m'u'e-u nava'φitsŋw zm a'ip'i'ya-
 aim', i'v^w'yaraŋwa naŋw'i'arqwaŋumpa', a'ip'i'ya'aim'. mza'v'aiyu
 cina'ŋwaw an' na'ntuin' u' a-ŋqa'n'xaxp'i'ya'aik-w to'ts'z'φɪ. un'k'aju-
 mi'ts: ya'e-ajup'i'ya' pa'ai' qariri' a'u'ra 'ava' ŋm^w'i'p'i'ya'. 'aa'ik-w
 pats'ni qateu'tea m' paa'iyōŋwa'p'ac-u wi'i'atsŋw zm'i, a'ip'i'ya'
 nam'i'yaŋ an'. cina'ŋwaw an' a-m-u'rqwa-γ'it-uac-un' u' p'ni'ni'p'i'ya.
 a'ik-w, a'ip'i'ya' pats'ŋw, um^wz'ŋaya'axa'a' nūru'q-wax'tize-u p'ni'-
 n'ni', a'ip'i'ya' pats'ŋw an'. m^wz'ŋ an'k'a' i'a'vuruŋuqwaŋm-zni,
 a'ip'i'ya' na-m'i'yaŋ an'. maa'up'ac-u ya'e-uqwaŋjup'i'ya' ma-m'u'e-u
 wi'i'atsŋw zm'. maŋa'e-u piya'm' an' m^wz'vaaiyu tu'cu'p'i'ya'.
 maŋa'e-u tũmp^w'n-arō'ŋqwant an' a'ip'i'ya, aza'n'izai ani'k^s tu'cu'-

in that way, they rounded him up. That Red Ant was sitting on the divide in the direction of the antelope's house. Coyote pulled greasewood right there out of the ground. Then, as he went along, he put it in front of himself, creeping on his hands and knees towards the antelope. That Rattlesnake was hanging there in his rawhide bag. So doing, he dropped down to the ground and proceeded towards the antelope under the surface of the earth. Yonder he peeped out; he was still far away from him. Again he started to move on under the earth; yonder he peeped out again. This time he peeped out right under him, and, so doing, he looked around at all parts of his body. While he was doing so, he found his heart beating right in the open between his hoofs. Then he bit it, and then the antelope jumped high up in the air and came back making a raucous noise.³⁶

"Oh!" said Coyote, "perhaps it was that Rattlesnake that was gotten sight of." So saying, he went to where he had hung him up. Sure enough, now, only his rawhide bag was still hanging there. "That is what I said," said Coyote. At that place he tore his bag up to pieces. He returned to the same place, he came to where the antelope had been standing. There, then, that Rattlesnake had his mouth filled with dirt. "Oh my companion!" said Coyote, "let me go and get your bag for you." There he arrived at the bag, and Coyote patched it together somehow or other, after having torn it up. Before reaching that Red Ant, the antelope fell down dead. Coyote arrived with Rattlesnake's bag and then he carried him along in it to the antelope. At that place they all ate the antelope, Iron-Clothes' tame antelope.

"Oh!" said that Iron-Clothes, "my tame antelope made a raucous noise. He has not come back here," said he. And then the brothers said, "Let us all turn ourselves into sparrows," said they. There Coyote painted his head fiercely. After they had done so, they flew off towards the lake and there they arrived. "Oh my sister! many have the sparrows become in number," said one (of Iron-clothes' daughters) to her older sister. Coyote kept looking under them, it seemed. "Oh!" said the older sister, "that one, indeed, keeps looking under me." "It is that one whom I have wounded,"³⁷ said her younger sister. Back through that country flew off those sparrows. The mother of the two boys was grinding seeds at that place. Iron-Clothes said, "Why are you engaged in grinding seeds? Is it Coyote that causes you to grind seeds?"³⁸ You said, indeed, that

xwa'. cina'hwavit'cu'a'm⁸⁸ an' t'u'cu't-uy'i'm'. imi' pa^xqa'q'ain
'a'i iyir 'aik^x m^wα'η' qam'i'cap-uts an' axa'n-intca^aηa'a pa^xqa'hoan
i'm a'iyai' aik^x. man'i'ntca'han un'i'ηu maa'v'ia-η u'a'xaφi
qari'yuan itci' am' ti'ya'n'impim·zn', a'ip'iyā' pi'ηwa'^aη an'. i'v^wi'aq·
o'u un'i't'i'qan'wi, a'ip'iyā' ma'ηa'c'u tümp^wi'n·arō'ηqwant'. ma'ηa'c·
o'u pi'ηwa'^aη an' un'i'c·uan an' i'ηup'i'ya' ti'ya'n'imp ar uv^wa'ηwi
u^xqw'iyuu' w'i'n'k·uq·wain uv^wa'ηwi w'i'n'k·u'p'i'ya'. qa'te'u 'c'·α'ian
an'i'k'ain' m'a'i'an 'a'ik^x, a'ip'iyā' tümp^wi'n·arō'ηqwant'. u'ηwa'c·u-
γwain' i' wants'vunqun un' qa'q'·ηu^xqwznti' qate i'ma'j'm:η'wait'i
nava'c·u qa'q'·ηuts i'i'vā' p'i'tc:R n'i'φα.

ma·m·u'c· i'v^waiyauq·u nava'φits:ηw am a'ip'iyā'aim', i'v^wi'araηwa
na'a'·a'ηaruqwaumpa'. tiv^wi'c· o'u 'uni'c· a·n' i'k'·an'up'iyā 'a'izuan'.
un'i'ts· ya'c·u'ηup'iyā' pa'ai' qari'ti u'u'ra'. uv^wa' i'm^wi' i'z'w'aip'iyā-
aic·u. un'i'c· a·n' i'p'iyā' cina'ηwaφi i'm^wu'RU^xqwa·a'γit·uαc·u·i' p'p'i'n'·
n'ip'iyā. i'v^waiyauq· o'p'ac·u ya'c·u'ηup'iyā uv^wa' i'm^wi' i'z'w'aip'iyā'
p'i'v'a'·yuv un'i' i'k'·an'. c'v^waiyauq·u ma·m·u'c·u na·va'ts:ηw am'
paiy'q'wōip'iyā'aim' qan'tvā·ntu'z'wa·a'mi'φi. i'v^waiyauq·u ma·m·u'c·
u na·va'φits:ηw am a'ip'iyā'aim', i'v^wi'araηwa na·vu'teαRU-
qwaumpa'. tiv^wi'c·amp o'u pu't'c:ats:ηw qa'te'u paa'iyup'tiāc·u
qan'i'ntc:uqwa·a·x·i. 'aa'ik·w a'ya'n· an'i'k' an'i'ntcēm' i'mi' pu't'c:ats:ηw
am', a'ip'iyā'aim' ma·m·u'c·u nava'ts:ηw am c'a'xa·q·ari'zai'ηa'm'.
'a'aik·w m'α'ηaya·a·xa'a na'ntcuin' i' pu'η'w'i'ηq'i c'a'va·n't'i'aj ar
imp'i'n'ini'ntc'. pats'i'aj an' a'ip'iyā', m^wα'η an'i'k'·a i'a'vuruηuqwai-
nzn. c'v^waiyauq·u ma·m·u'c·u ma·n·u'n·u o'p'ac·u m'p'i'c·ip'iyā'.

uv^wa'·yu'm a'ip'iyāico'om' ma·m·u'c·u nava'φits:ηw am', i'v^wi'ra-
ηwa na·γa'tc:tc:uqwanumpa'. tiv^wi'c·amp o'u qa'ts:ηw am' qa'te·u
pa'iyōηup'iaāc·u tümp^wi'n·arō'ηqwant'i' qan'tvā'. ma·n·c'q·c ma'^av'ia-
a'η' q'i't'i'itc:uq·up'i'ya' pa·γa'η'w'iyā·m' ma'·rōarōmpu't·uit·iik'·p'i'ya'
tümp^wi'yua·η' tümp^wi'm·a·v'ia·η' ma·n·c'q·c q'i't'i'itc:uq·up'i'ya' pa·γa'·
η'w'iyā·m' ma'·rōarōmpu't·uit·iik'·p'i'ya' tümp^wi'yua·η' tümp^wi'm·a·
v'ia·η' ma·n·c'q·c q'i't'i'itc:uq·up'i'ya'. ma'ηa'c·u piya'·m: an' p'p'qā'·
RUcup'iyā' ma·m·u'c·uq·w nava'φits:ηw am' yu'·a'p'iyā'qā'·m'
t'u'cu'n·a·η' piya'iyav'i'm'. ma·m·u'c·uq·w ti'qa'q'·p'i'ya' tu'z'wa'vai'
cina'hwav'iy an' a'ivaiyanw. i'v^waiyauq·u ta'ci'anti' ti'ya'iz:ηq·u
ma'ηac· a'ip'iyā' ta·n·a'q·tc: an', i'v^wi'αni tō'γō'IN'c'xqwō'mts:γaip·ai-
yαni qwitc'α'q·an'aj u'u'ra' tsits'ηw:c·A. ma·m·u'c·u'ηw' c'v^wa'·u-
ra'ηwa qwitc'α'q·ana·η' tsits'ηwicap'iyā'. tō'γō'ia·vanwiti un'i'ts·
kw'i'pa'p'iyā' qwitc'α'q·ana·η' mava'ηwan un'i'ηuts c'a'xa·q·aip'iyā-
iyā'. i'v^waiyauq·u ta'ci'ant ar ti'qa'η'w'ip'i'ya' ma·m·u'c·uαq·
un'i'ηuts· qan'ta m'i ta·ηw'i'zaru'p'iyaiyaq'. i'v^waiyauq·u ma'ηa'c·u

you had killed that little jack-rabbit, but how did you kill him, as you say?" "It is thus that I did so to him, with this seed-beater of mine, as he was sitting right in the brush," said his wife. "Go ahead, then, and do it again," said Iron-Clothes. So that wife of his did just as she had (pretendedly) done, and the seed-beater struck right into the spot where the arrow had struck.³⁹ "No! it has been done by a spy, that is what I say," said Iron-Clothes. "That tame antelope of mine too has made a raucous sound. He is not wont to make a sound like that for no reason; having made a raucous noise, he is wont to return to me."⁴⁰

Then those two brothers said, "Let us all turn ourselves into piñon jays." Sure enough, now, they all did just as the two of them said. Then they flew off towards the lake and arrived there. Coyote acted as before; he kept looking under them, as it seemed. Then they flew back again and arrived there whence they had been coming. Then the two sisters went back to their own house. Now those two brothers said, "Let us all turn ourselves into mice," and in very truth they became mice in great numbers under the house. "Oh! how did it happen that there came to be these mice?" said the two sisters, as they sat and watched them. "Oh! that one, indeed, is making a horrible squeaking noise. He has something raised on his back." The elder sister said, "That one it is whom I have wounded." And then they all turned back again.

Now, then, the two brothers said, "Let us all turn ourselves into rats." Sure enough, then, they got to be rats in great number in Iron-Clothes' house. They gnawed all his things to pieces. They caused the bow-strings (of Iron-Clothes and his daughters) to hang loose, and they gnawed Iron-Clothes' gun all to pieces. That mother of the two boys kept on grinding seeds and they carried off what their mother ground. Those, Coyote and his companions, ate it during the night. Then, when dawn came, that Rattlesnake said, "Vos baculo prehendentis ipso in loco quocurvis sim jacite me ad domum ejus defaecationis." Illi igitur ad domum (Ferrovestiti) defaecationis eum baculo jecerunt et ipsa in domo ejus defaecationis cecidit. Then he waited for him therein. And then it became dawn and they thereupon circled around the house of (Iron-Clothes and his daughters). Deinde ille Ferrovestitus iit ut defaecaret et crebro pandiculatus est⁴¹ cum ambularet. "Are you waiting there for me, Coyote?" said Iron-Clothes. Consedit in foramen defaecationis.

tümp^{wi}'n-arö'ñqwant añ' qwitca'zwa'öip'ïya' nan-a-ro-q-wipax-pïya.
uv^wa'-aruön'u'ï eina'ñwaw öa'xa-q-artön',⁸⁹ a'ip'ïya' tümp^{wi}'n-arö'ñ-
qwant añ'. ö'pa'q'ina-q' avañwï qa'qa'rïpïya'. manja'e' uv^war'
ñi'ñuqwa'ñ' ta-n-a'q'ite añ' kwï'tu'x-pa-q-öañ' qï'ï'p'ïya'. manja'-
e-u tümp^{wi}'n-arö'ñqwant añ' na-va'e-u qa-rï'p'ïya' qateu yu'mu'-
q-wipä'⁹⁰. manja'e'-ñywa ta-n-a'q'ite añ' ti'ñqun'anjw qï'p'ïyaie-u.
ñi'ñuqwa'ñ' ñi'ñuts' tümp^{wi}'n-arö'ñqwant añ' na-va't-u-m'ñup'ïya'
qan'av' ñi'ñuts uv^wa'ïananqwat'iae-u wï'na'.ñywar'uöp'ïya'.

ma-m-ue' ï'v^waiyauq-u patcü'ñwa-ñ' añ' a-tei'amuö tu'u'mapïya'
wa-av'i'n'ïxpïyaäim'. ñi'ñ'ñ'ñuqwa-m' pa'ya'ñ'wiam' ar' tñqwa'pïya'.
ma-ru'x'qwa'ñ'qïp'ïyaiaq'am' pa'ya'ñ'wiam' uö. ñi'ñ'ñun'ñq'ucam-
pa'q'am' pa'ya'ñ'wiam' 'ai' t'ö'qwa'p'ï'namipïya'ïtuai'. manja'e-u
ta'ei'av' añ' a'ip'ïya', ñi'ñ'azw'ö'zain'ï zïr'⁹⁰ qwa'ut-u'γwæ-u pö-mpö'-
n'ai', a'izuwañ' ma-m-ue' u na-va'tsujw' am' qwa'ut-u'γwa-m'
pömpö'n'ap'ïya'aim'. ñi'ñ'ï'zwa'ö'zäm' u^xqwi'yü ar' kwï'tu'x-pa-m'
tsis-tu'na'ñqim'zän'u'. manja'e-u pïñqam'aip'ïya', ñi'ñ'azw'ö'zain'ï
wa'qï't-u'γwæ-u tara'v'n'na'ai', a'izuwañ' ma-m-ue' u na-va'tsujw'
äm' wa'qï't-u'γwa'am' tara'v'n'na'pïya'aim'. ñi'ñ'ï'zwa'ö'zäm' u^xqwi'yü
är' pö'ï'paäm' tsis'ñywa'x'ïmipïya'ain'.

manja'e-u ta'ei'av' añ' qa'teu qu'qwu'wa'iy'ucampa qa'nna'cuv
a'ip'ïya'. pina'ñqw' ö'v^waiyauq-w a'ip'ïya', ñywa'ruqwat-u'γwaq'a-
va-n'arajwa a'iyaq' qu'qo'q-wik'ananum a'r qa'teu maa'ntsujwä'⁹¹.
ïv^win' ñi'ñ'ts' ñi'ñ'ï'c'u'q'ue' u'qwi'yuts'zai'väte unp'ï'e'acampa ma-m'ï'-
v^watei' qu'qwi'va'. a'ïyaie' wa^xqï't-u'γwa'am' mïñi'e'ck' pö'ï'pa'ti-
a-m' qu'qwi'p'ïya'. ñi'ñ'ñuqwa'ñ' ma-m'ï'ñwznti' ti'ravan'tux-wa
kwï'pa'p'ïya' co'q'un' añ' qwa'uan' mïñi'e'ck' qu'qwi'p'ïyaicua'ñ'.
mava'ntu'γwa-m' pa^xqa'ñ'up'ïya'iam'. u'qwi'yuan' ar' qu'qwi'm'ñ-
quan' aja'üraaic-u pa'yü'ñum'ip'ïya'. mava'ntu'γwa'ñ' tümp^{wi}'n-a-
rö'ñqwant' añ' patcü'ñw'ñwäq'uan' pa'pa'q'qwa'ñup'ïya'ïtuai'yiam'.
nava'öitsujw' am' piya'ïya-m' ya'vanax-pïya'.

9. CHIPMUNK DECEIVES THE GIANT.

m^wö'va-yazwaäm' tava'ñjqwite añ' piy'ö'ñ'waiö' qan'ï'zaim'ta'm'.
'a'ik-w' piya'ni' uwa't u'γwat-u'äiy'in' ö'. ñi'ñ'tsianan' pava'iva'ñ', a'ip'ï-
ya' tava'ats' añ' piy'ä'ru'zwa'ö'ï. qa'te-u qateu' n-a'ñ'na'ap'. m^wö'ñ'
'ani'k^x qu'tu'e' un' pa^xqa'ñ'qñjumpa'ñ'am'tn', a'ip'ïya' piya'ñ' añ'.
pava'teuq'iva'ñan' 'a'ian' 'a'ik^x. qa'teu' pa^xqa'ñ'qñjumpa'ñ'amun'
'a'ian' 'a'ik^x, a'ix'ucampa'ñ' pa-ava'teipïza'. manja'e-u qu'tue' a'ñ'

Cum autem ille id faceret, Crotalus eum momordit per anum. That Iron-Clothes remained seated as though nothing had happened, he did not even start. That Rattlesnake bit him again, this time further up. When he had done so, then Iron-Clothes drew in his breath sharply and groaned with pain, and before he could reach his house, he fell dead.

Now those daughters of his seized their bows and pulled the bowstrings, but when they did so, their bowstrings snapped. They stretched what was left of their bowstrings, but whenever they did so, somebody always broke them by shooting at them. That Red Ant said, "I, indeed, for my part, (when in that plight,) did turn around and, stooping, clunem crebro tetendi. When he had spoken thus, the two sisters turned around and, stooping, clunes crebro tetenderunt. Whenever they did so, the arrows were all braced, as it were, per anos eorum.⁴² That (Red Ant) kept on saying, "I, for my part, (when in that plight,) did face this way and keep putting out my breast." When he had spoken thus, the two sisters turned about and kept putting out their breasts. Whenever they did so, the arrows would all stick, as it were, to their breasts.

That Red Ant did not shoot, but he did nothing but sing. Then, after a while, he said, "We shall all be beaten, for those (arrows) which you are shooting have no effect. Let me, then, who am wont to have but one little arrow, shoot at them merely for fun." So saying, he shot at them through their breasts as they turned around to face him. As soon as he did so, one of them fell dead to the ground; at the other one he shot again as she turned around the other way. There he killed the two of them. Whenever he shot, his arrow would come back to him. To that place had they all gone to kill Iron-Clothes and his daughters. The two brothers brought their mother home.

9. CHIPMUNK DECEIVES THE GIANT.⁴³

At that place, it is said, Chipmunk and his mother were wont to dwell. "Oh! my mother, somebody is walking in yonder direction. So let me call him," said Chipmunk to his mother. "No! do not say anything. That one is the Giant. He will kill you, my dear," said his mother. "Let me call him, that is what I say." "No! he will kill you, my dear, that is what I say;" in spite of her saying so, he

tīr'c'qwats nanqa'tsaq-aip'īya. a'itca'ŋ tīr'c'ik-w, a'ip'īya aŋac-a'ip'ate aŋ'. a'ŋumpaAcuni piye'ni, a'ip'īya'. qa'tcu manja'am-un' pa^xqa'ŋuqwaiŋumpa', a'ip'īya' piya'ŋ aŋ'. a'ix'ucuan' wa'a'ŋuŋup'īya. u'u'v^waiyauq aŋa'c-u qu'tuc a'ŋ' tīna'ŋqwa m-u''uraim'ik-up'īya'. piya'ni i'v^wi'ŋ' sa'a'ŋqīaŋ' tīna'ŋqwaiyīaŋ', a'ip'īya a'ip'ate aŋ'. manja'c-o''u sa'a'ŋqīp'īyaiyaŋ' am-uφ p'itcip'īya' manja'c-u qu'tu'c-ŋ-nariχw'e'n-ap' aŋ'. un'te a'ip'īya, axa'n'izain'it' a'ik^x pa'izain im a'ip'ats. nava'c-u'um 'a'ik^x p'it'k'aizin' a'izā', a'ip'īya a'ip'ate aŋ'. u'v^waiyauq' aŋ' sa'a'p'it aŋa'φ yu n'a'p'īya. aŋa'c'uq-w ivi'p'īya'aik-w na-va'c-un'it' qa^xqa't'it'p'īya' cua'ŋuminjka'a'ik-w.

un't'zaic a'ip'īya' qu'tu'c a'ŋ', axa'va'ntuχwa'^a qwitca'm'it'. ivā'ntu q-wa'u'⁹¹ avo'a'γantip'aŋwt'ux-w. i'v^wi'ram'izā' uv^wa'n-tux-wqw'aiv'am', a'ip'īya' qu'tu'c. uv^wa'ntuχw'ām un'ŋuts' qwitca'p'īya'aim'. manja'c-u qu'tu'c aŋ' a'ip'ats: qwitca'n-a'ŋ' t'it'qa'p'īya'aik-w. un'te a'ip'īya, aχa'n'izai āni'k^x m^wα'n'inteuru'^a qwitca'n-o'. i'v^wi'q-w p'ini'k'a' nī'ni qwitca'n-anī, a'ip'īya' qu'tu'c a'izaic-u qwitca'p'īya. avu'aχant ar pu'tca'p'īya. un'ŋumi'its a'ip'īya, i'v^wi'ram avaŋwtuγw'am' nam'a'ŋwicava'am'. 'p'ma.i, a'ip'īya a'ip'ate aŋ'. imi'ani na-m-u'n'aŋwt'c-ava'am', a'ip'īya a'ip'ate aŋ'. qa'tcu ni''im imi'a na-m-u'n'aŋwt'c-ava'am', a'ip'īya' qu'tu'c aŋ'. p'ma.i, a'ip'īya a'ip'ate aŋ'. qu'tu'c aŋ uχw'vutsma'ŋ' tsuŋwt'c-ap'īyaiyaŋ' uχw'vuts ar co'ya'p'īya. o'v^waiyauq' ma'p'it-m'ō'ntsmaφi ma'ŋwt'c-ap'īyaiyaŋ'. un'x'ucampa'ŋ' manja'c-u qa'tcu n'ntec'x'p'īā'^a. un't'zaic-u aŋ' qu'tu'c aŋ' nanwa'q-um'naŋwa mō'ō'-m-αφ maŋwt'c-ap'īyaiyaŋ'. un'x'ucampa'ŋ' qatc: n'ntec'itcip'īā'^a. i'v^wi'm uφ nī'', 'a'ip'īya aŋa'c-u tava'r'ŋqwtic aŋ'. nī'nac'ucuru' ava'ŋwtuγwani mari'ŋwipava-ni imi'hampan'γain'⁹² uc: qateu'umi mari'ŋwipawa'^a. o'v^waiyauq-u qu'tu'c: aŋ' qwitca'p'īa'ŋ a'χava-teux-wa mari'ŋwipap'īya'. ma'ŋa'c-u 'a'xavaiyu qwa'tsaxavuru'p'izain'it' uv^wa'ntuγwa'ŋ' pa^xqa'ŋup'īyaiyaŋ'. un'ŋuts: piya'iyav uŋwa'ruχ-wa tīn'c'a'p'īya'aik-w, pa'qa'ŋuntsa'ŋani qu'tu'c: uŋ iya'vaxan'nam imi uŋwa' a'ik'ain' pa^xqa'va'ntin a'ik'ain'namī.

10. COYOTE UNSUCCESSFULLY IMITATES CARRION BEETLE.

u^xqu'v'wtate aŋ' m^wα'va' qani'ntcup'īya. un'its a'ip'īya', tīγ'i'v'ŋw'ni i'v^wi'ya'q' nī'uφα'cu'p'a-ro'^acu'it'ōγwanumac', a'ip'īya' ma-m'it'-rux-wa tīγ'it'ŋw'i'. 'an'a'ŋ aik^x, a'ik'p'īya' ma-m-u'c-u tīγ'it'ŋw'

called to him. That Giant, having come to a standstill, listened. "Now he has come to a halt," said that boy. "Let me call out again, my mother," said he. "No! that one will kill you, my dear, as he passes by," said his mother. In spite of her saying so, he yelled out. And then that Giant commenced to go along upwards toward them. "My mother, go ahead! make mush for him. He is coming up," said the boy. So she made mush for him. That one, provided with gigantic strength, arrived where they were. Then he said, "For what reason are you making that sound of calling me, you boy?" "Just for fun I called out, saying, 'Come and see me!'" said the boy. And then he put mush before him. That one drank it; just as though it were nothing, he kept on sitting as he finished the (mush they kept putting before him).

So doing, the Giant said, "Quo soles ire ut defaeces?" "Off this way into a semi-circular valley." "Let us two, then, go off yonder," said the Giant. Deinde ei ibi defaecaverunt. Ille Gigas excrementum pueri edit. Deinde inquit, "Quid facis? Non ita est defaecandum. Vide quod a me defaecatum," inquit Gigas; simul atque haec dixit, defaecavit. The semicircular valley was filled up. After he had done so, he said, "Let us two push each other into it." "All right!" said the boy. "Let me push you first," said the boy. "No! let me push you first," said the Giant. "All right!" said the boy. The Giant pushed him with a little blade of grass, but the grass bent. And then he pushed him with his little finger, but in spite of his so doing, that one did not budge. The Giant tried again and pushed him with both his hands, but in spite of his so doing, (the boy) did not budge. "Let me now (try to push) you!" said that Chipmunk. "Neither could you push me into it, seeing that even I could not push you." Deinde eum impulit in medium Gigantis excrementum. That (Giant) made a splashing noise as he moved about in it; right there did (Chipmunk) kill him. Then he told his mother about it, "I have killed the Giant whom you feared, as you said of him that he would kill me, of whom you said that."

10. COYOTE UNSUCCESSFULLY IMITATES CARRION BEETLE.⁴⁴

Carrion Beetle built a house there. Then he said, "My friends, go ahead! gather together at my place for just one night," said he to the Deer. "What did he say?" said the Deer. "Do you all

amī. nīv^wα'ya-q' e'p'a-ro'^s a'iyah aik^{*s}, a'ik^{*s}Apīya. un'ηuts·
qan'va-η' qwiteu'imp'pīya 'an-a'x-i qan'a-η' yuγw'p'īya. un'ηuts
A^xqo''ip'īya' maηa'e U^xqo'viteate ah' yī'ī'va a-v'p'īya. un'ηuts·
tīv^wl'tsī 'at'ī'o'p'īya. 'aa'ik-w o'tsahw a'ik^{*s}Apīya. a'up'a'a yī'ī'
yo'n'ηump'a-ts-sampa ma-n'ō'n-i teahw'q-a-p'īya'. cīna'ηwaw ah
l'teuq· ah'a'vateux-waq'p'īya U^xqo'viteate ah'. a'ik-w, a'ip'īya'
cīna'ηwafI, an'ahwutsitea'm-ī' un'ηU qōγō''tsam l'ī'm-ī' tīγ'ahwī',
a'ip'īya' cīna'ηwafI. qateu'ān an'ahwa'a, a'ip'īya U^xqu'viteate'.
u'maj' īv^wī''q-wantzā imī'nteux-wa tīn'ava', a'ip'īya U^xqo'viteats'.
nī'' na-m-ī'xanintēiy o'v^waiyauq-U waa'q-U p'a-mp'ī'n-ivāηw mori'
s-a'ai' ma-n'ō'q-oq· un'ηuts· tī^xqa'ī'yīq-w. ī'v^waiyauq· unts a'ik^s·
umū'rux-w tīγ'ahwα', īv^wl'ya-q' nī'uφα e'p'a-ro'^s sū'yut-uγwa-
numac, a'ik^s-an'ōai'. u'v^waiyauq-U yī'ī'va a-v'ī'ī' un'ηuts o'. u'maj',
a'ip'īya' cīna'ηwafI, nī'' a'ik^{*s} pu'teu'teuγwazāicampa'q-w.

u'v^waiyauq-U cīna'ηwaw un'c' a-n-l'p'īya' tīn'ahqīq-ain'nahwafī.
un'ts· yī'ī'va a-v'p'īya' ma-m-ī'ac· tīγ'ahwī amī qan'n-a-γiyam
A^xqo''īx-U. un'ηuts· sīna'ηwaw o'p'īya. 'aa'ik-w cīna'ηwawite
ahw o'', a'ik^sApīya un'ηuts· yī'ī' a'up'a'a mīh'qwa'pīya. un'ηuts·
sīna'ηwawiy ah' tA'p'l'teaq'pīyaiah' yU^xqu'tsahwa'campa pA'qA'ηU-
pīya' cīna'ηwaw ah'.

gather together at my place,' that is what he said," said they. And then they gathered together at his house, and they were seated inside his house. Then they slept, and that Carrion Beetle lay at the doorway. *Deinde valde*⁴⁵ *pepedit*. "O, *pepedit ille*," *dixerunt*. They were about to run away through the doorway, but they all died. Coyote came to visit Carrion Beetle in the morning. "Oh!" said Coyote, "having said what, did you do thus to them, killing these Deer?" said Coyote. "I did not say anything," said Carrion Beetle. "All right! Let me, then, tell it to you," said Carrion Beetle. "First I build a house, then I boil beans in two buckets, and then I eat all of them. Next, then, I say to the Deer, 'Do you all gather together at my place for just one night,' say I. *Deinde in limine jaceo et pedo*." "All right!" said Coyote. "I said so,"⁴⁶ though I knew about it."

And then Coyote did just as he had been told by him. Now he lay in the doorway, while the Deer were asleep in the house. *Deinde pepedit Canis*. "O, *Canis pepedit*," *dixerunt*. Then they rushed out through the doorway and crushed Coyote by trampling on him. Only two fawns had Coyote killed.

11. GRAY HAWK AND TOAD GAMBLE.

m^wα'vaiyaχwa η saχwa'x'ucav aη' piηwα'ηw'aiφ qari'p'īya'aimi'.
caχwa'x'ucav a'ip'īya',⁹³

M. M. ♩. = 108.



to-go-ga-wi-wi ya -ni pai-ya-ya- ni pai-ya-ya-ni

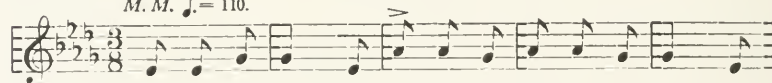


to-go-ga-wi-wi ya-ni pai-ya--ya-ni pai-ya-ya--ni.⁹⁵

ī'v-wī-tea'n [u'qwa'īya'vī'n-t]⁹⁶ u'v^wa paγt'k-wa'ī'⁹⁷
ī'v-wī-tea'n [u'qwa'īya'vī] qani'vaγi'k-waiva' [vī']
i'ni-za'a'a' [vī'n-t] mava'a' qari' [vī']⁹⁷
pa'iyk-t'vā-n [o'qwa'īya] taci'panti'ma' [vī'n-t]
ī'v-wī'ī'χwa'a'a' [vī'] qari'vī'ī'va' [vī']⁹⁸
ma'ik-an ī'v-wī'.⁹⁹ u'v^wa'n [oqw] aiķa' paγe'n'nigwa'ī'iva'-'ts^{100, 101}

a'ip'īya' maηac caχwa'x'ucav aη'. piηwa'η aip'īya',

M. M. ♩. = 110.



ta - vi - a - vi - gīm pa-sij-wa-yun-ta - qa - γuη - im



pa-vi - a - vi - gīm pa-sij-wa-yun-ta - qa - γuη - im¹⁰²

a'γan'va'tsī [o'qw] aiķa a'n'iga'a''a
a'γa'up a''aηqwa'aivatsī'' [uqw] a'ik a.¹⁰³
ī'v-wī'ntza''a nī''ī i'miηw'aini' [vī]
ya'ηwui [vī'ī] i'miηwa'a'impā'ani'γī
nī''ī [v-wī'ī].¹⁰⁴

qari'' ma'ian 'aiķ-ari''¹⁰⁵

aγan' um^wα'va p'itetzw'aip'īya' cina'ηwavi qanī'va-m' tō'ca'p'ai-
ya-tsiγantηwa''a. naiya'ηwuiqit-uαp'īya' nūηwā'īya-η' ma-n'ō'q
qwaγwa''pīγaī'tuai'. caγwa'x'ucap qa'p'īya',

11. GRAY HAWK AND TOAD GAMBLE.^{46a}

At that place, it is said, Gray Hawk was living with his wife.
Gray Hawk said,

“Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani

Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani.⁴⁷

Let me go off to that place,
Let me go off to visit,
But do you stay here.
I shall return in the evening.
Do you then remain,
That is what I say, there, say I, who am about to go away,”

said that Gray Hawk. His wife said,

“Taviavigim pasiḡwayuntaqaḡiḡim

Paviavigim pasiḡwayuntaqaḡiḡim.⁴⁸

Why will you, as you say, be doing thus,
Whither will you, as you say, be going away?
Do you, then, me with you,
Take me with you.

Stay, that is what I say, stay!”

Somehow he arrived there at the house of Coyote and the white-breasted one.⁴⁹ He played the hand game with them and they won from him all of his people. Gray Hawk sang,

to'go-ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'ni
 to'go-ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'ni.
 a'it'a-n 'u'qwa-ya-[v'i'n-ɪ] nuŋwī'γaii'tɪŋi-[v'i']
 qwa'qwa'ijŋo'sa'mpa'a'ni-[va'n-i-a'] nī'ni.
 to'go-ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'ni
 a'itca'ni'i' qwa'qwa'ijoca'mpan[o'qwa'i']
 i'm[u'qwa-ya']n tɔca'p aya'a'γa'n'ti 'i'i'i'mi.
 i'v'w'i-ya'γa-p [o'uqwa'iya] nī'ni n'ηwā'ia'ni
 qwa'qwa'ijŋo'tu'av'i'n'.¹⁰⁶

ma-nɔ'q-waq.¹⁰⁷ ma'a-v'ia-η' nuŋwī'a-ηuŋwa'q-oaŋ' sina'ηwav aŋ'
 tɔ'ha'p-aiya-tɔγantŋwa'¹⁰⁸ qwa'p'īγaiya'q'am'. caɣwa'x-ucavɪ
 paiy't'k-w'aip'īγa' tava'ia'q-wŋqʉ. qatcu''q' tɪn'Apia' p'iv'wa'iyuɸ
 paiy'ɪn' puŋwa'ia-v aŋa'ru-x-wa. i'ti'c-amp ŋi'n'imp'īγa. t'tcuq-w
 a'ip'īγa, i'v'w'ɪn ŋn'ηq'itɔ'ɔγɔiva¹⁰⁹ 'im ŋn'ts i'va qari'va'. qa'tcu ni'
 imi'ηw'ωimpa' nī'nta' to'q-wαva'. qa'tc-u ni' na-ro''q-wαva',
 a'ip'īγa' caγwɔ'x-ucav aŋ'. caγwɔ'x-ucav aŋ' qa'p'īγa',

to'go-ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'ni
 to'go-ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'ni.
 i'v'w'i-tea'ni [qwa'ya'ηqo] ŋwa'vantu'γwaqwa'ijŋo'mpa
 ma'iyān [u'qwa]aiḱa-[v'i'n-ɪ] ŋwa'iyac [u'qwai] p't'mp't'n'a-
 v'u'gaip u'ηwa-ya'.¹¹⁰

i'v'w'ɪn imi'ηwai'mpa, a'ip'īγa' piŋwa'η aŋ qa'χa',

ta'viavi'g'im pa'suŋwayu'ntaqaγt'ηim
 pa'v'ia'vi'g'im pa'suŋwayu'ntaqaγt'ηim
 pa'v'ia'vi'g'im pa'suŋwayu'ntaqaγt'ηim
 pa'v'ia'vi'g'im pa'suŋwayu'ntaqaγt'η.¹¹¹

caγwa'x-ucav aŋ' piŋwa'iaɸ u'tu'c-ŋw'ī'p'īγa. ŋn'ηuts: miq'ants
 ɔ'pa'q-aitceti' qa-n-ɪ-w'e-c-ur-ɪ'ruin'nɔa.i o'p'a'a' tu'pa'q-up'īγa. ŋn'
 t-uγu'mpai¹¹² a-ru'q-wa-γŋqwa'aip'īγa' t'iv'w'i'ts: mɔ tɪ'qa'ηwip'īγa'.
 tu'pu'n-t'γu'pue-iaγwɔn-o', a'ip'īγain-t'. t'iv'w'ic: o''u piŋwa'η
 aŋ' tu'pu'n'ī'p'īγa. ŋn'ts:iaŋ' pu'ca'γaip'īγaiyaŋ'. a'itcaŋw
 a'γa'x-ūpa-η', a'ip'īγain-t'. mar'i'an'ɔŋwue: ɔ'pa'q-aitceti' a'up'a'a
 tu'pa'k-īḱa'. a'īχaic-un-t: o'p'a'a' tu'pa'q-ip'īγa' na-n-ɔ'c-u. na-
 ηwα'upa'ηqwaip'īγai'ηw. u'v'v'w'a.i' pa'ηwaiaɸi ma'ntsa'ηwɪnap'īγa'
 nanwα'ūpa't-uγwαŋw. saɣwa'x-ucav aŋ' tuntu'q-untɔ'ηup'īγain-t'.

to'go-ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'ni.
 a'itcan' a'γan-i'ηo-[v'w'i] 'aitca'n.¹¹³ a'γa'n-ijŋo-[v'w'i']
 u'ηwa-c u'ni-ya'ntcani' ani'ηuni' piŋwa'n o'ŋ'.¹¹⁴

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“Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani
Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani.
Now I am beginning to be deprived of people,
You have beaten me.
Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani.
Now you have beaten me,
You, that are white-breasted.
Alas for my people,
They have been beaten.”

All of his things and his people did Coyote and the white-breasted one win from him. Gray Hawk returned home when the sun was setting. He did not tell his wife from where he was returning. He was wont to do thus always. In the morning he said, “Let me go away to some people, and do you then remain here.” “No! I shall go with you and you shall stake me.” “No! I shall stake myself,” said Gray Hawk. Gray Hawk sang,

“Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani
Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani.
Let me go away to him,
That is what I say, to him,
The Toad.”

“Let me go with you,” said his wife, singing,

“Taviavigim pasinwayuntaqayinim,
Paviavigim, pasinwayuntaqayinim,
Paviavigim, pasinwayuntaqayinim,
Paviavigim, pasinwayuntaqayinim.”

Gray Hawk caused his wife to go to sleep, and then he slipped out through a tiny little opening, the smoke-hole of the house. And he went off under the sky till he got very far away. “Would that you might wake up!” thought he, and sure enough his wife awoke. Then she looked for him. “Where has he gone to?” thought she. “Perhaps he has gone through that little opening.” Thinking so, she herself slipped out through it and followed his track. And she threw some of her blood on his track, so that Gray Hawk felt as though there were heavy lumps all over his body.

“Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani.
What has become of me?
Perhaps that wife of mine did so to me,”

a'ip-ṭya'. maṇac a'up-anqipṭya' piṇwa-ḥ anj'. m-wa'va-ḥ qnṭ'ḥuts-ti'raiya-va wa'tst'ḥupṭyaianj'. qnṭts qa-p'ṭya' maṇa'e piṇwa-ḥ anj',

ta'vavi-gim pa'sṭwayu'ntaqaγt'ḥin
 nṭ'ḥḥw a-ro'a'yi ma'nṭhumpa'n-ti
 u'ḥwaiac¹¹⁵ pu'mpun'nu'a-v'ḡa'ip ḥḥwa'iya
 u'v-wani¹¹⁶ wa'tekiga'in-u qa'ni uqwa'iya.¹¹⁷

man-t'ḥumpanti'ḥw aik-x, uv-wa'^{117a} q-ar, a'in-'iantḥan^{117b} 'a'ik-x.
 i'yu'p-an-ḥw¹¹⁸ a'ik-aruam'.¹¹⁹

m-wa'upa'm qnṭ'ḥuts na-ḥwa'aimtk-upṭya'aim'^{119a} ava'am pu'te-
 ḥw'aip-ṭya qa-n-t'a-m' pṭmpṭ'n'ḡavṭyaip-t' cna'ḥwawḥwa'. m-wa'va-i
 nai-ḡwḥw ar ti'ya-i'pṭya'. i'v-w'raḥw nampa'n-a-ntst'ḥax-qava',
 a'ip-ṭya saḡwa'x-ueaḥi. cna'ḥwawaiyaḥi to'q-wap-ṭya piṇwa'ḥw'a-
 q-uḥ. 'qnṭ'ḥuts qumu'nti'zru-xwḡp-ṭya. nṭ'ḥḥwṭi qwaḡwa-ḥ-ḥutsḥi
 pa'pa'q-ava-n', a'ip-ṭya caḡwa'x-ueaḥi. ḥmpa'iy-ḥwḥni nan-a'e-o-q-u-
 pim-w'ni qnṭ'ḥq-x-qava-n' qateu'ḥwḥn' qwaḡwa-ḥḥuḡquḥw'ain', a'ip-ṭya
 pṭmpṭ'n'ḡavṭyaip anj'. i'v-w'raḥw nṭ'ḥḥ maa-xariri' uru'anḡn' w'a-xa-
 rox-wa qnṭ'ḥumpa'. qwaia'ḥq'pateuḡwaa'q-waḥwḥni¹²⁰ pa'pa'q-anḥu-
 pa-n', a'ip-ṭya saḡwa'x-ueaḥi. m-wa'upa' yu'n-ḥḥup-ṭya ti'raiya-x-
 ma-xariri' a'ura'. 'ura-ḥwḥni¹²¹ qwaia'ḥq'pateuḡwaa'q-w¹²⁰ pa'pa'-
 q-aḥmpa-ni, a'ip-ṭya caḡwa'x-ueaḥi qa-ḡya'.

i'v-w'ra'ḡa'p-t' [u'qwa'iya 'a-v'i'n-m'na']
 nṭ'nt-a'a' [u'qwa'iya a-v'i'n-m'na'-a']
 qwa-ḥu't-o-o'-a'va-mpṭ'-zni-i'
 i'v-w'ra'ḥwa-'a' nṭ'ḥḥ ma-ḡari-tḥḥwa'iya'ni
 u'a-xa-ro-ḡwa-' a'ivt' u'nḥu'mpa-'a'
 qwa'iya'ḥqwa-pa'teu'ḡwa-'a'q-an[o'qwaya-'a']
 nṭ'nt-a' pa'p-aq-a-ḥo'm-pa'ni-i'.¹²²

ma-xarir'ḥwaiya-ḥ 'a'zaruḡwa-m' tuv-wa'xaitcaḥjuq-u qwaia'ḥ-
 qwpa-q' pṭmpṭ'n'ḡavṭyaip anj' nari'iyava-m' w'ni'ḡw'aip-ṭya. 'a'ik-w
 nḥw'ruqwat-uxwava-r'uḡn-iyḡn-tḡain-t', a'ip-ṭya caḡwa'x-ueaḥi.
 a'itcaq-wa cu'yuc-u piya'ḥwa uru'a'nḡni pṭm-x'ḥwḥni qwaḡwa-ḥ-ḥu-
 pa-n-ḥwḥm-in'. i'mi pṭmpṭ'n'ḡavṭyaip' nari'ḡwina'pḥw a'ruaiyi,¹²³
 a'ip-ṭya caḡwa'x-ueaḥi. maṇac piṇwa-ḥ anj' qumu'nti'zruqwanti'
 w'ḡa-n'a'q-w qarip-ṭya. wa't-uḡwateca-m'¹²⁴ ma-ya'ḥa pṭmpṭ'n'ḡa-
 vuḡaip anj' am'ḥw'aiḥki, a'ip-ṭya piṇwa-ḥ caḡwa'x-ueavt' qa'z'a',

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said he. That wife of his came along in his track, until there in the open plain she caught up with him. And then his wife sang,

“Taviavigim pasinwayuntaqayinim.
I shall be doing thus to him,
To that Toad.
There at the house have you left me.”

“That you are to do thus to him, do you say, but I did say, ‘Stay there.’ Did I say to you, ‘Go along with me through here?’”

And then the two of them started off on their way together and there they arrived at the house of Toad and Coyote. A hand game took place there. “Let us have a foot-race,” said Coyote. He staked his own coyote together with his wife. And then they heated rocks on a fire. “Should you all have beaten me, you will kill me,” said Gray Hawk. “I do not care in how many different kinds of games you engage with me, you will not beat me,” said Toad. “Let us proceed right through my clump of woods which belongs to me. On the other side of it you will kill me,” said Gray Hawk. Through that open plain they started to run towards the clump of woods. “On the other side of it you shall all kill me,” said Gray Hawk, singing,

“Behold, it is a pity
That I
Should get beaten.
Let us my clump of woods
Now proceed right through,
And on the other side of it
You shall kill me.”

As they were emerging through his clump of woods, coming out on the other side of it, Toad’s position was between the two of them, (Gray Hawk and Woodpecker), as they raced along. “Oh! it seems that I shall get the worst of it,” said Gray Hawk. “Now there is one thing left in which you will all beat me. You Toad are one who has great power,” said Gray Hawk. His wife was sitting on the edge of the pit in which stones were being heated. “They have come to view through there, Toad is coming along with them,” said the wife of Gray Hawk, singing,

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SAPIR

a'itca'ŋa pī'mpīn'ŋa'vugaip· a'ŋa
 u'at·ugwa'·a ts'ikan·a c'naŋwavi'·
 i'v^win[vi'·i] qu'muntia'ruqwanti'
 ma'vaŋwt·o'·χwa wī'n·aiin·i'[vīn'nina'·],
 ma'iy'an [o'·qwa] 'a'ik·aa[a'vīn'nina'·],
 c'naŋwav i'·m't wī'n·aiin a'vaŋwt·o'·χwa.
 i'v^win·i'ga'·a ma'vaŋwt·u'·γwan·t[vi'·i]
 wī'n·aiini'·t, ma'iyān [uqw] a'ik·a[vi'·i],¹²⁵

a'ip·i'ya piŋwa'·ŋ qa'·χa'.

aχa'n·tza' a'ik·³ tuŋu'c·ampīai'a'izain·t'. ūn'ŋumpaAsampa'm
 ɔai' mava'ŋwituγwa'mi tsuŋw'e·ava'Acampam' ūn'ŋwai'ŋWA pūm-
 pī'n'ɔavuγaip· uŋw pī'pī'tciqa·ŋA, a'ip·i'ya cma'ŋwaφi, ūmu'ŋw'aiyu-
 ŋ¹²⁶ uru'·ɔc o''u pī'tciγwa·ntī. i'v^waiyauq'·ɔm' 'a'xavatcuγwa'ami
 tsuŋwī'n'aiva'm ava'ŋwitux·WA. nari'χw·mApw¹²⁷uŋw 'a'in·am'qum·a-
 'm uŋw, a'ip·i'ya cma'ŋwaφi. i'v^win·ava'ŋwituγwani tsuŋwī'n'na',
 qa'·γa',

ta'viavi'·gīm pa'suŋwayu'ntaqaγt'·ŋīm
 pa'viavi'·gīm pa'suŋwayu'ntaqaγt'·ŋ.
 c'naŋwavi'·t u'wat·uγwa'tsa·m [uq·wa'iyā]
 ma'iyāŋa[vi'·i] a'm·ŋwa'a'itca·ŋa'·a
 ma'ŋac·u[v^wi'·i] pī'mpīn'ŋa'vuγaip· a·ŋa
 qa'tcu[vīn·i'·t] yu'rava'a'ŋwa'ait·i'm'·
 i'v^win·i'ga'·a ma'vaŋwt·u'·γwani'·t
 ts'ŋw'e·ani'·t, ma'iyān [uqw] a'ik·a[vi'·i],
 c'naŋwavi'·t.¹²⁸

m^wa'up¹²⁹ a·m·u'c·u pa'·q·arīri' 'u'ra' ya'·c·pīya. ūn·a'·x·paγa'rīri'
 wawa'x·ipīya. maŋa'c·u pūmpī'n'ɔavuγaip· aŋ' paŋwt·avum^w·zntī'
 paiya'·m·a'q·waφ mantcu'χwa·ŋq'pīya. m^war 'a'ivian UR tɔ'ca'p·ai-
 ya·tstan'. 'an·a'·γt·um·anaŋqwa·m' ts·ts'p·uŋwaj'·uq·u an·u'ŋwai-
 c·u¹³⁰ ts·p'·ŋupīya pūmpī'n'ɔavuγaip·. caγwa'x·ŋcav a'ip·i'ya,

qa'tcu'a'·ŋa'· yu'ŋqwi'p·a'·ŋwa'it·im· a'·ro'·'a
 pī'mpī'n'ɔ'·a'·vī'ga'ip· a'·+·ŋa·
 a'itca·ra'·ŋwa'·nu q·wa'·ŋu'·tu'a'·va'·n·t'
 a'itca·qwa'·a'· so'·yuco'· pi'·ya'·ŋwi'
 pī'ma·ra'·ŋ o'·rī'· qwa'·ŋut·u'·uva'·na'
 u'ni'ŋu'tsn· o'·ru'· pūna'·n· oru'· paqa'·ŋo'·¹³¹

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“Now Toad
Has appeared through there, O Coyote.
Go ahead! into the pit with red hot stones
Do you throw me,
That is what I say.
Coyote, do you throw me into it.
Go ahead! now into that
Throw me, that is what I say,”

said his wife, singing.

“Why do you speak as though dying with haste? After a while I shall do that to you, after a while I shall push you into that (pit of heated stones) with a stick, when Toad returns with them,” said Coyote, “for with them, sure enough, he is about to arrive. Then I shall throw you right into it with a stick. A mighty person, say you, is your husband,” said Coyote. “Go ahead! throw me into it with a stick,” (said Gray Hawk’s wife,) singing,

“Taviavigim pasiṅwayuntaqayinim
Paviavigim pasiṅwayuntaqayinim.
O Coyote! through there they have
Appeared,
With them has he (appeared),
That Toad,
He who is not to be overcome.
Go ahead, then! into that do you
Push me, that is what I say,
O Coyote.”

Coming through there they all flew towards the lake and all dived into the lake. That Toad fastened on to his breast some of the mud from the bottom of the water, and that is why he is white-breasted nowadays. When they all emerged from inside of the water, Toad also came out with them. Gray Hawk said,

“He is not one who can be overcome,
The Toad,
Now we shall be beaten,
Now there is one thing left
In which we shall be beaten,
Whereby, then, I shall be killed

ti'iva'n'a'ni' maŋa'iacu' p'əmpo'n'o'a-¹³¹
 vi'ga'ip'ü' a'ŋ pīma'ŋau o'rī'[vi']
 nī'ni'y o'ŋwa' pi'ŋwa'iyaa''ni'+
 pī'ma'a'aj o'rī' quna'a'ga'v'atco'γwa'
 tei'ŋwi'e'a'ti'va'na cī'na'ŋwavi''aj o'ŋwa'
 pī'ma'a'a'ŋwa'ŋwa' paqa'ŋumpa''ana'ŋwa''aj,¹³²

a'ip'īya caγwa'x'Ucav aj qa'γa'.

cu'yuc'U piya'ī'piya tūmp'ī'ŋwa'ŋ ar man'a'x'ɪ wauwa'x'ip'īya
 'a'γaruɣwa'm' tiv'w'itcaŋuqwa'm' na'va'e'U pəmpo'n'əav'īyaip'
 qwaia'ŋqwp'a q'w qmu'ŋwa'^a ts'pi'ŋup'īya. 'aa'ik-w, a'ip'īya caγwa'-
 x'Ucav aj. nujw'ī'RUqwat'uγwava'n'ar'uəni. a'iteaq w
 cu'yuc' piya'ŋw pūn'a'm'ūn' uk qwaa'ŋumpa'n' uru'e' əγə'nta-
 vac'up' uk qarī'rī nī'ni' uru'ən'əni qwaia'ŋqwpatecuγwa'nu'
 pa^xq'ump'a'n'a'm'ūn' a'ik* aɣa'n'ŋumpa''m' uv'ar' umpa'in't'
 nan'a'γar'uatim'w'ən' pitei'ŋqī'v'a'n', a'ip'īya maŋa'e' pəmpo'n'ə-
 avu'yaip' aj'. a'iteaq-wa cu'yuc'U piya'ŋw, a'ip'īya caγwa'x'Ucav
 aj qa'γa',

to'go'ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'ni
 to'go'ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'ni.
 to'go'ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'ni,
 qa'te[uc'wa'iyavī'ni't] yo'ŋqwi'ip'ajwa'' i'mi'.¹³³
 to'go'ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'ni
 to'go'ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'ni.

a'ū'ŋqəv'iaiya'ŋ¹³⁴ saγwa'x'Ucavɪ an'a'x'ɪ ts't'sŋwaɣə'ip'īyain't'
 qwaia'ŋqwp'a q' pəmpo'n'əav'īyaip' i'm' 'aro'amik'a' qa'tcu piya'-
 γəŋŋjwai't'īm' təγə'n'v'v'a'ī'tīm'əni't' təγə'n'v'io'p'a' tu'cu'aiteim'
 təγə'n'v'op'a' tə'əq-witeim' ŋja'e'amp' unts' uru'av'ī' nujw'ī'ɣa'əvat'īm',
 a'ip'īya caγwa'x'Ucaɸi. cu'v'w'ant'ic'U piya'ī'piya pi'p'uj'warixiv'ū'aj
 aj 'aro''an'a'ŋ'. ma'm'ū'e' 'an'a'x'ɪ ts't'sŋwaɣə'ip'īyain't' ma'm'ū'-
 e'U caγwa'x'Ucaɸi pi'p'uj'warixiv'ū'aj' na'va'e'um' yiv'w'it'nta-
 vac'pī' əa'xaruɣw'əim' tu'p'w'a'q'ip'īya. maŋa'e'U pəmpo'n'əavuts' aj
 'an'a'əxt' tiŋw'ə'vaxan'ūp'īya a'əŋqəv'iw'ini'ri'¹³⁵ pi'p'uj'wants' aj'
 əra'q'ain'a'ŋ' nan'a'əxan'ini' əra'q'ənt'. a'iteajw' a'γa'x'Upa'ŋw,
 a'ip'īya caγwa'x'Ucaɸi pūmp'ī'n'əav'īyaip'ī aj' qateu'aj' ts'pi'ŋujw'aq'U
 am'ū'ŋwa'^a.

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By that Toad,
Whereby she,
My wife,
Whereby she right into the fire
Will be pushed by Coyote,
Whereby she will be killed,"

said Gray Hawk, singing.

One (test) was left. They all entered into his rock and when they came out right through it, Toad emerged with them on the other side of it as though it were nothing. "Oh!" said Gray Hawk, "it seems that I am to be defeated. Now there is but one thing left in which you will beat me, that knoll clad with dried-up firs which belongs to me and on the other side of which you will kill me," said Gray Hawk, singing, as he flew along. "'You who will kill me,' thus you say, and in some way, indeed, shall I do thus to you, no matter if you test me with different kinds of tests," said that Toad. "Now there is but one (test) left," said Gray Hawk, singing,

"Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani
Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani
Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani,
Not easily to be overcome are you.
Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani,
Togogawiwi yani paiyayani paiyayani."

It looked as though they were stuck here and there in the knoll, clad with dried-up firs, belonging to Gray Hawk, but Toad came out on the other side of it as though it were nothing. "Oh! Toad, you have been right along one who is not easily overcome, equal to me in all respects, equal to me in knowledge, equal to me in ability to run. But who, then, I wonder, shall prove the greater man?" said Gray Hawk. Only one more (obstacle) was left belonging to his friend, Woodpecker. Those were as though stuck in the (tree with holes in it),⁵⁰ while Gray Hawk and his friend Woodpecker proceeded right through the dried-up pine tree as though it were nothing at all. That Toad made a bumping noise inside of the dried up tree as he tried to find his way out, the tree of Woodpecker that was standing there and that he had bored by digging in all directions. "Now where is he gone to?" said Gray Hawk, when Toad did not come out with them.

a'γan-t'ho ntsa'' [oq-wa'iya a-vi'n'nina-t'm]
 p'imp'n'o'a-vi'ga'ip-t' i'mi-[vi-].
 ni'hwī-ga'va-t-i'm, a'iyi'' igi'r[uqw] a'ik'e'.
 a'γan-i'ga'i't' [qw] aik'a' u'n-a'γe-yu
 q'w'o-r'o'χwa-ni''iga'in-i'ya'+
 i'mi-[vi-] na'ri'xwti'na'p'i',
 ma'iy i'gi'r [uqw] a'ika [a-vi'n'nina'+],¹³⁶

a'ip-i'ya caγwa'x-ucav a q'a'γa'.¹³⁷

i'v^waiyauq-ōaq'am a'ōhqvōvi' ta'q'u^xqwūq'p'i'γai^xqa'm' mava'n-
 tuγwa'η'am' pōmpō'n'ōavutsi pa^xqa'ηup'i'γaiya'ηa'm' so'q-ūp'iy
 an-ik-^s pa^xqwa'n'aγaiva-nti, a'ip-i'ya saγwa'x-ucaφi. pa'ia^x qar'i'ri'
 u'a'xavaiyū yaxa'va-nt i'mi pa^xqwa'n'aγa.iyū. u'v^waiyauq-ū paiy'ηū-
 pi'γai'm' qan-t'aγanti 'a'ura'. ma'ja'e-ū saγwa'x-ucavi pi'ηwa'η
 qa'p-i'ya,

a'itca'ηa o'wa't-ū-γwa'[van-in-a''a]
 ts'k'a-na'a c'i'na'ηwāv a'va'ηwt-ū'χwān
 ts'ηwican-i''t, ma'iyān [uq-w] a'iika',¹³⁸

a'ip-i'ya ma'ja'e-ū caγwa'x-ucavi pi'ηwa'η qa'γa'.

ma-m-ū'e-ū qan-t'vā'm' caγwa'x-ucaφi ti'γi'vū'ηwa'aiφ p'tei-
 χwa'aiφ-i'γa'aim' eua'ηwavy a'η' qum-u'ntuarqwantī 'a'xavateux-wa
 w'w'i'n'naip-i'γaiya'η' ma-n'o'q-ō p'imp'i'n'ōa-ntsi' n'ηwī'aiya-η' qō'γō''i-
 p'ia'γai'tu'aiyiam' ma'ja'iac' qn't'ηuts' caγwa'x-ucavi n'ηwī'aiya-η
 qō'ō'ip'iai' n'ηwī'RUqwōp-i'γai'euan'. qn't'ηumi'tsia'η' caγwa'x-ucav
 a'η' pi'ηwa'ηw'aiφ paiy't'k-w'aiφ-i'γa'aim' qan-t''am-ūv 'u'ra'. qa'p-a-
 γ^aip-i'ya caγwa'x-ucaφi,

to'go-ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'ni
 to'go-ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'ni.
 a'itca'η o'ηwa-e-ū' p'imp'i'n'ōa'vū'γa'ip' u'ηwa
 ni'xa'va'ti'ηum ma'inte'i' u'ηwa'vī'
 ma'iga'in' o'ηwa' pite'i'ηqīru'n' u'ηwa'
 ni'ηwan-a'ηqwa'+ paqa'ηut-i'γi-[vi-],¹³⁹

a'ip-i'ya caγwa'x-ucaφi. pi'ηwa'η' a'η' a'ip-i'ya, imi'ntcu ar'ō'a-η
 qn'i'ηū na-n'ō'e' n'i'niantea'ηa'^a n'io'p'at-ux-wa qn'i'η'ū'ηw ni'ntca-η
 qn'i'ηū pa^xqa'ηuts'i'ηw p'imp'i'n'ōav'i'γaip-i'. imi'ntcuar'ō'a-η 'qn'i'ηū,
 a'itcu'an a'ik-^s, a'ip-i'ya caγwa'x-ucaφi pi'ηwa'ruχwāφ.

“What has become of you,
 You Toad?
 Greater than anyone else, that, indeed, did you claim to be.
 What are you doing in there,
 As though making a noise of bobbing about,
 You powerful one,
 As, indeed, you claim to be?”

said Gray Hawk, singing.

And then the two of them, (Gray Hawk and Woodpecker), hit the dried-up tree with their magic power and caused it to go to pieces, and there did the two of them kill Toad. “As though you were alone of account had you been acting, you who are destined to be a toad,” said Gray Hawk. “You shall always be crying in the lake when you are a toad,” and then they went back towards the village. That wife of Gray Hawk’s was singing,

“Now he through there
 Has come to view, O Coyote!
 Into the (pit with heated stones)
 Push me, that is what I say,”

said that wife of Gray Hawk’s, singing.

Those two, Gray Hawk and his friend, arrived at the house. Coyote they threw right into the pit with heated stones. All of Toad’s people were killed, but the people of that Gray Hawk that had been slain they brought back to life. After they had done so, Gray Hawk and his wife returned towards their house. Gray Hawk sang as he went along,

“Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani
 Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani.
 Now that one, Toad,
 The one that said that he was greater than I,
 The one who, thus saying, engaged in contests with me,
 By me has been killed,”

said Gray Hawk. His wife said, “Is it by yourself that you have done so to him? You have done that to him by my aid, it was I who acted so as to kill Toad.” “‘Did you do that to him?’ that is not what I said,” said Gray Hawk to his wife.

ta'viavi'gim pa'suwayu'ntaqaγt'ηim
 pa'vavi'gim pa'suwayu'ntaqaγt'ηim
 pa'vavi'gim pa'suwayu'ntaqaγt'ηim.
 ni'ntea-a'η igi'ru qni'ho'
 pi'mpū'ba'viga'ip'i u'ηwa-ya'um
 pa'q'ajuts'. qa'teu 'i'm'i-ya.'p.
 ni'niantsa'η igir q'niju no'p'at'u'x-wa.¹⁴⁰

imi'antea-ηan qni'ηu imi'u'pa't-uγw aiteuan a'ik^s. ni'ntea-η
 qni'ηu uηwα'xa^avat im'wiza.i' qa'teu piya'zanqinwait'inu' qatcu'uyw
 uηwi'nts aza'va' pa'ya'in'niηwa'^a ni'ni' pa^sqa'ujqu^spiγontin'. pi'te-
 zw'aip'i'ya'aim' qan-t'vā-m-uφ. u'v'waiyauq' caγwa'x-ueaφi qa'p'i'ya,

to'go-ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'n
 to'go-ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'n.
 to'go-ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'n
 to'go-ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'n.
 to'go-ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'n
 to'go-ga'wi-wi' yani' paiya'yani' paiya'ya'n.

a'itcaq¹⁴¹ qwaia'ηqwpateia'ami to'm'm'u'η-uit'.

12. RAT INVITES THE DEER AND MOUNTAIN SHEEP TO A ROUND DANCE.

qa'te aj um'wα'va' qari'p'i'ya. qni'ηuts a'ip'i'ya tiγt'ajw'i' na'ya'-
 ηw'i' am'i'rux-wa, i'v'w'ya-q' kiyz'q'ax-i ni'uφa, a'ip'i'ya. 'an'ta-η
 'a'ik^s qa'te aj', a'ik^sAp'i'ya tiγt'ajw'i' na'za'ηw'i' am'i'ηwa'^a. ni'w'a'i-
 ya-q' kiya'q'ax-i, a'iya-η a'ik^s, a'ik^sAp'i'ya. 'aja'v o'u kiyä'p' ar
 ti'ya'i'p'i'ya ma-m'u'e-u kiya'q'p'i'ya aja'iac-u qa'ts' waa'q-u
 'am'i'ηwantijwz'^s wa'izaiyuzwizuzan' kiya'p'i' ti'ya'itei' qa'n'i'-
 xa^ava.iyu. maja'e na'xa'ruwats aj' na-m-o'v'wit-u'p'i'ya ma'A^s
 qa'p'i'ya,



pa - ri - ya - 'o - - wi - pa - ηwi - tu - χwa taj - 'an - tsi - ka - ne,

TEXTS OF THE KAIBAB PAIUTES AND UINTAH UTES

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“Taviavigim pasinwayuntaqayinim

Paviavigim pasinwayuntaqayinim

Paviavigim pasinwayuntaqayinim.

I truly have done so to him,

The Toad

Have I killed.

It is not you (who have done it).

It is by my aid, indeed, that you have done so to him,”

(said Gray Hawk’s wife).

(Then Gray Hawk said,) “ ‘I have done so to him through your help,’ did I say that? I have done so to him, being greater than he, being one who can not be overcome. There is no person living anywhere who would have been able to kill me.” The two of them arrived at their house and then Gray Hawk sang,

“Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani

Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani.

Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani

Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani.

Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani

Togogawiwi yanipaiyayani paiyayani.”

Have any of you heard on the other side from here a sound as of a heavy body falling?

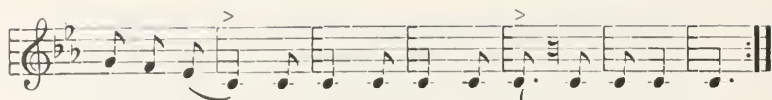
12. RAT INVITES THE DEER AND MOUNTAIN SHEEP TO A ROUND DANCE.⁵¹

Rat⁵² was living there. And then he said to the Deer and Mountain-Sheep, “Do you all come and have a round dance at my place,” said he. “What did Rat say?” said the Deer and the Mountain-Sheep. “ ‘Do you all come and have a round dance at my place,’ that is what he said,” said they. So a round dance took place where he lived. Those were all dancing, while that Rat and two from among them were sitting down and discussing on the side of the round dance, as it was going on. The young Mountain-Sheep was the first to sing, and this is how he sang,

“Moving through the sand wash,

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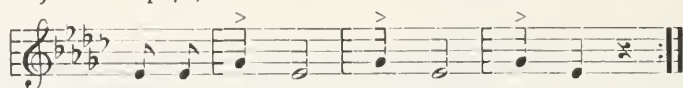
SAPIR



pa - ri - ya - 'o - wi - pa - ŋwi - tu - ɣwa taj - 'an - tsi - ɣa - ne.¹⁴²

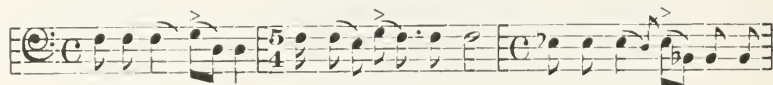
cuwa' rəɣwəit uɣwan um antux wa qa'm'miap'ɣa.

maŋac un'ɣuts tiɣ'aruwəts aŋ 'aŋ'a'vinaŋqwa uv'ɣ't'U'p'ɣa
ma' p'ij ov'ɣ't'U'p'ɣa,

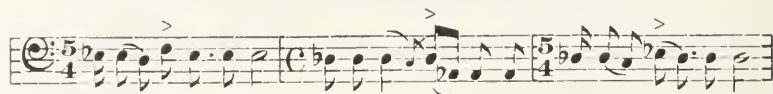


ta - mar - 'ai - pa - rai - pa - rai - pa.¹⁴³

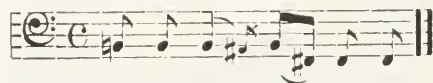
p'ɣa qa'm'məp'ɣa ə nɔ't A'ciarim antux wa. maŋac' i'v'aiyauq'
qa'ts 'a'xavateuɣwap'ɣa kiya'p'ɣi ma-m'ɣwa'a tiɣ'ai' na-ɣa'x'u-
m-aŋ'waq'u. ma-A^x qa'm'miap'ɣa nari'yava'm' wɣn'm'maxa',



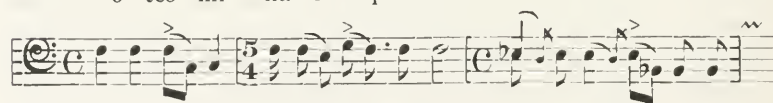
1. ni-ni-ya-q|o-qwai mai-ŋo- qwa-qa-ni o-teu-mi-ka-mim-pa



o-teo-mi-ka-mim o-teo-mi-ka-mim-pa o-teo-mi-ka-mim

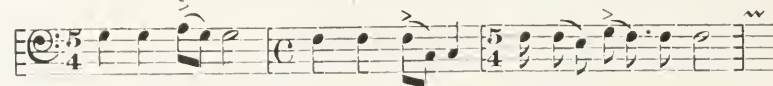


o - teo - mi - ka - mim-pa.¹⁴⁴



2. ni-ni-ya-q|o-qwai-ya mai-ŋo-qwa - qa - ni o - teu-mi

3. ni-ni-ya-q|oqwaɪ|mai-ŋo-qwa-qa-ni o-teu-mi-ka-mim-pa



4. ni - ni - ya - q o - qwai mai-ŋo-qwa o - teo - mi - ka - mim

(He) keeps kicking up his knees.”

Up to nearly the middle of the night he sang as he danced along.

And then that young Deer sang a song after him, and the song that this one sang was as follows,

“There are summer foot-prints, foot-prints, foot-prints.”

This one sang as he danced along up to the first dawn. And then that Rat went right into the round dance, joining hands with the Deer and Mountain Ram. This is how he sang as he danced along, standing between the two of them,

“As soon as I say so,
You two will close your eyes, close your eyes.”

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naŋwa'q'U pəw'i'pa't'iam'¹⁴⁵ wü'tə'nəp'īya ŋni'ŋutsam' yai-ya'x'pīya. a'ik-w, a'ya'n ŋutsitea m' an'i'ŋu, a'ip'īya qa'ts. ŋntē a'ip'īya, i'v'ī'ya q' m'imi pan'a'x'qwa' avā'ntu'γwac' t'iv'w'p'īaq'ai-yajum'. ŋnt'ŋutsam'imi nī'¹ q'u'ts'k'iva-m' ta-va'i' m'w'ava'q' qa'tī'q'uq-w. q'mai, aik'x'pīya ma-m'u'e-U t'ī'γ'ajw əm' na'ya'ŋw'ŋwa'^a. ŋnt'ŋuts' mava' t'iv'w'p'īava'fē' ŋni'ī'z'w'a'ip'īya maŋa'e-U ma-va'aiyuəm' t'ī'a'n-i'x'pīya ŋnt'ŋuts' p'iv'w'a'n'aiyuam'fē' t'ī'a'n-i'x-kaina q'u'ts'k'ip'īya. a-m'u'e-U t'ī'γ'ajw əm' na'za'ŋuŋwa' a'ik-A-pīya, m'w'an ŋn'vā'ntī, 'a'īya-ŋ i'γ'ir 'aik'x, a'itea'q' qan'vā'ntiŋw ar na'γ'u'tea'^a. maŋa'e qa'ts i'ya'p'īya'iyaq' tu'qo'avi'.

ŋntē a'im'ip'īya. kiya't'izam'ip'īya i'ti'e-amp'. ma-m'u'e-U, axa'n'iza'aiŋw 'a'im'i, u'teu'm'mi'xkam'miava, a'iza', a'ik'ap'īya t'ī'γ'ajw əm' na'za'ŋw'ŋwa'^a. ə'v'w'aiyauq' maŋa'e ampa'rə'γwə'pīya-aie-U. a'ik-w, i'v'w'arajw ma-ŋa'fē' kiya'm'ava', a'ik'a-ŋ'. t'iv'w'te o''u kiya'p' ar m'w'ə'vaai'v t'ī'ya'i'pīya. maŋa'e-U na'xa'ruwate aŋ ŋnt'e-U qa'p'īya,

pa'riya'o'w'p'a'ŋwt'ə'z'wa ta'ŋ'ants'k'a'nt'.'¹⁴⁶

ŋni'e a-n'ip'īya cua'rə'xwt'ə'γwa'n um'antux-w uv'w'it'ə'pīya. ə'v'w'ai-yauq' maŋa'e-U t'ī'γ'aruwats aŋo v'w'it'ə'pīya'aie-U ŋni'e-U qa'p'īya,

tamar'a'ip'a-ra'ip'a-ra'ip'a'.'¹⁴⁷

maŋa'e ə'v'w'aiyauq' qa'ts aŋ o'f'witup'īya'aie-U.¹⁴⁸ ma-m'u'e-U t'ī'γ'azum'ajw'wə'ntī na'ya'x'um'ajwa'^a na'ni'n'naq'ə'va ŋa'm' w'ŋn'z'-m'miap'īya. ŋni'e-U qa'm'ī'qur'īya,

nī'ni-ya'q' o'q'wai maiŋo'qwa'qani'
o'teumi'ka'mi'pa oteo mi'kami'm.'¹⁴⁹

naxa'ruwats aŋ w'ī'e'ī'γ'ntap'īm'miap'īya. tən'a'iy'āajum'i, a'ŋu-p'īya qa'ts'a-m' aŋ' tən'a'va'ts ŋnt'ŋ'ūq'U. qa'ts aŋ' qA'x'q'a'ip'īya tūmp'w'y uru'q-w i'ya'ŋu'pīya. na'ya'z'um'a'q' 'a'tə'n'ap'īya. ŋnt'ŋ'U'qwa'ŋ' tūmp ar pu'ruq-w'ip'īya.

i'vā'ntu'γwə'c'ampa'q'wə' uru'avi'.

Both of them he stabbed with a knife through their chests just below the neck, and when he had done so to them, he burst into tears. "Oh! what could have happened to them that they are in this condition?" said Rat. And then he said, "Do you all go back to the country that is yours, and then I shall burn them when the sun sets yonder." "All right," said those Deer and Mountain-Sheep, and then they all went off and arrived at their country. That one cut up the two (animals that he had killed) at that place. And then he burned them on top of (the leaves and branches) on which he had butchered them.⁵³ Those Deer and Mountain-Sheep said, "That is how it will be," that, indeed, is what he said. So it begins to burn at his house."⁵⁴ That Rat cut the meat up into thin slices.

In the same way he always spoke. He always arranged to have a round dance take place. Those Deer and Mountain-Sheep said, "Why does he always say, 'You must keep your eyes shut as you dance along,' speaking thus?" And then that one spoke out loud, telling them what to do. "Oh! let us all have a round dance at his place," so he said. And, sure enough, there took place the round dance. The young Mountain-Sheep sang in the same way,

"Moving through the sand wash,
(He) keeps kicking up his knees."

He did just as the other one had done. He sang up to nearly the middle of the night, and then that young Deer sang a song. He sang just as the other one had done,

"There are summer foot-prints, foot-prints, foot-prints."

And then that Rat sang his song again. Those two, one of the Deer Bucks and a Mountain Ram, stood on either side of them as they danced along. As before he began to sing as he danced,

"As soon as I say so,
You two will close your eyes, close your eyes."

The young Mountain-Sheep peeped out of nearly closed eyelids while he was dancing. "He is about to stab the two of you!" he cried out, just as that Rat was going to stab them. Rat ran away and slipped under a stone. The Mountain Ram struck at it with his horns, and as he did so, the rock was shattered to pieces.

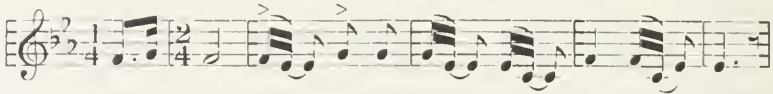
Perhaps the story goes as far as this.⁵⁵

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13. THE BADGER PEOPLE WAGE WAR AGAINST WOLF AND COYOTE.

m-wα'va' tivwa'ts pa-vt'ηujwa'aifō qa-n-t'γaip'īγa cna'ηwavi
 a'ivaiyanwa' 'am-ī'ηwa'a. qa'ivai piηwa'a'va' tin-a''xqam-inimp'īγa
 avo'a'γantī. tivwa'ts an ivε'tei ε-n-ε'tA'εanqu qa-p'īγa,



εt-nan- wa- vi ī-vwī-qwa- ηa- no qwa- ya



maiη- qī- vī- ru- ηu- mi- ya- eo¹⁵⁰

u'vwaηwi'yo' qaiva'v v-vwa'yua'ηa
 ma'iya'n [o'qw] a'ika,

a'ik^x. um-wα'nīkaim:t aik^x, nī'ru' aīfō qwir'k-i'. wa'n-uyuntean
 i'ε:U paiyī'ηU i'n-aiḵ: aηa'ε:U ε-n-ε'ε:εap-iteza', a'ip'īγa cna'ηwaφi.
 u'vwaiyanq' cna'ηwaw an' m-wα'vaiyunt' na'a'it'up'īγa. un'ηuts-
 ma-m-u'ε: a'ivaiyanwa-η an' ma-va' su'p-a-r'εap'īγa. un'ηuts-
 cna'ηwaw εv'vī ε'pa'q'εite' miyε''tsv'aq-w wa-tei'p'īγa qo'q-wi-
 ḵap'īγa'aik un'ηuts: sna'ηwavi a'ivaiyan'. qa-teu' uq-w un'k'a'γaī-
 campaq-w ε'pa'q'aiteo'p'at-i' qu'kwī'k-Api'a'a. ma-m-ue: u'vwaiyanq'
 na-va'vujw nηwu'v'wīnanqwpateu'γwa'am ava''ntux-wpī'γa'aim'
 εv'p-a-r'εap'ī. 'un'ηutsi'm ε'pa'q'aitei a'up'at-ia'am qu'qwi'p'īγa
 na-ηwa'aic-U tu'qu'm-um-uts an' tivwa'tsi' aηa'ηwa'a pa-vt'aifō.
 un'ηuts: qa'ivai avo'aiya-q' tina'p'ī'γaiyaq'. ma-m-u'ε:U tivwa'ts
 an' na-va'vujw w'ni'zari'zw'aip'īγa'aim' ma-m-ī'Acuεq' tin-α'ηqw
 nηwī'ari'ī'zw'α'qa'm' cna'ηwavi an' a'ivaiyanηujwa'aifō. mava'ηw:YU
 avo'a'γantī cna'ηwaφi a'mpaiyan-t a'ip'īγa qa'teu tivwα'q-a-
 ηwaiyue:ampa YU'xqu'tsηwaaεcamp pa'xqa'p'īγa. un'ηuts: m-wα'va.iYU
 tūmp'it:īn-a'va.iYU tī't'axum-ηw qwir'k-īp'ī'γa'aim'. un'ηutsi'im'
 pīn-i'm-īqup'ī'γaiya'η'wam' ma-m-ī'ac-U nava'vujwī' wīnī'xarīrim-w'ī.
 mam-u'ε:uan' mava'ntux-wa pa'xqa'ηUpi'γaiyan'am'. un'ηuts:
 pampa'n-a-q-x-qw'aip'īγa qan-t'vā-ntu'γwαφ inaηac cna'ηwaw an'
 YU'qu'tsηwī' pa'xqa'q'ain-aφ nε-'u'p-aiytk-w'aip'īγa. ma-m-ue: u'vwa'
 tivwats am' nava'vujw nηwu'v'wīnanqwa'am' pitε'z'w'aip'īγa.

13. THE BADGER PEOPLE WAGE WAR AGAINST WOLF AND COYOTE.

There Wolf and his brothers were living with Coyote's companions. They were accustomed to hunt at the foot of a mountain in a valley bordered by a semi-circular ridge. When daybreak was still far off, Wolf sang,

“O Coyote, go ahead! for him
Call out as you go about again,
(Call out for) him there at the mountain,⁵⁶
That is what I say,”

said he. “‘You are wont to remain like that,’ say you, but I did not wake up just now. I have returned from over there long ago, but you are but just waking up,” said Coyote. And then Coyote built a fire off yonder. Then those companions of his were gathered together at that place. Now Coyote placed at a little distance from (the fire) a bone that had a little hole in it, and Coyote's companions all shot at it (as a target). In spite of their all doing this they did not shoot through the hole. And then those two brothers, (Wolf and Panther), proceeded after everybody else to the place of assembling, and both of them shot through the hole, Panther and his elder brother Wolf. Then they hunted at the mountain valley. The two brothers, (Wolf and Panther), went to take their place (at certain spots where the deer would pass when pursued), while Coyote and his companions were rounding up (the deer) up in the mountain. In that mountain valley Coyote made a great racket, though he did not kill any big game. Two fawns were all he killed. And then there at the base of the cliff two deer bucks arose, and when they had done so, they started off looking straight ahead up to those two brothers that were stationed lying in wait for game. Those two (brothers) killed them at that place. And then they all went back in little parties to their camp, and that Coyote returned carrying the fawns that he had killed, but the two Wolf brothers returned after everybody else.

There⁵⁷ was a village yonder on the plain. Then the chief of their husbands, (Badger people), said, "Let us go to hunt badgers." "All right," said those (Lark women).⁵⁸ And then off yonder they went to hunt for badgers, and there they dug up badgers. That chief of theirs kept saying, "If we keep on doing thus to the (badgers), which are to be eaten by our wives, we shall camp one night more and then we will return home," said he.

The oldest sister among their (Lark) wives said, "Why is it that over there on the mountain there is always something burning? Is there no person living there who does this? Let us, then, all go ahead towards that place. I am getting sick and tired of always eating badgers." "All right," said her younger sisters. And so they started off in that direction towards the mountain. This is what they sang when they were on their way,

"Bark⁵⁹ aprons bounce up and down."

Now there the Coyote⁶⁰ was sitting. "Oh! what noise is that?" said he. "Am I getting to be a medicine-man?" said he, as he listened. It sounded like some one singing while travelling. Then he, having quickly taken broken arrows from among Coyote's arrows, said, "Why is it that my arrows always happen to break?" and those (women), as they were journeying, heard what he said. The women arrived there at the house. "Coyote is not at home," said he, "but he will arrive shortly. Do you all, then, wait for him if you intend to see him," said the Coyote. Those women sat down there throughout the houses. After a while Coyote returned, and then he said, "Meorum sociorum urina⁶¹ non aliena miscebitur." "Non, inquit, ejus sociorum urina aliena miscebitur, id est quod dixit," said the oldest sister among the (women). They turned back to the same place.

"Oh!" said Coyote, "do you hurry up and follow in their tracks." When he said so, that other Coyote went off in pursuit of them. Yonder he caught up with them. "It was only a way of talking, it was meant for welcome words," said he and walked on, hitting them on their ankles as he passed alongside of them. Then they turned back towards Coyote's house. And then they arrived there and put up among the houses, each by herself. The oldest sister among them arrived at Coyote's house. And then, after a while, Coyote's companions all arrived home one by one, and those two brothers, Wolf

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ts:tsɔw qa ri'p'ɪya'aim'. ma m'uc a'ip'ɪya, impɪ'ɔw an-i'k'ariii
 pñ-i'k'arixa' ti'ɪ'p'ñ-i'k'arixim-i'. pina'ŋqɔwɔm' na'ŋwa''aic-u'm'
 ma m'ac wa'n'a'ints:tsɔwɔ am'ɪ'ŋwa'aim a'vɪ'p'ɪya'aim'. pinä's:t-
 zavaaiyua:ŋ'a'm-u'p ma ru'x-uqwa:ŋqup'ɪya¹⁵⁴ ma m'uc-u ma m'a'u'-
 tsit'er'qan'wip'ɪya'aim'. maŋa'e-u ev'ɪ'cnaŋwaw an' qanqa'n'i a'u'p'a'a
 paɣa'impuruɣwa a'ivurup'ɪya, kwɪ'tun-i''i kwɪ'tun-i''i kwɪ'tun-i''i.
 ma m'uc-u a'ivurux-ucampa:ŋ' aŋa'ricu'aik-wɔavɪ'p'ɪya'a. t'euq-u
 tiv'wa'ts an' qa'p'ɪya, cna'ŋwafɪ ðn'ɔ'n-ɣaim:taxar'uɔn-o' nünpt'-
 ŋwarut:sanwap:ŋwaxa.i, a'ip'ɪya tiv'wa'ts. m'wɔ'n-i'ɣaim:t aik-
 pɪ'so''tsiaru' a'im-t a'inqixa'. i'e'uwan' wa'n-oyunte' paiyu'ŋu
 imi' aik' aŋac ɔn'ɔ'e'ɔap'iteɣa', a'ip'ɪya cna'ŋwaw am'a'ntux-w
 euwɔ'p'iteɣa ampa'xan'a'ŋ'.

ma m'uc ina'mpɪtsɔw ɔm' pñq'a'ɔraq'p'ɪya maŋac nta'a'vɪŋ'-
 wa m' an' qa'p'ɪya,



qa-teo-teɔ-ni-vñ-nɪ' a- i-t-i-nɔ-nɔ-sɪ'-i-ya-a-p'a-vñ-nɪ'¹⁵⁵

si'na'ŋwavi'ya'n' o'ŋw a'ik-ɣA
 u'ŋwa:ya[vɪ'n-i'n-a']
 pi'ŋwa:ŋwä'ra'ŋwa'
 pi'ŋwa:ŋwä'ra'ŋw o'ŋwa'
 pi'ŋwa:ruq-wa'ŋup-i'ga'q-o''.
 qa'teo-teɔni'[vɪ'n-t']
 a'it-inɔ-nɔ-si'ya-p'a'-
 i'ya-ap-a'[vɪ'n-t'].
 pi'ŋqa'ɣni'ɣa'ŋwa'm-i',
 ma'iyān [uq:w] a'ik'a'[vɪ'n']
 pi'ŋwa:yara'ŋ o'ŋwa'
 ti't-i'q-ava'n-a'
 pi'na'ŋqwara'ŋ [o'q-wa'i']
 pa'n-a-xaq'wa'iva'a'.
 c'na'ŋwavi' o'ŋwa'
 pi'ŋwa:ŋwä'ra'ŋwɪ'
 ti'q-a'ŋ'w:t'u'iqwaip'ɪ'ya',
 ma'intca-n:t nɔ-nɔ-sɪ'^{155a}

(and Panther), arrived after every one else had come. There at their houses two little girls were sitting. Those (hunters) said, "What are you doing seated there, as though sitting and looking on, looking for something to eat?" After a while both of them lay with those two girls. They stretched them between their legs, and those two became women. That other Coyote, while walking from one house to another, kept saying, "Ecce anum meum!"⁶² In spite of his going about and speaking thus, they all lay down without paying any attention to him. In the morning Wolf sang, "Coyotel it is not thus that one should act, when having as wife one that has been taken away from another," said Wolf. "In that fashion are you wont to speak. Is it to a boy that you are always talking, talking to give him advice? I have been over there long ago and have returned, but you are just waking up," said Coyote as he woke up, aroused by Wolf's words.

Those Badgers kept on digging and that chief of theirs sang,

"I was not dreaming well, as Coyote, I say, has taken our wives away from us and made them his own.

"I was not dreaming well. While you have kept on doing so to the (badgers), that is what I say, which our wives are destined to eat, soon you shall all go back.

"Coyote has caused our wives to turn away, that is what I have dreamt."

í'v^waiyauq' pa·n·a'x·qw'aip'íya qan'vá·ntuγwa·m' qan'ú·am'ízhain·i ar qan'ú·p'ín·i n·aya'φA^xqai·p'íya. 'unt'íjuts a'ip'íya ín·á'n·ia·φ, 'an'ú·an' aik^x, cina'ñwavi'íjw pinwa'iarajw pinwa'RU·p'íγántí, a'ín·n·an·izain' aik^x, a'ip'íya. tiv^wé'tsmañá·nt'upa·Ap'íya. u'v^waiyauq·unt'íjuts·MU^xqwi'zap·ar tí'qa'ñ'wip'íya cina'ñwavi·aj aj'á'vantux·w. mam·u'c·U sma'ñwaw aj' nan·a'vaviñw a'iveañwá·v am'í'ñwa'^a pñqá·rínax·qam·p'íya. pinajq' u'v^waiyauq' tiv^wa'ts aj' a'ip'íya, cina'ñwa·φi ív'u'anj' pinwa·'m aj' paíy'ú'q·wáiva uv^wa'ntim·anañ·qw'á·v uní'k^xp'í'ú'ra'. cina'ñwaw a'ip'íya, 'i'c'·u·zn' na'va·m·ü'imi' a'ík^x ç·nó't·ó·vín·niza'. cina'ñwaw aj' ampa'xana·ñ' tiv^wa'tsi·ama'ntux·w euwa·p'ite·za'. unt'íjuts o''u ma·m·u'c·U pinwa'ñwám·aj' mñi'c·qw'aip'íya tiv^wé'p'íaiyauv uv^wa'ntux·w. ma·m·u'c·U pinwá'ñwám aj' tuwa·m·iap'íya pə·rə'·m'·iap·a·ntuγwá·φ. cina'ñwaviy aj' pinwa·'ñ' na·m·í'·nuntu'əñqip'íya.

ma·m·u'c·U cina'ñwavi aj' a'iveañwí aj' pina'ñq·w qan'ú·zaiyuc·U ma'up·a'^a najwa'úpaam' pə·rə'·q·Up'íya. na·m·í'zhaviñUp'ai avá·n·tux·w nuntu'əñqip'íya'í'tuai'. ma·m·u'c·U tiv^wa'ts aj' na·va·vñjw tU^xqu'm·um·uts·ñwa' a·te'RU·p'íya'aim'. cina'ñwa·φi pñi'k·a·iyuam uní'zuam qu·u'n·avas·a·n·ú'p'íya 'ate'RU·p'íya. a'iveañwíaj' pñmp'í·n'í·k·a·iyuan uní'zuaj'. cina'ñwavi a·te'RU·zuan' mañá·navas·an·ú'k^xp'íya 'at·e'RU^xqwap'íya. qan'ú' u'v^waiyauq' a·n·a'ñwí·n·nam'·MI tí'tí'γaiñ'p'íya. ma·m·u'c·U p'í'p'í's·óts·ñjw yo·n'·nñjup'íya 'a·m·o''ura' mom·o'·aiyauφ pñmp'í·n'í·k·a·iyuám'. sma'ñwa·φi moi'm'·iap'íya wa·'n·aip·ats·ñwí' mqi'ñkiteim·wí am·o''ura at·e'í' ts·tsa'qa·i' a'ip'íya, v·ts·v·ts·v·ts. ma·m·u'c·aja'pa·ñjup'íya¹⁵⁶ a'izucampa·ñ'. ma·ñajw unt'íjuts·na'á·ints·ts·pñti'·ñ·up'íya cina'ñwaw a·te'í' a'zhamantsajw·na·p'íya. mam·u's·a'iveañwíaj' mañá·navac·an·ú'k·Ap'íya a'zhamaman·teajw·m'NA^xqap'íya at·e'í'RU^xqwap'ia·phi. am·u'c·U wa·'u·aip·ats·ñjw a·m·í'ñw'am' tiv^wa'tsi' nava·vñjwí' pñti'·ñjup'íya'aim' ññjwu'v·te·nañq·wə·m·ia·zəam'. mava' unt'íjuts ím'í'Ip'íya qan'ú·ayantí'.

mam·u'c·U MU^xqwi'zA^xqarim·ám' m·á'va' qan'ú·am'í'·cu·p·a·r'ó·á·p'íya. unt'íjuts·wa'ixp'íya un·i'φ·a uní'k·ava·pa·ntí' ma·m·u'c·U s'á·m'·mə·xəñwínts·ñjw am U^xqu'v·w·te·əts·mujwínts·ñjw·ñjwá'·ə·m·paia·c·a'ík^x·Ap'íya. ma·m·u'c·ç·γə' ísai'yaq·mujwínts·ñjw am' na·γu'q·wipaiac·a'ík^x·Ap'íya. 'p·má·i', a'ík^x·Ap'íya, ív^wé'q·waxa' na·γu'q·wip·uru'ava', a'ík^x·Ap'íya. mañá·c·U tiv^wa'ts aj' qa·p'í'íya tá·e'í'anti tí·ya'ix·u,

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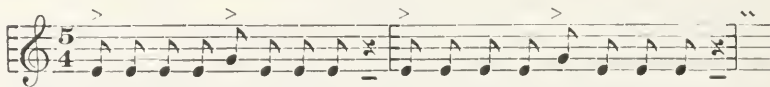
And then they all went back to their house. Their house looked like an old deserted camp. And then the Badger chief said, "What did I say? Coyote has taken our wives as his own, that is what I said," said he. They became exceedingly angry, and then a war council took place against Coyote. Those three brothers, Coyote and his companions (Wolf and Panther), kept on hunting, and then after a while Wolf said, "Coyote! let your wife return home to the place from which they have all come." Coyote said, "Long ago have I already been packing up in order to move, while you are but just waking up," as Coyote was just waking up, aroused by Wolf's words. So then those wives of theirs went back home to their country. Each of those wives gave birth to a child while they were travelling on their way. Coyote's wife was the first to give birth to a child.

Coyote and his companions, having lived there for some time, started off yonder in their tracks. At the first place that they camped at over night, someone had evidently given birth to a child. The two brothers, Wolf and Panther, made bows and arrows, and when Coyote saw them doing this, he did as they did, he made a bow and arrows. When his companions saw what Coyote was doing, making a bow and arrows, they did just what he did and made bows and arrows. And then they got to be visible from the house. Those children started off running towards their fathers as soon as they saw them. Coyote led along two boys who were coming in the lead towards them, as he held out bows and arrows for each. He said, "A little arrow, a little arrow, a little arrow." They passed by him in spite of what he said. And then a little girl hung on to him, and Coyote threw the bows and arrows away into a hiding place. Those companions of his did just as he had done, they threw the bows and arrows that they had made away into a hiding place. The two boys hung on to Wolf and his brother, who were coming behind everyone else. And then they arrived there at the village.

They who had been called together for war were assembled there at some distance from the house. Now they were deliberating how they were going to act. The Scorpion people and the Carrion Beetle people counseled a fist fight. The Crested Bluejay people counseled war with bows and arrows. "All right," said they, "let it, then, be war," said they. That Wolf was singing when daybreak came,

s'inajwa'vi' iv'izwa'no' u'vwa'[vi']
 na'yuq-wi'iqi'tu-wa'mi-ya'[uq-wa-ya'].
 u'm-an-i'k'a'imiyaxwa'ro-wano' uqwa-ya'
 ni'mpujwa'ri'tsa-ηwa'pi-ηwa'xa-yo'.
 iv'izwa'no' u'vwa'[vi'] na'yuq-wi'iqi'tu-wa'mi,
 ma'iyān[o'qw] a'ik'a[vi'ni] c'inajwa'vi'.
 i'va'n a'ik'a aηaco' ni' a'viva'ts.
 c'inajwa'vi' iv'izwa'no' u'vwa'[vi']
 na'yuq-wi'iqi'tu-wa'mi-ya; ma'iyān [o'qw] a'ik'a.
 u'm-an-i'ya'vi-mi-ya-γwa'ro-ano'a
 ni'mpujwa'ri'tsa-ηwa'pi-ηwa'γa-yo',
 ma'iyān [o'qw] a'ika [vi'ni] c'inajwa'vi'.^{156a}

'aηa'q' uv'ai' piηwan'tiγwaq'ainūpōta'am'. imi' tzi' r uηwaro''
 m'w'α'ni'k'ai'vate'camp a-vi'vate' qa'n-α'cuv' a'ivate', ni'aa'q' 'wōai'
 piηwan'tuγwaq'ainūpōta'm iγir uηwa, a'ip'iγa cna'ηwaφi.
 mava'co'u na'γo'q-wp' ar ti'qa'η'wip'iγa cna'ηwaw aη' ma-va'
 na'yu'q-wuqit-uap'iγa a'iveaηwūwa'aiφ. cna'ηwaw aη' paxqa'ηu-
 puaya'itua'iyan' ma-n'o'q' cna'ηwaw a'iveaηw'i qoγo''p'ia'γa'itua'i.
 ma-m-u'e-u tiv'watsnava'vūw piηwa'ia'v am' tuwa'tsūwa'q-uv
 uχu'n-aiya'm-uφ u'xqwa'p' u'vwa'itōχw a-vi'tei un'a'x-i yun'a'ηup'i-
 γaiyaηa'm'. un'i'ηuts a'ip'iγa tiv'wa'ts aη', iv'w'i'ca' i'mi na'yu'q-wū-
 qit-u'. uηwa'e-utca'iu¹⁵⁷ cna'ηwaw uηw pa'qa'ηu'tie ampa. un'i'ηu-
 ts'i'im' ma-va'am' na'yu'q-wuqit-uap'iγa'aim' ma-n'o'q'ōam'im'
 qoγo''p'iγa. un'i'ηuts waa'iyūsamp' piya'η'wip'iγa saγwaxa'γa'itō-
 γwaγant'ijwūwānti. ma-m-u'e-u ma-va' wa'tei'ηwiyum-un't'
 tca'γ'p'atcux-w na'yu'q-wi'k'ap'iγa na'yuq-wūm-i'a-vūw. qatc
 un'i'k'a'γa'camp' na'yu'q-wi'k'ap'ia'^a u'xqw'iyuam' ar ma-n-u'n-t'
 tu'p'w'i'p'iγa. un'i'ηuts 'atei'm-aφ na'γw'p'p'axqap'iγa tūmp'w't'm'
 na-ra'φi'k'ap'iγa. ma-m-u'e-u tiv'wa'ts aη' na-va'vūw qa'ivaiya'am'
^aa'urāi'm'i nūw'it-uγwa'am' w'ni'm'map'iγa. ma-m-u'e-u saγwa'-
 zaitca'zwan'ijwūw am' qa'p'iγa'aim',



i-t-i-ya-n-t ai-k-a-v-i-n-t' ma-n-t-mi-'a-xa-'a-v-i-n-t''¹⁵⁸

to'qomo'motsi'[v'un'i'n'na']
 ni'ni'a[v'i'n'nin'α'n-t']
 to'qomo'rui ga'ijumpa'n-αn'—

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“Coyote, do you, then, there
Engage in combat with people.
One should not be acting that way
When he has as his wife one that he has taken away from another.
Go ahead! Engage in combat there with people,
That is what I say, O Coyote!
But right here, say I, shall I be lying down.
O Coyote! do you, then, there
Engage in combat with people.
That is not how one should be acting, lying down,
When he has as his wife one that he has taken away from another,
That is what I say, O Coyote!”

“Who is it, then, on whom you have always been depending? You, indeed, have always been acting in that way, however, always lying down, always doing nothing but singing. It is I, indeed, upon whom you have always been depending,” said Coyote. So there was a battle at that same place and Coyote fought there together with his companions. Coyote was killed, and all of Coyote’s companions were killed. Those two Wolf brothers put their wives and their children into the sticks lying alongside of their quivers,⁶³ and then Wolf said (to Panther), “Go ahead! engage in battle. That Coyote has already been killed.” And then the two of them fought there and killed them all. Now only two survived of those who were blue-hatted.⁶⁴ Those there, four in number, engaged in close combat, being battle chiefs. In spite of their doing so, they could not kill each other by shooting. Their arrows were all used up. And then they hit each other with their bows and threw rocks at each other. The Wolf brothers moved along towards the mountain in front of the others. Those blue-hatted people were singing,

“It is too bad that you are doing so, O Panther! you whom I am going to have as a panther-skin blanket, after I have killed you.

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SAPIR

a'n-i[*v*'n'nina'n'nina'n-t']
 pa'q·ano'tsm [u'q·waiya'a].
 i't-i'ya'n-t a'ik·a[*v*'n-t']
 ma'n·umt''a'ya''[*v*'n-t']
 nu'·uw't·u'ya'[*v*'uni'n'na']
 w'i'n·im-i''a'ya''a[*v*'n-t']
 qa'iva'ia[*v*'n'ninα'n-t']
 a'.ura'imku'ts[*v*'n-t'].
 i'mpi'ya'i't m'α'va'
 u'm'α'ri' ama''a[*v*'n-t']
 qa'iva'i aqa'i'a[*v*'n-t']
 ma'i'ya'i' ani'k·a[*v*'n-t']
 nū'·uw't·u'ya''a[*v*'n-t']
 w'i'n·ün-i''a'ya''a[*v*'n-t'].
 i't·i'a'n-ta'[*v*'un-i'n-a']
 ma'ip·a'γiū'[*v*'uni'n-a']
 pa'q·aju'mpana'n't[*v*'n-i']
 i'mi'i[*v*'n'nina'n-t']
 na'ri'xiw'nap u'η'u[*v*'α'n-t']
 ma'inteu'[*v*'uni'n'nani'n-a']
 ti'v'wats:''[*v*'n'ninα'n-t'].
 i't·i'ya'n·ya''a[*v*'n-t']
 ma'n·k·a'i'iva''anti'i'
 i'mia'[*v*'ni'n'nani'n-a']
 to'qoa''ami''i[*v*'-t']
 i'tei' tiv'w't'p'ia'a
 a'vaa'n· a-vi'zaa'a.¹⁵⁹

tiv'w'a'ts a q·a'p'īya,¹⁶⁰ nī'niazain-t' sa'ya'zaitcōzwa'zaijumpa-n-an'
 pa^xqa'ηuts:i'm'. i'ti'a-n-i an-i'k·aiva ntim' tiv'w't'p'i'ava'an o'a'a'mi
 qo'i'n·y'ī^xka.i' pa^xqa'q·w'o'ainuqwa'ni. ma-m·u'c·u sa'ya'zaitca-
 zwa'n-ijunw αm' qa'p'īya'aim', i'ti'a-n-t aik·^x nī'nca pa^xqa'q·w'ai-
 jumpa-n-ani nī'nca tu'qu'p'īyaiva-n-αni i'ti'a-n-t an'i'm'ntai' nī'ow'i-
 tux-w qa'ivei 'a'ura'. imp'i'xai' m'α'ri am', 'u'r'um: uni'ts: maxa'ri-
 v'w-a-nti'm'. ma'ja'c·u tiv'w'a'ts: qa'p'īya, un'i'nteu'u nī'n'c nī'za-'a'va'-
 t·im a'i'zaitcu aik·^x. i'mi'zwar'uaq uv'wai i'i'tei' tiv'w't'p'i' mar'i'ηqai-
 yiaq' nī'ni nī'za-'a'va'-t·i'ηqai'va-t·p'nc'. a'izai'm' tümp'w'i'p'a'nam av't-
 ηup'īya'aim am·u'·w'α'mi. ma-m·u'c·o'zō'teai'yaq·u'w αm a'ip'īya-
 'aim', i'ti'a-n-ta' an'i'k·^x tümp'w'i''am ava'an a-vi'ηunqwa'aim' nī'm'w'i-
 yu'z'm' a'izaiyam'i'm' ma-n·o'·arup'īya'iyam'üm'. un'i'ηuts:i'm i'yat·ia-
 'am man·o'·arup'īya tü'mp ar un'i'ηuqwa'm' pu'ruq·wip'īya. ma'ja'c·u

“It is too bad that you are doing so, keeping your places in front of me as you move along, having started towards the mountain.

“What have you there on that mountain, that you are thus keeping your position in front of me as you move along?”

“It is too bad that you are in that position as you proceed, you whom I shall kill, you the mighty one, as you say, O Wolf!

“It is too bad that your flesh will be thus lying on this earth.”

Wolf sang, “And I, for my part, shall have a blue hat when I have killed you. It is too bad that you shall be thus while your bones are lying on the earth after I have killed you.” Those blue-hatted people sang, “It is too bad that you speak thus, whom I am about to kill, whom I am about to possess as panther skin. It is too bad that you are in that plight as you move along before me towards the mountain. What have you on that (mountain) that will, then, protect you?” That Wolf sang, “Do you say that you are a greater one than I? Did you, then, create this earth, seeing that you are to be greater than I?”⁶⁵ So saying, the two of them, (Wolf and Panther), lay down on a rock in front of the two (Bluejays). Those Mountain Bluejays said, “It is too bad that you two are thus lying down on a rock in front of us.” So saying, they reached down to hold (Wolf and

tiv^wa'ts an a'ip-īya, iv^w' uxqwa n'īm^w' nava'v:ŋwīα pA^xqa'ŋU-
 tuava-mpē'n-īmI. m^wα'va'm a'ŋq^wαvī a-v'tei'ava''n-a'm avi'ŋUpī-
 γai'm am-o'v^wa'm'. ma-m-u'c-uam' ma-n'ŋ'arup-īyayam'um'.
 ŋn'ŋutsi'm i'yat-īa'm' ma-n'ŋ'arup-īya ŋni'ŋUqwa-m a'ŋqoav ar
 a-v'te' pu'ruq-wipīya. iv^w'īyayap-1, a'ip-īya tiv^wa'ts, a'iteiarami
 ŋjwu'RUQwāt-uγwαp-ŋn'c'miqum'. m^wα'va'm ŋn'ŋuts paik'A-
 puw^w'an'nzm am-u'v^wa'm avi'ŋUpīyāic'īm'. maŋa'c-U qa'p-īya
 ŋχ'ots'iy'aq', nī'nia tu^xqu'q aite'ŋχwaiva n-anīm' pA^xqa'ŋUtsinjum'.
 a'īyāic-uaj'am' ma-n'ŋ'arup-īyayaj'am' i'yat-īa'amī ma-n'ŋ'arup-īya.
 ŋn'ŋutsi'm' nŋwu'a-m ar pu'ruq-wipīya. maŋa'c-U tiv^wats a'ip-īya,
 aγa'n-ŋunteq' i'mI nīχa'ava't-īm- ainte' pA^xqā'umpan'tin ainte'
 cu'q-Upiy an-īk' i'm ŋχ'otsai'yaq-ūzaiva-ntī. tiv^w'c- a' ŋχ'otsai'ya-
 q-ait-ī'qan'wipīya'aim'.

ma-m-u'c-U qan-ī'am' a'ura' paiy'ŋUpīya mava''am' qan-ī'va'
 p'teipīya'aim'. ŋn'ŋuts ma-n'ŋ'ŋ'αm'īm' nŋw'ī'm-aj'up-īyāiya-
 m'īm'. pina'ŋqw am-ī'ŋwantī emā'ŋwavi a'ivaiyajwī a-tei' kwī'tu'-
 x-upa'aj' ts'ni'x-īkanti' emā'ŋwavi' ta'qwi'mpu^xqwuŋq'pīya'aik-w.
 ŋni'ŋUqwa-ŋ' sma'ŋwafī qwiri'k-īpīya. ŋn'ŋ'c' a'ip-īya, a'p'ī'k-ain'.
 iva'n-ī'an-ūzain-ī a'īfī naγu'q-wuqit'uaīyī.

14. EAGLE AS SUITOR.

sivīntiv^wip-iv^wα' qwa-nants p'teipīya. ŋn'ŋuts qan-ī'ava''an-ai'
 p'nt'k-arīp-īyāiyāq' qan-ī'aγanti'. ma-m-a'ŋtsuŋwī' qan-ī' uv^w'īmi-
 tux-w ts-pī'ŋum-intī' p'nt'ī'k-ai'yunwa na-ruχw a'ŋum-inūmpīya,
 um^wα'ŋA maa'in^yī'k'ant um-α'ŋaxain-ī. a'ip-īya ma-m-a'utsi'
 ts-pī'ŋum-ŋŋqunw qan-ī' uv^w'īmitux-w. pina'ŋqw ŋn'k'aru^xcu'ŋw¹⁶¹
 aŋa'ruq-wa qan-ī'aγanti' uv^w'a'ntīmanŋqw ma-m-a'uts ts-pī'ŋUpīya.
 m^wα'ŋa-q' maa'in-in-a'ait-ī, a'ip-īya na-ru'x-wa. ŋn'ŋuts tiv^w'am-ī-
 k-Upīya paiya'^{avi} ŋna'p-ajwi. ŋn'ŋuts 'an-a'x-ī p'teipīya. maŋa'c-U
 moa'ŋ-aj' ma-m-a'utsi' na'^{av}ŋ'wa-m- ŋrō'^{ap}-īya.¹⁶² maŋa'c-U
 mam-a'uts an' ma-n'ŋ'q-αm tu^v'ainūmpīya 'a'ivam-ī' qan-ī'γanti'm-ī
 aŋa'c-U na'^{av}ŋ'wa-m- an' a'ip-īya qwa-na'nts anarux-w, imi'aj'
 piŋwa'xaiva-ŋ' pāte'ani qwū'k-ari w'a'xarux-w p'nt'k-arīχa'.
 m^wα'va-iyaj o''u qwū't-īŋwαp-īyāiyaj' qwa-n-a'nte an' qwū'k-ari
 w'a'xarux-w na'^{av}a'c-U p'nt'k-arīp-īya qwa-n-a'ntsi an' wī'cī'a-ŋ'

Panther) with their hands. When they had done so, they reached in vain, and the rock was crushed to pieces. That Wolf said, "Alas for us two brothers! It seems that we are to be killed." And on a dead log that was lying on the ground the two of them lay down in front of the Bluejays. Those reached down to hold them with their hands, but, having so done, they reached in vain, and the dead log that was lying on the ground was crushed to pieces. "Alas!" said Wolf, "that we two are just about to be beaten." And then the two of them lay down again on ice in front of the (Bluejays). That Mountain Bluejay sang, "O you, who are destined to be a panther-hide hat when we have killed you!" So saying, they reached down to hold them with their hands, but it was in vain that they reached for them. When they had done this, their bodies were shattered to pieces. That Wolf said, "What has become of you, you who say that you are greater than I, you who say that you are about to kill me? Ill-advisedly do you act, who are destined to be a mountain bluejay." And, sure enough, the two of them turned into mountain bluejays.

Those, (Wolf and Panther), started back towards their house, and there at the house they arrived. And then they caused all of (their people who had been slain) to come to life again. After a while some one from among Coyote's companions, while walking along, tilted up with his foot the bow that was stuck through Coyote's anus. When he had done so, Coyote arose. And then he said, "I must have been sleeping. Right here was I now engaged in fighting."

14. EAGLE AS SUITOR.⁶⁶

Eagle arrived in the country of the Sibit⁶⁷ Indians. And then he sat and watched the village from above the houses. As he saw the young women going out of the houses now and then, he would say to himself, "That one too has been touched," said he, whenever a young woman would come out of the house. After he had sat and done this for some time, a young woman came out under him from the village yonder. "That one it is who has not been touched," said he to himself. And then he started to go down, descending the hill, and then he arrived inside the (house). That father of the young woman was their chief. The young woman was wont to refuse all of the young men that lived in the village. That chief of theirs said to Eagle, "You shall have my daughter as your wife if you sit and look right through the smoke." So he looked him up there in the smoke,⁶⁸ but Eagle sat and looked right through the smoke as though it were

tu-t'uzñupīya. u'v^waiyauq' qwī'ik'arī' tsim'u'na-ñqīp'īyāiyāq' nā'v' an'. iv^wic-ca-ñ o''u piñwa'xaiyan' pa-tci'n' an', a'ip'īya nā'a'phi. qwa-n'a'nts an' ma-m'a'utsi' piñwa'rañup'īya.

mañas: i'v^waiyauq' c-c'inañwaviya'q'ut'uzc-amp an' cīna'ñwaviñ-kaivāte t'tcuq' a'ip'īya, iv^wi'y'añw 'a'iv^wñwaviñs uñwa nan'a'c'o-q-upiniya'añw a-n'i'ñqīq'. iv^wi'y'añw yaa'it'īya-ñqīq'añw, a'ip'īya mañā'c-u cīna'ñwaviñ an'. m'a'ūpa' o''u qwa-n'a'nts an' yaa'inq'ūa-p'īya mona'ts'īñantīñ an' qa-m'i'xw'oin'a'ñ' nō'p'aiyik'ipīya. uñ'ñuts u'u'v^wa' so'p'a-r'ōxp'īya qwa-n'a'nte an' ava'ntux-wpīya co'q'uc-u qa-m'ī' yañw'lm'ñap'īya. mañā'c-u cīna'ñwaviñ an' a'ip'īya, pīmpī'n'ixka.iya-ñ a'iv^wñwaviñc an' cu'q'uc-u qam'ī'f'w^xqa-q'a'. iv^wi'y'a-ñ' qan't amā'ntux-w nampa'n'ants'ya-ñqīq'a-ñ'. tīv^wic-o''u m^wa'ūpa'a qa-n'ī' a'a'ura' yo'n'nñup'īya qwa-n'a'nts nñwī'v'ñañqw u'u'mp^wic' a-n't'k'aip'īyain't'. qa-n't'a-m' a^xqa'n'añ-qwōp'a-m'ī tī'tīxainu'q-w qwa-n'a'nts na'a'v'c' 'a-m-u'xūpa'q'wai-ñup'īya qan't'va pīcīpīya. mañā'c-u cīna'ñwaviñ, iv^wi'y'a-ñ' nana'ñwīñainqīq'a-ñ'. mava'ntu'γwa-m'ī ma-n'ō'q'ōzñ' nu'ā'p'īyāiyam' qwa-n'a'nts. cīna'ñwaviñ a'ip'īyāic-u, iv^wi'a-ñ' na-ru'n'ñañqīq'a-ñ'. mava'ntu'γwa-m' ma-n'ō'q'ō tō'pa'raip'īya. uñi'k'a'γai'cuan' qwa-n'a'nts: nana'ī'ai't'uk'p'īyāiyāñ'.

ivā'ntu'γwāq'wan' qa'te' sūma'.iñwa'a. tīv^wi'ts' pa'a't'ō'γōnt'uraro'' t'itcī tīxw'i'n'ap' arī.

15. RATTLESNAKE AS STORY-TELLER.

m'ā'va' mam'a'uts' qan't'γaip'īya waa'q'u tuwa'ts'ñwun'wai'phi. mañā'c-u tuwa'tsan an' tīxw'i'n'at'iv^witc'pī'γai'ñw piya'iyā'phi. uñ't's'pīya-ñ an' a'ip'īya, tōx'o'm uñw a'izwa'a tīxw'i'n'at'iv^witcuzwai'ñw. v'ma.i, a'ip'īya tuwa'ts'ñw. tō'γō'nī tīxw'i'n'añqīnī, a'ip'īya. v'ma.i, a'ip'īya tō'γō'ñ'. piya'RU^xqwa^aχit'imi añqa'χwīc'a tō'χwa^aχwīc'a, a'ip'īya. mañā'c' a'ip'ats' pa'y'k'w'āip'īya piya'vatecuzwā'phi. mañā'c-u piya'ñ' tīv^wi'ñup'īyāiyāñ', tīxw'i'n'añqīr'ua-ñ'a'mī tōx'o'm uñwa, a'ip'īya. u'u'ñ'w aik^x piya'RU^xqwa^aχit'imi añqa'χwīc'a tō'γa^aχwīc'a, a'iyāñ 'aik^x, a'ip'īya. 'a-ñ'ō'q'ō'χwa-ñ'wan uñi'k^x, a'īñup'īya. oñ't' qwī'ts uñwa'vatecuzwāñq'w'aip'īya uñ'ñuts: 'an'ō'q'ō'χwan't' uñi'k^x, a'īñup'īya. mañā'c-u tō'γō'av an' wī'q'w'i'nta-ñ-q'pī'γaiyāñ' tī'qa'p'īya'aik' uv^wa'ntux-w ma-m'a'utsi' s't'p'ī'a-ñ'.

uñic' a'īñūñpīya tīxw'i'n'añqīm'ūñmpīyāiyāñ a'ip'ātsi'. mava'n-tu'γwa-ñ'am' nava'phi'ts'ñw nāñwa'q'uañja'm pa^xqa'ñup'īyāiyāñ'a'm'. uñ'ñuts' pa-v't'sañ an' a'ip'īya, iv^wi'ñw piyā'ram' uñwa t'a'ta'q'w'i-

nothing at all. Eagle's feathers turned black.⁶⁹ And then the chief poked out the smoking fire with a stick. "Do you, then, have my daughter for a wife," said the chief, and Eagle married the young woman.

And then that one, wont to be a coyote, though the others were not coyotes, said in the morning, "Do you all try different sorts of tests on the newly married one. Do you all make him hunt game," said that Coyote. Now Eagle was hunting through there along with the rest, but the rabbits that he had killed did his father-in-law carry home. And then they were gathered together yonder. Eagle came to that place and carried with him but one jack-rabbit. That Coyote said, "Do you all look at the newly married fellow, who has killed but one jack-rabbit. Do you all have a foot-race with him right up to the house." And so, sure enough, they started off through there to run towards the house, and Eagle, merely for fun, pretended to fall behind every one else. When they all got near the house, Eagle went right past them as though it were nothing at all, and arrived at the house. That Coyote (said), "Do you all wrestle with him." And Eagle threw all of them down one after another. Again said Coyote, "Do you all have a fist-fight with him." And he knocked them all down with his fist. After treating Eagle in this fashion, they made him angry.

At this point I do not remember further. This story is a very long one.

15. RATTLESNAKE AS STORY-TELLER.

A young woman was living there together with her two sons. That son of hers asked his mother to tell him a story. There, then, his mother said, "Go and tell your grandfather, go and ask him for a story." "All right," said the son. "My grandfather, tell me a story," said he. "All right," said his grandfather. "Under your mother flashes red, flashes purple," said he. That boy returned home to his mother. His mother asked him, "Did your grandfather tell you a story?" said she. "He said, 'Under your mother flashes red, flashes purple,' that is what he said," said he. "When did he do so to me?"⁷⁰ she exclaimed. Taking a stick, she then went off to him. When did you do so to me?" she exclaimed. That Rattlesnake⁷¹ coiled around her. *Ibi edit urinam feminae.*⁷²

He kept saying the same thing. He was always telling that story to the boy. At that place the two brothers killed both of the (babes their mother had given birth to). And then the elder brother said,

ʒw'aiŋw, a'izuanʒ m-wα'va-ntuʒwaŋ t'a'ta'q-wivip-iʒaiyanʒ pi'aiəfi.
 təʒo'aruatsujw am' qa'teU paii'pāic-U pina'ŋqw am-u'vwanəqw
 iŋa''p'its: ts:pi'ŋup'iʒa. maŋa'e: ŋni'ŋuqwa-ŋ' paiy't'k-wəip'iʒa.
 a'iteianwa'a, a'ip'iʒa pa-vi'əŋ aŋ'. uv-wa-ntux-wacutca-ŋani cjm^{wi'x}-
 qit'ŋwa. iv^{wi'}ŋw ya-xw'ai'ŋw təʒo'avijw um' qateu'm iya'vaxava-
 ŋwai'm', a'ip'iʒa. maŋa'e: a'ix-Ucuanʒ m-wα'upa'a ya-ʒw'aip'iʒa'aiŋw
 iŋa''p'itsi'. təʒo'avijwəi am' tə'tsi:v'antia m' tira'ŋwantəp-aʒ'ip'iʒa
 ya-vaiy'p'iʒaiyanʒ. ŋni'ŋuts: yanw'm'maʒuanʒ qwitca'ŋup'iʒa.
 ŋni'ŋuqwa-ŋ' mava-n-tuʒwa-ŋ' cjm^{wi'x}-q'p'iʒaiyanʒ'. ŋni'ŋuts: paiy'i'-
 k-ip'iʒa. maŋa'e-U pa-vi'tsian aŋ a'ip'iʒa, a'iteianwa' iŋa''p'its: ŋw
 aʒa'n-ŋo'ŋw. ni'ntca-ŋ' u'v-wa-ntuʒwa'ŋw w'ina'i'k'i'ŋw, a'ip'iʒa.
 iv^{wi'}ŋwaxa'a ya-xw'ai'ŋw, a'ip'iʒa pa-vi'tsian'. maŋa'e: u'x-pa'ŋ'
 ya-ʒwəip'iʒaiyanʒ' puw-wa-ntuʒwa-ŋa'fi cjm^{wi'x}-qain' uv-wa' p'tcəp'iʒa.
 təʒo'avijwaxain: ŋw tira'xuava'm a-vi'p'iʒa. maŋa'e-U paiy't'-
 k-w'aip'iʒa o'p'ac-U. maŋa'e-U pa-vi'tsian aŋ a'ip'iʒa, a'iteianwa'
 iŋa''p'its: ŋw. uv-wa-ntux-wəua-ŋani cjm^{wi'}A^xq'iteanw təʒo'avijw'a'm
 ŋw ŋwa'əax-ituxw'am' paii'ŋuŋwa'q'uc. iv^{wi'}ŋwaxa'^{a163} ya-
 ʒw'ai'ŋw təʒo'avijwəi um' tə'tsi:v'antia m' tira'ŋwantəp-aʒ'imp'a',
 a'ip'iʒa. maŋa'e: uma'upa'ŋw ya-ʒw'aip'iʒa. ŋni'ŋuts: təʒo'avijwəi
 tə'tsi:v'antia m' tira'ŋwantəp-aʒ'ip'iʒa. uv-wa-ntuʒwanʒ ŋni'ŋuts:
 ya-vaiy'p'iʒa.

qateu''q-wan tva-c-uma'ŋ. iŋwa'a.¹⁶⁴

16. OWL'S WIDOW'S EXPERIENCES WITH SKUNK, BADGER, AND HAWK.

moo'p-ute aŋ un-wα'va' piŋwa'ŋw'ai'fi qa-n-t'ʒaip'iʒa'aim' tuwa'-
 ts:ʒa'i'p'iʒa'aim' so'q'uc-U qa-m-u'v-w'uts: a' nua-a'ʒant'i'. moo'p-uts:
 qa-m-i'y'ainūmp'iʒa t'a'ci'p-aux-U pitei'm inūmp'iʒa. ŋni'ŋumijka'
 pi'tcəm-ijka' a'im inūmp'iʒa, qam-u'v-w'uts i'mi yu'wa'xiy'am'. maŋa's-U
 piya-ŋ' ti'w-wα'm inūmp'iʒaiyanʒ' qa-m-i'ŋwəi'. i'ti'e-amp ŋni'mip'iʒa
 maŋa'e-U niqo'n-əp'ŋw əŋ ŋni'ʒa' yaa'iz'a' qam-o'aants-ŋwəi'¹⁶⁵
 ma-ʒa'mip'iʒaiyanʒ' na-n-o-r'i'ac: a'a't-iŋwanjw'a'ŋw ti'qa'm-ip'iʒa.
 pina'ŋqw piŋwa'ŋ' yaa'ijqw'ai'k-a-q-oanʒ' qan-t'a-ŋ ava-ntux-wpiʒa
 qa-m-i'ŋw ŋni'ŋuts: wi'qa'm'mi'kantim-i' maa'ip'iʒa. a'ik-w, i'im-i-
 ar'ua-m-irram a-ʒanwantəŋqim'i'ka', a'ip'iʒa ti'qa'xa'aim' mam-i'-
 ŋwant'i'. əv'i' tA^xqa'.iyuŋwrtsq-w ni'v-wa'ra'tən'ni'tiava-q'əŋw
 wa'a'ŋwəi'p'iʒa. paiy't'q-w'aip'iʒa'aim' qan-t'vā-ntuʒwa-m-uf.

“Go ahead! go and squeeze our mother by stepping on her,” and when he had said this, (the other) there stepped on his mother and squeezed her several times. The rattlesnake children (that came out of her) were numerous. After a while a human baby came out after them. When (the baby) did this, that (younger brother) returned home. “What did you do with him?” said his elder brother. “I left him there at the same place and came home.” “Go ahead! go and fetch him, and you shall not be afraid of the rattlesnakes,” said he. When he had said this, that one went through there to fetch him. He stepped on the heads of the rattlesnakes as he walked along, and returned with the (baby). And then, as he was carrying him along, (infans) defaecavit. When he had done so, he left him at that place. And then he came back home. That elder brother of his said, “What did you with the baby?” “I threw him down over there and came away,” said he. “Do you, then, go and fetch him,” said his elder brother. That one went off in yonder direction to fetch him from where he had left him, and there he arrived. Truly (the baby) was lying right among the rattlesnakes, (so) that one went back home. That elder brother of his said, “What have you done with the baby?” “I left him at that same place and came away, as the rattlesnakes were in great numbers round about him.” “Do you go, then, and fetch him, and you shall step on the rattlesnakes’ heads as you go along,” said he. That one went off in yonder direction to fetch him. And then he stepped on the rattlesnakes’ heads as he went along. Then he returned to yonder place with him.

I do not remember the (story) from this point.

16. OWL’S WIDOW’S EXPERIENCES WITH SKUNK, BADGER, AND HAWK.

Hooting Owl was living there with his wife. They had one son whose name was Rabbit-eye. Hooting Owl used to hunt rabbits and he would arrive home in the evening. Whenever he did so, whenever he would return, he used to say, “You, Rabbit-eye, come and take them away.” That mother of the (boy’s) would roast the jack-rabbits in the ashes. The old Hooting Owl was wont always to do thus when he was engaged in hunting; he used to give them young jack-rabbits, but he always ate the good ones himself. After a while, when he had gone out hunting, his wife went to his house, and then she found jack-rabbits which had been covered up. “Oh!” It seems that he has been always hiding these from us,” said she, and she ate some of them. Having split bones in two by hitting them on a stone,

ma'ña'e'u cīa'p'ī' pite'it'ijwavaɣap'ī'ɣa nīv'w'a'RA'tən'ni'tijwava'-
pī'ɣa. qnī'z'uŋw pō'γu'Apī'ɣain'ɪ ɔv'ar nampa'ia'ŋ a'a'xarux.w.
ŋnī'ŋuts' tu'ɣwa'nu p'a'pa'q'Apī'ɣa. qa'teu'tean axa'r'ɔzŋwī'ap'ac'u
ta'e'n'aik'ain'. ŋnī'ŋuts'ŋwanī pīn'k'ai'tu'ī, a'ip'ī'ɣa. ma'ña'e'u
pŋwa'ŋ' pīn'k'ai'zwa'ip'ī'ɣaiyan'am'. ts'pō'ŋ-qīq'wznt, a'ip'ī'ɣa
moop'ī'ts'. ma'ña'e' ŋna'ā'ɣit-u'ɣwa'q' tsī'a'w'wte'pī'ɣa nampa'īya'ŋ'.
ma'ña'e' ū'w'aiyauq' moop'uts' a'ip'ī'ɣa, ya'a'ik'a'ŋani qU'tea'p'ɔ't'ɔ'
qwarīm't'ajan ŋw pīn'k'ai'ŋq'ŋuc'w'aiva'. qa'teu cīna'ŋwavi'ap'ai'
qa'teu pō'n'a'p'ai' ŋŋ uru''a' tūmp'it'U'x'qwat-u'ɣwa'ŋ'ŋiq'w'aiva-n-
tīanani qa'te ŋna'mputs'ap'ai' ŋŋ uru''a' tīv'wī'p-uruq'watux-w'ŋŋ-
qīq'w'aiva-ntīanani.

pīnaŋq 'o''u ya'a'ip'ī'ɣa moop'uts'. ma'm'u'e'u mava'āntuzwa'ŋ'-
am' cīm'ū'x'qwa'ā'pī'ɣa o'o'x'p'a'm' pa'ɣ'āi'm'miap'ī'ɣa. ŋnī'ŋuts'īm'
pō'n'aj' qan'ŋ'va'ŋ'am' pī'teizwa'aip'ī'ɣa. ma'ña'e'u pō'nī' qan'ŋ'va-
ŋwaiyuf' U'cu'q'wiza'p'ī'ɣa pō'n'ā'vuruɣwa'. ma'ña'e'u piya'ŋ'
qan'ŋ'on'ŋqōp' cī'ru'x'qwarupī'ɣa. ma'ña'e'u mam'a'uts' a'ip'ī'ɣa,
uv'w'a'ntux-wentea'ŋ'anīmi cīm'ū'x'k'ɪ tīŋqa'nv'āiyā'ŋw. ū'wī'ya'q'α-
xa'a' tī'ŋwŋ'q' azī'm'ŋwīt'ux-w qateu'ŋw pīnī'ŋw'aq'ho'ŋw¹⁶⁶
pōn'āiyā'ŋ' ŋ'ā'yī'yzm¹⁶⁷ tu'ɣu'ntu'ɣwan'um', a'ip'ī'ɣa ma'm'a'ca'ɣw'i-
ts'. pīna'ŋq'w ya'ɣa'p'ī'ɣa. 'a'ik'w, a'ip'ī'ɣain'ɪ pōnī'A, a'ɣa'n'ŋuts'ŋw'
a'ik'x' piya'ni qateu ma'ŋ'ŋw'ait'ī a'ī'ɣaic'ŋn'ɪ uv'w'ŋ'ŋm'ɪtu'ɣwan'up'ī'ɣa
qan'ŋ'af. 'axa'n'ŋuts'ī aik'x' yaxa'xa' piya'ni, a'ip'ī'ɣa pōnī'A. nava'-
e'u'an a'ik'x' yaxa'xa', a'ip'ī'ɣa piya'ŋ'. qa'teu, tīntī'n'ŋŋqī'ŋua-
tsa'm'ŋoa, a'ip'ī'ɣa pōnī'A. qate, a'ī'an aik'x', iva''a'ŋ' mam'a'uts'
qarī'q'a'. qa'teu, m'w'α'rī' aru'a' nī'ni p'p'an' y'u'xwan'ī'na, a'ip'ī'ɣa
piya'ŋ'. qa'teu, mam'a'ute an'k'arī'q'a' pā'ŋq'w'ōq'wīk'aiyāq'ai-
yāq'. a'ī'ɣaic'ŋw'a piya'īyā'f qwī'p'ī'ɣa pīv'w'a'waxain'ɪ ur qarī'n'a-
ŋw tea'ā'z'w'ōq'ī'ka'. an'ŋ'an aik'x', a'ip'ī'ɣa. mam'a'uts' pīv'w'a' qarī'-
q'ain, a'ī'an 'ī'ŋ'īr'aik'x'. ū'v'w'aiyauq' ŋnī'ŋuts' ma'ña'e'u piya'ŋ' ŋŋa'-
ruɣwa'q'wa tīn'ā'pī'ɣai'q'w. uv'w'a'cuɣa'a' tīŋqa'nv'āiyā'v ŋn'a'x'ɪ
ya'a'ik'wa' in'ī'a'm' ŋw, a'ip'ī'ɣa.

'ŋnī'ŋuts' pō'n'ā' nana'q'oaŋupī'ɣa qateu''u'q'w nāŋwā'ī'yam' pīnī'-
n'a'aip'ī'ɣa. 'u'v'w'aiyauq' tīv'w'it's' mīyōma'x'a NA'x'q'w'ā'ŋup'ī'ɣa.

she stood them up at the place where he was accustomed to shake his feet free of snow. The two of them went back to their house.

After sunset that (Hooting Owl) made a noise as he arrived, he made a noise of shaking off snow from his feet. As he did so, the bones sounded as though they went right through his feet, and then at night he groaned with pain. "I do not know what has happened to me. My feet must have burned from intense cold. And now let him come and see me," said he. His wife and (her son) went to see him. "Prick it out for me with a point," said Hooting Owl, but she pushed its sharp point further into his feet, and then the Hooting Owl said, "When I die, you shall let my (boy) go to see him who is light gray around his body,⁷³ not Coyote, not Skunk—he it is who will cause my (boy) to be going under the rocks—, not Badger—he it is who will cause my (boy) to go under the ground."

And so after a while died Hooting Owl. They left him at that place as they started away, and they travelled along in yonder direction. Then they went and arrived at Skunk's house. That Skunk was whistling a tune at his house while making skunk-blankets. His mother was sitting outside the house making a basket of squaw-bush twigs. The young woman said, "We have left him yonder in the cave that is his house, and have come here." "Then do you quickly go away from here before Skunk sees you. Do you two start to go up from here," said the old woman. After a while she cried. "Oh!" thought Skunk, "I wonder what has happened to my mother that she does that, who has never acted like that before." And when he thought this, he went outside of his house. "What has happened to you, my mother, that you are doing this, crying?" said Skunk. "I am just crying like this for fun," said his mother. "No! someone has told you something," said Skunk. "No! that is what I say, a young woman must have been sitting here." "No! it is because of the way in which I have been moving around," said his mother. "No! it is a young woman that must have been sitting, it is smooth and hollow." So saying, he picked up his mother, and the place where she for her part had been seated was marked with wrinkles. "What did I say!" he said. "It is a young woman that has been sitting here," that, indeed, is what I said." And then that mother of his told him about it. "In that same place, she says, in his cave house, has your relative died," said she.

And then Skunk set to tracking about in various directions, but he did not discover their tracks. And then he looked for tracks,

'u'v^wa·m·ixain·t' nanwa'tuk·a·im' navt'^{ts}uŋw. u'u'·p'a·m·unujuts·nantī'naγwa'aip'īγaiyam'. u'v^wa·m' wa'ts'ŋUpīγa aγa'x·Upa·ŋan unīk' unī't·uinqī'γaiyanan'. qatecu'ruax·qa'^a qan't'anī pīnī'ŋwa'^a, a'ip'īγamaa'iyōn'an·tzaianj'. unī'n'ix·Ucuaj' mam'a'uts' tazā'va·ya·va ntiāφ pō'avujwī' mantsa'ŋw·nap'īγa. iyē't·uq·wa·u'¹⁶⁸ na·za'ŋw. q'mā·i, tci'n·tza'^a pōn't'avun· ar naxa'^aŋ'wīnŋqī. pōn'Ā moi'm'm·ari' na·'zai' qU'qwt'p'īγa. unī'ts a'ip'īγa, t'e a'ip'ats' qwi'n·ōrō'omp' tci'^a·a'^a piya'īyanjw qwt'n·ōrō'omp' tci'xain·t' piya'n·t'¹⁶⁹ qwt'·n·ōrō'omp' tci'^a·a' nī'n·tA qwt'n·ōrō'omp', a'ip'īγa qU'qu'q·wtzaiyam' na·za'ŋwīA. pīnī'k' aigumīnkuanj' mava'aco'om' wīnī'p'īγa'aim' na·za'^uŋwīnīzaiyaq·am' a·m·u'^urainjw'aip'īγa.¹⁷⁰ unī'te a'ip'īγa, qōxō'itca·m·īnī, a'ip'īγa U'teu'mīka·i' murō'n·'uzwa'. īrī', i'p'·i·ŋwaiarūam' unī'k'·^x c·ci'teum'mtza'. pī'ŋqauŋp'īγa'ainjw a'ix·Ucam·pāŋw. pina'ŋqW moro'ī' maī'mpun·a·ŋqīp'īγa. unī'ŋUqwa'ŋw wī'cē'rampīaxain·t' pōn'av'īŋw tōγō'tsi'at'uk'aik'·a'. a'ik·w, aip'īγa pōn'Ā. unī'ŋuts· na·γa'γōxō'tk'·ain·av unū'urainjw'aip'īγa U·qwt'·yūŋwaxain·t' UR pō'av·ŋwī' tō'tō'teanqīaq·aī'pīγa. tīv'w't·ŋnī nāŋa'ī'·aip'īγa pōn'Ā nantī'naγwa'aip'īγa'aim. unī'ŋuts· ma·m·u'c·U tsā'mpīyua·t'·up'īγa'aim' nav't'n·a·x·t. pōn'Ā nantī'napīγa'aim' ts'ō'mpīvīanj ar ts·pa'γ'itcap'īγaiyanj' pōn'av'īanj ar ma·n·ō'n·t pa·γa'itcaip'īγa. unī'ŋuts· nāŋa'ī'aip'īγa o'p'īγa. unī'ŋuts· paiy'·q·woip'īγa o'p'ac· qa·n't·vā·ntuγwōφ. a'ik·wī, a'ip'īγa a'ip'āts anj' p'·vunīk·a·inuts', piyōnī ŋwa'tīram ar teu'xw'·īram'. p'mā·i, aip'īγa piya'ŋ', i'v'w'n·a'axa' an't'n·t'^a wa'a'p'īaxantī a'a'ura'. ma·rī'c' 'a'·^ateuγwa'pīγain·ta·m'. piya'ŋ anj a'ip'īγa, qatecu anī'k' ŋŋwō'ŋw'ait·ī pōn'Ā i'y ŋŋwaru' o'p'·uŋw. a'ip'ats anj' na·m'ī'ī'aip'īγa a·za'ŋŋU'tsi'q·w o'p'ī'. piya'ŋ anj' unī's· an't'ŋUp'īγaī'q·w nanwa'aim' yā'a'ip'īγa.

m^w·α'va īnz'mpute anj' qan't'zai'p'īγa tuwa'ts'ŋwūŋw'aīφ. i'tcuq·a'ip'īγa, qa·teu'tean 'a't'īn·ōn·ōs·wāp·A t'v'·'amīn' aik'·^x yua'va a·v't'z'um' navt'^{ts}uŋwī', a'īγūzŋ a·v't'stci' um^w·z'ntux·w yo'n·nŋŋup'īγa tuwa'ts'ŋwīanj'. pīn't'n'ūik'aip'īγa a·m·av't'stci'. ōvī'm·pimpin·ara'putsŋw ōŋ a·m·u'v^wmanjw am·A pī'tci'xw'aip'īγa. unī'·

circling far around. Yonder, indeed, appeared the tracks of mother and child. In that direction, then, he went and followed them up, and yonder he caught up with them. "Where are you taking him to like that? Where are you taking him to, pray, causing him to be like that? Did you not see my house?" said he, as he held his arms around her. *Cum ille ita ei faceret, femina pediculos inter crura cepit et abjeicit.* "Off through here are mountain sheep."⁷⁴ "All right! Stand, then, my dear, covered with this skunk-blanket of mine." Skunk shot the mountain sheep that was moving along in the lead. Then he said, "This is the boy's blanket. And this is his mother's blanket, while this is my mother's blanket, and this is my own blanket," said he as he kept shooting the mountain sheep. As he now and then took a look, the two of them, (mother and child), were standing in that same place covered with the blanket. He went towards them. Then he said, "I have killed them," said he, with his eyes closed and rubbing his chin against them. "Don't! Are you wont to do that to your old husband, always pinching him?" In spite of his saying that, it kept on happening to him in that way. After a while he lifted up the blanket from them, and when he had done so, it turned out that his skunk-blanket had been caused to cover a bush *cactus*. "Oh!" said Skunk, and then he went towards the mountain sheep that he had killed. His arrows, it turned out, had lice on their points, one on each. Skunk was exceedingly angry and followed in their tracks. And then the two of them caused to arise behind them a plain covered with wild rose bushes. Skunk followed them up, but the wild rose bushes scratched him and all of his skunk-blanket was scratched up to tatters. Then he was angry; *et pepedit*. And then he turned back home to his house. "Oh!" said the boy, when he had looked back, "my mother! A rain storm is approaching us." "All right," said his mother. Do you, then, hurry along towards the cedar grove." That storm appeared to be gradually approaching them, and his mother said, "It is not really raining. *Podex est viverrae.* The boy died first, having taken the wind in at one gulp, and his mother had the same experience with it. Both of them died.

There dwelt Badger together with his sons. In the morning he said, "I have not been dreaming well, seeing that here in the plain, I say, mother and son are lying." When he said that, his boys ran off on to the little ridge. They stood on the little ridge and looked. The very tiniest boy of his family arrived on it behind them. Then

he said, "Way over yonder on the plain it looks as though there are two lying," said he. They ran off towards the house, and that father of theirs asked them. "Way over there there seems to be something lying," said they. "What did I say?" said Badger. And then he started to travel under the surface of the earth. Then he came up to them and doctored them there. He first caused the boy to get well, and then after him he made his mother well. And then Badger said, "Pay me with feathers." "We two did not pluck out any of the feathers," said the woman. That one kept on saying, "Pay me with feathers." "What do you mean when you say feathers?" said she, as she pulled out some of her pubic hair. "Yes, yes, yes!" said he. "These are the feathers that I speak of." Then he did so while moving.⁷⁵ And then he said, "Go ahead! let him, my dear, travel in yonder direction away up from here. Even though there is a noise going on, you shall not let him look at it. Even though people are singing in the canyon, even though people are laughing, you two shall not peep at it," said Badger. And then he went back from there. Then they started off in that direction. Sure enough, there was a noise going on in the canyon. "O my mother! let us take a peep at it, only a little bit," said the boy. "No! That, indeed, is what your great-grandfather said," said his mother. Although they said that, they did peep at the canyon. "Oh! over there someone has taken a peep," said (those evil spirits). "Blood! blood!" As soon as they said this, blood flowed out of the mouths of mother and son.

The Badger said just as before, "I have not been dreaming well," and those sons of his did the same. The very tiniest one of all said the same thing, and over yonder they two are lying. Badger again went off and came to where they were. And again he doctored them. He said the same thing, "Pay me with feathers." The young woman understood what he meant, and again he did thus while moving. When he had done so, he said, "Coyote will be hunting, but you shall not pay any attention to him as you go along. On the other side of (Coyote's) camp an old woman will be dwelling, and that is where you are to arrive," said Badger. They started off on their way through there. Sure enough, Coyote was helping at that place to burn brush (in order to scare up rabbits). "Oh!" said Coyote. "Where my house is will be easily recognized by the noise, by the sound of women laughing as though they were happy," said Coyote. So the two of them started off again in that direction, but they passed by Coyote's house. They arrived at the house of the old woman, (who was Hawk's mother).

pina'ηqwa cna'ηwaφi p' tci'zwa'aip'īya unte a'ip'īya, mam a''as-a-γwōits tzi' r unjw cī'pu'v'w'ain'ntsizaim' t', a'ip'īya. qan' t'a'η' mam a''acaγwōitsi ava'ntuγwan'kizā unte a'ip'īya, impi'' un' t'k' i'vā nti' p'p'n' t'k' arizā' i'vā' p' tci'v'w'a a'inte'u'an 'aik'*, a'ip'īya. pina'ηqw ma'na'c' a'ip'ats' qa-m' i' ovi'ntu'zq wōip' uγw' i' piyo'xōm' m'axa un' t'ηuts' pite' i'p'īya. a'na'iac' a'ip'atsi a'na'vatci' naja'mp'in' ninump'īya.¹⁷⁶ ma'na'c'uan' qam' i' a'η' t'i' m'z'p'īya. pina'ηqwa'η' ts'qwi' r'nap'īya. un' t'zua'η' a'η' qw' t'k' arī u' a'xarux-w qa-m' i' ηw' q' tu' u' m'ats' tea'ηw' i' q' a' p'īya ma'na'c' a'ip'ats' a'η'. ma'na'c' u' mam a'-' uts' a' i' t'ca'ηw a'γa' u' p'a' ηw, a'ip'īya'ain' t'. i' t'cuq' u' mam a''asaγwōits' u' x'qwa' n' o' z' w' a' i' t' u' i' p' i' γa' i' a' η' t' i' m' p' w' i' t' t' i' n' a' ' a' v' a' n' t' i' m' a' n' a' c' u' m' a' v' a' n' t' i' u' x' q' w' a' p' i' y' a. un' t' ηuts' qan' t' a' η' q' i' c' a' v' i' m' a' a' i' p' i' y' a. un' t' ηuts' qan' t' v' a' n' t' u' x' w' p' a' i' y' i' k' i' p' i' y' a. tu' γw' a' n' m' a' n' a' c' u' m' a' m' a'-' uts' m' a' n' o' ' a' r' u' p' i' γ' a' i' a' η' q' i' c' a' v' i'. * a' i' k' - w, a' i' p' i' y' a c' n' a' η' w' a' φ' i, ' a' i' v' e' y' e' a' n'. q' u' q' u' q' w' i' z' a' t' i' t' i' m' p' w' i' p' a' i' a' i' ' u' r' a'. i' t' c' u' q' u' c' n' a'-' η' w' a' φ' i t' i' n' t' i' γ' a' η' q' i' p' i' γ' a' i' a' η' q' i' c' a' v' i' q' u' q' u' q' w' i' p' i' y' a. o' v' a' i' y' a' u' q' u' c' n' a' η' w' a' v' a' t' e' i' a' φ' w' i' n' i' t' u' i' p' i' y' a q' i' c' a' v' i' q' w' q' u' q' w' i' p' i'-' γ' a' a' i' k' - w. un' t' η' t' q' w' a' η' t' e' a' t' e' a' p' u' r' u' x' w' i' p' i' y' a' i' n' t'. un' t' ηuts' q' a' z' a' i' v' a' * x' a' n' t' u' x' q' u' m' p' u' t' e' t' c' a' i' z' w' a' i' p' i' y' a. m' a' n' a' c' u' p' i' y' a' η' a' i' p' i' y' a, c' n' a' η' w' a' v' i' t' e' a' η' u' η' w' a' n' a' i' a' i' t' i' η' q' i' a' η' a' n' i. un' t' e' a' i' p' i' y' a, q' o' ' + n' t' - z' u' n' t' q' o' ' + n' t' z' u' n' t' .¹⁷⁷

17. COYOTE AND PORCUPINE.

cīna'ηwaφi m'w' a' v' a' qan' t' z' a' i' m' i' p' i' y' a p' i' y' a' η' a' η' c' i' i' x' a' t' i' v' w' t' - t' e' u' p' i' γ' a' i' a' η' q' . un' t' e' o' ' u' c' i' n' a' η' w' a' φ' i m' w' a' u' p' a' ' a' s' i' ' γ' a' z' w' a' i' p' i' y' a ' u' v' w' a' n' t' i' c' i' i' x' p' i' y' a y' i' η' i' m' p' u' t' s' m' w' a' u' p' a' ' a' p' a' z' η' w' a' ' a' r' u' x' w' p' i' y' a q' u' t' e' u' m' p' a' q' w' a' i' i' n' t' u' x' w' n' u' t' k' a' i' p' i' y' a. y' i' η' i' m' p' u' t' s' u' m' u' r' u' γ' w' a' i' p' i' y' a, p' a' a' n' a' n' o' ' γ' w' m' i. i' η' a' ' ' a. q' a' t' e' u' c' u' ' y' a' η' . i' η' a' ' ' a. q' a' t' e' u' c' u' ' y' a' η' . a' i' z' u' a' η' m' a' n' o' n' t' t' u' p' w' i' p' i' y' a. un' t' ηuts' c' u' ' y' u' c' u' p' i' y' a' i' p' i' y' a. i' η' a' ' a. i' i' η' , a' i' p' i' y' a y' i' η' i' m' p' u' t' s' . m' a' η' a' φ' q' u' t' e' u' m' p' i' y' a' η' p' i' t' e' i' p' i' y' a. un' t' s' , a' x' a' v' a' ' a' m' i n' o' ' v' a' ' m' i, a' i' p' i' y' a q' u' t' e' u' m' p' i' , i' v' a' ' ' o' ' a' v' a' n' z' n' i, a' i' p' i' y' a. q' a' t' e' u' , t' i' η' w' i' ' i' v' a' n' i n' a' n' a' η' w' t' e' n' o' i' k' a' m' i. a' x' a' v' w' u' v' a' i' , i' v' a' ' ' a' a' p' a' n' a' ' a' v' a' n' i. q' a' t' e' u' , t' e' t' e' c' o' m' o' n' t' i' x' i' k' a' m' i w' i' t' i' k' u' v' w' a' p' a' ' a' x' a' v' a' t' e' u' x' w, a' i' p' i' y' a y' i' η' i' m' p' u' t' s' . i' v' a' ' ' a' n' a' η' q' a' - v' a' n' a' ' a' z' u' n' i. q' a' t' e' u' , n' a' η' q' a' v' a' η' w' i' p' a' n' t' u' z' w' i' z' ' u' m' w' i' k' u' v' w' a' p' a' ' a' - x' a' v' a' t' e' u' x' w' a. m' a' n' u' n' t' n' i' η' w' i' a' η' a' r' t' u' p' w' i' p' i' y' a a' i' z' u' a' η' m' a' r' i' - c' o' m' p' a t' u' m' p' a' ' a' η' a' r' p' i' y' a' i' p' i' y' a. i' v' a' η' w' i' ' i' t' u' m' p' w' a' i' a' n' i, a' i' p' i' y' a q' u' t' e' u' m' p' i' . i' i' η' a, a' i' p' i' y' a y' i' η' i' m' p' u' t' s' .

After a while Coyote arrived there, and then he said, "The old woman, indeed, is wont to have cold water," said he.⁷⁶ Having come to the old woman's house, (Hawk) said, "What are you doing right here, sitting and watching? 'You shall arrive here,' did I say that?" said he. After a while the boy, dragging along a jack-rabbit with its hair come loose, arrived. He kept looking angrily at that boy, (Owl's son). The (old woman) buried the jack-rabbit in the ashes to roast it, and after a while she raked it out with a stick. When she had done so, the Hawk (boy), taking the jack-rabbits, disappeared right through the smoke. The young woman thought, "In which direction has he gone?" In the morning the old woman caused her to go for wood, and she gathered wood there at the base of the cliff. And then she found Gray Hawk's house. Then she came back to (the old woman's) house. At night that young woman reached out her hands and held Gray Hawk down forcibly. "Oh!" said Coyote, "my comrade!" as he kept shooting up towards the side of the cliff.⁷⁷ In the morning Coyote had him engage in a contest with him. Coyote shot at (Hawk's) bow several times, and then Coyote stood up his own bow and Gray Hawk shot at it. As he did this, it seemed as though it were thrown about in different directions. Then mountains went up in dust and became level. That mother of his said, "Coyote, my dear, has made him angry." And then she said, "Come back, come back!"⁷⁸

17. COYOTE AND PORCUPINE.⁷⁹

Coyote was always living there. His wife asked him to go for squaw-bush twigs (for making baskets). So then Coyote went off in yonder direction in order to get squaw-bush twigs, and yonder he was gathering them. Porcupine was walking in that direction along the river shore. Buffalos were standing across the water. Porcupine said to them, "My aunt, ho! Come and carry me on your back." "This one?" "No, the other one." "This one?" "No! the other one." Speaking in this manner, he went through them all, and then only one was left over. "This one?" "Yes!" said Porcupine, and the Buffalo cow came up to him and then, "Where shall I carry you?" said the Buffalo cow, "here on my back?" "No! I'll fall off when you shake yourself." "Where, then? here between my horns?" "No! while you keep shaking your head, I shall drop off right into the water," said Porcupine. "Here inside of my ear?" "No! while you shake your ears, I shall drop off right into the water." All parts of her body were gone through as he spoke—only that mouth of hers

m-a'u'pa' a'xaruwamik-upi'ya. a'itcaram u'v'wai', a'ip'i'ya yij'i'm-puts. iye'n-uc-u qijwa-'ava'q', a'ip'i'ya qu'tcu'mpi'. a'itcaram uv'wai'. iye'n-uc-u to'xi't-iraxuava'q'. a'itcaram uv'wai'. qijwa-'ava'q', a'ip'i'ya qu'tcu'mpi'. a'itcaram u'v'wai'. wix'a'm-a-q', a'ip'i'ya qu'tcu'mpi'. a'izuan' qwa'si'xwi'pap'ixaiyaq' piyi'a-η'. mana'c-u qa'q'up'i'ya. uni'ηuqwa-η' mana'c-u tump'w'a'upa-η' ta'pu'q-wip'i'ya. un'ηuts mava'ntu'γwa-η' pa'xqa'ηup'i'ya. un'ηuts, impi'ma'cia-xwan-qa ti'a'n-ints, a'ivurup'i'ya wi'p-u'ca'xai'ya' yij'i'mputs. cna'ηwafi m-w'a-nti' si'i'xaxa' naηqa'p'i'ya ampa'x-pia. 'aik-w, puwa'r'uaiyiruon'ixain'i', a'ip'i'ya. pina'ηqwa'q-w naηqa'p'i'ya'cu'-q-w. unite a'ip'i'ya, tiv'wi'ts pu'ar'uaiyiruon'ixain'i'. u'v'waiyauq-'a'a't'inanqap'i'ya'aik-w, impi'ma'cia'γwan-qa ti'a'n-ints, a'intci-xain'i' 'aik-x. 'o'v'waiyauq-u cna'ηwaw una'u'pa'at'i' nampu'c-aya'i-kup'i'ya mana'vatcaηwup'i'ya un'ηuts. unite a'ip'i'ya, qatcu'r'ua-η-a'' ia'viani pji'n'ηwα'. un'ηuts'ηwα' ivā'nti' ta'tcu'panjup'i', a'ip'i'ya cna'ηwafi. qatcu'a'ηani pji'n'ηwα'. pa'xqa'ηuqwa'ai'ηwα' i'mi, un'ηuts' a'i'i' wu'p-u'ca'ya.i'. qa'tcu, impi'ma'cia'γwan-qa wawa's-ivāts a'i'an aik-x, a'ip'i'ya yij'i'mputs. qa'tcu, impi'ma'cia'γwan-qa ti'ya'n-ints a'i' i'γir 'aik-x, a'ip'i'ya cna'ηwafi. a'ix-u-cuan'η', i'i'ηα ivā'ntu'γwαtca'ani pa'xqa'η'ujw. un'ηuts'ian aηa'vatecu-xwa-ηa cna'ηwaw'i' moi'p'i'ya.

'u'v'waiyauq-u cna'ηwaw a'ip'i'ya, aηa'va-xian 'ujw ta'pu'q-witci tiv'wi'v'ixai'va'q', a'ip'i'ya cna'ηwafi. 'u'ma.i', a'ip'i'ya yij'i'mputs. un'ηuts a'ijum'i'its aηa'v-a-x-i tana'rcaimaηwafα'p'i'ya. sna'ηwaw'ian' kiye'ηqip'i'ya un'izu'zη'. un'ηuts cna'ηwaw aηa'v'a-x-i ta'pa'q-wip'i'ya qwaa'ηup'i'ya'ian' yij'i'mputs'. un'ηuts'ian' ti'ya'n-ip'i'ya'ian'. 'u'v'waiyauq- a'ip'i'ya aηa'rux-wa yij'i'mputs', u'qwa'p-ument'i ya-'axwa'a. mana'c- a'ixuan u'qwa'p-um'anti' ya'vaiyup'i'ya. un'its sna'ηwaw a'ip'i'ya, impa'ya veyin'an¹⁷⁸ aro'va mi'a'p'iv'uts'anjw u'qwa'ia'v'aiyix-u. qima'ruc-u ya-'axwa'a, a'ip'i'ya cna'ηwafi. a'izuan' o'v'ya'v'aiyup'i'ya yij'i'mputs. cna'ηwaw un'a-ηa pa'xqa'η-u-p'ixai'yan'. 'o'v'waiyauq-' ti'a'n-uma'q-uts'ian' m-w'a-ntux-w kwitca'p'i'ya. un'ηum'its- paiy'i'fi'sia'p-utsum' p'ix'a'p'i'ya'ian' ma'va'an'

was left. "Here in my mouth?" said the Buffalo cow. "Yes!" said Porcupine.

He started to go right through the (water) in yonder direction. "Where have we got now?" said Porcupine. "Right here still at the shore," said the Buffalo cow. "Where have we got now?" "Here still, right in the middle of the (stream)." "Where have we got to now?" "At its other shore," said the Buffalo cow. "Where have we got to now?" "On its bank," said the Buffalo cow. When she said this, he hit her heart with his tail and she made a gasping noise. As soon as she did this, that one jumped right through her mouth, and then he killed her at that place. Then, "What, I wonder, shall I be butchering with?" said Porcupine, as he went here and there looking for a knife. Coyote, as he was collecting squaw-bush twigs at that place, heard someone talking. "Oh! am I, for my part, getting to be a medicine man?" said he. After a while he heard it again, and then he said, "I, for my part, am getting to be very much of a medicine man." And then he heard it clearly, "What, I wonder, shall I be butchering with?" was saying, indeed, he who was talking. And then Coyote started to look for tracks off yonder and met that one then; and then he said, "Did you not see an animal wounded by me? Perhaps, then, he fell down dead around here," said Coyote. "I did not see him." "Perhaps you have gone and killed him, and therefore it is you who are looking for a knife." "No! 'What, I wonder, shall I be whittling with for making an arrow foreshaft?' that is what I said," said Porcupine, "No! 'What, I wonder, shall I be butchering with?' that, indeed, you said," said Coyote. When Coyote had said this, (Porcupine said), "Yes! at this place have I killed him," and he led Coyote to the (Buffalo cow).

Thereupon Coyote said, "The one who jumps over her will have the hide," said Coyote. "All right," said Porcupine. And then, when he had said this, he crawled on his knees in order to climb over her. Coyote laughed at him as he did so. And then Coyote jumped over her. He won over Porcupine, and then he butchered the (cow). Thereupon he said to Porcupine, "Go and fetch some wood." When he had said this, that one came with some wood, and then Coyote said, "Why is what you bring little in size when you fetch wood? Go and fetch another," said Coyote. When he had said this, Porcupine brought back a stick and Coyote killed him with it. Then, having finished butchering the (cow), *ibi defaecavit*. After he had done this, he hung him up on a little long-leaved pine growing along

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tu'qo'avt'. unu'uts pa'ya'in'NU^xqwip'īya. a'ik-w, qwirī'k:īyian', a'ip'īya qwitca'q'ain'a-ŋ'. a'izuwαq' cna'ŋwaw a'u'p'ac-u paiyū'ŋuts' a'a't-ūmpa^xqanup'īyāian'. un'ŋuts pa'ya'in'NU^xqwip'īyaaic-u miyo''ōitsiφα ti'qa'ŋ'wip'īya un'ŋuts ma-rī'e un'e a'ŋup'īya, qwirī'k:īyian'. cna'ŋwafi qo'ni'p'īyāic uv^wa'ntuγwαe-u. un'ŋuts pa^xqa'p'īyā'cuan' yīŋi'mputsi'. u'v^waiyauq' paiyū'q-w³aip'īya tuwα'tsŋwīan' an' p'imp'ī'n'¹⁸k'ai'p'īyāian' wa^xq'ī'ŋkizuwŋ'.

ma'ŋa'e-u yīŋi'mputs qwirī'k-īp'īya. un'its a'ip'īya, pa'iyiv^wump'ī na'n-a'n-t'¹⁷⁹ a'izuan' paiyiv^wump ar na'n-a'p'īya. maŋa'e-u cna'ŋwafi p'teγwa'aits a'ip'īya, i'mi cii'zaxwai't'ūim-untini, a'ip'īya p's'ōō'tsŋwīzφī pa'm'antca^xqain'av¹⁸⁰ axō'rōv'uk'axu'q'wa'm'. u'v^waiyauq' cna'ŋwaw a'ip'īya, ivā'ntuγwateca²ni pi's'i'avai' pa'qa'ŋu. un'ŋuts p'īza'i'yīŋw paiyū'fī'siāp'im'. iv^wī'raŋ un'ŋuts u'u'ra' miya'va'. um^wa'u'pa'^{ae} o''^u pō'rō'm'map'īya ma'm-u'e-u cna'ŋwaw an' pi'ŋwa'ŋw'aiv 'am-u'v^wanŋqwa'patcux-w m'a'p'īya-'aim' na'ŋwa'iyun'nam'ap'īya'aim'. ma'va' i'mi'γw'aip'īya. un'ŋutsi'q-w qa'teu p'imp'ī'n'ī'p'īā'^a uv^wa'anti' pu'ca'zai'k^xap'īya. pina'ŋw qun'k'a'γu'e-uam' ma'ŋa'e-u yīŋi'mputs a'ip'īyain't', tīna'ŋ-qwantia'cyaya'γwōn'qa p'īn't'k'aiŋuyqu'p' a:n'ī'ŋwōnti. tīv^wic' o''^u pina'p-u'itsŋw ōŋ' tī'nti' p'īn't'k'aiŋup'īya. ma-rī'v^w aro' i'mp'ī wa'+n' ar tō'p'ō'tōn'¹⁸k'zōntin't'. un'ŋuts ma'n'ō'n't' tuγū'ntux-w p'imp'ī'n'ī'k'ai'p'īya. m^wōŋ'a'q', a'ip'īya cna'ŋwafi. o'v^waiyauq-u cna'ŋwafi, pa'n-a'ŋqwozō'wōni sayav' ur wīna'ŋqī. v'³ma'i', a'ip'īya yīŋi'mputs. ma'n'ō'n'iyaiya'q'axa' aru'q-wa qu'n'ī'k'a' paŋwī'xarux-w u'tcu'm'ī^xqwav'va'. un'ŋuts a'izuan' aru'q-wa qu'tcu'm'ī'qwa'fip'īya ma'ŋa'e-ampa pina'p-utsŋw ōŋ' wī'c'xmtap-u-n'āv'p'īya. un'ŋuts m'nti'e-p'īya yīŋi'mputsia'q' an' pa'n-a'ŋ-qwa'q' an' wīna'ik'. mava'ntuγwami' ma'n'ō'q'ō ni'q'ŋwā'ŋ' wīwī'q'a'v'itc'p'īya a'ip'ātsi an'.

un'ŋuts aŋa'e' aru'q-wa^azēyū yaza'vurup'īya. a'izucuan' yīŋi'm-puts an' pa'ip'īzaiyan'. un'ŋutsiaq' tīn'a'^ava'ntim'anŋqwan'ia'q' nanqa'³ūip'īya yiv^wī'imp'ī. un'ŋuts a'ip'ats an' aru'q-wanŋqwap'īya aŋa'φ p'teγwa'aip'īya mava'iyū tī'qa'p'īya. un'ŋuts tī'mp'ō'n'ō'-īp'īya un'ŋuts aip'īya, a'xa'va'ntuγwa'^a qwitca'm'ia, yīŋi'mputsi aŋa'ru'x-w. uwa't-ux-w qwa'u'¹⁸¹ pa'pa'raŋqa'm'aiyua'q', a'ip'īya aŋaru'γw a'ip'atsi'. aŋa'e' a'izuan' qwa'u o'p'at-uγwap'īya. ivā'ntuγwa'^a. qa'teu, qwanŋwa'nteux-w. ivā'ntuγwa'^a. qa'teu.

the water there on top of the meat in order to return to him later. And then he started off. "Oh! he is getting up," said his excrement. As it said so, Coyote, having returned to the same place, killed him good and hard, and then he started off again. He got to be but a little distance off, and then that (excrement) spoke out in the same way, "He is getting up." Coyote turned back again to the same place and again killed Porcupine. Thereupon he went back home, and his children saw him as he came.

That Porcupine arose and then he said, "Long-leaved pine growing by the water, grow up!" When he had said this, the long-leaved pine grew. That Coyote, having arrived home, said, "You who are accustomed to have me go to get squaw bush twigs!" said he, while his children licked his hands that were covered with blood. And then Coyote said, "Right here I have killed an animal, and then I hung him up for safe keeping on a long-leaved pine by the water. Let us all, then, proceed towards it. So they travelled along in that direction. Coyote and his wife proceeded behind the (children) and they held their arms around each other's necks as they went along. There they arrived. Then they did not see the (game) and looked for it at that place. After a while, when they had been doing this, that Porcupine thought, "I wish that someone from among them would look up this way," and, sure enough, the smallest one of all looked up. "What is that way up there like a black round thing?" And then they all looked up. "That's the one," said Coyote. Thereupon Coyote (said), "Throw me down the backbone!" "All right," said Porcupine. "Do you all, then, lie down under the (tree), and you shall lie on your backs with your eyes closed." And then, when he had said this, they all lay down under it with their eyes closed, except the very smallest one who lay with his eyes only half closed. And then he turned over to his side in order to dodge as Porcupine threw the (backbone) down. There it cut all the boy's kinsmen in two.

And then he went about crying under the tree. As he did this, Porcupine called to him and caused the pine tree to have branches up from its very bottom. Then the boy climbed up it and came to where that one was. There he ate and got exceedingly full, and then he said to Porcupine, "Ubi soles defaecare?" "Way off there from one of its branches," said he to the boy. When Porcupine had said this, he went off along it. "Right here?" "No! a little further on." "Right here?" "No! a little further on." So saying, the boy got

qwanwa'ntcux-w. a'izaic a'ip'ate an' pu^xqw'ya-m-a-q' t'iyā'ip'īya. ivā'nutuγwa-'a. i'ī'ŋ', m'α'va-ntux-w, a'ip'īya. anja'e a'ip'ats: ma-va' p'p-n'p'īya. un'izuau' y'ŋi'mputs: ta-n'i'nteiŋq'ip'īyaiaq'. un'huqwa-ŋ a'ip'ate an' t'ŋw'ī'p'īya saγwe'īya-ŋ ar pa'ta'q'ip'īya. cu'q-up'm-aik^x, a'ip'īya y'ŋi'mputs.

18. COYOTE AND HIS DAUGHTERS.

cna'ŋwaφi m'α'va' qan't'zai'p'īya ma-n't'zik-U pa-teū'ŋw'izai'p'īya' un'ŋuts: cu'q-uc-U tuwa'ts'zai'p'īya. cna'ŋwaφi mōγ'w'a'q-an-in-tecup'īya unte a'ip'īya, i'v'ī'ya-q' m'ŋmwi pa-teū'ŋw'ini nō-v'k'a-q' nī' aik^x: a-va'ŋwi p'p'n'ta-viva-tsi'q-w o'v'w'a'xitea.itei'. un'ŋuts o'^u cna'ŋwaw ava'ŋw a-v'p'īya mam'ī'Acuaq' pa-teū'ŋw'iaφi nō-v'k'au-x-U. cna'ŋwaφi pa-teū'ŋw'iaφi w'w'ī'xī' p'p'n'ta-vip'īya. am-u'ŋwant un'ŋuts: patcū'ŋw'ia-ŋ' t'iv'w'ī'c at-ŋwai'yaq-w¹⁸² w'ī'ŋ'ŋqai'p'īya. cna'ŋwaw 'u'v'w'aiyaq-U na-γa'm'ŋup'īya. unte a'ip'īya, ya'a'iva-n-ian' qateun: o'it'aφi pa-γa'in'niva-ŋ'wain't'. nī'ni' ya'a'ik'ani qu'ts'k^xkava ni, a'ip'īya. un'ŋuts: qa'teu pi'-vun-ŋk'am-tava-ŋwā'a qu'ts'k^xkānūm'ī'tsini t'ī'ŋw'ni' nī'ŋi'm'ŋw'it-ux-w pō-rō'q-uv'w'a'. un'ŋuts: nī'ŋw'nts: tina'ŋqwantim-ananq'w p'ī'teiva nti qateu'ŋw sa'a'ŋq'iqava-ŋwā'a. un'ŋuts: q'ima'ŋac-U pana'ŋqwa'tim-ananq'w p'ī'teiva-ntuc-U qateu'ŋw sa'a'ŋq'iqava-ŋwā'a'ŋw. so'yuzwa.in-t ina'ŋqwa u'wayaxain't' qateu'ŋw sa'a'ŋq'iqava-ŋwā'a. cu'īyU tavamaŋw'ī'c m am'a'nanqwa p'ī'teiv'w'a nti un'ŋts: to'p-ŋuq'uz'w'iva-nti u'wayac-amp uv'w'ai' sa'a'ŋq'iqava', a'ip'īya cna'ŋwaφi. un'ŋuts: ya'a'ip'īya mava'n'ŋuγwa-ŋ' qu'ts'k^xkāp'īya. un'ŋts: t'ī'ŋw'ni: anja'xim-ŋw'itux-w pō-rō'q-up'īya. a'ip'āts an' pi'-vun-ŋk'aip'īya un'ŋts a'ip'īya, mōa'n-inte anja mōmpa'q-U. 'an't'axai' a'ik^x, a'ip'īya piya'ŋa.

t'iv'w'ī'c o' a'ip'īya-ŋ o'p'ac an't'p'īya. paa'iyōm-un-t a'ivap'utsŋw ū'm'm'ūip'īya. un'ī'xucampa m' qa'te am-u'rucu'aik'an-t'p'īa'w. qate 't'm'ī' sa'a'ŋq'iqava-ŋ'waiyam' a'ī'zua-ŋ i'ŋir 'aik^x mōm'ō'ŋūm i'z'ir um'¹⁸³ a'ip'īya pivi'a m'. pina'ŋqwa ta-va'ī' mā-w'ī'c m¹⁸⁴ am'a'-nanqwa p'ī'te'p'īya to'q-warim'ī' qava'va'ana. i'ī'ŋ a'ī'zuaŋ i'ŋir 'aik^x, a'ip'īya pivi'a m'. un'ŋuts: pa-teū'ŋw'ia-ŋ am'ī'n-ariiyazγ a-v'p'īya. un'ŋuts t'iteuq-U piya-ŋ a'ip'īya, i'v'w'ī'ŋa moa'iyam ŋw qa'ya'a'it-ia'zai'p'īa'ŋ o'p'a-ŋ' moi'n'ni'zwa'a, a'ip'īya. a'ī'zuaŋ-ŋ' an' o'x'p'a' moi'n'nip'īyaian'. qa-tsn'nō-rō'p'īya a'ip'ate an'. manja'c-U cna'ŋwaφi pa^xqa'um-in-amp'īya'ŋw qa'tsi' un'ŋum'ŋka-ŋ'ŋw sa'a'ntiq-a-m-īp'īya. 'aa'ik-w, a'ip'īya-in-t a'ip'ats, m'p'an-in-t a'īyaŋ' m'a'p'utsŋw'īac-U pa^xqa'ŋum'ī'. un'ŋuts 'a'x-p'ini^xkāip'ī-

to its very end. "Right here?" "Yes! at that place," said he. That boy stuck out his buttocks there. When he did this, Porcupine shook (the tree) by stamping once. As soon as he did that, the boy fell off and his belly burst. "You may say anything."⁸⁰

18. COYOTE AND HIS DAUGHTERS.⁸¹

Coyote was living there. He had five daughters⁸² and he had one son. Coyote built a house of cedar bark, and then he said, "Do you all, my daughters, lay the bark on, while I shall lie down in the (house) and see the openings."⁸³ And then indeed Coyote lay in it, while his daughters covered it with bark. *Canis pudenda suarum filiarum vidit cum jaceret. Deinde una ejus filiarum vulvam habebat pulcherrimam.* And then Coyote got sick. Then he said, "I shall die, I shall no longer live. When I am dead, you shall all burn me on a wood pile," said he. "And then you shall not look back as you return but shall start off quickly away from me. And then a person will arrive from the west, but you shall not make mush for him. And then another one will arrive from the north, but you shall not make mush for him. Still another one (will arrive) from the south,⁸⁴ but for him too you shall not make mush. Another one will arrive from the rising of the sun and he will have a black horse. Only for him, then, will you make mush," said Coyote. And then he died and they burned him at that place. Then quickly they started off away from him. The boy looked back and said, "My father has rolled off." "What are you talking about?" said his mother.

Sure enough, it happened just as he had said. Unmarried men, three in number, arrived, but though they came, they paid no attention to them. "You shall not make mush for these, as indeed your father said," said their mother. After a while there arrived from the rising of the sun (one who was seated) on a black horse. "This one, as he indeed did say," said their mother. And then he lay between her daughters. And then in the morning the (boy's) mother said, "Go ahead! go and lead him around yonder to where your father used to hunt rats," said she. When she had spoken thus, he led him around in yonder direction. The boy poked in holes for rats with his stick. That Coyote killed the rat every time, and when he had done so, he always ate it raw. "Oh!" thought the boy, "it looks like my

γaiyan'. 'uni'k'a-q'oan' cma'hwav an' qa'tsi' pa^xqa'nyuts: tī'ti'q-a-pī'ya. 'an-t'an 'aik^x. m-ηα'ni, a'ian i'γir 'aik^x, a'ip'ī'ya.

uni'nyuts: 'o''pa'a qan-t'hwituγwαφi tōγō'q-wipī'ya. 'an-t'an 'aik^x. moan, a'ian i'γir 'aik^x, a'ip'ī'ya. uni'nyuts: piya'η a'ip'ī'ya, i'v'w'i-rzηw aχi'm-aywit ux-w yo'n'nyumpa'. cma'hwav: arajw ηjwaro'^o mari'n'NA^xquv^wa-nti'rajwa. i'v'w'i'rajw uni'nyuts: tuγu'ntuγwaq-q-unpa'. uni'nyuts o'^u tuγu'ntuγwaq-ajumpī'ya. ava'nti 'o'p'ae-yn-t a'iva-nti, aip'ī'ya. cma'hwav, 'a'itcayw, aip'ī'yain-t'. uni'nyuts 'o'^xpa'a qa-n-t 'u'ra' NU^xqwi'ηqwa'ip'ī'ya. uni'nyuts uv^wa' p'tci'zwa-'aip'ī'ya najqa'q-aip'ī'ya'aik-w wa'izan-a'am' qan-t'vanjyū. uni'nyuts uv^wα'hwitux-wpī'ya qan-γ'. uni'zuaη uv^wi'n-ajqwo'p'ai' wa'ix-apī'ya. sma'hwav uv^wa' nan-t'n'ajwitux-w nq-n-u'q-wipī'ya. uni'zuaη' pīna'p-utsujw aη a'ip'ī'yain-t', tīna'ηqwantia-cuyazwon-qa pīn-t'k'ai-ηujqu-p'. a'izun-ta-η' cma'hwafa i-ti'nti' pīn-t'k'ai-ηupī'ya. uni'ts-maa'ip'ī'yaiyam' tuγu'ntuγwa-m' pō-rō-xuam'. cma'hwafa pajwa'i-pī'ya a'izaic a'ip'ī'ya, m'γ'mi sō-n-t'ajwizai-va-ntim'. a'izuaη' sō-n-t'ajwari'zaiηupī'ya. maηa'iae: imi'zain-t' tī'ra'cm'avzai-va-nti mīm'γ'ants:γzntiupa-iyū ta'teō'n'naxa' wa'a'uxwai-va-nti. a'izuaη' mava'ai' cma'hwafa i-w'a'ax-wi^xkup'ī'ya ta'teu'n'naxa'.

19. THE BIRD THAT CARRIED PEOPLE AWAY.

m^wvayaxwa-η a'ip'āts: qa-γu'ηw'aiφ qau-t'zai'p'ī'ya. a'ip'ate an' paza'in'nt-i'v'w'iteu'p'ī'ya. uni'nyuts: mia''p-utsi' wana'RU'pī'ya. uni'nyutsi'q-w wa-te'p'ī'ya'aik-w qa-γu'αφi qateō'a-m'. uni'nyuts i'teuq-u pīn-t'k'ai-p'ī'γ uv^wa'nti' pō''avizain-t uv^wa'hwitux-wqwa'ik'a'. 'a'ik-w, qa-γu'ni, in' aro' i'ηA, a'ip'ī'ya. pō''an aro'', a'ip'ī'ya qazō'aj'. uni'nyuts a'ip'ats: mia''ants ava''t-i' wana'RU'pī'zai-c-u. uni'nyuts: tīnti'axa-m-a'q-w wate'p'ī'za'aik-w. i'teuq: uv^wa'nti' pīn-t'k'ai-p'ī'ya pū-t'eat:zain-t uv^wα'hwitux-wqwa'ik'a'. qa-γu'ni, in-i'nte uv^w aro' i'ηA. pū''i'teat:ujw aro'', a'ip'ī'ya qa-γu'aj'. uni'nyuts: mā''ants ava''at-i' wa'n-aru'puts:γaic-u. u'v^wa'q: ηnyuts: pa'a''nōq-weitec-teumpa'¹⁸⁵ wate'p'ī'ya'aik-w. i'teuq: uv^wa'ntux-wpī'zai-c-u uv^wa'ηwizain-t ava''at-i' nana'ηqavazanti qarī'p'ī'ya. 'u'v^waiyauq' ya'q'wai-p'ī'ya'aik-w qa-γu'vateuzwafī. in' aro' i'ηA, qa-γu'ni, a'ip'ī'ya.ic-u. qa-ts aro'' qī'ī'ηqīva-ηa'm-ini.

'u'v^waiyauq' ma'm-a'c-aγwōits a'ip'atsi u^xqwi'yurunqup'ī'ya.

father, for he is always killing the little ones." And then he watched him as he lay in hiding. As he did so, Coyote, having killed a rat, ate it up. "What did I say? 'My father,' that, indeed, is what I said," said he.

And then he ran in yonder direction towards the house. "What did I say? 'My father,' that, indeed, is what I said," said he. And then his mother said, "Let us all run away from here. It is Coyote who will be in pursuit of us. Let us, then, all go up to the sky." So then they all went up to the sky. "There will be the same sorts of sound here as ordinarily,"⁸⁵ said she. Coyote thought, "Where has he gone to?" and then over there towards the house he ran along. And then he arrived there and heard their talking in the house. Then he went into the house, but as he did so they were talking outside. Coyote kept running there back and forth. While he was doing this, the youngest child thought, "I wish that he would look up here." As soon as he thought this, Coyote looked up and then he discovered them travelling along upwards. Coyote yelled and, so doing, he said, "You shall be the Dipper!"⁸⁶ When he had said this, they turned into the Dipper. "You on the other hand will be a desert-dog,⁸⁷ scratching around in little hollows of ridges, you will be barking!" When she said this, Coyote began to bark at that place, scratching around with his claws.

19. THE BIRD THAT CARRIED PEOPLE AWAY.⁸⁸

There, it is said, lived a boy with his grandmother. The boy learned how to walk, and then he made a little net. When he had made it, he set it at the head of his grandmother's sleeping place. And then in the morning he looked there. Lice, it turned out, had got into it. "O my grandmother! what sort of thing is this?" said he. "It is my lice," said his grandmother. And then the boy made a little larger net and set it at the entrance end of the tent. Early in the morning he looked there. Mice, it turned out, had got into it. "My grandmother! what sort of thing is this?" "They are mice," said his grandmother. And then the boy made another net, a little larger. Then there he set it in a smooth path. Early in the morning he went up to it. In it, it turned out, sat something that had big ears. Then he went and brought it to his grandmother. "What sort of thing is this, my grandmother?" said he again. "It is a rat, it will bite you, my dear."

And then the old woman made a bow and arrows for the boy.

mana'c' a'ip-äts 'a-in-a'aic-U wan-a'run-a'p'i nan-a'p'ïya. 'u'v'wa'q' wan-a'iyaf'i maa'v't'axarux-w pö'a-xantimpa' watei'p'ïya. un'i'nuts i'teuq' ava'ntux-wqip'ïyaic-U. ava'hwizain-t' ta-vu'ts' qarip'ïya. ava'ntuxwa-ñ' qu'qw'p'ïya. un'i'nutsian' pa'qa'ñup'ïyaiyan' qa-zu'vateuzwa-ña'p'¹⁸⁶ ya'q'ip'ïya. un'i'ts 'u'v'wa'q' wan-a'iyaf' wa-tei'p'ïyaic-U sanwa'v'i w'a'xarux-w pö'a-xantimpa'. un'i'nuts i'teuq' ava'ntux-wqwa'aip'ïyaic-U ava'hwizain-t' s'i'umpun-çka-rip'ïyain-t' qa'm:an'. uv'wa'ntuxwa-ñ' qu'qw'p'ïyai'euan' un'i'nuts-pa'qa'ñup'ïyaiyan' ya'q'ip'ïyaiyan' qa-zu'vateuzwa'p'i. un'i'nuts 'u'v'wa'q' wan-a'iyaf' watei'p'ïyaic-U tümp'w't' t'in-a'va'.¹⁸⁷ un'i'nuts i'teuq' ava'ntux-wqip'ïya ava'hwizain-t' tu'qu'p'uts' qa-rip'ïya. un'i'nutsian' iya'vazajqaic-ampa-ñ' qu'qw'p'ïyaiyan'. un'i'nutsian' pa'qa'ñup'ïyaiyan'. un'i'nuts qa-zu'vateuzwa-ña'q' ya'q'ip'ïya. a'ik-w, a'ip'ïya qazö'an', 'u'u'n-icampa'a wan-a'RU pa'a'v'im-in' pa'qa'ñq'i-numpa'. a'ix'ucampa-ñ a'ip-äts 'o'pa'a wan-a'ñwantei'zwa'aip'ïya. 'u'v'wa'q' watei'p'ïya wan-a'iyaf. un'i'nuts i'teuq' ava'ntux-wqip'ïya ava'hwizain-t' ti'ç'A qa-rip'ïya. uv'wa'ntuxwa-ñ' pa'qa'ñup'ïyaic-U. un'i'nutsian' no'q-wip'ïyaiyan' qa-zu'vateuzwa'p'i. un'i'nuts-qa'yo'an' pu't'c'iri'p'ïya. 'u'n-icampa'a wan-a'ñwantei, a'ip'ïya. a'ix'ucampa-ñ 'o'pa'a wan-a'ñwantei'zwa'aip'ïya 'u'v'wa'q' wa-tei'p'ïya wan-a'iyaf. un'i'ts a'ip'ïyain-t', in-i aro'av'i pu'p'am-in i'tei pö'a-xant ar ma'v'iazanti'. un'i'nuts i'teuq' ava'ntux-wqip'ïya tu'qu'm-um-uts:zain-t' uv'wa'ñwi qa-rip'ïya. 'a'ip'ats'i'ñw uv'wa'ntux-w qu'qo'q-wip'ïya. un'i'zaiç'uñw pa'qa'ñup'ïya. un'i'nuts'i'ñw piyö-x-qip'ïya'ainw qa-zu'vateuzwa'p'i. qa-zo'oñw tiv'w'ts' siri'o'ip'ïya.

'un'i'nuts 'o'o'pa'a wan-a'ñwantei'zwa'aip'ïyaic-U 'u'v'wa'q' wan-a'iyaf' watei'p'ïya. un'i'nuts i'teuq' ava'ntux-wqip'ïya ava'hwizain-t' qw'iyazanti' qa-rip'ïya. a'ip'ats iya'vazap'iza'ainw un'i'zaiç-ampa'anw qu'qu'q-wip'ïya. un'i'nuts'i'ñw pa'qa'ñup'ïya'ainw. un'i'nuts'i'ñw piyö'xqwa'aip'ïya'ainw qa-zu'vateuzwa'p'i. ira'i', a'ip'ïya qazö'oñw. m'w'z'nicampa' onl. qateu'rax'qa'¹⁸⁸ nanqa'ñwa' a'ñq'änznl. a'ix'ucampañw 'o'o'pa'a wan-a'ñwantei'zwa'aip'ïyaic-U. un'i'nuts 'u'v'wa' wan-a'ñwantei'p'ïya. un'i'nuts i'teuq' ava'ntux-wqip'ïya ava'hwizain-t' i'avantu'at'im-w'in-t' a-v'p'ïya. 'a'ik-w, a'ip'ïyain-t' a'ip'ats- p'ñ-i'ñwin-t'za'ainw. i'i'hai a'im'i'çka' qa-zun- uñw iya'r'uçaiñanl, a'ip'ïyain-t'. a'izaiç-ampa'ca-ñ' qu'qu'q-wip'ïyaiyan' ma-nö'n-t' un'i'zuan' u'xqwa'yuan' tu'p'w'i'k-up'ïya. un'i'nuts atei'm:a-ña'p' tsi'i'm-uzwip'ïyaiyan'¹⁸⁹ tca'q'v'u'çya-ñ'. un'i'zuan' qa'teu yu'mu'x'w'ap'ia'a.

That boy grew up together with the net which he made. There right in the brush at a trail he set his net. And then early in the morning he came to it again. In it, it turned out, was sitting a cotton-tailed rabbit. He shot there at it and then he killed it. He brought it home to his grandmother. And then again he set his net there right in the sage-brush at a trail. Then early in the morning he went off to it again. In it, it turned out, sat a jack-rabbit, looking out of his light gray eyes. There again he shot at it, and then he killed it. He brought it home with him to his grandmother. And then again he set his net there at the base of the cliff. Then early in the morning he came to it. In it, it turned out, was sitting a wildcat. Then, although he was afraid of it, he shot at it and killed it. Then he brought it home to his grandmother. "Oh!" said his grandmother, "that's enough of making nets. An animal will kill you, my dear." In spite of her saying this the boy went off yonder to set his net again. There he set his net. And then in the morning he came to it. In it, it turned out, sat a deer. He killed it there and then he carried it home to his grandmother. Then his grandmother was surprised. "That's enough of setting nets," said she. In spite of her saying this, he went off yonder to set his net. There he set his net, and then he thought, "What sort of thing, I wonder, is it by which this trail has been gone over through the brush?" And then early in the morning he came to it. A panther, it turned out, was sitting in it. The boy kept shooting there at it, and, so doing, he killed it. And then he came home, dragging it along to his grandmother. His grandmother was exceedingly surprised.

Then he went off yonder to set his net again. There he set his net. And then early in the morning he came to it. In it, it turned out, was sitting a grizzly bear. The boy was afraid of him. In spite of this, however, he shot at him and killed him. And then he dragged him off to his grandmother. "My!" said his grandmother, "that is enough for you. Do you not hear what I say to you?" In spite of her speaking thus, he went off again yonder to set his net. And then he set his net there. Then early in the morning he came to it. In it, it turned out, lay something that was dreadful in appearance. "Oh!" thought the boy, while he stood looking at him, "it is this one that my grandmother has always been referring to, inspiring me with dread for him," thought he. In spite of his thinking thus, he shot at him. When he did so, all of his arrows were used up. And then he kept poking him with his bow in his testicles. As he did this, he (the monster) did not move.

uni'x'ucuan' nñhw'n'c'phi qwii'p'iyaiyan'. uni'hu'utsian' tu'yu'm-pai aru'q-wa-x'i ya'hw'm'miap'iya. u'u'v'wa' pai u'a'xav c'ɔ'n-ton'c'w'itei um'a'ñ' ya'p'ite'zwa'aip'iya. uni'hu'uts a'ip'iya ta'ya'p'ian'w'ia'v unu'rux-w, u'u'v'wa'ntiy'zni qitea'ri'm'z'p-i ya'ñq'i-qaq-i. a'iv'w'm unu'yuma-x'it'i pa'ya'im'nim'in'zn' pa'ya'im'nu'aiy'ei'. u'u'v'wa'n a'p'i'izun i'ñ a'ip'ats: tsiyu'm'muz'wiy'ini. uni'hu'utsian'ani qitea'ri'm'z'ni qiqava'ñan i'teuq-u, a'ip'iya' nñhw'n'c'phi. uni'hu'uts i'teuq: a'ip'ats'i' ti'm'z'q'Ap'iyaiyan'. man'a'e' uni'k'an'um'i'q-a-m'i' mava'iyon'u' ti' na'va'e'u' kiya'p'iya a'ip'ats: 'añ' an'i'k' x' ti'm'a'q'a-qain'an'taran' 'ñw'a, a'ik'Ap'iya nñhw'n'c'v'i' ta'za'p'ian'w. uni'hu'uts: tava'iy'a'uq-wa-q' nñhw'n'c'phi p'i'tei'p'iya. uni'hu'uts a'ip'iya, a'v'wa'ntiy'zni qitea'ri'm'z'ti'v'w'ite'uc'wain'z'ni ya'ñq'i'qaq-i. ma'm'u'e' a'ik'Ap'iya, um'z'ha'a' ti'm'z'q'a'ye'amp'an'ñi na'va'e'u' qwiri'k'um'y'.

'a'm: c'ɔ'n'ñq'war'i'i' nñhw'ñw' z'm'i' c'u'q'ue'u' y'u'yu'u'z'wa'ip'iya a'a'ñav'iz'aip'iya c'o'v'wantim' qa'teu' yuy'u'w'aip'ia' a'a'ñav'iaip'ia' puv'u'iyai'ia'. uni'hu'uts: man'a'e'u' ma'n'c'q'o'z'm' ti'v'w'hu'p'iya. uni'hu'uts am'u'ru'w a'ip'iya, i'v'w'i'y'añ'warañ'wa pa'pa'q'um'pa'ñw. i'v'w'i'ya'q' m'ñm'i'ñwant'i ta's'i'p'u'f'u'caxaik-x'. uni'hu'uts c'ra'q'ava' puv'wa'ñwitu'w'arañ'w ur' yo'n'n'ñm'pa'na. un'its o' 'o'p'ac' an'u'k'Ap'iya a'in'ñañ'w. ta's'i'p'i' ta'x'q'u'y'ñq'i'qaq'iya qitea'v'na'a'γit-ux-w. uni'hu'utsiaq' ti'm'a'q'Ap'iya. ma'ñ'a'e'u' nñhw'n'c'phi ta'c'i'p'-aux'u' p'i'tei'z'wa'aip'iya. uni'hu'uts am'u'rux-w ta'ya'p'ian'w'iz'v a'ip'iya, u'u'v'wa'ntiy'zni qitea'ri'm'ap-i ya'ñq'i'qaq-i. a'iyua'q'añ' uv'wa'ntu-γ'wa'q'añ' ya'ñq'i'qaq'ip'iya. man'a'e'u' ti'x'qa'p'iya'aik-w cu'z'ñum'i'-ts'i'q-w a'p'i'ip'iya. uni'hu'uc'wa'ñ' ma'm'u'e' an'a'γit-ux-w p'c'c'q'up'iya c'ra'q'x'gain'a'f. man'a'e' u'u'v'aiyauq' pa'pa'q'aiya'aip'iya. uni'hu'uts: ma'n'a'in'u'k'up'iya uni'hu'uc'wa'ñ' qa'ri'r' ar' nñte'i'teuq-u-p'iya. av'wa'ntu'γ'wa'ñ' a'ip'ats'añ' pa'x'qa'hu'p'iyaiyan'. uni'hu'utsiz'm' ma'n'c'q' uni'e'ñ'a'm' naya'p'a'ñq'i'f'u'p'iya nñhw'iz'ant'i. w'i'c'a'-zai'k'ain'a'ñ' pa'ic'axa'ru'c'w'ap'iya. uni'hu'uts: ti'v'w'i'p'i' uv'wa'x'itux-w ma'v'ñwan'c'ñq'i'q'p'iya. un'its a'ip'ats a'ip'iya am'u'rux-w, i'v'w'i'ya'q' p'iv'wa'ntim'ana'ñq'wan'umi' y'u'at'i'p'añ'um' 'o'p'at-ux-w m'im'i'n'i'-ek-w'a' n'i' aik' uv'wa'ntux-w n'i'ni' ya'vaiy'ip'iaiy'zni paiy'i'q'w'ai-vä'ts. uni'hu'uts 'ava'a'x-i p'c'c'q'up'iya 'o'p'at-ux-w ti'f'w'ip'-a'γai'p'ia'f'i' 190 m'im'i'n'i'ek-w'aip'iya.

man'a'e' a'ip'ats: qa'z'o'av' u'wa'ura' paiy'i'q'w'aip'iya. uv'wa' p'tei'z'w'aip'iya qan'u'zai'p'ia'ñw' qa'z'o'a'f. mar'i'e'ñw'ain't'

After the boy had done so, the Man-Carrier picked him up and carried him along under the sky. There on a little knoll covered with firs that came right up out of the water he arrived with him. And then he said to his servants, "Do you there fetch for me the blood roast.⁸⁹ This time I have come back from a little further away than I ordinarily go to. While I was sleeping there, this boy was poking me. Then you all shall make a blood roast of him for me in the morning," said the Man-Carrier. And then in the morning they roasted the boy. After they had all done this, the boy played away up yonder as though it were nothing. "Who is doing that? It looks like the one that we have roasted under the ashes," said the Man-Carrier's servants. And then when the sun was going down the Man-Carrier came home. Then he said, "Over there do you all fetch for me the blood roast that I have asked for." Those said, "Though we roast him under the ashes, that one always arises as though it were nothing."

On the fir-covered island the people had one leg or one arm, others had no legs or no arms or no eyes. And then that (boy) asked all of them, and he said to them, "Let us all kill him. Go ahead, some of you, and look for flint. Then we will dig the place into which we shall all run." Then, sure enough, they did as he had said. They chipped flint into small pieces into the blood that was to be roasted. And then they roasted it. That Man-Carrier came home in the evening, and then he said to his servants, "Over there do you all fetch me the blood roast." When he had said this, they brought it to him there, and he ate it. When he had finished eating it, he slept. As soon as he did this, those (mutilated captives) all started off into the pit that they had dug. Then that one kept groaning with pain and started to fidget around. As soon as he did this, the island began to shake. There the boy killed him. And then he caused all the inhabitants to appear just as they had been before. What had been his feathers they made into a bridge, and then they scattered dirt over it. Then the boy said to them, "Do you all turn back to whatever places you have been brought from, while I will return yonder to where I have been brought from." And then they started off over the (bridge) and went off, each returning to his former country.

That boy went back towards his grandmother. There he arrived at what had been his grandmother's house. It seemed, as it turned

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SAPIR

qa·n·t'p·in·t' naya'φA³qai'p'i'ya qa·χo'anaχain·t an' mava'hwI
 pa·sa'χwavyndk·aip'i'γain·t qa p·in·i'n·ai'p'i'ya. imi'nteu' aik³ ni'hwī
 pa·ya'in·nιχa', a'ip'i'ya qa·γo'an'. i'i'η', maa'in·ηun·o'c^{1st} o'u,
 a'iχuan a'ip·atsi' qa·γo'an' maa'in·in·i'p'i'γaiyan'. ti^v·t'c·uχwain·t
 qa·yu'tsηw uru'ap'i'ya.

out, like an old uninhabited house. His grandmother, as it proved, looked watery gray in her eyes⁹⁰—she could not see. “Are you a person that are making that noise of walking about?” “Yes, touch me, then!” When he had said this, his grandmother touched the boy. Sure enough, as it turned out, it was her grandson.

II. PAIUTE NON-MYTHICAL TEXTS.

1. Po'p-a-q-wa'm' qa'iva-vitecstujwα' ma-m-a'q'c'om'p'i' pu'pu'-teuteuγwαp'ī.

nī'nī a'ip:ats:γa'q:uni qana'ri uv'wa-i' ma-m-a'q'c'om'p-i' tīγa'i'pī-γantī yiv'w'a'najwaimpan:α:γa'za īmī''i'tu'α. un'ts:γwa'am' cī'ra-tstujw αm'¹⁹² cī'ra-m:ananjQWA¹⁹² qana'ri uv'wa īmī''i'. nī'γwa'a ma'q'sumanajQWA¹⁹³ qana'ri uv'wa'n'tux-wqwa'ai'. un'ts:γwa'an uv'wa'n'i'i' qa'n'i'vāi'. ī'v'waiyauq uγwa-η 'əai' cī'ra:y un' ma'v'i'ηw a'ik' umu'rux-wa qan'γantim'wa', tō'm' η umaj' ma-m-a'q'c'om' uφ'itunqīva ηum a'īφi tA'cī'p:aux'U, a'ik'axwa-η 'əai'.

un'ts:γwa-η 'əai' tō'm' η aivam um-u'ηwantīηwa'a w'a'p'amantī' wī'qa'viteaq'ai'. un'ηuts:gwax-qa'm 'əai' um'wa'ntī' wa ηw'ē'ik'ai'. un'ηuts umα'ntī' w'α'ηqin'·A'xqai'. un'k'anumī'ts:k¹⁹⁴ un'ηuts əra'q'ai'. uv'wa'a'γ un'ηuts pa'iyani'¹⁹⁵ wawa'tei əra'q'aip'i'. u'v'waiyauq-wa-η un'ηuts ma'mpu'te un' ma-m-a'q'c'om' uφ'itui'. ma'm-a'əts:ηwix 'um' un'ηuts pim'ē'ηw'ē'ik'ai' 'a'ivamī' umu'ηwantī' ta'a'ini'k'anum'i'. a'ivam'ē'χ 'um' ta'vi'k'am'p-i' ta'vi'm'untiaφī w'i'm'miaq'um'·əm'. qana'rīm'a-m-a'əts:ηw'ē'χ 'um' qate' wī'l'p'·u'·teu-teuxwajwa'a sī'ra-m-a-m-a'əts:ηw'ē'χ'a'm' unjwa pu'teu'teuγwa'uyi-đ-wamī' po'p-a' ma-m-a'q'c'om' uφ'itui'. un'ts:γwa-η' tō'm' unjwa mαmpu'ts: ηw ηw'vinaηQWA ma-m-a'q'c'om' uφ'itui'. nī'χwα' s'v'waiyauq' paiy'q'wə'oi' ma'q'sim'ava'n'tux-wa. i'i'tcia'q' pīv'wa'i-yauq' qana'ri'tstujw'aq' um' ma-m-a'q'c'om'p'i' pu'pu'teuteuγwαp'ī.

2. THE TWO HORSE-TAIL HAIR BROTHERS, A UTE WAR STORY.

nīηwī'ntsuj um'wα'va' qa'ivam' qa'n'ē'χaip'īγa qava'uxwa'civāix-i nava'vηw a-m'ē'axav'am' qa'n'ē'χaip'īγa. tīna'tux-wqan'ē'ntcīm'w'ī am-u'v'wanti' qəγə'ī'pīa'γa'i'tuai'. qava'uxwa'civāix-i nava'vηw a'ip'īγa'aim', impu'ru''αvi'¹⁹⁶ nīηwī'nts: na-ηwα'n'tux-w pa'izā un'ē'arim' nī'nī nīηwī'aiyən o'p'a'q'. īv'wīn un'ηuts nī' o'p'a' an'ē'q'tuazw'əiva'. m'wa'ūpa'a pəw'm'miap'īγa qa'va'uxwa'civaiγ əm' nava'vηw uv'wa'iy'um' qwə'avi'ηupa-yuφ narī'v'w'ηup'īγa'aim'. 'i'm' an'ē'A nə'n'ə'c'ivāte', a'ip'īγa qava'uxwa'civāix-i tīv'w'ī'ηunqwa-'aiηw' tca'xqa'.itsaφ'ī. nī' īγīr 'a'im'ē' qa'tew tūmp'w'iyooa tīηwα'-vaxaj'wαđ-uq-w uwa'aiyēiY wī'ayun'ua'q-w yun'ax-u qava'ai' pīv'wa''an'əni na'ūq'winqit'uan'əni¹⁹⁷ əwa'ēyēi unjwa'axaruxwaj'u-ηwa'aq'U təγ'w'ō'imu'staq'aj'wī'ηqunw qU'qwi't-ua-η' pa'xqa'ηumpa-p-i, a'in' īγīr 'a'im'ē', a'ip'īγa tca'xqa'.i'tsian'. i'mi' təγ'w'ō'p'ac' a'im'i'k'a', a'ip'īγa qava'uxwa'civāix-i. ma-m'ū'ηwənt a'īφaputs:ηw'ī əα'vanax-pīγa. un'tei a'ik'·Apīγa, qa'teu'q w a'a'n-i'k'ar'pin-i

II. PAIUTE NON-MYTHICAL TEXTS.

1. HOW THE KAIBAB PAIUTES LEARNED THE BEAR DANCE.⁹¹

When I was a boy, a bear dance took place at Kanab,⁹² when people had come back from the fall hunt. Then the Cedar City Indians⁹³ arrived at Kanab from Cedar City. I went to Kanab from Moccasin Springs, then I stayed there at the camp. And then the Cedar City chief said to those who were camping, "Tom here will sing the bear dance songs for you this evening," that is what he said.

Then Tom together with some of the young men cut down cedar branches, and then they stood some of them up and cut notches into them.⁹⁴ After they had done that, they then dug a hole. They then placed a pan over the hole that had been dug,⁹⁵ and then Mamputs⁹⁶ sang the bear dance songs. Then the women danced back and forth, and some of the young men they kept hitting with pebbles that they threw at them. The young men that were hit would commence to dance along with those who were hitting. The Kanab women did not know how to dance, so the Cedar City women taught them how the bear dance was performed. Then Tom sang the bear dance songs after Mamputs. After that I went back to Moccasin Springs. This is the time when the Kanab Indians learned the bear dance.

2. THE TWO HORSE-TAIL HAIR BROTHERS, A UTE WAR STORY.

The Indians were living there on the mountain and the two Horse-tail Hair brothers were living among them. Some of those who were out hunting were killed by some people. The two brothers said, "Claiming what for themselves⁹⁷ might be the persons who act in that way to my people? Let me, then, go off yonder to engage with them." The two Horse-tail Hair brothers started off and travelled along in that direction. At yonder place where they were camping over night they asked each other, "What have you ever dreamt?"⁹⁸ said Horse-tail Hair, questioning his younger brother. "I, indeed, am wont to dream that when guns are fired and bullets drop down just like mud, bullets do not go through the horse that I am riding, but if anyone shoots him right on the forehead he will be killed. That, indeed, is what I am wont to dream," said his younger brother. "You have always been dreaming just like myself," said Horse-tail Hair. Some of the young men returned from spying. Then they

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naia'vanjwα^a qa-n'á'ayant ur, a'ík*Apí'ya. qwiteu'vats'teim'a-q'
 qa-n'á'ayanti a'γap'ín:tyuγwip'í'ya tiv^wite o''u qa-n'á'ayant a'ya'ní^s-
 k'ai'tsqn' naiya'φA^sqair'íá'^a panwa-'avan'noayanti uv^wα'ηwitux-w
 t'ca'iyua'γai'p'í'γain'í. qan:í un'íhuts umi''óitsiφ mia''ánts
 óγó'ntun-uq-wip'í'ya.

tuγwa'r'uumjw'áix-U a'm:A co'p'a'γaip'í'ya. un'íhuts qan'á'-
 yanti 'a''indk-w^oaiñuqwa-q' 'a'xavateux-w poró'q'up'í'ya. qava'ñw
 ta'p-i^steaq'aip'í'ya qan:í un'a'úq-wa ma'm-u'e'um'í t'í'tí'p-unaq'x-
 qap'í'ya qwiteu'vats'teí ama'm'í ta'ta'p-i'teaq'p'í'ya. qava'ñwí
 am' p'm-a'm'í ta'p-i^steaq'xqain' t'í'ca'v'í ts'ka'p-m'naq'am-in'im-
 p'í'ya. ma'm-u'e-U sua'p-itciq'p'í'ya am-u'ñwanti qa-n'á'γantim-w'í.
 cu'yuc-u yu't'a'ññwñwí a'm'í'ñwanti qa-n'á' t'ira'χuava' piya'ñ'wi-
 p'í'ya. un'íhuts o'ñwants'γanti ava'n'Nó^sq^wóm'mits'γaip'ánti'aq-w
 óra'p'í'ya uv^wañw un'íhuts NA'có'χu'map'í'ya. tu'wα'n am'í'ñwanti
 yu'tsqñwí m'ím'í'n'í'ck-w^oóip'í'ya. ma'm-u'e-U nava'vñwí we'te'-
 qo'om' ta-v'í'n'impuruatsa-m'íφ¹⁹⁸ ma'γa'x'aia-ñqíts a'm'í'axava-
 teu'γwám' ta'ñ'wa'c-unup'í'ya'aim' qwaia'ñqwa'pa-m'í'm' na'va'c-U
 ts'ka'n-a-tsm'í w'a'tei'γñup'í'ya. tina'ñqw'ám' m'w^α'axaró'χwa'm'
 tu'pa'q-i^sk'p'í'γai'co'm'í ava'am'í na'úq-wñqí'le-uap'í'ya'aim'. tea^s-
 qa'itsia'ñ añ' puñqu'á PA^sqa'ñup'í'γai'tuai'. m'aña'c-U pa-v'í'añ añ
 añá'Upá'^a tan'wa'c-unup'í'ya. un'íhutsqwa'ñ' tea^sqa'itsiañ añá'v'i-
 nanqwa'patei' tavi'p'í'ya. maru'q-watu'γw'ám óγó'ñqaríts'teí t'í'ñ-
 qw'aip'í'ya'aim'.

man'á'γiyut-avam'an'á'am'í na'úq-wñqí'le-uap'í'ya'aim' puñqu'á'm'
 añ' na'v'í'n-añqwa PA^sqa'um'ín'imp'í'γai'tuai'. ó'v'is'a'm'aq'antim
 ant'k'aip'í'ya pa'í'n'óayant' ññwu'ntsñwí am' qo'ín'í^skain'a'm'.
 qó'ó'it'í-rim'í' pa'í'ñwam' ar o'ñwayanti uv^wα'ηwitux-w N^uqwt'
 p'í'ya. ma'ña'c-U qa-n'á' t'ira'χuava' NA'só'xó'ma'v'ip'í'ya' t'í'χ'í'ya'^{ai}-
 p'í'ya un'á'v'iza' man'á'γiyut-uχwan'ó'. tea^sqa'itsiañ añ' qava'u-
 xwa'civ'áí'χ'í' PA^sqa'ñuti'p'í'ya ta'c'í'añqwa'áix-U. un'íhuts qava'u-
 xwa'civ'áí'χ' añ' tava'í^s man'w'í'c'ck^s-U PA^sqa'ñuti'p'í'γaic-U ma'n'ó'q'ó
 qava'ñwí tu'p'w'ík-Uqwa-m'í. mam'a'm'í qwiteu'v'w'arí' nava'φitsñw
 qa-rí'p'í'ya'aim' p'í'ya'm'í nava'vñwí' PA^sqa'ñuti'í-rim'í'. pav'í'tsan¹⁹⁹
 añ' a'íp'í'ya, a'í'c'ia'q-w w'a'ñm'a-m' ur 'a'í'ññu'campa ta'm'í'nteu'
 un'íhuts í'va'm' unu'v'wananqwa'p:α pa'γa'ín'í'va'm'í umi'ac' o'-
 p'a'm'í ma'n'á'k-w'ainuti'q-w, a'íp'í'ya. puñqu'tsiam' añ' qwa'c'í'-
 m'antu'γwan'iaφ p'í^sk'a'óayaip'í'ya unjwα'v'antuxwa'am' na'ñwa'aim'
 ts'p'í'ñup'í'ya'aim'. í'm' U^sqwai inw'ít'u-x-w qu'qwi'p'apa'γaimpa'.

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said, "The camp does not look as though it could be easily handled," said they. On a knoll they sat and watched the camp from their hiding place, and really the camp did not look as though it could be easily handled. It looked like a plain dotted with white⁹⁹ passing through the meadow valley. And at a little distance from the camp there was a small knoll covered with firs.

When it commenced to get dark, (the Utes) were assembled together on it. And then, as soon as everything became quiet, they started off right into the camp. Horses were tied to each of the tents and those (Utes) led them off one by one and tied each of them on the little knoll. They always cut through the ropes with which the horses had been tied. Some of those who were living in the camp awoke. One from among the Ute Indians was left behind in the center of the camp. Then he dug a hole in the shaded bend of a little wash.¹⁰⁰ And then he covered himself with earth in it. During the night some of the Utes turned back home. In the morning those two brothers, having hung their hatchets through string loops tied to their wrists, galloped their horses right into the (enemy) and, having come out beyond them, they whooped as though it were nothing at all. Turning up again (towards the knoll), they came right through there, and at that place the two of them engaged in battle. Someone killed his younger brother's horse. That elder brother of his charged right past him, and when he did so, his younger brother lit right behind him. They went up into that little fir-covered knoll (in order to get a fresh horse).

For five days the two of them engaged in battle, and their horses were killed one after another. As though covered with timber laid low was the open valley with people lying slain. The blood of those who were killed was streaming in the wash. That one (who had hidden himself) lay covered with earth in the center of the camp. He was hungry while he lay in this condition for five nights. Horse-tail Hair's younger brother was killed as dawn was approaching. Then Horse-tail Hair was also killed when the sun was up, after all the horses had been used up. On that knoll two brothers were sitting, kinsmen of the two brothers who were killed. The elder brother said, "Now their whooping has ceased, but shall we two then continue to walk about here¹⁰¹ after they (have died), when those have had that happen to them?" said he. Their horse had a sore back clear down to his tail, and both of them got on top of him. "You, indeed, shall shoot in the opposite direction as we move along." So then

ʔni'ηutsi'm o' am'i'axavateuɣw'am' puŋqu'tsia-miɕ kw'i'pap'apa'x-i-pi'ya. na-ni'n'naq'ɔvatciam-iɕ qu'qwi'p'apax-i'pi'ya na-va'c'um' ts-p'k-w'aiŋu'pi'ya'aim'.

ma-ŋa'e'c'U NA'cɔ'xɔ'ma'vite aŋ' tu'ɣwa'n' qwi'ri'q-i'pi'ya. ʔni'ηuts-maŋw'ɔ'ɕa'xpi'ya qa'ni'²⁰⁰ u'a'xarux-w. ʔni'ɣuaŋ aŋa'vatŋaŋw qa'm'm'nap'i'ɣai'tuai'. maŋa'e'c'U tūmp'wi' ava'ruq-waip'a'q-w a'ɣa'mi'e'i'k'ai'p'i'ya. mam'u'e' aŋa'upa'^a qa'm'm'nap'i'ya tɔ'tsi'ɣai'k-ain'a-m' nava'viŋw'i' ts-tŋaŋki'aq'a'm'm'uxa'. maŋa'e'c'U ma'up'a'^a paiyi'k-i'pi'ya ti'v'wi'p'iaia'v 'u'ra'. pa-vi'ts:ŋ, i'v'wi'ŋw'ɔni p'i'ni'ŋw'i'n-ɕ-n-uq-wi'ɣw'aiva'aŋw, a'ip'i'ya. ʔni'ηuts o'o'x'pam'm'cap'i'ya nuŋwi'nts:ɣain'i' pa'o'wi'pa'ntux-w ya'uq'wa-p'i'ya. ma-ŋa'e'c'U ti'v'wa' ta-ŋa'xw'aip'i'ya. ma-ŋa'e'c'U qava'ai A'pɔ'n-ait-iŋwavaxaŋki'ɣuaŋ a-te'i'ɔɕ wa-vu'n'i'pi'ya. ni'-c-amp a-n-i'k, a'ip'i'ya pa-vi'ts:ŋ, pu'ca'ɣai'zai'mi. uv'wa'yum' na-ŋwa'aim'i' paiyi'q-w'ɔip'i'ya.

3. MAMPU'TS' STYLE OF BEGINNING A SPEECH.

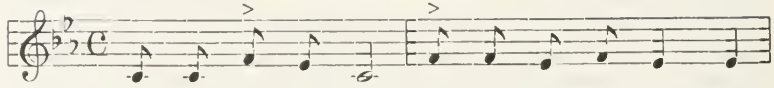
i'v'wa'q' ma'n-ɔn-i nana'ŋq'xqa' m'wa'nts:ŋw'i'ni²⁰¹ piya'ts:ŋw'i'ni pa-vi'ts:ŋw'i'ni pats'ts:ŋw'i'ni tɔ'ɣ'ɔ'ts:ŋw'i'ni qa-ɣu'ts:ŋw'i'ni ivāte: t-i'p'i'n-ɔ' taŋ'wa'avit'ai ampa'ɣa'na.

they whipped their horse right into them. They shot in both directions as they moved on and came out clear beyond as though it were nothing at all.

That one who lay covered with earth got up at night. Then he crawled on his hands and knees through the camp. As he did so, people were dancing along singing (the scalp dance) to meet him. That (Ute Indian) was in hiding in the shadow of a rock. Those people were moving along singing past him as they carried the two brothers' heads on poles. That one turned home in yonder direction towards his country. The elder brother said, "Let me go to stand around and look for him." And then he went along in yonder direction. A person, it seemed, went down into the creek. That one galloped down while the one (who had come back), as the noise of horse's hoofs was heard, got his bow ready for shooting. "It is only I," said his elder brother, "hunting for you." From there both of them went back home.

3. MAMPUTS' STYLE OF BEGINNING A SPEECH.¹⁰²

Do you all hear, my dear fathers, my dear mothers, my dear older brothers, my dear older sisters, my dear grandfathers, my dear grandmothers, the words of the chief at Los Pinos,¹⁰³ way up from here!

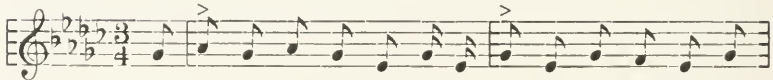
III. PAIUTE MYTH RECITATIVES.²⁰²1. EAGLE'S MYTH RECITATIVE.²⁰³

pi - ya' - nt - p'i - ts! i - v'wī - tean u - qwa - ya



tī - in - tu-gwān-tīm - pan 'o - qwa - ya²⁰⁴

qa'mīn'avīya'tī'q'av'aiva'[vī]
 i'v'wīqw'a'n'o' t'vasampa'[vī]
 qa'rī'mi'a'γwan [o'qwa'ya].
 si'vii'ntī-v'wī'p'ī'v'w'an. [o'qw] ai'k^x
 u'v'wa'a'ni[vī'] qa'mīnav'īya'tī^{204a}
 qa'mīn'avīya'tī'q'axw'aiva'ts.
 i'va'a'[vī'] qa'rīv'wa [o'qwa'ya]
 ma'va'a'[vī'] qa'n'i'ara'mi,
 ma'i'an. [o'qw] a'īqa'[vīzn'i'n'a'],
 qa'rīm'avaa' qa'ni'ara'mi.²⁰⁵

2. SPARROW HAWK'S MYTH RECITATIVE.²⁰⁶

a - γa - n-t-k'a - va - a-tst-ηuηw' ai-k'ai ηj - wai m'wī-



min-teu - 'a-η·a - a - vī 'uη-wai-a - vī²⁰⁷

sapi'gak'a'vaa'tsuηw' a'ik'aiy'i'[vī].
 tīv'wī'tsisa'mpaa'η ηj 'ura'aiyī'[vī]
 qwī'qwai'i'naa'η ηj 'uru'aiyī'[vī].
 ηjw'vatco'qwa'a'qwai'tva'n'ṭxa'a'.²⁰⁸

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III. PAIUTE MYTH RECITATIVES.

1. EAGLE'S MYTH RECITATIVE.

My dear mother, let me
Go to the east;¹⁰⁴
I shall eat jack-rabbits that I have killed myself.¹⁰⁵
Do you, however, here
Remain, indeed.
In the country of the Sibit Indians, say I,
Am I there
About to go to eat jack-rabbits that I have killed myself.
Here you shall stay,
There at our house,
That is what I say,
Stay there at our house.

2. SPARROW-HAWK'S MYTH RECITATIVE.

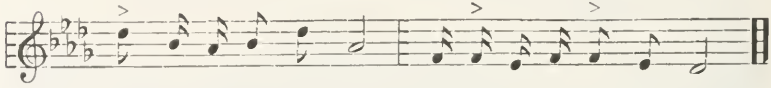
Doing what will you all, as you say,
You him
Overcome, as you say?
Truly he is
The one that has taken her away.
To him, then, let me go.

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3. RATTLESNAKE'S MYTH RECITATIVE.²⁰⁹

ci-nan-*ŋ*-wa-vt ci-nan-*wa*ϕi mai-va-tei-cam-pa



ti-v^wt-t^hn!ai-vä-tei ci-nan-*ŋ*-wa-vt ci-nan-*wa*ϕi²¹⁰

nī'c-itca-*ŋ*wa^z'a' nōn'n't'xa nōn'n't'xa'.

nī'aq [oqwaiya'a'] wa'ntsiv'ūŋqo-*ŋ* ūŋwa'

pa'q'anjumpa'ant'ŋwa', ma'iyan [oqw] aik'a',

ci'nan^wavt cina^ŋwa'ϕi ci'nan^wavt cina^ŋwa'ϕi.²¹¹

4. IRON-CLOTHES' MYTH RECITATIVE.²¹²

o-a-rī-a-ni a-ni-*k*ain' o-a-rī-a-ni a-ni-*k*ain'²¹³

ma'iyan [o'qw] a'i'tga'[vi']. i'mintco'a[vi'] uma'n-umi'

i'migwa'[vi'ivī'ni'] ci'nan^wavt'y a'ŋw'aya'

o'n'to'ika'aqo'ŋwa' ma'n'ga'[ivī'zn'i'n'a'].

u'ŋwas'o'[vi'] wantsi:vunqu'n u'ŋwa ni'n'ya'a[vi'n't']

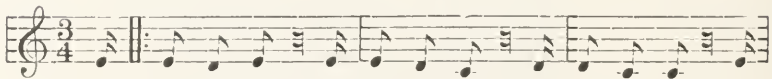
qa'q'e'ŋuqwa'nti[vi'n't'] qa'tei' ma'im-ŋwa'iti'.

i'mintco' uv^wa'i uma'n-umi' tu'c-umi'ya[iv^wi'n'].

o'ari'ani' m'a'ik'a'qu'ŋwa a'n'ka'a[vi'n']

u'ŋwaya's-uqwa's'una'ŋwav' ma'n'to'ika'aqo'ŋwa'

to'c'oo'v'a' ma'ik'a'qo'ŋwa a'n'tza'imi'.²¹⁴

5. COYOTE'S LAMENT.²¹⁵

o - yo - yo - yo o - yo - yo - yo o - yo - yo - yo o -

3. RATTLESNAKE'S MYTH RECITATIVE.

O Coyote, Coyote! though wont to speak so,
As though wont to speak truly, O Coyote, Coyote!
Teasing people, carry me, then, on your back! carry me, then,
on your back!
It is I who the Antelope
Will kill, that is what I say,
O Coyote, Coyote, Coyote, Coyote!

4. IRON-CLOTHES' MYTH RECITATIVE.

That it has been done by one who spies on me, that it has been
done by one who spies on me,
That is what I say. You are not wont to act in that way,
You, then, as Coyote
Has caused you to act thus, doing these things.
That antelope of mine
Has made a raucous sound, though he is not wont to make that
kind of noise.
You, then, are you wont to do that, are you wont to grind seeds?
As one who is spying on me has told you, so you do,
As that Coyote has caused you to do,
Saying, 'You shall grind seeds,' doing that are you.

5. COYOTE'S LAMENT.

Oyoyoyo, oyoyoyo, oyoyoyo, oyoyoyo, oyoyoyo!

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yo-yo-yo o - yo - yo - yo.²¹⁶

ivä'n-i: una'v'za- ava'[vi'], oyo'yoyo oyo'yoyo.
 a'ya'n'ga'i- t'xwa'n'ts' a'iviujwa'e'u[v'wi], oyo'yoyo
 tte'i'ani: tya'nti- t'u'i'ηqigai- tya'q'ani, oyo'yoyo.²¹⁷

6. RED ANT'S MYTH RECITATIVE.²¹⁸

na-rī-v'w-t-yan' 'a-ro-v'wa- 'a-ro-'a- va- a-tet-vī

co- q-u- camp uη - wa - vī²¹⁹

o'tsiga'u'vatei' nī''i(vī'n'ī'n'an-i'na) c'nanjwavi' i'mi[vī']
 nī'' [uqwa-'a'yavi'] co'q'uca'mp u'ηwa[vī'] o'tsiga'ii'vatei'.

nī'nia'zwa'zain-i' qwa'ut u'γwa-'a'ro-[v'wi-] p'īmpin-a-'a'yī[vī']
 nī'nia'zwa'zain-t' wa'qt u'γwa-'a'co-[v'wi'n-t] u'ni-yī-i'[vin-t'].

ī'v'w'īya'ya'pī' [vūn-t] ta'ηwaya'a'ro'wa'iyī n'ηwuruqwa'tu'γwana'-
 a'q'ana-ca'niparaηwa' n'ηwūruqwa'tu'γwana'-camp a'raηu'-
 a'ro-wa'iyī.

ī'v'w'īya'ya'p' [u'qwaiya'] ī'v'w'utcani-'i'ga[vī'n-t] nī'' umpi-'ca'campa'
 a'muv'watei-' t'ōηwaq'ūη.²²⁰

7. A MYTH SONG.

qa'p'ī aiy a'ik'amip-i uv'wa-'i tī'γwi'n'aza qa'p'ī ai' qa'ya-'v'ō-
 q'wan²²¹ uq'wai'.

i mi + ya' i mi'ya'

ta'vatsiva na'ηwaq'wa ta'vi'n-i'

i + ya'γam-a'teitco-m-a'.²²²

Here shall I put away my quiver, oyoyoyo oyoyoyol
Why did that one say that to me, oyoyoyol
Warning me of this? oyoyoyo!

6. RED ANT'S MYTH RECITATIVE.

It is my custom always but one
Little arrow to have, O you Coyote!

I am the one that is wont to have but one little arrow.
It was my lot too, facing about the other way, to keep bending
down with buttocks stuck out.
It was my lot too, facing this way, to do thus.

Alas that it is we, as it seems, who are beaten,
That it is we who are beaten!
Alas! let me, then, merely for fun,
Shoot at them.

7. A MYTH SONG.¹⁰⁰

What people always say was sung at that point, when telling the
story. Let me, then, sing that which was sung:
Of you, of you
The leg bone, make I a rattling noise with, while the sun is shining.

IV. UTE MYTHS.

1. PORCUPINE TRICKS COYOTE.

yæŋæmbīts u'p'apīga. u·v ura'¹ ku'dju'm u'p'a'' pōrō'p'īga. uwas: u''v'waiyauq' u'p'pīga na·ndi'n''buga'im''. u'va ira' sūwa'·axpīga² gwtca'p'ij u'va garī'p'īga. u·wac u''v'waiyauq' t·v'w'it'ī'pūgai·k·i. nī' ara'' we'ts'ij' gwtidjap''. u'wac u'v'waiyauq' o'p'x'puga yaja'mbīts o'p'x'pugaic. u'v ura' gwtidjap'ij' garī'p'īgaic. u·wac u''v'waiyauq' t·v'w'it'ī'pugaic·'yiq'. u'wac u'v'waiyauq' o'p'pugaic. u'vand ura' t·v'w'it'ij'pugaic. a'v'w'ε'am ijgi' e'ip'ā' pōrō'it, ma'ip'īg ura' qwūdjun ūm'w'ī' gwtidja'p'. u'was u''v'waiyauq' o'p'x'pugaic. u'vai ira' nā·wa''m u'r cu'a'x'pīga u''v'wai. u·wac u''v'waiyauq' o'p'p'pīgaic. u''v'wai ura' cu'a'x'pīga. u'was u''gwand'it·v'w'it'ī'ax·pīga. a'v'w'it'ijam' i'vai pōru'q·u, maip'īg ura'. u·wac ur o'p'pīga.

u''vai ira' a·va'n'nu'x'gwint ura'p'īga. ūmuc u''v'waiyauq' gwe·ε'ndux i'v'w'it'p'īga.³ u·wac u''v'waiyauq', no'γwāt', ma'ip'īga yæŋæmbīdj u'ij'. nī' a'''. ga'tc', ma'ip'ug ur ūwa'c. ūwa'c u'v'waiyauq' ma'ip'ugaic. nī' a''', ma'ip'īg ura' cō'ini'. ka'tc', ma'ip'ug ūwa'c. mā'yan a'ik'x. u·wac u'v'waiyauq', ka'tc', ma'ip'ugaic. ūmuc ura' qu'djum: u' pa'manun·t tu'x'w'it'p'īga. s'is ura' p'iyau'wixpīga. uij' ura' a't'u'γwa·v'um ura'p'īga. u·wac u'v'waiyauq', no'γwāt', ma'ip'īga. nī' a''' ma'ip'ug ur ūwa'c. o'v'wai', ma'ip'ug ur u'wac yæŋæmbīdj u'. u·wac ura' uxga'ip'īga ūa'vadjux pa'γa'va' tsib'x'puga.

niv'a''na'' kari''wī'A, ma'ip'ug ur ūwa'c. u·wac u'v'waiyauq', katc', ma'ip'uga. ya'va'γaim', ma'ip'ug ur ūwa'c wī't'vidju'γwavan' pa'vaut·ux. u·wac u'v'waiyauq', a'p'iganī nar'ava' kari''wī'A, ma'ip'īga. u·wac u'v'waiyauq', katc', ma'ip'ugaic. wī't'vidju'γwavanī. ya'va'γaim', ma'ip'īgaic u'v'waiyauq' ūwa'c. pa'man·uq'·du'wac'ij' tu'p'w'it'p'īga. u·wac ur u'v'waiyauq' ma'ip'īgaic gut·c u', ijm'w'it' gu'c nī'nai' mövō't'ō'p'a' kari''wīavanī. ka'tc', ma'ip'ug ur ūwa'c iæŋæmbīdj u'. ya'va'γaim', ma'ip'īga. pa'vaut'atugwan' wī't'vidju'γwavanī sō'γ'k·uik'a'm'. u·wac u'v'waiyauq', nīpa' a' to'γwō''i. u'+v'wai u'+v'wai, ma'ip'īg ur ūwa'c. a'γa'n'ij' ura' nī'pa'' yīga'vani. nī gu'c ma'nai'am intce ya'va'γai'. u·wac u'v'waiyauq', ga'tc', ma'ip'īga. nī' ara'' ma'n'umbantī u'v'waiyauq' ara'' gatc'·u·m'' pī'ka'k·uv'auai't'. u·wac u'v'waiyauq', i'v'w'it'c' o'φi, ma'ip'īga. u·wac u'v'waiyauq' ūwa'n·a·x' yīga'p'īga.

u·wac u'v'waiyauq' gu'dj u' pa'γa'n'x'gwit'p'īga pa'wauintu'γ uru'. u·wac u'v'waiyauq' t·v'w'it'x'pīgai'ij'. u·wac u'v'waiyauq', ka'tc' pa'dru'γwava'cram' ant'k'a'. u·wac u'v'waiyauq' ma'ip'īgaic



CHARLIE MACK, UINTAH UTE INDIAN, WHITE ROCKS, UTAH
(Taken by J. A. Mason)

IV. UTE MYTHS.

1. PORCUPINE TRICKS COYOTE.¹

Porcupine was going there. Right there were buffaloes, they were moving on in yonder direction. He thereupon went off yonder, tracked them. Now there (one buffalo's) dung was quite fresh, it was lying² there. Then he asked it (how long it had been lying there). "I am his dung for some time."³ Thereupon he went on, Porcupine went on again. And there another's dung was lying. Then he asked it again, and again went off yonder. When over there, he asked again. "Just now, indeed, have they moved on through here," said then the buffaloes' dung. And then he went on again in yonder direction. Now there the tracks of them were quite fresh. Then he went on again; there, now, they were quite fresh. Right there he asked (some dung). "Just now they have set off from here," it then said. So he went on in that direction.

There, then, was a large stream. And those (buffaloes) were lying on the other side. Then said Porcupine, "Come and carry me!" "I?" (said one of them). "No!" said he then. And then again he said, ("Come and carry me!") "I?" said one of them then. "No!" said he, it was that (Porcupine) that spoke. He said "No!" again. Thus those buffaloes were all gone through one after another till just one was left. He, then, was the best one of them. That (Porcupine) said, "Come and carry me!" "I?" said he then. "Yes!" said he, the Porcupine. That one came to him, he crossed over the water.

"Ride on top of me," said he then. And then that one said, "No! I am afraid," he said, "I shall fall down into the water." Thereupon the (buffalo) said, "Ride between my horns." Then he, again, said, "No! I shall fall down. I am afraid," said he again. Everything that belonged to him was gone through. And then that buffalo said again, "You, indeed, shall sit in my nose." "No!" said then the Porcupine. "I am afraid," said he. "I shall fall into the water when you breathe." And he then, "(Is it) all right inside of me?"⁴ "Yes, yes," said that (Porcupine) then. "But how will you enter inside of me? Indeed I am afraid of these quills of yours." And he then said, "No! I shall be doing it so as not to be hurting you." So the (Buffalo) said, "Go ahead, then!" and that one entered inside of him.

And then the buffalo started to go off into the water. Then the (Porcupine) asked him (if they had arrived on the other side), but he (said), "No, we are still in the middle of the water." And then

tɪvʷiʷxʷpugaicʷiŋ. aʷvɪdʒarami pagɔʷava tʷaʷwɪʷ, maʷipʷug ur ɥwaʷc. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ pɪnʷtʷuʷx tɛʷpɪʷxʷpuga. ɪvʷiɛ oʷɸɪ tsʷbɪʷ oʷɸɪ. kaʷtɛʷ, maʷipʷug ur ɥwaʷc, maʷvaʷndukʷoʷaʷ meʷtʷox. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ niʷ tʷaʷwɪʷpɪga. ɪvʷiɛ oʷɸɪ, maʷipʷuga. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ piʷŋʷnanʷ⁵ uruʷ kwaciʷtʷxbapʷuga.⁶ ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ bɔnʷdʒiʷnaʷpʷuga. ɥwac ur uʷvʷandux kwɪʷpaʷmbɪdʒiʷwapʷuga. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ kuʷxʷdʒumʷ uʷŋ ɥaʷvateux ɥnɪʷtʷxpuga uvʷaʷnduʷwaʷ ɥʷ. uʷvʷaiyauqʷ aʷkʷxʷgwiʷpʷgapʷugaʷiŋ uʷvʷandux. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ piɣwaʷyaicʷtʷxpuga paʷmaʷnuqʷwupʷ. ɥwac ur uʷvʷaiyauqʷ tɛʷbɪʷpɪga janʷaʷmbɪdʒ ɥʷ. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ piɣtʷksav oʷʷai ɥʷnaʷxi kariʷpʷuga. ɥmuc uʷvʷaiyauqʷ gateʷiŋ paʷkʷpɪgaiʷi.

ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ tɛʷbɪʷpɪga. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ uʷva wɪniʷpʷuga kaʷpɪg uraʷ. ɔmbuʷmasɪn tɪɣaʷnʷtʷuʷ, kaʷɣ oruʷ maʷipʷɪga. paʷʷaur nuʷxʷgwiʷpɪga tsaɣaʷtʷemaʷnaʷx ɣoɣʷvʷudʒ uraʷ uʷvʷa paɣaʷnʷxʷpɪga. nuŋgaʷkʷwɪpɪga uʷvʷaiyauqʷ ɔmbɪʷmasɪn tɪɣaʷnʷtʷuʷ, maʷipʷug uraʷ ɥwac nuŋgaʷkʷwpugaikʷ ɣoɣʷvʷudʒ ɥʷ ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ uvʷaʷndugapʷɪga. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ ɣiŋtʷmbɪdʒ ɥʷ uʷva paɣaʷnʷxʷpɪga. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ tɪvʷiʷxʷpugaʷiŋ. ɔm anʷakʷ, maʷipʷɪga. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ gateʷn anʷaŋwaʷ. ɔmbuʷmasɪn siɣiʷrunʷi maʷikʷaʷn ɪŋkɪʷ. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ, katsʷ, maʷipʷɪga. ɔmbuʷmasɪn tɪɣaʷnʷtʷuʷ, maʷikʷ ɪŋgɪ ɔʷmʷ, aʷtʷiŋgaqʷaiyaqʷaʷn ɪŋgɪʷ. uvʷaʷiʷs uvaʷamʷ maʷipʷɪga naʷnauwɪtʷuɣwaʷniʷ maʷipʷɪga. kaʷtɛ ɪŋkɪ ʷɔm maʷiŋwaʷ. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ ɣoŋʷmbɪdʒ ɥʷ, oʷwaiʷ, maʷipʷɪga. ni ɣi maʷvandux kuʷxʷdʒuʷnʷ paʷxʷgaʷiʷ, maʷipʷug uʷvʷaiyauqʷ ɥwaʷc iɔŋʷmbɪdʒ ɥʷ. uvʷaʷikʷaʷ antaʷnaʷikʷaʷ.⁸

ɥmuc uʷvʷaiyauqʷ ɥʷwaʷvanduɣwapʷɪgaimʷ. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ maʷipʷɪga, maʷvʷaɣ ɥʷ wɔʷuntʷ tɪɣaʷnʷtʷanʷtɔʷ. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ kaʷgaʷrpɪga ɥʷwaʷvʷaʷx qwaʷiyanʷbateuwaʷ waʷuʷpɪga. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ iɔŋʷmbɪdʒ ɥʷ tɔɣʷqʷpɪga. wɔʷuɣpug uraʷ tʷvɔʷndɪɣwac ɔvaʷtʷambuʷ baʷaʷntugwaciʷiŋ wɔʷuɣpuga. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ ɣoɣʷvʷudʒ ɥʷ tɪɣaʷnʷxʷpɪgaʷiŋ. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ ɣoɣʷvʷudʒ ɥʷ pagoʷavandux kwɪdʒaʷvɪɥpɪga tɪɣaʷnʷxʷpugaicʷiŋ uʷvʷaiyauqʷ. uʷvʷaiyauqʷ ɥnɪʷts saʷpuʷvʷaʷnʷ tɔʷdʒiʷpʷiŋgupʷɪga. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ, maʷnɔqʷ saʷpuʷvʷaʷiŋ pariʷɣiŋgwɔiyaqʷx. kadj uruʷ mamaʷndɪʷ tʷkaʷnʷoapʷaiʷ. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ yauiʷkwɪpugaikʷx paʷvanduy uruʷ uvʷaʷkʷ pariʷxʷpɪga. ɥmʷaʷnt uʷvʷaiyauqʷ kaʷbaʷqʷpɪɣa miʷpuwɪts yuuʷɸɪ. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ gwɪiʷpʷugaikʷx tɪʷdɪʷkʷpɪgaikʷ. ɔʷtaɣatevete anaʷmbaɣapʷɪga, mamaʷndiʷɣetaŋʷ tɪʷdɪʷqʷ, maʷiʷpɪga kanʷwɪtmbanti. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ cɪriʷaʷpʷɪga. ɥwac uʷvʷaiyauqʷ ɥwaʷvateuʷwaʷxʷpɪga. maʷidʷiŋx gwaʷiʷaʷikʷx.⁹ gadʒ uruʷ mamaʷndɪʷ tʷkaʷnʷoapʷaiʷ. uvʷaʷnduywacʷiŋʷ

the (Porcupine) spoke again, asked him again. "Now we have come to be near the shore," said that one then. And then he came out on to land. "Now, then, get out!" "No!" said then the (Porcupine), "further off yonder." So he got some distance further. "Go ahead, now!" said (the buffalo). And then that one hit his heart with his tail, whereupon he scurried off, startled. Then he fell down over there. And then the buffaloes came up to him at that place and gored him there with their horns, and they ripped him open all over. He, then, came out, the Porcupine. He had been sitting inside of his hip bone, so they did not kill him.

And so he came out, and there he was standing and singing. "With what, pray, shall I be butchering?" said he as he sang. The water was flowing a little distance along from there, and Coyote was walking about there. He heard then, "With what, pray, shall I be butchering?" as (Porcupine) spoke; Coyote heard it. And then he went right up to there. There was Porcupine walking about. And then he asked him, "What did you say?" said he. And then (Porcupine said), "I did not say anything. 'With what, pray, shall I be scraping off willow-bark?' that, indeed, is what I said." And then, "No!" said (Coyote). "'With what, pray, shall I be butchering?' that, indeed, is what you said. Indeed I heard it plainly." There they were saying the same thing over and over again, they kept answering each other. "You did not indeed say so." And then Porcupine said, "Yes." But then that Porcupine said, "I did kill a buffalo right there." "Yes, my friend!" (said Coyote).

Then they went up to the (buffalo). And then (Coyote) said, "The one that jumps over him shall butcher him." So he ran and jumped over him, to the other side of him. Then Porcupine ran but jumped only as far as here, right on his rib he jumped. So then Coyote butchered the (buffalo). *Deinde Canis secundum flumen defaecavit*, and then he butchered the (buffalo) again. And then, so doing, he took out all of his paunch. And then he (said to Porcupine), "Go and wash out all of his paunch. Do not eat anything of it." So he carried it off to the water and washed it there. Out of it, then, a bit of fat broke off. Then he took it and began to eat it, when somebody a slight distance away was heard talking.⁵ "He is beginning to eat from it," exclaimed he who was not present. And then (Porcupine) was scared, while that (Coyote) went right up to him. "That is not what I said. You are not to eat any of that." Going right there, he knocked him dead with a stick. And then he

*wi'ti'raṽp'igai'ŋ'. q̄wac u'v'waiyauq' ɬəŋɔ'mbɨdʒ q̄wa'i'i p̄iga'p'i-gai'ŋ' n̄a'wa'ik'ɔ p̄iga'p'igai'm'. yɔɔɔ'v'wudj ɥ' pai'k'waip̄iga.

q̄wac u'v'waiyauq' ɬəŋɔ'mbɨdʒ ɥ' soɣa'p'tsp̄iga. yiv'wump' na'na-ɣm', ma'ip'iga. yiv'wump' nana'k-wp̄iga. t'qu'av ur uma'ndux yiv'w'nb uru' dʒadja'u'wmap'iga ma-nu'q'u. uric u'v'waiyauq' yiv'w'nb ur nana'k-wp̄iga. uri's u'v'waiyauq' ma'va ti yiv'w'mbum ut'k'aip'iga t'qo'av u'R. yəŋa'mbɨdʒ um̄a ga-r'i'p'iga yiv'w'mbum ma'nun'i t'qo'av u'R. q̄wac u'v'waiyauq' yɔɔɔ'v'wudj ɥ' p'ɨdʒigwa'-p̄iga ka-ni'vav ur'i'. pi'se'renta'puga u'v'waiyauq', ku'dju'na'n ŋk'i'pa'xga'i', ma'ip'ig u'v'waiyauq'. ɬəŋa'mbɨdʒa'n ŋg'i' pa'xga'is. ni' p̄iga'i'm'. o'wai, ma'ik'xap̄iga d̄wa't'ewa'i. ma'nun'i u'v'waiyauq' x uv'a'ndux un'ɥ'x'p̄iga. u'va' wa'ik-wp̄iga. ka ya'nup̄iga. ɥmuc u'v'waiyauq' x waxga'ik'xep̄iga. p̄na'saɣwɔts p̄unt'k'aip'iga. q̄wac u'v'waiyauq' ɬəŋɔ'mbɨdʒ ɥ', tna'ŋkwɨtiasaɣwɔn'i p̄unt'k'aigup', ma'ip'iga.in'i ɬəŋɔ'mbɨdʒ u'ŋ'. q̄wac u'v'waiyauq' p̄unt'k'aip'iga. o'+', ma'ip'iga t̄in'i'a'p̄iga. ɥm'w'e u'v'waiyauq' p̄umbu'n'xkaip'iga. yəŋɔ'mbɨdʒ ma'va ti ga-r'i'p'iga yiv'w'mbum', t'qu'avm̄ais. q̄wac u'v'waiyauq' yɔɔɔ'v'wudj ɥ', ma-ma'nti pana'ŋkw w̄na'i' t̄e'xqa'i-te'w'am' ma-mu'ru'xwa. o'wai, ma'ip'iga ɬəŋɔ'mbɨdʒ ɥ'. m̄in'i'guc ma-nu'u'a-k' mama'nteaŋk'kaiv̄an'. maŋaiars m̄in' q'i'mava waua'teuvan'¹⁰ m̄i'. i'v'w̄y o'phi mama'nteaŋqaya'q', yɔɔɔ'v'wudj ɥ' ma'ip'iga. kura't'ev̄samp̄u pa-na'ŋkw. q̄wac u'v'waiyauq' w̄na'ipugaik' pa-na'ŋkw. pa'ma'nəq'wəm' q'wəɣ'i'ip'iga kura'v ur. q̄wac u'v'waiyauq' p̄na'ŋq'xwtimwa ma'ik'endiam ɔ'i'¹¹ q'w'i'w̄ip'igai'¹². q̄wac u'v'waiyauq' q̄idja'v'i'a ma'ɣa'p'igai'. q̄wac u'v'waiyauq' p̄önö'ä'p'iga sa'pu'ŋ' u'R p̄ö'dö'na'p'iga. kwidja'vanten'. u'wai, ma'ip'ig q̄wac yəŋɔ'mbɨdʒ ɥ'. q̄wac o'p'a' pa'xgw'i'ip'iga a'ip'adj ɥ'. iv̄'endug a'". ka'te' ma-nə'ŋkwbatcux. tidju'anc ara' q'xwa na'r gwidja'p'i. kwidja'ö'v̄an', ma'ip'iga. q̄wac ur u'v'waiyauq' yəŋɔ'mbɨdʒ ɥ' naya'i'aip'iga. u'v'waiyauq' q̄wa'e ta-n'i'ntek̄ŋq'pugaik'i. u'v'waiyauq' ur q̄wa'e q̄na'p'au' w'i'i'vidju'gwa-p'iga i'p'uru'q'puga.

u'rusambak' pi'se'renten-zn'.

2. COYOTE DEPRIVES HIMSELF OF HIS EYES.

q̄wac u'v'waiyauq' yɔɔɔ'v'wudj ɥ'. u'va pa'ɣa'n'x'p̄iga. amba'te'-p̄m'map'iga n̄inga'q'aik'ɥ'. q̄wac u'v'waiyauq' ɥmo'v'wateuxpuga. ɥmuc u'v'waiyauq' w̄idʒig'wt'e'u' pu't'av uru' dʒadja'u'wnam'm̄i-ap'ugaik' qana'v̄um̄andux. ɥmuc u'v'waiyauq' tsant'ntsigt̄ka.unum-pugaik' qana'uv uru'. uruc u'v'waiyauq' pu't'm ur uv'a'ɥ'x'dugwac

took up the Porcupine as meat and put them together (, porcupine and buffalo). Coyote returned home.

Then Porcupine came to life again. "Red pine, start growing right up!" said he, and the red pine grew up. All the meat he threw on to the red pine, and the pine grew up. Then that meat got to be up there on the pine. Porcupine was sitting on the pine tree (with) all the meat. Now Coyote arrived at his own house. Then he told (his folks), "I have really killed a buffalo," said he then. "I have really killed a porcupine too. I have put them away." "Yes!" said they, (wife) and children. So they all repaired to that place, and then they hunted for (the game). The youngest one was looking. Then Porcupine, "Would that he might look upward this way!" thought Porcupine. So he looked. "Oh!" said he and told (them). Then they all looked. Porcupine was sitting up there on the red pine with the meat. And then Coyote (said), "Throw some of that down to your younger brothers." "Yes," said Porcupine. "You all will be ready to catch it, but that one, (the youngest,) you will put off apart further away. Now, then, get ready to catch it!" Coyote said. "Even if but a bit of the neck (throw) down!" And then he threw it down, and the neck killed everyone of them.

And then he got the youngest and gave him the paunch-blood⁶ to eat. He, then, became filled up in his abdomen, he swelled up. "Defaecaturus sum," (inquit). "Yes," said the Porcupine. That boy kept going further and further along the (limb). "Right here?" "No," (said Porcupine), "a little further ahead. Male olens est excrementum." "Defaecaturus sum," inquit. And then Porcupine was angry, and he shook the (limb) with his foot. So that one, then, fell down and burst to pieces.

It is the end of my tale.

2. COYOTE DEPRIVES HIMSELF OF HIS EYES.⁷

Now Coyote was going about there. Many were moving about noisily and he heard. And then he went to them. Those little birds⁸ were throwing their own eyes while in motion on to a willow. And then they would shake the willow and those eyes of theirs would leap back in again. Now they were eating camass, big camass, as

ta·v'navtē'qunumpuga. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' ya'mba'i' avat'ya·m·ba'i' t'qa'q·a.ɥnumpuga. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq', ta·w ɥnt'va tē'xqa'i'djwun', ma'ip'īga. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' pōru'q'puga. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' pu't'av uru' qana'uvumandux djadja'u'winaq'puga. ɥwæ yoɣo'v^wudj ɥ' ɥm^wu'a' ɥnt'p'īga. qana'v uru' tsan'teigik·ka.unumpugaik'. uruc u'v^waiyauq' uv^wa'ɥ^xdugwac ta·v'navtē'qunumpuga. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' yambai' t'qa'q·a.unumpuga.

ɥwac u'v^waiyauq' yoɣo'v^widj ɥ' pu't'av uru' na'mu'rvavunumpuga. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq', qateq' u'c a'iywa', ma'ik'·xpuga. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' sundu'naik'·xpugai'ih'. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' pu't'av uru' djadja'winaq'puga. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' qana'v uru' tsan'tnsigik'·xpīga. yoɣo'v^widj ɥa'i' pu't'ih' u'r qate' wu't'p'īgaⁱ ɥm^wæ ma'vum uru' pa'dja'aq'·puga. uv^wa'q' ɥac tsan'teigik'cupuga. ɥmuc puru'qu'v'pīga¹³ su'mbaiq·wpugai'ih' ugwa'ndugwac. ɥwac u'v^waiyauq' uv^wac paɣa'n'·xpīga. ɥwac u'v^waiyauq' o'p'·puga qate uru' pu't'ei'. wa'mamat'te u'va'm' paɣa'n'·xpīga. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' puni'k'aip·ugai'am o'p'·anɣo'ih'. mi' ai'upidj ant'k' ant'w'iaɣa, ma'ip'igai'ih' ɥmu'c u'v^waiyauq'. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' ɥwa'vateux·pugai'im' ɥwa'van' p'djigwap·ugai'im'. ɥwac u'v^waiyauq' pa·v'djivum' pu't'·xwqa'mmip'īga ɥm^wa'c uru' puni'k'aik·u wa'mamat'dju ɥm^w't'.

ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' nana'm·ai' o'p'a' paɣa'ip'īga. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' wa'mamat'teu^w u'm', ɥwō'nzm' qu'dju'm', ma'ip'igai'im'. o'wai', ma'ip'īga yoɣo'v^widj ɥ'. i'väs·t qa'ri'm'. ɥwac u'v^waiyauq' ɥmu'v'ateuwai'·xpuga¹⁴ qu'djum ɥm^w't' ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' mindō'n·xpuga. ɥwac u'v^waiyauq' qo'k·wigup·uga toa'waɣaq·antimband uru' i't'iasampu qo'q·wigup·uga. qu'dju'm ɥwand u'vandux kw'ba'mb'dji'ap'īga. wa'mamat'teu^w ɥ'm. o'va'am' puni'k'a·rip·ugai'am'. u'vaw^{14a} uru' wa'xga'ip'īgaik'. i'op·anq^{wō}ainumpuga ɥwāt'nasuv uru' u'riat'is qw'q'·w'ainumpuga. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' ɥwa'vateuxpugai'im'. aɣa'n·dk' ant'k'·x ɥm^w'i nu'wai' o'vai' i'op·anq^wai'm·u. qa'te' nava'c'in ant'k'·x ana'p·ain o'vai', qa'te' ya'n ɥwai', ma'igāini. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' ɥwa'vateux paɣa'ip'īga qu'djun ɥwa'i' pa'xga'q·ain'·aη ɥwa'i'. ɥwa'v ɥwa'ik·wp'īga.

ɥvæ'c'ɣ'am ava'ɣaninte'puga. ɥwac u'v^waiyauq' u'va qarip'uga ava'ɣarip·uga. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' wa'mat'djuw ɥ'm' tiɣē'n·xpigai'ani'. ɥmuc u'v^waiyauq' qan'te'pugai'im'. ɥwac u'v^waiyauq' qarip·uga. qūna'n'tugwaq·yī'i'ɣarip·ugaik'·x qa·rig uru' qan'te'qwa'ainam uru' yī'arit·upuga. aɣa'n'xkain'am ara' qan'te'cup'ainanīm^w i'nte'. nava'c'in ara' ant'k'ain' ta·w'vateux

they moved on. And then, "Let us be together as brothers," said he, so they started off (with him). And then they threw their eyes on to a willow and that Coyote did so along with them. They all shook the willow as they moved on and then those (eyes) leaped back in again. And they would eat camass as they moved on.

Now that Coyote was always the first to throw his eyes, so they said, "Indeed he is not good." Then they wished bad to him.⁹ And then they threw their eyes and shook the willow. Coyote's eyes did not fall back, right there on the tree they remained stuck. There he shook it, but in vain. They went on ahead and left him behind in the same place. Right there he walked about, and then he went off yonder, deprived of his eyes. Two girls were walking about there and they saw him as he went off in yonder direction. "What young man is it that is going along?" said they then. And then they went to him and arrived where he was. And then he covered his eyes with a weasel hide when the two girls saw him.

Then they went all together in that direction. And the two girls said to him, "There are buffaloes over there." "Yes," said Coyote; "do you two remain right there." And then he went up to the buffaloes, and they started to run. He kept shooting to where they were making a stamping noise, he kept shooting without particular aim. One of the buffaloes fell down right there. The two girls were sitting there and looking. He hunted around for his arrows; he always went past them, it was only by his smell that he would pick one up as he wandered about. And then they went up to him. "Why is it that you always go past your arrows?" "No! I do so merely for fun, to see how many have gone—with that in mind." And then the two of them went to that buffalo which he had killed. They all arrived where he was.

Right there they put up a brush lodge,¹⁰ and then he stayed there, sat in the shade. Then the two girls started in butchering. And then they built a wickiup, and he sat (there). He made the doorway facing in another direction than where he was sitting, he made several entrances to the wickiup that they had built. "What is it that you have done done with this wickiup that we have made?" "It is merely for fun that I have done so, thinking that if enemies suddenly

qïma'ndj'uwα un'unqU ma'p-a' djivv'xguguvα, ma'igäin-t. umuc u''v'waiyauq' pu'dju'tcugwap'ugai'am wa'mamat'dju' um' ma'cüc-q'w'ai. qa'te' pu't'et' ara'q'a', ma'ip'igai'im u''v'waiyauq'.

umuc u''v'waiyauq' söndö'naip'igai'am'. 'i'pu'igup'caγwɔn-t, ma'ip'igain'z'am'. uwac u''v'waiyauq' A'xpu'iva-q'up'igain-t. uwα'-vandux ca'avip'iga cu'q'unan-t. cu'q'pa'andugwæn-t ta-wa'tcavit-p'iga. uwac u''v'waiyauq' A'xpu'iq'puga. uwac u''v'waiyauq' pu't'ay uru' uwacq'w'a'i' pu't'xuga'minip'iga. umuc u''v'waiyauq' pu't'xU-qa'inip'u'anj uru' un't'ux in'p'iga puni'n-'pugai'k'a'm' pu't'ij ur qa'te' ya'nUpuga'i. uruc u''v'waiyauq' pu't'ij ur qate ya'nUpuga'i mo'p-uw'i'ayaip'iga pu't'va'wi'nt'ij'. umuc u''v'waiyauq' qu'dju'n qwa'i' tö'vai'yaj' qw'i'wiyu'x'pugaik'am'. u'va'na'ηα'm' ta-wa'tc'itp'iga qu'djun qwa'i' tö'va'va'an'. umuc u''v'waiyauq' ö'ri'c'aip-i' qw'i'wiyu'x'pugaic'yam'. uva'naj'am' t'ca'än'y'tp'uga. umuc u''v'waiyauq' toγo'q'q'w'a'p'ugai'im' simba'iq'pugai'am' uwac uvä'c A'xpu'ip'iga. uwac u''v'waiyauq' ta'pu'n'x'piga. ta'si'avumbandux t'sa'avip'iga u'muv'ateuγ ampa'γaγa a'ip'iga wa'mamatcu um'w' qA'ga'Rqaik-U. uwac u''v'waiyauq', ta'pu'n'te uru't' pinga.unik'x, ma'ip'iga. tö'dj'n' p'iaγanji. uwai u''v'waiyauq' namba'wauφ qari'ri tan'ntcigip'igai'ij'. uwac u''v'waiyauq' ta'pu'n-'*ka'ij ö'ri'caip-uva'n t'sa'avip'iga. qu'dju'n' tö'vávumpá'an' ta-wa'tc'avip'iga. uwac u''v'waiyauq' ta'pu'n'*piga. umuc u''v'waiyauq' ta'bu'n'*ka qru't' wa'mamat'dju' u'm' gatei'm' yá'n'puga'i'. uwac u''v'waiyauq' o'p'z'puga¹⁵ ugwi'n'anaq'wə'ap'ayaiηkUp'igai'im'. u'vandugw u''v'waiyauq' ugwi'nai'p'igai'k'x na'wai'am uru't'. uwac u''v'waiyauq' u'p-a'au'puga ugwi'n'antnagwai'p'igai'im'. umuc u''v'waiyauq' wa'mamat'teu'w u'm' pimi'vunk'äi'p'igai'im'. ma'ip'igai'yam'. na'wvandugwam uru't' ma'w'cp'iga. wa'dji'x'pugai'im' tiv'w'ldju' wa'dju'pugai'im'. umuc u''v'waiyauq' wa'xdju'η'xqwa'm uru't' si'ugwandi' tönto'avaγat'x'piga. in't'ugwa'm in'U'x'puga si'ugw'and uru't' tirä'vite tiv'w'i'gan'pə'.¹⁶ uwac u''v'waiyauq' in't'ugwa'm uru't' in'ijq i'm'gunt' qA'xga'Rpuga tiv'w'i'gan'x'pau' umuc u''v'waiyauq' wa'mamat'teu'w u'm' u'va'ndiam' tiva't' puni'k'aip'iga. uwac u''v'waiyauq' yoγo'v'w'ij qan'n'ga'va' qari'p'iga. umuc puni'k'aip'igai'am' k'e'ηxp'igai'am',¹⁷ na'n'ucuφi to'wai' tu'Rqaγari', ma'ip'igai'm umu'c wa'mamat'teu'w u'm'. naγa'tc'w ara' w'i'tsin' qwö'ö'p'i' to'wa', ma'ip'ig u''v'waiyauq' uwa'c.

u'Rcambaq' pi'se'ren'an'an'.

come upon us, we might hurry out through those (openings).” And then the two girls understood that there was something wrong with him. “He must be without eyes,” said they then.

And then they fooled him. “Would that he might go to sleep!” thought they. And then he began to feel sleepy. He put his head on the lap of one of them, on to the other he had his foot extended as he lay down. And he had his eyes covered. Then they took off the bandage that covered his eyes and looked at them. His eyes were not there. Those eyes of his were not there, but there were many fly-eggs in his eye-spaces. And then they took the buffalo’s hind-quarter, and they placed his feet on the buffalo’s hind-quarter. And then they also took a rotten log and caused his head to lie on it. Then the two of them ran away and left him there. He was sleeping there yet. And then he woke up. He was lying with his head on ants, and he said, speaking to them, for the two girls had run off, “Being awake, go ahead and do it!”¹¹ said he then. “My head itches.” And then her who was sitting at his foot he shook with his foot. But, when he awoke, he lay with his head on a rotten log and with his feet extended on a buffalo’s hind-quarter. And so he awoke and, when he had awakened, the two girls were not there.

Then he started off in that direction, he walked about to get scent of their tracks. There, then, he found their tracks by smelling. And then he started off on it, went off to track them by their scent. Now those two girls looked back and caught sight of him. He came upon their tracks, came near to them, and almost caught up with them. And then they, when he was (nearly) up to them, caused (their) jingles to make a rattling noise. They turned to a side, having thrown the jingles down a steep cliff. But he, when they had turned to a side, ran straight ahead down the cliff. Then the two girls looked down there. Now that Coyote was sitting at the base of the declivity. They looked at him and laughed at him. “He is sitting and eating his own marrow,” said those two girls. “It is marrow of mountain sheep which I have killed long ago,” said he then.

That is the end of my tale.

3. WILDCAT AND COYOTE DISFIGURE EACH OTHER.

pu'cu'ntugwæte u''va tava'avip'īga. yoγo'v'wīdj u'' o'p'puga. u'wac u''v'waiyauq' pu'cu'nt'gwædj u'' tava''puip'īga. u'wæc a't'im-punt'puga pu'cu'nt'gwædj u''. u'wæc pun'wunip'ugai'ŋ'. a'γa'n'v-anan', ma'ip'īgain'ū. qu'iva'i'ŋ maijäuq'wpuga tumba'i'ŋ teE'pa'γanap'uga pu't'a un'p'ugaic ava't'sa'ŋ' pai'te'puga. mō'ō'ŋ' ma'ia'gwīdjap'ugaic qu'ci'ŋ' ma'iaq'upugaic. manō'q'udu'waic'ŋ' ma'ia'gwīte'puga. u'wac uva'c av'ip'īga tūmbū'te'ivā'n'. u'wæc un'gaic'ŋ' pa'x'q'wō'ōp'īga. u'wæc yoγo'v'wīdj u'' o'p'puga u''vai u''v'waiyauq' ō'pu'iva'q'pugain'ū. o'vac ta'va''ō'pūiq'upuga tūmbū'te'ivā'n'.

u'wac u''v'waiyauq' pu'cu'nt'gwædj u'' ta'vu'n'puga. a'γa'n'y'x-qw'ōik'ε'n, a'ip'īgain'ū. punt'k'aip'īga qwa'ci'vantia'v uru'' gatci yā'nupuga'i. u'wac u''v'waiyauq' g'wiri'k'ip'īga. g'wiri'k'ε's uru'' qu'va'ia'v uru'' ma'wayan'y'p'īga. a'γa'n'y'xqw'ōik'ε'n, a'ip'īgain'ū. u'wac u''v'waiyauq' ava'iyauφ'w punt'k'aip'īga. u'wac u''v'waiyauq' qīma'n' punt'ap'īga. a'γa'p'au'gwai'ŋ', ma'ip'īgain'ū. u'wac u''v'waiyauq' o'p'ŋ' nandi'n'apugai'ŋ'. u'wac u''v'waiyauq' o'v av'ip'īga yoγo'v'wīdj u'' ma'ip'igai'ŋ' pu'cu'ntugwæte u''. pu'cu'ntugwæte u'' u'wa'φa wun'p'īga sūma'iwun'p'īga u'wa'vatcuxpuga tca'x'tu'q'w'anjpugai'ŋ' pa'a't'ox qwa'ci'ŋ' un'p'ugaic tca'x'tu'q'w'anjpugaik'x tūmba'i'ŋ tca'x'pa'q'anap'ugaic. pu't'ŋ' un'p'ugaic gwandu'p'wīt'ū'p'ugaik'x. pī'djo'q'wō'aiya'ŋ' tca'x'v'nap'īgaic. pa'x'q'wō'ō'p'uga un'm'ma'xgute'ŋ'.

yoγo'v'wīdj u'' uva'c av'ip'īga pa'x'q'wō'ōik'a' uru''. u'wac u''v'waiyauq' ta'vu'n'p'īga. a'γa'n'y'xqw'ō'ōik'ε'ε'n, a'ip'īgain'ū. muv'w't'auv'w i'p'un'puga. qwa'ci'vandεauφ'w punt'k'aip'īgaic qwa'ci'ŋ' pa'a't'ō'γō'puga qwa'ci'yauv'w i'p'iyay'ōn'ip'uga. u'wac u''v'waiyauq' pa'x'q'wō'ō'p'uga pa'vandux na'vun'k'aip'īga pa'vou'. u'wac u''v'waiyauq' pa'a't'ō'γōndi mōvū't'ō'ŋgai'p'īga. o'wai' tō'γō'isamp ō'pa'q'aite'vāont i'vi'n'ŋup'samb ura''ai'. tō'γō'n'y'nūmiasamp', ma'ip'īgain' u''v'waiyauq'.

4. OWL'S WIDOW GOES IN QUEST OF CHICKEN-HAWK.

mo'p'i'ts qant'yaip'īga¹⁸ su'q'us tow'α'tcigāip'īga. ta'v'w'i'yaaim-purunumpuga. u'wac u''v'waiyauq' p'wa'ŋ' u'' ta'v'w'i'yaain'kwikāi'q' u'. u'wac u''v'waiyauq' ta'v'w'u'ō'v'w uru'' ta'ci'te'p'īga. ur'c ta'tō'n'y'x'ti-a'ŋ' nūv'a'ratōn'tia'ŋ ura'p'īga cu'q'upandis. u'wac u''v'waiyauq'

3. WILDCAT AND COYOTE DISFIGURE EACH OTHER.¹²

Wildcat was lying there in the daytime. Coyote went along in that direction. Now then Wildcat was asleep in the daytime. The Wildcat looked very beautiful, and that one stood looking at him. "What shall I do to him?" thought he. He pressed his face back with his hands, he ripped his mouth wide open, and he did so likewise to his eyes, he made his eyes look big. His hands he pressed back so as to make them short, and his tail also he shortened by pressing back. Everything that there was on him he shortened up by pressing back. In that same place he was lying on the rock. When he had treated him in that manner he went off. That Coyote went along in yonder direction from there, and then he began to feel sleepy. Right there in the daytime he fell asleep on the rock.

And then the Wildcat awoke. "What is it that has happened to me?" thought he. He looked to where his tail was wont to be at his side, but it was not there. And then he arose. When he had got up, he felt all over his face with his hands. "What is it that has happened to me?" thought he. And then he looked at his shadow and he appeared different. "In what direction did he go?" thought he. And then he tracked him along there. Now there Coyote was lying and Wildcat found him. Wildcat stood near him, stood thinking of what to do. He went up to him, stretched him out long, and did so likewise to his tail, pulled it out. His mouth he ripped open wide and his eyes he treated similarly, made them long and narrow. His waist above the hips he also narrowed. He went away when he had finished with him.

Coyote was lying in that same place after he had gone away, and then he woke up. "What is it that has happened to me?" thought he. He kept looking at his nose, he also looked then at his tail. His tail was long and he kept dragging his tail after him. And then he went off to a creek and looked at himself in the water. Sure enough he was long-nosed. "Yes, it is all right when I might want to be drinking down in a rock hole. Everything is all right," thought he then.

4. OWL'S WIDOW GOES IN QUEST OF CHICKEN HAWK.¹³

Owl dwelt (there) and had one boy. He used to go out hunting for brush-rabbits. One time his wife, after he had gone out to hunt for brush-rabbits, cracked off the leg bone of a brush-rabbit. There was that one place where he was accustomed to stamp his feet,

where he was accustomed to stamp his feet to remove the snow. And there at the place of stamping his feet she stuck around the (bones). And then he came home and he made a noise of stamping, while she heard it; very plainly a noise was heard of something piercing into his feet. She heard it as she was sitting down. And then he entered and sat down; when he had finished with hunting for brush-rabbits he sat down, having come home in his house. "My feet are cold," said he, "please look at them," (said he) to his wife. And then she looked at the bones that had been splintered off right into his feet. And then she pressed them back into his feet. She was through with it. And then he sat a little longer. He commenced to suffer after remaining seated a little while longer, and he kept on suffering. And then he spoke, "You indeed shall proceed to Chicken Hawk. He is the one that kills every kind of animal, being a good hunter. To him you will go and you will take this boy of mine to him, his paternal uncle." He finished talking. When he had finished speaking, he died.

And then the two of them went off in yonder direction, she carrying with her her boy. They went along yonder. There Skunk was dwelling, and his mother was sitting outside at an outdoor camp fire. The young woman heard him as Skunk sang; he was sitting and sewing his skunk-robe.

"Our river-rock robe is flapping,¹⁴
Our river-rock robe is flapping,"

said he. "Hurry up and go along, hurry up and take him¹⁵ with you," (said the old woman). Now the young woman, when she had arrived, began to tell her her story. "That one indeed, his father, has died," said she, as she told her tale to Skunk's mother. "You two hurry and go along," (said the old woman), and then the young woman went off, carrying her boy along with her. The old woman then began to cry when they had gone off. And then the old woman sat right down in the place where the other had been sitting. Now, while he was singing, (Skunk) heard how his mother was crying. "Why do you do that, my mother? You have never acted like that." "For no particular reason I act like that, crying out of lonesomeness, thinking of old times." "No, indeed you have never done that sort of thing. Somebody must have passed by and been with you," (said Skunk). And then Skunk hunted around by smelling. He kept sniffing at where his mother had been sitting. And then he took his mother away from (her seat). When he had taken her

pöñ; u' tiv^w:ŋ^spīgai'ŋ'. u^wac u'v^waiyauq' tiv^wi'ŋgu' uru', ömbu' aik^s tiv^w:ŋga u^wai'ya' pav'te:m u'ŋ' y'a'ik-wipuga moq'p:te u', ma'ik'a ʒe²⁵ p^w:w'ɣaip'ŋ' u'ŋ'. u'vaiyauq'um ŋmu'e ŋc'w'ci' ma'ik'a'm u'e. u'wai'. öm u'wai' aɣa'n:ɣe' ŋi'nai' qa'te' sindl't'ŋwa'. u^wac aɣa'n:ɣe' ŋi'manit-uɣwa'ŋ' qw'i'k-wikε a'itciyän qwa'i'.

u^wac u'v^waiyauq' pöñ; u' o'p'əu'pīga nə:wa'i'am uru' nandi'-naɣwaip'igai'm'. ŋmuc u'v^waiyauq' u'vanduxpīga'm' mauma'te u' u'vaiyauq' pimi'vun:k'aip'iga i'tcaɣate:vatcu'wanxpīga. u^wac u'v^waiyauq' wa^sdju'ŋUpīga'm'. wa^sdju'ŋ'dj'm uru' yö''NA^s-gup-ugai'ŋ' yö'nani'p'igai'ŋ'. u^wac u'v^waiyauq' pö''aiyauφ^w du'u'm^spīga mandja'winap'igaik^s tümpü'temandux. ininte' qw'a'i' an'k-uqwa'. yä'nani' naɣa'te:w. ŋmuc u'v^waiyauq' u'va'ndi' naɣa'te:w u'va-p'īga i'tcaɣate:ɸa. u^wac u'v^waiyauq' pöñ'avu^wmoɣoi'yav uru' mauma'te u^wai' naɣa'te:ju'pīga. u^wac u'v^waiyauq' ŋi'p'ɣwə' uru' u^wac'v:naɣe məɣo'i'ə uru' tsε'mbiv-iaq' naɣa'te:ju'pīga pa'x-qwə'öp'igaic'üm' ŋi'u'dj:q' uru'. i'väc uru' qari'n' u^wai', ma'ip'iga. ma'igäic o'p'əuxpīga öa'q'pīgai'm'. qo'q-wipīgai'm' ma-no'q'wo'm' qəɣə'ip'iga. qəɣə'im'MA^sgutec'm uru' qö'n^spīga o'p'ac. uva'e qari'p'iga puni'q'^waiqu' uru'. u^wac u'v^waiyauq' mi'təɣ'anaiŋεic wa^sdju'ma-p'iga. yö''NA^sguv:dj-ɣwap'igaik^s. uva'q' yö'nani'p'iga. u^wac u'v^waiyauq' pu'n'k-u-pīga tsε'mbiv: naɣa'te:yk'aip'iga. 'o'o' 'o'o' aɣa'n:ciəq'wai' cidju'n-togwa', ma'ip'iga. yö'nani'gaik^s uru' uma'ndux məɣo'i'av uru' tsə'pa'ɣadjaq-Upīga. puni'k'ɣwə' uru' mauma'te u' qa'te' yä'nUpīga'i towa'te:wai'v u^wai'. u^wac u'v^waiyauq' uva'nduxpīga naɣa'te:wav u^wai' qwə'ə'ik-äip-andux u''ŋ u'R manu'q'^wop'a qwa'-gəw'ɸipīga. u^wac u'vanduxpīga tsöa'p'igaik^s pö''avum u'ma pa'ba'te'aik'aip'iga u''aŋ uru' wun'na'uam'. u^wac u'v^waiyauq' na'i'aip'iga pöñ; u', aɣa''v^sm o'v'wai' nɣ'i'rigaivamb'i, ma'ip'ig u'vaiyauq' pöñ; u'. ma'igäic u'vaiyauq' o''p'iga. ŋm^wäc u'v^waiyauq' puni'k'aik-u i't:ŋm'wai'wɔp'igain' pöña o''p' u'R. pŋga'.u-ni'wə'q' towə'p:utcn', ma'ip'ig u'vaiyauq' wa'tsə'ɣŋguk'. uric u'vaiyauq' wa'dju'ŋUpīga'm' pöñ'a o'p' u'R. uric u'v^waiyauq' na'waik-ws'i'm' pa^sxə'u'pīgai'm'.

u^wac u'v^waiyauq' ŋna'mbidj u' u'va qanti'yaip'iga.²⁶ tava''A^s-

away from there, he kept sniffing. "Right here it smells like a young woman," said he then, "but this here where you have been sitting smells old." Skunk asked her. And then, when he had asked her, (she said), "What is it that you were asking? They say that your elder brother has died, the Owl, that indeed is what his widow was saying, and then the two of them were on their way." "Yes, why is it that you did not let me know? Why is it that she has taken away from me my brother's son?"

And then the Skunk started off in yonder direction and followed them in their tracks. Now the two of them were going yonder. And then the young woman looked back. He was coming very close to them. And then he caught up with them. When he had caught up with them, he embraced her, he kept hugging her. And then she took her lice and threw them away on a rock. "Stop this that you have been doing! Over there are mountain sheep," (said she). And right there were mountain sheep, and they were not far away. So he put his skunk robe about the young woman, and then, when he had done so and after he had gone, she put that blanket of his around a wild-rose bush, and having so done, the two of them went off again. "Stay right here," said he, and so saying he started off in yonder direction. He crouched up to the (mountain sheep). He shot at them, he killed them all, and when he had finished killing them off, he came back to the same place. And she was still (apparently) sitting when he went and looked. And then, when somewhat further on his way back, he closed his eyes. Again he proceeded to hug the (bush), there he hugged it for quite a while. And then he opened his eyes to see a rose bush that had a robe thrown about it. "Oh, oh! what is the matter! Don't, you fighter with your finger nails!" While he kept hugging it, he tore to pieces the blanket that was thrown thereon. The young woman was not there, nor her boy. And then he went to his mountain sheep that he had killed, his arrows were lying scattered about in every direction. He went over there and picked them up. Lice were stuck on to his arrows, to the arrow-points. And then Skunk was angry. "Where then would they be remaining?" said Skunk then. When he had said this, pepedit. Then, as they were looking, podex Viverrae kept coming on as in a cloud of darkness. "Move along fast, my dear boy," said she then, as it was coming near. And then podex Viverrae caught up with them. And then it killed both of them.

Now Badger was living there. He slept in the daytime and was

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SAPIR

puip'īga nənī'cpīga tava'Axpuig uru'. uʷac u'vʷaiyauq' towa'tcivaw
 uṃʷu'ʷ, pun'taww iʷe'tc' qatecīn a'tnqūnīcīwa'. t'vuru ura't'
 nənī'mbiyātciamʷ u't' av'tc', ma'ik'ān'tan'. uṃuc u'vʷaiyauq'
 qate' mama'ip'īga'i pina'ṅq'xdīm' t'xqa'ite'm' tīn'Axpīga. u'vʷa'n',
 ma'ip'īga pina'ṅkwtitcmʷ u't'. uṃuc u'vʷaiyauq' uʷa'ik-wipīga
 mō'avav uʷa'i'. uʷac u'vʷaiyauq' tivʷi'x'pīgai'm' mōmu'amʷ u't',
 maā'c' ṅqū tin'ai', ma'ik'x'pīga pina'ṅkwtīm uʷa'i'. uʷac u'vʷai-
 yauq' uʷna'mbudj u't' qa'q'Upīga,

i'riri'ri i'riri'ri.

tivʷi'p-uruq' ya'q'ɔap'īga. YA'xqu'm'xkāip'a'ṅ u'va tci'ke''na-p'īga.
 aʷa'n'iam' ara'' qnī'U'xgwain'. pōnt'ei nīmʷ ara'' qnī'U'xgwain'.
 uṃuc pa'p'ō'tōn'na-p'īgai'm'. qa'ya'p'īga,

i'riri'ri i'riri'ri.

uʷac u'vʷaiyauq' iṃt'p'īgai'm' poʷα'n'xqanq'pīgai'm'. yoʷu'p'i-
 gai'm'. uṃuc u'vʷaiyauq' nṅu'riṅai'p'īgai'm'. nṅimʷi'ṅ ṅqū qate
 tci''amantia'ṅ' qwīu'wa'. qa'tcīn u'Rati mā'ihwa'. manu'q'Utū'as'ṅ
 tu'pwi'p'īga. uʷac u'vʷaiyauq' tōmpō'og-wivian²⁷ a''. u'ri',
 ma'ip'ig uʷna'mbīdj u't', o'wai' i'riri'ri i'riri'ri. yoʷu'p'īgai'ṅ'.
 iṃʷi'aʷa', ma'ip'īga ma'igāic o'p'ac ya'q'ɔap'īga. uʷac u'vʷai-
 yauq' tivʷi'U'x'pīgai'm'. uʷa'.iṃmuc an't'k'x' uʷa'vatcuxq'wō'aiyai'm'²⁸
 qī'sa'v qā'i' mṅa'iyā uʷa'i' x'a'ik-wipīgaiq'U. uʷac u'vʷaiyauq',
 o'vʷai', ma'ip'īga. iṃʷi'aʷa uʷa'vatcu'wa'm uru'' su'unc'waiian
 uʷa'i'. uʷac u'vʷaiyauq' pa'x'qwo'ōp'īgai'm'.

o'v'am' qane'aʷantimba ava'n'A pītcī''xwāpīgai'm'. nīmʷu'i gūc
 an't'k'x' u'wawateux iṃt'wāyai'm' qīsa'v uʷa'i'. o'wai' wā'nan'²⁹
 tī''qan'gē'. uʷac u'vʷaiyauq' uva'ndu'wap'īga u'va pī'tciq'wō'ap'īga.
 yoʷo'vʷīdj uʷa'i' ta'u'a'vṅkai'p'īga. mā''sōʷovʷute uva'
 qari'p'īga pī'e'tc'ṅ u't'. yoʷo'vʷīdj u't' nṅga'q'Up'īgai'ṅ. aʷa'n'i-
 gai'ṅ' qī'maruxwa ya'w'wīaq'ai'ṅ'. iṃ'ā'n' uvʷ urā''ai' pītcī'q'ai-
 ṅup-um', ma'ip'ig u'v'aiyauq'U nṅga'q'Utsim uru''. yoʷo'vʷīdj
 ava'n'' qam-u'wa' qwō'ō'k'ai'p'īga. mamū'anti yua'q'wa' uʷa'ruʷw
 u'v'aiyauq'. u'v'aiyauq' iṃmū'andi' yō'a'q'wpwai'aʷa. uva'ndu'wa'ṅ
 uʷa'vateux tca'w'navīdj'ṅw'ap'īgai'm'. uʷac i'p'un'k'arīp'īgai'm'.
 uʷac u'vʷaiyauq' o'p'ac'i'm' tu'u'm'xqwo'āip'īga. uʷac u'vʷaiyauq'
 yoʷo'vʷīdj u't', aʷa'n'x'xka'ṅ', ma'ip'īga. qateci'am'ṅqū tu'u'm'aṅwa'.

dreaming while sleeping in the daytime. And then to his boys (he said), "Look way off yonder, I have not been dreaming well. Somewhere perhaps your aunt is lying down, that is what I think." But then they did not find any one, but the youngest of them, the younger brother, told about it. "Off yonder," said the youngest of them, and then they returned home to their father, and their father asked them. "That one is really telling about it," said they about the youngest of them. And then Badger started in to sing:

"ī'rīrī'rī ī'rīrī'rī."

He went straight down under the ground. There came to view her body bent sideways. "What is it that has happened to you?" (said Badger). "It is Skunk that has done so to us." They were swollen up with blood. He started in to sing:

"ī'rīrī'rī ī'rīrī'rī,"

and then he looked at them, he doctored them. *Cum eis copulavit*,¹⁶ and then they revived. "We indeed did not take any of his things," (said she).¹⁷ "I did not mean that sort of thing," (said Badger). Everything that was on her was gone through, (he refusing each of them). And then, "Vulvam meam?" (said) she. "Just that!" said Badger. "Yes!ī'rīrī'rī ī'rīrī'rī." *Cum ea copulavit*. "Good-bye," said he, and, so saying, he dived back again into his hole. And then he asked them (whom they were bound for). "We two are on our way to that one, to that Chicken Hawk we are going, since this one's father has died." Then he said, "Yes, do you two go ahead and proceed straight on your way to him." And then they went off on their way.

There the two of them arrived where many people were encamped. "We indeed are on our way to Chicken Hawk," (said she). "Yes, he lives up above yonder," (they were told). And then she went there and arrived at that place. It was Coyote whom she found to be chief. An old woman was sitting there, (the mother of Chicken Hawk). Coyote heard about her. "Why is it that she is carrying (her boy) along to another place? It is right here that the two of them should have come," said he then, having heard about them. Coyote had been killing many jack-rabbits. "Take one of them over to her then," (said he to one of his people). And then, having taken many of them over, he threw them down there where she was. She merely sat and looked at them, so he picked them up and went back

ʔnɪ'q-wa'ci'. ʔwac u'v^waiyauq ʔmɔ'andi tu'u'mxqwo'ap'igaic.
 ʔwa'vateuɣwa'ŋ' tcaw'n'p'igaic ʔwac ʔmu'v^watei i'p-unik-arip'igaic.
 ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' du'u'mxqwo'ap'igaic'imo 'p'ac. o'wai' tiri'g-i-
 'aici'ŋ a'ik'a'.³⁰ ʔm^wa'ac uru' p'teigwaik^x, ŋi'm^wi' guc ʔwavateu-
 ɣwa'm uru' ʔnɪ'wän ʔwai', ma'ip'igaiq' ʔ' mɔ'aɣaip'igä ʔwa'i'.
 ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' ma'soɣov'udj ʔ'. o'wai', ma'ip'igä. qatei uru'
 ivä' av'm'ɲwai't'. ma'v oru' tumba'ia-m ö'pa'qaitci'p'a' av'i-
 m'nti.

ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' mauma'te ʔ' o'p'axp'ig uvá'ndux tümbüidj
 uru' qö'ö'ɣudjait^xp'igai^x pö'p'igai^x pimba' ʔr av'i'm'm' uva'ndux
 uva p'dj'iqwo'ap'igä. o'va'ŋwi muri' av'i'p'igä av't'tava'ŋ'. ʔwac
 u'v^waiyauq' o'p'ac tiv^wa'i'p'igä p'teigwaite uru' i'c-uwain'ni'p'i-
 gain'. ʔmuc u'v^waiyauq' qamu'rinarim ʔ' q'^wmü'p'igä. a'ip'ete
 qo'q'wpaɣaip'igä qam'i'ndji' p'teigwo'aik'aiq'u'm uru'. ʔwac
 u'v^waiyauq' a'ip'ete ʔ' tiv^w'te'pinanqu qo'q'wpaɣaip'igä. cu'dji-
 q-ue pa^xqa'q'aip'igä u'vandu'wa'ŋ wɲa'ip'igä pie'te' ʔ' qwi'i'p'i-
 gai'ŋ' ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' pi'terte uru' p'dji'q'up'igä na'mbun'k'ai-
 p'igä a'ip'ete ʔwa'i'. mauma'te ʔ' punit'k'arip'igai'ŋ'. caɣ^wa'i'p'igai'ŋ'.
 ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' ti'ma'p'igai'ŋ' ti'ma'q'aip'igä wi't'avai'te ti'ma'-
 q'aip'igä. ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' ta'dji'p'ɲgip'igai'ŋ' i'avan'na'tim^wi
 uv'a'ŋu pö'ya'p'igai'm'. ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' ɲnɪ'p'igai'm' uva'nd
 i'q'u'suaxqa'qarp'igä. ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' q'si'av ʔ' yaɣa'q'wp'igä
 ʔm'q'andi cu'q-ue tanu'q'up'igä. ʔmu'andi tanu'q'ute yindji'q'up'igä
 qan'v'endugwaw^w uru'. uva p'teigwo'ap'igä q'siav ʔ' qan'vaɔ'v^wai
 uru' yigä'up'igä. ö'pu'iq'up'igä. ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' mauma'te
 ʔ' mɪ'f'e' tuɣ^wa'r'ɲnqu uva'ndugwaxp'igä. uva'ndu'waxte uru'
 ava' p'teigwo'ap'igä. maɣ'n'axp'igai'ŋ'. ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' q'sav
 ʔ' ki' ki' ki' ki' k', ma'ip'igä. yoɣo'v'ɲidj ʔ' tu'wan' uru' cu'p'a-
 qaip'igä qwo'a't'qaq'ɲga' yoɣo'v'ɲidj ʔwa'i' ta'ɔ'av'ɲkai'. ʔwac
 u'v^waiyauq' nɲga'q'up'igä. ɲnɪ'n'can a'ik'a' anta''an' maɣ'i'nam-
 bite a'ik'a', a'ip'igä. uɣ^wu'naiyauq' qwi'i'p'igä u'auq' tu'u'm'p'igä.
 u'vandi qo'q'gup'igä o'm-auv^w uru'. ɲnɪ'i'ŋ a'ik^x pi'ɛ'i pöq'-

with them. And then Coyote said, "What was the trouble with her?" "Indeed, she did not take them," (said his messenger). "Go again and take some." So he again took some of them and went off again. Going up to her he threw them down again, but once more she just sat and looked at them. So again he picked them up and went back again. "Yes," (said Coyote), "she is still feeling lonesome." When the two of them, (she and her boy), had arrived (at Chicken Hawk's house, she said), "We, indeed, are on our way to that one, as the one that was father of this one said." And then the old woman said, "Yes, it is not here that he is accustomed to sleep, it is over there at the entrance into a big rock that he is accustomed to lie."

And then the young woman started off in yonder direction over there to the big rock. She made round holes in the rock to serve as steps. She pecked at the place where he was accustomed to lie. Proceeding there, she arrived at that place. In there the rabbit blanket was lying on his bedding. And then she went down back again, and when she got there, she felt proud. Now the hunters of jack-rabbits came back, each to his own home. A boy came along shooting the jack-rabbits after the two of them had arrived there. The boy came last of all, shooting along. He was accustomed to kill just one, and right there at his mother he threw it. She picked it up. And when he had gone home, he commenced to suck (his mother's breast). He looked cross at that (other) boy. The young woman was sitting and looking at him. (The old woman) took out the intestines from the jack-rabbit and roasted it in the ashes. It was roasted, it was roasted after a little while. And then she took it out of the ashes, she took out the (jack-rabbits) which had become numerous in there. And then she looked at them and they were steaming very much there. Now Chicken Hawk cried out and grabbed one of them in his talons, and he flew off to his house, holding in his talons the jack-rabbit that he had taken. There Chicken Hawk arrived at his house. He entered and went asleep. And then the young woman, when it had become a little dark, went to that place. Having gone off yonder, she arrived there and caught hold of him. Then Chicken Hawk cried out:

ki·ki·ki·ki·ki' k.'

Coyote and his people were gathered together during the night and smoking, Coyote being their chief. And then he heard (Chicken Hawk's cries). "Something has happened to my friend who has been caught hold of," said he. He seized his quiver and took his arrows.

vateu'wanxkw'rik-U. ma'jn qwai u'v ura'vα' mauma'tei a's'in-di'ηku. ʔnt'η u'vai siri'at'umbi' ma'igain-tandjan ʔnt'ηU.

ʔmuc u'v^waiyauq' w'ite'guc qamu'rina p'igaic. yoγo'v^widj u'vα na'it'wɔnt'p'iga. ʔmuc u'v^waiyauq' uwa'φa cu'p'a r'p'iga. ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' tō'dj'w'itcaw'ɔnt'p'iga da'u'a-v't'n u'. na'γa'm-t-t-usu'wain'p'iga. ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' piná'v:di:q'w'ap'iga. ma'nōn-nōn ʔwai uv ara'v^wit' mauma'tei 'a's'ndi'ηku, ma'ip'igai'η' q'sáv uwa'í'. ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' na'í'eip'iga. ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' t'impu'ruauφ^w ma'w'q'w'p'iga. urí'c qwí'pa'p'a'γaip'iga tiv^w'p'í' wí'α'γute-pa'γaip'iga. yoγo'v^widj u'v' u'vandi' órá'w'iap'iga, a'γa'n-ndja' na'í'eik-wa' anta'n'. u'vandi' óra'w'iap'iga qwí'pa'p'a'γain'kug uru' í'ixw'í'qap:nap'igai'η' paxá'q'p'igai'η'. ʔna'mbidj u'v' u'vandi' óra'w'iap'iga. urí'c u'v^waiyauq' ya'q'oaq'a 'uru' í'uxw'í'cteu-gwɔp'igai'η' óa'ia) uru'. o'r ara''a'í' qa'í'vayugwidj t'nte.

av^w'í'c. u'rusambaq' p'ice'rentan'an'.

5. THE RELEASING OF THE CORRALED BUFFALO.

A^xda'q'unte u'va qant'yaip'iga³² tiwa'tcuw'aiφ. qu'dju'ηgant'v' qant'yaip'iga³² qu'dju'ma t'jwa'q'ariga. yoγo'v^wudj u'va gant'yaip'igaic³² ava'n'na'γai yoγo'v^wudj: ʔwa'í' t'í'γ't'U'gwɔnt'p'iga. ʔmuc u'v^waiyauq' n'ivα'n'arāφip'iga da'q'unte³³ ʔwai' towa'tc'wαwa'í'. yoγo'v^wudj ʔai' p'í'auwαvandi' ta'v'p'iaia'γa yoo'v^wum' ʔwac qwí'p'igaik'. yoov ura'p'iga p'p'má' 'u'r ta'v'k'aip'. awí'c ʔnt'k'p'iga n'ivα'n'arāφikāp'iga. yoγo'v^wudj u'v' m't'ariga p'iga. ʔwac u'v^waiyauq' yoγo'v^wudj u'v' amba'x'p'iga. paví'djidj ʔwa'í' ʔwa'vateu'γw amba'x'p'iga. ʔm^w'n'í' guc m't'au'xg^wan'ím^w uru' í'vác pa'γa'n-n'vān:t sari'djuwate'γei'³⁴ qant'p'uv mdj'í'. ʔmuc uru' da'q'wund'γwateu u'ma qwí'gu'iv^wand'ím' í'm^w'í'í'. ʔmuc u'v^waiyauq' m't'au'xp'iga uv ura' ʔa'ik-wip'iga. ʔmuc u'v^waiyauq' qant'p'u'γwandig uru' ʔnt'U'xp'iga. sari'dj:wate' ma'maip'iga qant'p'u'γwandug uru'. qu'xgwí'q'p'igai'η' qant'vāndu'γwav^w uru'. mama'x'p'igai'η' ʔmu'c sari'djuwate ʔwa'í'. urí'c u'v^waiyauq' tava'í'ya'q'wō'p'iga. ʔwac uv ʔnt'k'aip'iga sari'djuwate u'v'.

urí'c u'v^waiyauq' du'γwa'r'ump'iga. qant'vōwōjnt uru' sipā'n'-n'ndj: tūmbū'í'tei ʔnt't-ux qwí'í'p'iaia'γa. sōjn u'vaiyauq' ʔmu'and

At yonder place he kept shooting with his arrows. (The old woman said,) "It is this one's mother who has gone over to his place." "That, then, is no way to talk when a young woman likes you. I have acted thus thinking that someone has scared him there," said Coyote.

In the morning they went rabbit-hunting again. Coyote stood there at a fire that he had built. And then they all gathered together where he was. He, their chief, stood with his head bandaged. He looked sick with jealousy. And then (Chicken Hawk) was the last to come. "That is not the way to do when a girl likes you," said (Coyote) to Chicken Hawk. And then he got angry and dropped his club on the ground. It bounded along, it cut into the ground as it bounded along. Coyote was scratching away at a hole in the ground. "What did you get angry for, my friend?" (said he). He was digging away there when it came bounding along and just cut him in two, it killed him. Badger was scratching away at a hole in the ground over there, but that (club) slid off of his back just as he was getting into his hole. It is on account of that that there are these mountain peaks.

It is finished. That is all there is of my tale.

5. THE RELEASING OF THE CORRALED BUFFALO.¹⁸

Crow was living there together with his boys. He dwelt in a buffalo-hide tipi and was keeping buffaloes shut in. Coyote was also living at that place together with many others, and they were starving with Coyote. Now they were having a snow-ball contest together with Crow's boys. One of Coyote's people having been hit with a round lump of fat, he took it up; it turned out to be a round lump of fat with which he had been hit. They were finished with what they were doing, they had been having a snow-ball fight. Coyote spoke of moving away with his people, and then Coyote talked, he talked to Weasel, "You indeed, when we start in to move away, will keep walking around at this same place, after having turned into a little pup at this abandoned camp. It is those Crow boys who will take you up." And then they started to move away, and yonder then they camped. And then the (Crow people) proceeded to the abandoned camp. They found a little pup at the abandoned camp. They took him to their own house and they fed that little pup. And then the sun began to go down, and that little pup remained there.

Now it began to be dark. Having taken off a flat rock which was inside the house, one of them then took from down in there some

una'x-ti' qwi't'p'iga qu'dju'n' tu^xqu''ai'. pa'dja'uwuwəwəunt'i
tuu'mxpiga qu'dju'nt'quavi'. t'qa'q'aumpugaik^x. umuc u'v^waiyauq'
tiqa'q'p'igaik^x tuɣwa'n uru'. sari'djuwate u' pun'k'artp'igai'm'
sari'djuwat-i'qa'u'wi'kei uru' pav'i'djits u'. umuc u'v^waiyauq'
tiqa'q'amaq'up'iga. ö'pa'q'adj uru' tiwa'q'p'iga. tiwa'q'umaq'ud-
djik^x qw'ö'avi'q'wp'iga.³⁶ umuc u'v^waiyauq' ö^xqö'a'q'wp'iga. uwac
u'v^waiyauq' sari'djuwate u' pav'i'tci:ts' t'qa'u'wip'iga. uva'nduxpiga
ö'pa'q'adj uru' pa'vi'djidj u' tiwa'up'u'aiaq' uru' tsa'p'^xgwa'η'-
p'iga. umuc u'v^waiyauq' qu'djum u' pini't-ux tsip'k'wp'iga. pa'-
man'ni' pini't-ux tsip'i'uxp'iga.

umuc u'v^waiyauq' ta''vun;uxp'iga pini't-uɣwa'm uru' tsip'i'uma-
q'uq' ta'q'^windjiw u'ma. pa'vi'djidj u' o'p'ayxpiga ηi'w'ndjits-
qa'wts'. qate' paa'ip'igaic qu'djum u'ma puni'k-w'aiq'u' yoɣo'-
v^wudj uaj qan'tv'andux. uwac u'v^waiyauq' yoɣo'v^wudj u' ampa'ro-
oq'up'iga t:ɣi't'ö'p'ijqum uru'. i'v'w'arau^w anta'wän a'ik'a',
tu'ca'ɣarim punɣu'g'w'aip'iga. punɣu'au^w tsa'a'ip'igai'η' yoɣo'v^wudj
u'. qu'dju'ntina'p'iga qu'dja'm' qa p-a'ip'igaic ma-nu'q^wop'.
maɣwa'ndt'ik'p'igai'm' qoɣo'ip'igai'm' ma-nu'q^wop'tuxw yoɣo'v^wute
qa'te' pa^xqa'p'igá'ⁱ. o''η' qate' w'i'nu'p'iga'ⁱ. cö'ip'i' nηga'i'vai'
pana'u'winauwaɣaip'iga pana'u'winauwa' u'r i'mac'ijunumpuga'
yoɣo'v^wudj u' punɣu'v'anauv^w uwa'i' t'uca'ɣarum-pan uwa'i'. qa'te.
pa^xqap'igá'ⁱ.

6. A GHOST WOMAN ROBS MOURNING DOVE OF HER SON.

ayö'v u'va qan'tyaip'iga³⁶ manu'q'utümü'v'väs ini'numpuga
t'qa'n-umpuga. uwac u'v^waiyauq' tow'α'tciyauv^w uwa'i' wadj'q'u'-
p'iga cö'ini' badj't'ci'η ura'p'iga. wa'q'unan' pi'c'ioaɣaip'iga
uwac u'v^waiyauq' a'liöv u', qari'a, ma'ip'iga tow'α'tciwaw^w uwa'i'
t'iga''waiye'.³⁷ uwac u'v^waiyauq' u'va pa'ɣa'n^{y'}xp'iga umu'φa towa'-
teiwav^w uwa'i' p'te'p'iga sö'v'önöp-I. inindj ara'', ma'ip'iga u'v^wai-
yauq'. pun'k'aivā'n', ma'ip'iga. qa'te', ma'ip'ig uwa'c padj'tci'
u'. uwac i'p'ijqarigaip'iga, A^xqa'jaηo'η' pun'k'aivā'n'. uwac
u'v^waiyauq' uwa'ruwa'p'igai'η'³⁸ t'e'xa't'ciav³⁹ uwa'i'. uwac u'v^wai-
yauq' qw'ü'p'igai'η' pun'k'aip'igai'η'. t'n-i' ara'īm ungu⁴⁰ 'ara''ai',
ma'ip'iga. qw'ü'k'wp'igai'η' t'e'xa'it'ciav uwa'i'. uwac u'vac qari'-
p'iga. uwac u'v^waiyauq' a'yöv u' pa'ik-wip'iga t'ga'v'iyig⁴¹ uru'
p'dj'ɣwəp'iga qan't'vav^w uru'. p'dji'up'itecan' ququ'aq'v qw'ü'q'uj'
t'e'xa'it'ci'm^w u'. qa'te', ma'ip'ig uwac, u'η'wan u'vai' cö'v'önöp'
u' t'e'xa'it'ci'an' qw'i'q'wa'e'. ma'id'an xgw⁴² a'ik', ma'ijuxdj uru'

buffalo meat. He took many pieces of buffalo meat from inside of a parflèche. They started in to eat it. Now they were eating the meat when it was night, and the little pup sat looking at them, the weasel who had changed himself into a pup. And then they were finished eating and closed up the hole. Having finished with closing it up, they started to go to bed, and then they fell asleep. Then the little pup turned into a weasel. The Weasel went to that hole and took off its lid, he opened the hole. And then the buffaloes came out from inside, every single one of them came outside.

Now the Crows all woke up after the (buffaloes) had all finished coming out. The Weasel went off in yonder direction, having turned into an Indian. The buffaloes were innumerable when he went off to Coyote's camp to see. And then he told them about it. "Buffaloes are innumerable in every direction," said he then. And then Coyote ran out of his camp and shouted out his announcement while they were all starving, "Let us all be off, my friends!" He had a horse that was white, and Coyote caught his horse. They started to hunt buffaloes, buffaloes were innumerable in all directions. They pursued them, they killed them in every direction. Coyote did not kill any, his arrow did not go through. As arrow-points he had cotton-wood leaves and his arrow-points would always bend. Coyote on his white horse did not kill any.

6. A GHOST WOMAN ROBS MOURNING-DOVE OF HER SON.¹⁹

Mourning-dove was living there. She used to gather and eat all kinds of seeds. Now she went off, leaving home her little boy, and there was one little daughter of hers; two in number were her children. And then the Mourning-dove said to her children, "Do you two stay here," as she went off to gather seeds. And then a Ghost Woman²⁰ was walking about there and arrived where the children were. "Of what kind is he?"²¹ said she then (to the little girl). "Let me look at him," said she. "No!" said that sister of his. That one kept on asking, "Hand him over, let me see him." And then she gave her younger brother to her. Then she took him and looked at him. "Indeed he is of the kind that I thought," said she, and she took away the younger brother. Right in that same place was that (little girl) sitting. And then the Mourning-dove came home after she had gathered wild seeds. She arrived in her own house. "My nipples are swelling up with milk, bring your younger brother over here."

"No!" said that one, "it is the Ghost Woman that has taken my younger brother and gone away." "I did not tell you to do that," so crying out, she knocked her daughter down and killed her. In that same place Mourning-dove kept crying.

The Ghost Woman raised the boy, and then he grew to be a man and used to go around hunting. The deer that he killed he always left behind. When he arrived home, the Ghost Woman would always carry it home on her back. Very quickly she would come home with it. When he was a grown up man, he used to lie down. And then, after arriving, she would sit down super penem ejus. Cum domum rediisset, consuevit eum facere sesum copulare. "H', h', h', h',"²² the Ghost woman would say, cum eum fecit secum copulare. Mourning-dove was wont to cry, "Bring back my boy, bring back my boy," thus she kept saying. And so he went hunting, killed a deer yonder, and cut it up. Eagle arrived where he was. "I, indeed, am your maternal uncle," said he. "What is it that is thus always crying? I am always thinking of that," (said the boy). "Indeed she who is wont to cry is your mother. The Ghost Woman is she who carried you off long ago. You indeed shall put away that (deer) very high up." He did so with it, he finished doing with it (as he had been told). And then the Eagle gave him some of his own soft tail feathers. "This is what you should throw behind you when she catches up." He also took a liver and gave it to him. "You must throw it behind you when she catches up." He also gave a stomach. Again then he said, "When she catches up you must throw it behind you." Just that number of things he gave his nephew, and then very high up he put away the (deer). "After getting home to your mother, you two are then to run away to your mother's father." And then he started back home, the Eagle having finished telling him these things. He arrived home.

And then the Ghost Woman went off in yonder direction to that place, and she arrived there. The two of them, (Mourning-dove and her boy), ran away after she had left. The meat that was high up on top of the (tree) she there tried to get in vain. She plucked out one of her arm-pit hairs and tried in vain to reach it with that, but it was not long enough. And then she pulled out one of her pubic hairs and with it she did as before. It was not long enough. She pulled

manó'q'ə ʏnɪ'ʏmaǰ'ʊtsk'˥˥ 'nó'q'ʊpɪgaik'˥˥ qǒ'ɪn'˥˥pɪga. pɪ'djɪ-
 gwaiḱ'a uru'', uva'c a-vɪ', ma'ip'ɪgaim'ɪ. sanǎ't-ʊɣu'aɪya'ŋ' wʏnɪ'-
 t'ɪɪ'pɪga. ʏwac ʊ'v'w'aɪyauq' uva'n'˥˥ cǒ'a'q'pɪga uva'n'dux pɪ't'ʌpɪk'-
 ʊpɪga. ʏwac ʊ'v'w'aɪyauq' av'wɪ'c ʏnɪ'p'ɪga uvā'ndi' pʏnɪ'k'aɪp'ɪga
 cana't-ʊɣu'a'ŋ u'r wʏnɪ't'˥˥kaɪp'ɪga sǒ'ɪ'ŋ u'ma pa'ba'tcaɪḱ'aɪp'ɪga.

ʏmuc ʊ'p'əʏ'pɪgai'm aiǒ'teɪw ʏ'' towǎ'teɪ'ɣwai'v ʏwa'ɪ' toɣo'-
 q'ʊq'w'aɪp'ɪgai'm'. ʏwac ʊ'v'w'aɪyauq' o'p'əma nana'q'oap'ugaɪ'm'
 ma'ip'ɪgaik'˥˥ nǎ-wa'ɪ'am uru'' o'p'əʏ'pɪga cǒ'v'ʏnɪp' ʏ''. ʏmuc
 ʏnɪ'teɪyaɪp'ɪgai'm' ʏmuc ʊ'v'w'aɪyauq'ʊ pʏnɪ'vʏnɪḱ'aɪp'ɪgai'm'.
 wʌ'teɪ'x'pɪgai'm'. pɪŋga'sampa towa'teɪn', ma'ip'ɪg ʏ'wac ʊ'v'w'aɪ-
 yauq'. tɪv'wɪ'djɪ uxdjɪ'˥˥pɪgai'm'.⁴⁶ ʏwac ʊ'v'w'aɪyauq' pɪ'tu'v'w' uru''
 cɪna'ɪáv ʏwa'ɪ' pǎ'ruwaq'ain'⁴⁷ wʏna'ip'ɪgaik'˥˥. paɣɪ'n'ax'qarɪpɪga
 qa p'ʏnɪ't'ʌpuga'ɪ wʌ'djɪ'x'ɪkǎndi'm'w' ʏ'' m'a'pɪga qatc a'w'pɪgaim'ɪ
 ʏwa'vatc' m'a'q'w'ə'aɪp'ɪga. urɪc ʊ'v'w'aɪyauq' pʏnɪ't'ʌpɪga ʏwac
 o'p'əʏ'pɪgaic. pɪŋga'ʏnɪ'wia'ɪ towǎ'p'uteɪn', ma'ip'aɣaɪp'ɪg ai'ǒ'v'
 ʏ'' towa'teav'w' ʏwa'ɪ'. ʏmuc ʊ'vai pʏnɪ'vʏnɪḱ'aɪp'ɪgaic'ɪ'm'.
 wʌ'djɪ'x'ɪpɪgaic'ɪm' wʌ'dju'ŋ'pɪgaic'ɪm'. ʏwac ʊ'v'w'aɪyauq' nɪwu'm-
 bɪ uru'' tɪra'fɪpɪgaic'ɪk'. pav'ɪmbara'cɪ'pɪga ma nǎ'q'wop'.
 ʏwac ʊ'v'w'aɪyauq' cǒ'v'ʏnɪp' ʏ'' uva'n'dux qwɪ'ba'mbɪtc'pɪga.
 ǒ'', ma'ɪ'p'ɪga ʏnɪ'p'ɪga nan'a'ɣan'ɪ ǎnɪ'p'ɪga nǎ'wavanɪp'ɪga
 nan'a'ɣan' ʏnɪ'mʊcup'uga. ʊ'p'əʏ'pʏg ʏwac. pɪŋqǎ'ʏnɪ'wia'ɪ,
 ma'ip'aɣaɪp'ɪga a'ɪǒ'v ʏ'' towa'teav'w' ʏwa'ɪ'. ʏmuc ʊ'v'w'aɪyauq'
 pʏnɪ'vʏnɪḱ'aɪp'ɪgaic'ɪm' wʌ'teɪ'x'pɪgaic'ɪm'. wʌ'dju'ŋ'pɪgaic'ɪm'.
 ʏwac ʊ'v'w'aɪyauq' ǰ'wǒvǎ'c'avɪ uru'' wʏna'ip'ɪgaic. ʏwac ʊ'v'w'aɪyauq'-
 u'vandux kwɪ'ba'mbɪtc'ɣwap'ɪgaic tɪmbɪi'ʏ'ʏavateɪx tɪmbɪi'wɪ-
 wɪyuaɣaɪp'ɪga. gatcɪ'q'a tʌ'tɪ'wɪnap'ɪga'ɪ.

o'p'əʏ'pɪga. urɪc cɪna'ndjɪa' ʏwa'ɪ' qwana'ndj ʏwa'ɪ ʏwa'ru-
 waq'ain' tʊ'bwi'k'ʊpɪga. ʏwac ʊ'v'w'aɪyauq', pɪq'a'ʏnɪ'wia'ɪ'⁴⁸
 toɣu'teɪvateɪ'ɣwam'w' ʏwa'ɪ'. ʏwac ʊ'v'w'aɪyauq' wʌ'djɪ'x'ɪpɪgaic'ɪm'
 toɣǒ'áv ʊ'va qanɪ'yaɪp'ɪga'⁴⁹ bɪŋq'a'vateɪ'ɣwa'm ʏ'' ʏnɪ'wain'.
 qwa'v'am' pɪ'djɪ'ɣwaɪp'ɪgai'm' ʏwac qanɪ'p'ɪga. ʏwac ʊ'v'w'aɪyauq'.
 quna'vʏna'ɣaɪfǒ' yʏnǎ'q'ʏ'pɪgai'm'. ʏnɪ'ʏmaǰ'ʊdjɪ'm uru'' kwɪ'˥˥'˥˥-
 pɪgav ɪm't'ux wʏna'ip'ɪga w'a''ŋ u'r ɪ't'ɪrava pɪrɪ'ɣqarɪp'ɪga'⁵⁰

out still another one and patched it on to the (first hair). It was just long enough, and with it she knocked down the (meat) as with a stick. When she had finished doing all this, she carried the (meat) home on her back and returned. When she arrived home, "In that same place he lies," thought she. Her pitch-copulator he had stuck up in the ground.²³ And then she sat down on it and jumped up and down upon it. Then she was finished with it and looked there at her pitch-copulator (which) he had stuck up. (Part of) her lungs remained clinging to it in shreds.²⁴

The two of them had gone off in yonder direction. The Mourning-dove together with her boy had run away. And then she followed tracks in pursuit of them. The Ghost Woman found their tracks and started off along there. They were travelling along, and then they looked back. She nearly caught up with them. "Keep on a bit faster, my boy!" said the (Mourning-dove) then. She had all but caught up with them, and then the soft tail feathers which his uncle had given him he threw away. It turned foggy and she who had almost caught up with them was unable to see and got lost. Things were as though invisible to her, and she lost her way. And then it cleared up and she started off again in that direction. "Move along faster, my boy," said the Mourning-dove to her boy as she went along. Again the two of them looked behind from there. Again (the Ghost Woman) was coming up close to them. She caught up with them. And then he threw down the liver and it turned to smooth ice all over, and then the Ghost Woman fell down on it. "Ö!" she cried out. She tried to go on, she tried in different directions. She crawled about in different directions, but it was in vain. She started off in yonder direction. "Move along faster," said the Mourning-dove to her boy as she ran along. And then the two of them looked back again, she had nearly caught up with them again. Again she caught up with them. And then he threw away the stomach. And then there she fell down again on to where it was rocky, for there arose many rock canyons. She could not go through it.

She started off in yonder direction. Those things which his uncle, the Eagle, had given him were used up. And then she (said), "Move along faster to your grandfather." And then the (Ghost Woman) again now caught up with them. Rattlesnake was living there, to whom they were proceeding. At his place the two of them arrived, and he was sitting there. And then he put the two of them inside of his sack. When he had done this with them, he threw off his

ɥwac u·v^waiyauq· pɪ'te'pīga mar'n·aγant'im^w ɥ'. aγa'p·atca'm
 ɥmɪ'ʊ, ma'ip·īga tiv^wi'angai'ŋ' tɔγɔ'av ɥwə'ɪ'. ɪvāc uru''
 ɥmɪ/vōriq·umbate ɥ', ma'ip·īga tɔγɔ'av ɥ'. tiv^wi'angu' ɥru'^t sō·v'q̄-
 nɪp· ɥwə'ɪ'. ɥwac u·v^waiyauq·, ūmb ara'', ma'ip·īga. 'w'a'iaŋ uru''
 ma'iteig uru'' γɔγu't·^squr·ugai'ŋ' γɔγu'p·ugai'ŋ ɥwə'c. uric u·v^wai-
 yauq· qant'ŋ u'r tsunu'wigip·īga. ɥwac ɪ^vε·t·u'watcauφ^w dja-
 dja'u'wnau'wəp·īga ɥm^wä·c wɥna'ip·īgaic. wɥna'ik·a'm uru'', q̄'',
 aɪp·igai'm'. u''vai mar'n·aγaik·ainan ɥ'. qa'te', ma'ip·ig ɥwə'c,
 ma'ɪmasambaq· ɥq·i' nɪ'nai' sɔ·q·ʊpɪ manɪx·ʊ. qant'ŋ u'r tsunu'-
 wigip·īga. inɪ't·uγwa' qant'm i'nte' teunu'wigɪ', ma'ip·ig u·vaiyauq·
 sō·v'önɪp· ɥ'. qa'te', ma'ip·ig ɥwə'c. ɪ'nun·asambaq· ɥq·i' nɪ'nai'
 sɔ·q·ʊbɪ manɪx·ʊ, ma'ip·īga tɔγɔ'av ɥ'. tsɪpɪ'ʊ'pīga. tsɪpɪ'ʊ'ts
 uru'^t mar'p·uq·^spīgaik·^s. ɥm^wi'ɪ guc ara'' nɪw'ndjɪ amba'γanx·ʊ
 o'p·ac ma'ivānti tumba'i amai'.

av^wi'c u''vai ɥnu'c nɪwu'rigaip·igai'm'. av^wi'c u'rsambaq·'.

breech-clout and sat pene nudo pendente. And then she arrived, running after them. "In which direction did they go?" said she, asking the Rattlesnake. "They must be going right around here somewhere," said the Rattlesnake, when the Ghost Woman had asked him. And then, "What is that?" said she. Pene conspecto eum fecit secum copulare; copulavit cum ea. That house of his began to draw together. He kept throwing out his belongings (in order to save them) and he threw out also the two of them. When he had thrown them out, "Ö!" they two cried out. "Right there are the ones that I have been running after," (said she). "No!" said he. "Indeed it is merely wont to be that way whenever I do something."²⁵ His house drew together. "Get away! This house of yours is drawing together," said then the Ghost Woman. "No!" said he. "Indeed it is merely wont to do like this whenever I do something," said the Rattlesnake. He got out. When he had emerged, he closed up the hole. "You indeed are the one that will be talking back from the height of the rocks whenever a person talks."²⁶

It is finished. At that point the two of them revived. It is finished, that is all there is to it.

7. THE WOMAN THAT RAN OFF WITH A HERD OF WILD HORSES.²⁷

A man noticed that whenever his wife went off to dig for roots or gather berries or do any other work appropriate to women, she always rode the same stallion. At first he thought nothing of it, but by and by he became suspicious. One time he noticed a horsey smell about her, the smell of horse urine. He now made up his mind to have her watched the next time she left camp with the stallion.

So when, after that, she rode off with her stallion, he sent one of his relatives after them to watch them unobserved. The man followed them stealthily. By and by they came to a place and stopped. The woman thought she was all alone with the stallion, but her husband's relative was watching them from his hiding place. After a while he heard the stallion whining as for a mare. He saw the woman raise her dress over her head and get down on all fours, clumen protrudens. Equus eam sicut equam conscendit et copulavit cum ea. Her husband's relative hastened back to camp and reported what he had seen.

After that her husband cared little for her. One day, when she

left camp to dig for roots or pick berries, she failed to return. Her husband followed her tracks in order to find out what had become of her. At first her tracks were all alone, but after a while he found that they ran in with those of a herd of wild horses. After some time he came upon the herd and saw his wife among them. She ran about on all fours, neighed, and acted like a mare, cum equis maribus copulans.

The man returned to camp and told the people that his wife had gone crazy and joined a herd of wild horses. The next day a party went out to capture the woman. They lassoed her, but as she continued to act exactly like a wild horse, they let her go. She remained with the herd ever after.



NOTES.

1. NOTES TO PAIUTE TEXTS.

- ¹ Literally, "Wolf-reciprocally-elder brothers."
² So heard for $\text{ə}(\cdot)\text{nə}$.
³ Doubtless misheard for *pa'íaram*.
⁴ Here genitive in force. Genitives, as well as objectives, are regularly expressed in Paiute by objective forms.
⁵ So heard for *qan'va'aŋw*, *qani'aŋw*. It is not always easy to hear glottal stops in Paiute.
⁶ So heard for $-\gamma\text{a}'\text{aim}'$.
^{6a} Here meaning, "You will eat."
⁷ Seems etymologically connected with *paŋwi*- "throat."
⁸ That is, "Let me do for."
⁹ More properly *untu'q-uφi* refers to the two layers of flesh in the back on either side of the backbone.
¹⁰ Intensive of *qwir'k-i*.
¹¹ So heard for *ti'γi'ai'*.
¹² Objective in form. Probably error for *untuq-u'uŋw*.
¹³ = *v'qwa'i'*.
¹⁴ Intensive of *na(\cdot)\gammaar:ŋqĩ-*.
^{14a} Analysis of this and preceding words seems uncertain. *yu'uχwa*^a- means "to get a leg;"^a is probably 2d per. sing. subj.; *-yu-* is uncertain, unless so heard for present *-yĩ-*. *qnu* is doubtless adverbial, "thus, in that way," like *uni* below.
¹⁵ *-yūwa-* heard for $-\chi\text{wa}-$.
¹⁵ $-\eta^x-$ heard for $-\eta\text{qĩ}-$.
¹⁷ = *m^wa'iasampa'^a*. Its meaning is "That is enough for you! stop talking!"
¹⁸ So heard for *na(\cdot)\gammauq-wiŋqĩ-*.
¹⁹ $-r'\text{ə}-$ doubtless for $-ru'a'-$, interrogative, here, as often, with implied negative force.
²⁰ For *-tux-waqai-*.
²¹ *so'its* is evidently borrowed from English *soldier*. According to Tony it is customary nowadays in telling this myth to use this word here.
²² This form is hardly correct here. It would be proper in direct myth narrative, but as quoted by Coyote's tail we should expect *a'ik'amĩ*.
²³ = *um^wu'uwa'mi miru*.
²⁴ $-q\text{ĩ}'$ for $-q\text{a-yĩ}$.
²⁵ This word is not used in non-mythical speech. Its exact translation is doubtful.
²⁶ Subjective in form. Probably a mistake for objective $-\eta\text{wĩ}'$.
²⁷ So heard for *niv^wa(\cdot)uŋwa-*.
²⁸ This word would really seem to mean "robin," but "flicker" was meant.
²⁹ Contracted form of *pa(\text{a})vi'tsin'*.

- ³⁰ Significance uncertain.
- ³¹ "Down" means also "west;" correspondingly, "up" is "east." Reference is had to the course of the Colorado River.
- ³² Singular number in form.
- ³³ So heard for *tcaŋwīk iŋwa'i-*.
- ³⁴ = *qatcun n-*.
- ³⁵ Contracted from *-tsu iŋa'i'*.
- ³⁶ Contracted form of *tīŋi'v'w'ia ŋ'*.
- ³⁷ = *main n-*.
- ³⁸ = *-ts-* before *t-*.
- ³⁹ Seems to be a rhetorically lengthened form of *uwa'i acampan'*.
- ⁴⁰ This word sounds less coarse than *wīŋi'mpi* "vulva."
- ⁴¹ *ka-* is palatalized form of *qa-*, due to palatalizing influence of final *-wɪ* of preceding word.
- ⁴² *ŋ* is inorganic, serving as glide between *q* and *ŋw*.
- ⁴³ = *ŋu'ŋuts-*.
- ⁴⁴ *thw-* is contracted from *tɔ'ca-* "white."
- ⁴⁵ Second *u* is glide vowel.
- ⁴⁶ Should doubtless be *pavi'a-ŋ*, objective.
- ⁴⁷ Probably misheard for *imi'ntcuχwawa n-a-ŋ'*.
- ⁴⁸ Should doubtless be *-aiŋŋ-*.
- ⁴⁹ Very likely for *-mpq'qm*.
- ⁵⁰ For *ŋuc-unu'a-ŋ'*.
- ⁵¹ For *'a'ic:utcuw^wa:tsin aik'*.
- ⁵² Song forms. In ordinary prose these two words would be *nīm^w anu'k'a'*.
- ⁵³ *kwi-mv-^wra-* is not ordinarily used and cannot be interpreted by itself.
- ⁵⁴ Subjective in form, as regularly, because object of imperative.
- ⁵⁵ Apparently dissimilated form of its morphologically more regular variant *pu'u'rairaŋw*.
- ⁵⁶ Frequentative of *naŋat iŋŋi-*. It is abbreviated from *nana'q-'liŋŋ'*.
- ⁵⁷ For *amōax-*.
- ⁵⁸ This word is not in ordinary use. *ci'pī-* means "to be cold, feel cold;" *qurutca-q ai-* "to have one's head sticking out (as from water or field of corn)."
- ^{58a} For *pī'pī'*.
- ⁵⁹ Almost heard as *tī'pī'*.
- ⁶⁰ Doubly elided form from *ma(·)n-u'n ia-*.
- ⁶¹ For *pīnuyuŋwi-*.
- ⁶² From *nŋwī-* + *-u(w)u ux-wa*.
- ⁶³ Myth word only.
- ⁶⁴ Said not to be identical with *aa'ikw*.
- ⁶⁵ Literally, "water-waste, water-expanse."
- ⁶⁶ This word is used only in speaking of rabbits.
- ⁶⁷ Very likely misheard for *-ŋa'cu-*.
- ⁶⁸ So heard for *iya'p'ia'aŋw*.
- ^{68a} So heard for *'cai'*.

- ^{68b} So heard for *un*.
^{68c} Assimilated from *aη*.
⁶⁹ *-m̄ya-* is for *-m̄'m̄ia-*.
⁷⁰ *t̄ini'aηq̄iv^wa'am̄i* would be used ordinarily. Diminutive *-tsi-* is used here because the word is addressed to a child.
⁷¹ Absolute form *ɔra'p-i*.
⁷² Assimilated from *aη*.
⁷³ Or *-quant̄i-*.
⁷⁴ Or *t̄iv^wi'tsi-*.
⁷⁶ Amalgamated from *i'tc' ti'-*.
⁷⁶ Ordinarily *-m̄ix-*, for *-m̄īi'-*.
⁷⁷ *h* for ordinary *c*.
⁷⁸ Myth word for *t̄oγɔ'avi-* "rattlesnake."
⁷⁹ Apparently mistake for *a'ip̄īγa'aim̄i*.
⁸⁰ From *'ini t̄iγi-*.
⁸¹ Meaningless.
⁸² Should doubtless end in *-q w* "it (inv.)."
⁸³ *a-* is lengthened from demonstrative stem *a-*.
⁸⁴ For *iγ'vi-*.
⁸⁵ *t̄oha-* for *t̄'ca-*.
⁸⁶ *-ek-* for *-iaq*.
⁸⁷ Properly *a'ci'a-*.
⁸⁸ *a-* was heard for *a'a*.
⁸⁹ Probably for *-q ar̄int*.
⁹⁰ For *iγiR*.
⁹¹ *-u q w-* from *-ux w q w-*.
⁹² *-hampa-* for *-campa-*.


⁹³ Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology (Journal of American Folk-lore, xxiii, 1910, pp. 455-72), pp. 467, 468 for analysis and another transcription of this "song recitative." The present rendering, which is believed to be more accurate, differs from the earlier one in replacing the rhythmic figure  by , further in dispensing with an anacrusis.

The quantities of the vowels in this and succeeding songs are not marked, as their time value is always indicated by the notes under which they are placed.

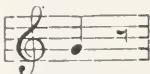
⁹⁴ The time drags slightly in this measure.

⁹⁵ These words have no ascertainable significance. They are apparently merely a burden that serves the purpose of setting the pace for Gray Hawk's style of singing.

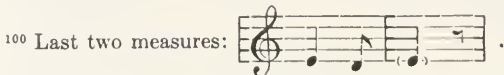
⁹⁶ Words in brackets are padders or rhythm-fillers. *uq̄waiya*, which occurs often in these song recitatives, is doubtless *v^zq̄wa'ia* "that, it" (inv. obj.), with about as much force as "then, indeed, forsooth" might have in analogous cases in English.

⁹⁷ Last measure:  .

⁹⁸ This word is somewhat doubtful, as divided here. Last measure:



⁹⁹ Somewhat doubtful.



¹⁰¹ Phonograph record 107 (first song). The number, as always, refers to the Paiute phonograph records obtained from Tony Tillohash and kept in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Tony found it far from easy to dictate the song recitatives from the records, partly owing to the intrinsic difficulty of hearing the words, partly because of the lack of fixity in the song-texts themselves. Hence the words as given above, taken down from song-dictation, do not quite correspond, except for the last three lines, to the words of the record, so that it has seemed best merely to indicate the quantities (*ai* may be long or short) and the metrical (not necessarily dynamic) stresses of the syllables, rather than write out the complete musical notation. Prose form of above:

iw^wi'tcan uw^wa' paγ'i'k-wa'^a (= -k-w'ai-)

iw^wi'tcani qani'vaγ'ik-w'aiva'

imi'χa'^a mava q'a'rī

paγi'k-wā ni lA'ci'p-anlīma.

iw^wi''iχa'^a qari'va',

ma'ik'an, iw^wi'' (?) , uw^wa, a'ian aik^z paγa'in'nuχw'aiva-ts.

¹⁰² For analysis of song and burden-like words, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 468, 469. Prose form:

tav'avixā lA'ci'ηwayunlaq-aγei'.

-*gim* and -*γiηim* correspond to -*χai-* and -*γeiγi-* of ordinary prose; added -*m* assimilates *t-* to *p-*, though ordinarily nasal consonants in Paiute have their place of articulation determined by immediately following oral stopped consonants. -*γiηim pav-* and -*gim pas-* seem to be in assonance. The words of the song as given above, while translatable, have nothing to do with the story, but are merely used to define the melodic sequence characteristic of Gray Hawk's wife. The period, on its second recurrence, begins with *pav-* and ends with -*γiη-a*, thus leading up to the next line.

¹⁰³ Unmetrical pause here.

¹⁰⁴ Unfinished period: . Phonograph record 107

(second song). Prose form:

aγa'n-wā'tsi' a'ik' an-i'χa'

aγa'v paηqwa'āivā'tsi' a'ik^z.

iw^wi'n iχa'^a ni'' imi'ηw'aīni

yaηwi'n imi'ηw'aīmpa-n-iχa'^a

ni''t.

¹⁰⁶ Coalescence of 'aik-ʔ qari'ʔ.

¹⁰⁶ Phonograph record 107 (third song). For melody, see p. 414. Note unfinished period. Prose form:

a'ilcani nuwi'a-t-i'qaŋ'wɪ
qwa-'q-waiŋucampan ni'ni'.
a'ilcani qwa-'q-waiŋucampan
imi'n to'ca'p-ayaŋani i'mɪ.
ʔwʔi'yaŋap-i ni'ni nuwi'aiyani
qwa-'q-waiŋutu'ʔ.

¹⁰⁷ Perhaps misheard for *ma-n-ɔ'q-oaq'.*

¹⁰⁸ For *to'ca-*.

¹⁰⁹ *-to'ɔŋɔi-* for *-tu'αŋw'ai-*.

¹¹⁰ Phonograph record 108 (first song). For melody, see p. 414. Note division of word for "toad" between two periods. Third period is barely begun. Prose form:

ʔwʔi'tcan uŋwa'vantux-waŋw'aiŋumpa',
ma'iyān aik', uŋwa'iac-u p̄m̄p̄i'n'ua-
vuŋaip-i uŋwa'i.

¹¹¹ Phonograph record 108 (second song). For melody, see p. 414. End of second period without connecting *-im.*

¹¹² For *ynul- tu-*.

¹¹³ Slight drag in time caused by short syllable 'ai-.

¹¹⁴ Phonograph record 109 (first song). For melody, see p. 414. The song as recorded on the phonograph has two complete periods, the last line as given above being expanded into two. Prose form:

a'ilcan- aŋa'n-iŋu, a'ilcan- aŋa'n-iŋu.
uŋwa'c- ŋi-i'yanlcan an'ŋmɪ piŋwa'n uŋwa.

¹¹⁵ From here on the song texts are given as recorded by dictation, not as first sung into the phonograph. This is owing to the great difficulty of hearing the exact words traced by the machine and the quite needless expenditure of time that would be necessitated by the attempt to unravel them, an attempt that would not altogether succeed at best. The song-words dictated when the myth was actually taken down were sung to the appropriate tunes and are therefore quite as typical of the style of narration as the words recorded on the phonograph.

¹¹⁶ Recorded as *wʔa'ani'i,* which would prevent the line from scanning unless the final *uqwa'iya-* is eliminated.

¹¹⁷ Prose form:

ni'ʔuŋw arɔ'ai' mʔa'niŋumpanti
uŋwa'iac-u p̄m̄p̄u'n'nuaviŋaip-i uŋwa
wʔa'nɪ walci'k-iŋainɪ qa'nu uʔqwa'i.

¹¹⁸ To be understood as *iyu'p'an niŋwa'* "through-here-(go-) me me- with;" or, more probably, as *iyu'p'a' niŋwa'* "through-here-(go-) thou me-with."

¹¹⁹ Read *a'ik-aru'ami* "did I say to you?"

^{119a} = *naŋwa'ai-*.

¹²⁰ = *qwaia'ηqwa'patcuγwa'aq-wa-*.

¹²¹ Song form for 'u'ria'-

¹²² Note unfinished period. Prose form:

iw'iyayarp-i'

nī'niA

qwa-'ηutuava-mpīn

iw'iraηwA nī'ni' ma-'γaririηwa(i)yan

u'a'xaruγw a'iv uni'ηumpa'

qwaīya'ηqwa'patcuγwa-q-anī

nī'niA pA'pa'q-aηumpa ni.

¹²³ Properly *nari'γwi-nA'pīηw aru'a(i)γī*.

¹²⁴ From *u(w)a'*-.

¹²⁵ Prose form:

a'ilca'ηA pīmipi'n'ṅavīγaip aη

u(w)a't-ux-wA ts'ka'n'na' cna'ηwafi.

iw'ini qumu'ntiavquantīA

mava'ηwituγ-wA win-a'ini,

ma'i(y)an aik-^zA,

cna'ηwaw i'mi win-a'in awa'ηwituγ-wA.

iw'ni iχa'^a mava'ηwituγwanī

wīn a'ini, ma'i(y)an aik-^zA.

¹²⁶ From *ymu'ηw'aiyi'ηwa-*

¹²⁷ From *nari'χwi-napiηw.*

¹²⁸ Last period but barely begun. Prose form:

cna'ηwaw u(w)a't-uγwatca mi

ma(i)ya'η am-i'ηw'aiutca-ηA

maηa'c-u pīmipi'n'ṅavīγaip aηA

qatcu yura'vawpa'a'it-īm'.

iw'ni iχa'^a mava'ηwituγwanī

tsiηw'i'c-anī, ma'i(y)an aik-^zA,

cna'ηwafi.

¹²⁹ Equivalent to *m^wa'u pa'*.

¹³⁰ = *am-i'ηw'aic-u.*

¹³¹ The metrical phrase here ends in the middle of a word. This is not usual and is probably to be considered a fault in style.

¹³² Prose form:

qatcu'aηA yuηqwa'p-aηwait-īm-aro'^a

pīmipi'n'ṅavīγaip aηA.

a'ilcaraηwan-oA qwa-'ηutuava ni'

a'itcaq-wA cv'yuc-u piya'ηwī

pīma'raη uR qwa-'ηutuava nA

un'ηutsn-uru' pīma'n- uR pA'qa'ηu-

līv^wa-nanī maηa'iac-u pṅmpṅ'n'ṅa-

vīγaip-i aηA pīma-'ηan uR

nī'ni(y) aηwA piηwa'iyani

pīm a'η ur quna'aγawatcux-wA
tsiηw'c·Alī·v^a·a·nA cna'ηwaw·a·η uηwA
pīma'aηwa'ηwA pA'qa'ηumpa·na'aηwa'ηwA.

¹³³ Prose form:

qatcu yoηqw'p·aηwa' i'mi.

¹³⁴ Contracted from *a'əηqə-*.

¹³⁵ One would have expected *-ηwīnūrī'*.

¹³⁶ Song completed in middle of period. Prose form: .

aγa'nūηuntca'
pīmpī'n'əavīγaip· i'mi.
nīηwī'γa·va't·īm, a'iy iγīr 'aik·ɛA.
aγa'n·iχai' aik· un·a·'γiyU.
q^zəw'χwani'iχain·iA
i'mi narī'χw·nap·i,
ma'iy iγīr 'aik·ɛA.

¹³⁷ Assimilated from *aη qa'γa' = aηA qa'γa'*.

¹³⁸ Song ends in middle of period. Prose form:

a'itca·η u(w)a't·ux·wA
ts·ka'n'na' cna'ηwaw awa'ηwituγwəni
tsiηw'c·ani, ma'i(y)an aik·ɛA.

¹³⁹ Prose form:

a'itca·η uηwa'c·U pīmpī'n'əavīγaip· uηwA
nīχa'va't·īm ma'intc uηwA
ma'iχain· uηwA pīci'ηqīrīn· uηwA
nīηwa'n·aηqwa pA'qa'ηuti'.

¹⁴⁰ Song ends in middle of period. Prose form:

nī'ntca·η iγīr ηm'ηU
pīmpī'n'əavīγaip·i uηwA (= uηwa'ia)
pA'qa'ηuts· qatcu imi''ap·A
nī'niantca·η iγīr ηm'ηU no'p'at·ux·wA (= nī-u'p'a-).

¹⁴¹ Contracted from *a'itcaq·wA qwaia'-*.


¹⁴² Phonograph record 115 (first song). Repeated *ad libitum*. The song has the rather lively movement of a typical round dance. There is a more or less marked stress on the first note of each measure except the sixth and thirteenth. The strongly accented notes of the fifth and twelfth measures slide down very slightly and elusively, toward the end of their duration, without reaching any definite tone; this characteristic peculiarity of intonation is indicated by the disconnected slur. The strongly accented tone of the ninth measure is preceded, instead of followed, by a similar down-slide. Prose form:



pari'yao(w)ipaηwritux·wA taη'a'nts·kan·i'.
pari'yaoi·p·i "sand-wash" is a poetic word. The normal prose form is *pari's·iηwaoi·p·i*.

¹⁴³ Phonograph record 115 (second song). Repeated *ad libitum*. The length of the second tone and final pause in the last measure are somewhat

variable. There is generally a very brief pause of no fixed length between the repetitions. The proper form of the song-word constituting the text is *tama'ra'ai'pa'a*, composed of *tama-* "summer" and *ta'ai'pa-a-* "to stretch out one's feet so as to show the soles." This is supposed to mean: "(Deer's) foot-prints are visible in summer, as though his feet were held out to show the soles."

¹⁴⁴ Phonograph record 115 (third song). This song, repeated four times on the record, was exceedingly difficult to transcribe, both on account of the faintness of the record itself and on account of its baffling rhythmic characteristics. The alternation of four-four and five-four time and the syncopation of the second and third beats of the five-four measures (aside from the first measure of the fourth repetition) are noteworthy features. I should hasten to add that the rendering given for these five-four measures is perhaps not rigidly exact, though the approximation seems reasonably close. There seems to be a fairly regular tendency to abbreviate slightly the proper length

of the five-four span. Moreover, in a few cases the final  of the measure

appears as , the  being sung on an *o*-anticipating the following

otcumi-ka-mimpa: oo'tcu-.

It is uncertain whether the rather unimportant differences in distribution of syllables and melodic outline in the four repetitions are intentional or due to carelessness. I consider the latter view more probable. The pause between the repetitions is irregular. Prose form:

ni'ni(y)a-g-A ma'ihuqwa-q-anı
u'tcu'm'ıı'kam-ımpa'.

¹⁴⁶ So heard for *pa'ıv'pa'-*.

¹⁴⁶ Repeat as often as desired. For tune, see p. 426.

¹⁴⁷ Repeat as often as desired. For tune, see p. 428.

¹⁴⁸ Form equivalent to *ov'ı't-u'-*.

¹⁴⁹ Repeat as often as desired. For tune, see p. 428.

¹⁵⁰ For analysis of this "song recitative" and for song variants, see Sapir, *Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology* (*Journal of American folk-lore*, xxiii, 1910, pp. 455-72), pp. 460, 461. The exact division into notes varies somewhat from couplet to couplet according to the syllabic structure of the words. Above transcription based on phonograph record 116 (first song); record text and text as dictated, which is given above, are not in exact accord. Prose form of above:

cna'ıwaw ıw'ı'ıwa-ıanoA
ma'ııqıvuruııum-ıac u
uw'a'ıwııv qa'ıwawa uw'a'yııııA,
ma'ıyan ıık'ıA.

The second recurrence of the tune is not complete in this text.

¹⁵¹ From *cv't.acuraŋwa-*.

¹⁵² Phonograph record 116 (second song). The length of the pause between the recurrences varies somewhat. The last measure + the anacrusis do not make up a full $\frac{3}{4}$ measure. Prose form:

ina'n aŋwɪ, ov^wo'q-waŋei'.

Note the rhyme (-*ŋwe*¹: -*ŋei*) in the song text. The change of -*ŋwi* to -*ŋwe*¹ shows the rhyme to be intentional.

¹⁵³ For *qanu' a'u'ra'*.

¹⁵⁴ So heard for *maru'vqwa ŋqĩ-*

¹⁵⁵ For analysis and variants of this "song recitative," see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 461, 462. There are four stresses to each period, coming on the first, third, fourth, and fifth beats; rarely there is a sixth or even seventh beat. The periods are so short that a word is sometimes cut up into two periods, e. g. *ai't-in-ɔn-ɔs-i' iya'ap-a-[vĩn-ɪ]* is *a't-in-ɔn-ɔs-i'd'p-a* in prose. From phonograph record 116 (third song).

^{155a} Prose form:

qatcu'tcan a't-in-ɔn-ɔs-i'd'p-a, sɪna'ŋwawɪyan uŋw
a'ik- uŋwa'ia piŋwa'ŋwɪaraŋwa, piŋwa'ŋwɪaraŋw u'ŋwa,
piŋwa'ɛuqwaɪŋup-i'ɣaɬqoŋwa'amĩ.
qatcu'tcan a't-in-ɔn-ɔs-i'd'p-a. piŋqa'ɪni'ɣaiŋwi'imĩ,
ma'ɪyan a'ik-ɛA, piŋwa'ɪaraŋ uŋwa li'ti'q-awa-na
pina'ŋqwarəŋwa pan-a'x-qw'aɪwa'.
cna'ŋwaw uŋwa piŋwa'ŋwɪaraŋwɪA li'qa'ŋ'wituiq w'aip-i'ɣa',
ma'ɪncant nɔn-ɔ's-ɪ'.

¹⁵⁶ So heard for *aŋa'vpa-ŋu-*.

^{156a} For the melody of this recitative, see p. 432. Two of the periods (the first two and the last two lines) are transcribed in Sapir, *op. cit.*, p. 460. Prose form:

sɪna'ŋwaw iŋ^wi'χwa'no uŋ^wa'ɪ'
na'ɣu'q-wiŋqil'-uam-ɪA.
um^wα'ni'ɛka'im-iaχwar'uan-ɔA
nĩmpɪ'ŋwarɪlsaŋwap-ɪŋwaxa.ɪɪU.
iŋ^wi'χwa'no uŋ^wa'ɪ' na'ɣu'q-wiŋqil'-uam-ɪA,
ma'ɪyan aik-ɛA cna'ŋwafɪ.
iva'n aik- aŋa'c-u nĩ' av'i'va ts.
cna'ŋwaw iŋ^wi'χwa'no uŋ^wa'ɪ'
na'ɣu'q-wiŋqil'-uam-ɪA, ma'ɪyan aik-ɛA.
m^wα'n-avim-iaɣwar'uan-ɔA
nĩmpɪ'ŋwarɪlsaŋwap-ɪŋwaxa.ɪɪU,
ma'ɪyan aik-ɛA cna'ŋwafɪ.

¹⁵⁷ This word is obscure, aside from *uŋwa'c-utca-*. Perhaps it is to be understood as *uŋwa'c-utc ai'ŋwa* "he (inv.)-preterit then-he (inv.)."

¹⁵⁸ For analysis and variants of this song recitative, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 462, 463.

¹⁵⁹ Prose form:

ĩ'li'a-n-i aik-ʔ man-i'm'miara- tu'qu'm-umuts-
 ni'n-a tu'qu'm-uru'ɕaiŋumpa-n-ɕu pa'qa'ŋu'tsi'mi.
 ĩ'li'a-n-i aik-ʔA man-i'm'miara- ni'w-witux-wA
 wĩn-ĩ'm'miaraŋa' qa'ivai a'a'uraimi'kuts-.
 impi'ɣav' m'a'va m'a'ari' amA qa'ivai A'qa'iA
 ma'ɕai' ani'k-ʔA ni'w-witux-wA wĩn ĩ'm'miaraŋa'.
 ĩ'li'a-n-iA ma'ip-aŋi' pa'qa'ŋumpa-n-ɕn i'mi
 narĩ'ɕwi-nA'p uŋwA, ma'intcu' aik-ʔA, tiv'a'ts-.
 ĩ'li'a-n-iA man-i'k-aiva-nt imi'A tu'qu'a'm itci'A
 tiv'a'p-i' ava'an- av'ɕa'.

¹⁶⁰ Assimilated from aŋ qa'p'ĩŋa-

¹⁶¹ So heard for ŋu'k-arux-u- < ŋn'k-ariŋu-.

¹⁶² = uru'a-.

¹⁶³ So heard for iw'ĩ'ŋwa-.

¹⁶⁴ = wa'yv-ɕi-.

¹⁶⁵ = qam-ĩ-santsi-.

¹⁶⁶ = pi'nĩ'ŋw'aq-ucco'ŋwA.

¹⁶⁷ -yĩ- < -yu-.

¹⁶⁸ = iyɛ't-ux-wA qwa-.

¹⁶⁹ This is a very puzzling form. It is unvoiced from *piya-n-i-a* "mother-obj." It should normally be *piya(i)-ya-n-i* "mother-obj.-my," objective suffixes regularly following pronominal enclitics. Tony claimed that *piya'n-iA* and *piya'iyani* were equivalent forms. In any case, the former is a highly abnormal form.

¹⁷⁰ For *am-u'urai-*, assimilated from *am-ĩ'urai-*.

¹⁷¹ Rhetorical form of *u(w)a'nu*.

¹⁷² "Doctored;" literally, "said with supernatural power."

¹⁷³ *ɕm'p'o'q-ɕivĩ-* is a myth word. Tony said it might mean "feathers," euphemistically for "pubic hair." "Pay me with feathers" means, by implication, "pay me by copulation."

¹⁷⁴ Exact meaning unclear, but based on *paĩ'-p-i* "blood." These beings were called *paĩ'q-wanaŋ'wantsiŋwĩ*. They would make a noise so as to cause people to peep. Then, as soon as they said *pa'iq-wanaŋwa'*, those who peeped would die, blood streaming from their mouths.

¹⁷⁵ = *mama''caŋwĩ-*.

¹⁷⁶ -*num-* for -*ĩm-*.

¹⁷⁷ Myth word. It is based on *qo-n-i-* "to return;" -*ɕi-* denotes "hither;" -*n-i'* is probably unvoiced from enclitic -*n-iA-* "like."

¹⁷⁸ For *impi'ya va(i)yĩ-*. *impi-* "what?" is here used as incorporated object of *ya-* "to carry."

¹⁷⁹ *pa'iyiv'wimpi'* is a song form for normal *pa'iyiv'wimpi'*. The normal form for "grow" is *na(-)n-a''a*.

¹⁸⁰ *pa-* contracted from *paĩ-*.

¹⁸¹ Or, in more fluent discourse, *uwa't-u q-wa-n'*.

- ¹⁸² = *tīw^wl'tc 'a't-ī-*
- ¹⁸³ *um'*, literally "they," here indicates "he." It is plural in form to agree with distributively reduplicated *mom-q'aṇum(i)* "your father," not "your fathers."
- ¹⁸⁴ Or, in compounded form, *tava'mqwic in'*.
- ¹⁸⁵ = *paī-ṣ'nṣ-*
- ¹⁸⁷ Or, in more fluent discourse, *tīmp^wi t'īn-a-'ava'*.
- ¹⁸⁸ = *qateu'ru'AA'qa'a'*.
- ¹⁸⁹ = *tsi-y'umuxw-*
- ¹⁹⁰ Reduced from *tī'tī'φ^wīpī-*.
- ¹⁹¹ For *-n i-c u-*.
- ¹⁹² *cī'ra-* is simply the Indian form of English *Cedar (City)*.
- ¹⁹³ *ma'q-asu-* is the Indian rendering of English *Moccasin (Springs)*.
- ¹⁹⁴ = *-tsk wa-*.
- ¹⁹⁵ *pa'īyan-* "pan" is borrowed from English *pan*.
- ¹⁹⁶ Assimilated and contracted from *impī-uru'α-*.
- ¹⁹⁷ From *naγn'q wī-*.
- ¹⁹⁸ *-tsamī-* contracted from *-tsamī-*.
- ¹⁹⁹ For *pavi'tsaiy*.
- ²⁰⁰ From *qani*, with ' anticipating following *u'a'xa-*.
- ²⁰¹ = *m oa'-*.

²⁰² Many Southern Paiute myths are characterized by the use of "song recitatives," that is, set melodies to the tune of which the characters of the myth recite their speeches. Not all myths, however, have such recitatives. Thus, the story of "Coyote and Porcupine" (pp. 456-462) was explicitly stated by Tony to be told without recitatives. This may be suggestive of borrowing from the Utes, with whom this story is a favorite and who, so far as known, use no song recitatives in their myths; the mention of buffalo in the myth would also indicate that it is of eastern provenience. Stories possessing song recitatives may be presumed to be of a western provenience. See Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-472.

Only two myths were recorded with the appropriate recitatives: "Gray Hawk and Toad gamble" (pp. 414-426) and "The Badger People wage War against Wolf and Coyote" (pp. 432-444). The five types of recitative belonging to these myths have been given above. A supplementary set of six recitative type; is appended here with references to the myths that they belong to. The speeches are given in the recorded myths in the form of prose.

²⁰³ Cf. "Eagle as Suitor" (pp. 444-446).

²⁰⁴ For analysis of this song recitative, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, p. 466. Phonograph record 118 (first song). In the text as here given the first and third beats of each measure are marked as stressed.

^{204a} Word unfinished. Repeated and completed in the next line.

²⁰⁵ Prose form:

pāya'n't pūs- w^wi'tcan
tī'ntuγwaxntīmpa-ni

gam-i'n-avi'atiq-ava'
 iw'ixwa'n-o iwā'asampA
 qarī''māxwa'n-oA.
 sivi-'nitiw'ip-iw'a-n aik-ʔA
 w'a-ni (gam-i'n-avi'atiq-)
 gam-i'n-avi'atiq-axw'aiva-ts.
 iwa'' qarī'v'a'
 mava'A qan-i'arami,
 ma'ian aik-ʔA,
 qarī'' mava' qan-i'arami.

²⁰⁶ Cf. "Sparrow Hawk and Chicken Hawk contend for a Woman" (pp. 360-369).

²⁰⁷ For analysis and variants of this song recitative, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, p. 467. Phonograph record 118 (third song). In the text each beat is marked with a stress.

²⁰⁸ Prose form (cf. Sapir, *op. cit.*, p. 459):

aγa'n-iʔkava-tsiηwαηw' a'ik-ai uηwa'ia
 m'imi'ntcu'a-η uηwa'ia
 sA'p'i'x-Aqava-tsiηw a'ik-ai'.
 tiw'its-sampa-η uηuru'ai'
 qw'i'q-w'ain-a-η uηuru'ai'.
 uηwα'vatcu-x-wAqw'aiva-n-ixa'a.

²⁰⁹ Cf. "Iron-clothes" (pp. 394-411).

²¹⁰ For analysis of this song recitative, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 463, 464. Phonograph record 118 (second song). In the text the first and third beats of each measure are marked with a stress.

²¹¹ Prose form:

cina'ηwαφi cina'ηwαφi ma'ivatcic-ampA
 tiw'itsini a'ivālcī cina'ηwαφi cina'ηwαφi
 ni'ci'lcaηwa'ixa' nɔ-n-i'xa'a nɔ-n-i'xa'a.
 ni'aq-A wansi'v'uηqūaη uηwA
 pA'qa'ηumpa-ni'i'ηwA, ma'iyān aik-ʔA,
 cina'ηwαφi cina'ηwαφi cina'ηwαφi cina'ηwαφi.

²¹² Cf. "Iron-Clothes" (pp. 394-411).

²¹³ For analysis of this song recitative, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 464, 465. Phonograph record 119 (first song). Each beat is here marked as stressed.

²¹⁴ Prose form:

ɔari'an ani'k-ain ɔari'an ani'k-ainA,
 ma'iyān aik-ʔA. imi'ntcu' m'a'n-im-ia
 imi'xa'a cina'ηwaviy uηwa'ia
 ηni't-ai'k-a-φ-uηwA ma'n-ixa'.
 uηwa'c-u wansi'vuηqun uηwA ni'niA
 qa'q-i'ηuqwanī qalcu m'a'im-i'η'wai-i'.
 imi'ntcu' w'a' m'a'n-im-ia tu'cu'm-ia.
 ɔari'ani ma'ik-a-φ-uηw an-i'xa'

*uηwa'ia'cu'q wA cna'ηwawiA m^wa'ni^t(wik'aq-uηwA
tu'cv'v^wa ma'ik'aq-uηw an-i'xa'.*

²¹⁵ Cf. "Wolf and his Brother" (pp. 308-345).

²¹⁶ For analysis of this song recitative, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, p. 470. Phonograph record 119 (third song). The stress marks the first beat of each measure.

²¹⁷ Prose form:

*oyo'yoyo oyo'yoyo oyo'yoyo oyo'yoyo oyo'yoyo.
iwā'·n· ʔn·a'vīxava, oyo'yoyo oyo'yoyo.
aγa'n ɪxaiχwan 'a'iwī uηwa'c, oyo'yoyo,
itci'an iya'nlil'uiηq'iaiyaaq an, oyo'yoyo.*

²¹⁸ Cf. "Iron-clothes" (pp. 394-411).

²¹⁹ For analysis of this song recitative, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 465, 466. Phonograph record 119 (second song). Each beat is stressed in the text. The recitative ends after the first third of the melodic period.

²²⁰ Prose Form:

*nari'v^weyan 'aro''avalcī cv'q-vcamp uηwA
o'tsɪχaiwātci nī''i, cna'ηwaw i'mi,
nī'' cv'q-vcamp uηw o'tsɪχaiwātci.
nī'naxw'axain·i qwa'ut·uγwac·v pīmpī'n'nai'
nī'naxw'oiχain·i wA²q'it·uγwac ʔn i'i'.
i^w·l'yaγap·i laηwa'i 'aro''ai' niηwi'ruqwal·uγwa-
q·an·ac·amparaηw aro''ai'.
i^w·l'yaγap· i^w·l'can·ɪχa'° nī' ump^w·z'c·acamp
am·i'v^walcī' laηwa'q·iηu(mpa').*

²²¹ So heard for *qaγa'v'aq·wan*.

²²² This song is difficult to interpret. Tony suggested the following as a prose rendering:

*imi' imi'A
lava'tswi naηwi'q·i'·χwαηqī' la·vi'·n'·i^k·a·k·v
yaγa. . .*

The last word seems to contain the verb *yaγa-* "to cry," but is otherwise quite obscure.

2. NOTES TO UTE TEXTS.

¹ From *v·v^wa ura'*.

² So heard for *cu''a·x·-*.

³ So heard for *yuγwi·-*.

⁴ Corresponds to Paiute *ma·va'ntuq·wau'*, for *ma·va'ntux·wA quau'*.

⁵ *pī-* contracted from *pīyī-*.

⁶ *-ci·ux-* for *-ci·wī-*.

⁷ *-aik'a-* is a meaningless ending (perhaps from *aik'a-* "to say") characteristic of Coyote.

⁸ *anta'·n'* "my friend" is a myth word used only by Coyote.

⁹ Or, contracted, *gw a'ik·ɛ*.

¹⁰ For *wawa'lciv^wani*.

- ¹¹ For *ɥwa'i'*.
¹² Apparently for *qwi'γwii'*.
¹³ So heard for *puru'q'vq'w'ni'*.
¹⁴ For *-γwqv'*.
^{14a} Probably misheard for *v'avw* "his own arrows."
¹⁵ So heard for *-p'ai'*.
¹⁶ So heard for *-na'paɥ'*.
¹⁷ For *-ɥqi'*.
¹⁸ *-yai-* heard for *-χai-*.
¹⁹ *-yai-* heard for *-χai-*.
²⁰ I cannot analyze this. It seems to contain demonstrative particle *v'qwa'i'*.
²¹ Myth word.
²² *-ye'* for *-χa'*.
²³ *-ux-* for *-wA'*.
²⁴ A myth form.
²⁵ From *ma'ik'q' uc*.
²⁶ So heard for *-χai-*.
²⁷ A myth form.
²⁸ For *-χai'm'*.
²⁹ For *u(w)a'nuaɥA*.
³⁰ A "coyote word." The ordinary word for "she is still lonesome" would be *nin:ndjaɥa'yi'aici'ɥ'*.
³¹ For *-vaɥwi-vw(i)* "in-own."
³² *-yai-* for *-χai-*.
³³ For *A'da'*.
³⁴ *-ye'* for *-χai'*.
³⁵ Abbreviated form of *qw(ɔ)awi'q-wɔ'ai-*.
³⁶ For *-χai-*.
³⁷ For *tii'γa'γw'ai'χa'*.
³⁸ For *uɥwa'ruγwaɥv-*.
³⁹ For *tcA'qa'i'*.
⁴⁰ *-m^w i'ɥgi* labialized and assimilated to *-m uɥgu*.
⁴¹ *-vɥy-* < *-vayi-* "to return."
⁴² For *v'xqw(a'i')*.
⁴³ For *w'a'-*, *w'i'a'-*.
⁴⁴ Four inspiratory breaths, each stopped short by a glottal catch.
⁴⁵ For *uɥwa'ruγwa-*.
⁴⁶ For *wA'djü'ɥv-*.
⁴⁷ For *püɥa'ruγwa-*.
⁴⁸ Assimilated from *püɥqa-*. Assimilation of nasal plus stop to geminated stop is characteristic of Uncompahgre and Southern Ute, not of Uintah Ute or Southern Paiute.
⁴⁹ *-yai-* for *-χai-*.
⁵⁰ Better: *tii'ra'wat vqari'p'ügu* "sedit cum pene nudo."

3. NOTES TO TRANSLATIONS OF PAIUTE TEXTS.

¹ Cf. "Wolf and Coyote" (*b, c*) in R. H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. II, 1909), pp. 239-243, for a rather close Shoshone parallel (particularly *b*). It should be noted that the Paiute term translated "Coyote" in this and the following myths, *cina'ḡwaφi*, is not the ordinary word for coyote, but is a special myth term. It is evidently related to *cina'aφi* "wolf, dog." The normal word for coyote is either *t'racina'aφi* "desert dog" or *yoγo'v'uts*; the Ute form of the latter, *yoγo'v'utc'*, is used to designate the mythological Coyote in Ute texts.

² The grass seeds here referred to (*wa'na*) are very small and were collected by being struck with a seed-beater into the burden basket. They were roasted for food, also prepared into a mush. The seeds were identified by Tony as probably pigweed (*Chenopodium*).

³ *mava'tca*: instrumentum ex osse pro pene usum.

⁴ Monstrans ad penem.

⁵ In other words, Coyote imagines that the unusual phenomenon betokens a manitou visitation. He wonders whether he is getting supernatural power.

⁶ I. e., the two runners. All the Rain people are conceived of as the children of the two old women.

⁷ *conu-* is any light and dry vegetable material used as tinder in starting a fire. What Coyote here refers to is Rat's nest.

⁸ I. e., his cave.

⁹ For a brief outline of the Paiute "Cry" or mourning ceremony, see abstract on *The Mourning Ceremony of the Southern Paiutes* (American Anthropologist, N. S., vol. 14, 1912, pp. 168, 169; Science, N. S., XXXV, April 26, 1912, p. 673). The significance of the animals in this origin legend lies in the fact that the mourning songs of today are classified into four animal categories: "roan," coyote, bird, and mountain sheep.

¹⁰ I. e., every kind of mythological being destined to be transformed into some animal of today.

¹¹ For accounts of the Ute bear dance, which is the prototype of the Paiute dance, see V. Z. Reed, *The Ute Bear Dance* (American Anthropologist, 1896, pp. 237-244); and R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. XI, 1915), pp. 823-831. Four brief origin legends of the bear-dance have already been published, one by J. A. Mason (in *Myths of the Uintah Utes*, Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXIII, 1910, p. 363), the three others by Lowie (*op. cit.*, pp. 824, 825). Curiously enough, none of these corresponds at all closely to the Paiute version obtained from Tony.

¹² For a Shoshone correspondent of this myth, see Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 236-239.

¹³ Euphemism, or slang, for "tecum copulare."

¹⁴ The metaphor is of the tamping of a pipe.

¹⁶ Periphrasis for "fecit in ejus urina quasi copulans."

¹⁶ Another euphemism, or slang expression, for "tecum copulabo."

¹⁷ Euphemism for "copulavit cum ea."

¹⁸ I. e., "Multum delectatus est cum ea copulando."

¹⁹ A translation of this myth has been already given in *The Museum Journal* of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. I, no. 1, 1910, pp. 17, 18.

²⁰ A species of gull.

²¹ This last sentence is addressed by the narrator of the story to his auditors. It is a conventional way of ending a myth by way of changing the subject. The auditors are expected to answer, "No, I did not."

²² The first part of this story is a variant of the first part of the Ute story of "Coyote and Doctor Duck;" see Mason, *Myths of the Uintah Utes*, pp. 310, 311.

²³ Cf. note 5.

²⁴ For variants, cf. A. L. Kroeber, *Ute Tales* (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1901), pp. 252-260; and Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 244-246.

²⁵ The road-runner's track is ambiguous in direction.

²⁶ This is a red berry growing close to the stalk of a bush with holly-like leaves.

²⁷ Thus pretending that his moccasins had been worn out while he was out hunting.

²⁸ I. e., to a different place than that to which the rest of the party had gone.

²⁹ I. e., "Who has been good enough to think of me?"

³⁰ At this point the story shifts to other actors.

³¹ The Indian name really means "Stone-Clothes," but it was consistently interpreted "Iron-Clothes" by Tony.

³² This refers to the berry bush, which they had used as a landmark to locate the cache of dried meat. Now that it was stripped of berries, they were unable to recognize it.

³³ The old woman and her great-grandson had escaped from the village Iron-Clothes had destroyed. Had he thought the child was a boy, he would have slain him, to prevent the possibility of his growing up and avenging his kinsmen.

³⁴ A meaningless cry.

^{34a} So as to keep himself from dying of thirst. Coyote had least power of endurance.

³⁵ The two brothers, supernatural sons of the woman Iron-Clothes had taken away, were Mourning Doves. It is the elder that speaks here.

^{36a} This antelope had eyes in all parts of his body.

³⁶ A loud noise, *qx+*, similar to a violent clearing of the throat before expectorating.

³⁷ The sisters were shooting at these sparrows with arrows, for they always tried to prevent birds from drinking their water. The one who is supposed to have been wounded was Rattlesnake, because his back was humped up as though swollen from a wound. He was not really wounded.

³⁸ She had not been in the habit of grinding seeds. She was secretly preparing food for the rescuing party.

³⁹ She had received a jack-rabbit from her sons, but claims to have caught him herself by killing him with her seed-beater. Iron-Clothes doubts this, as it looks to him as if the jack-rabbit had been hit in the eye with an arrow.

⁴⁰ I. e., on former occasions the antelope had always warned of the approach of danger by making the peculiar noise and immediately galloping off home. His failure to appear this time arouses Iron-Clothes' suspicion.

⁴¹ He stretched himself because he had just gotten up and was still sleepy.

⁴² Instead of passing through and killing them. They were endowed with magical power and could not be killed by ordinary arrows.

⁴³ This tale of Chipmunk and the Giant seems to correspond to the Shoshone trickster cycle of the Giant Dzoavits. In the Shoshone tales the place of Chipmunk is generally taken by Weasel or Mosquito. See Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 254-262.

⁴⁴ Cf., in a general way, Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 265, 266; Kroeber, *Ute Tales*, pp. 264-268.

⁴⁵ Literally, "very well."

⁴⁶ I. e., "I asked about it."

^{46a} This tale corresponds, in a general way, to R. H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, p. 277(k).

⁴⁷ Merely a burden.

⁴⁸ A burden. Based on *taviavi*- "to lie in the sun" and *ta'ci'nyvlyunraq-uγ'i'* "keeps changing color like gravel." The meaning of the burden is, then, something like "Lying in the sun, she keeps changing color like sandy gravel streaked by sunbeams." The reference is to Lizard, who is Gray Hawk's wife.

⁴⁹ Refers to Toad.

⁵⁰ Woodpecker's tree had a single hole for entry, but there was a complicated labyrinth leading to the exit hole at the top. Toad could not find his way out.

⁵¹ A Comanche parallel is given in *Shoshone and Comanche Tales*, collected by H. H. St. Clair, 2d (Journal of American Folk-Lore, 1909, pp. 11-13). A translation of the Paiute story has been already published in The Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania, 1910, pp. 16, 17.

⁵² It is not the ordinary rat that is meant, but the wood rat, found in great quantities near St. George, Nev., and used as food by the Indians.

⁵³ Rat had butchered the deer on leaves and branches in order to prevent traces of the meat from showing on the earth. By burning the leaves and branches he destroyed all traces of the butchering.

⁵⁴ This incident argues a knowledge on the part of the Paiute Indians of the custom of burning the dead. The custom, however, was not practiced by the Paiutes themselves. This point may eventually help to determine from what tribe or area the widespread story of the "hoodwinked dancers" came to the Paiute.

⁵⁵ Tony was not quite certain if the story ended at this point or not.

⁵⁶ "Him" refers to any deer. Wolf commands Coyote to go out as usual to round up the deer, so that he and his brother Panther may hunt them.

⁵⁷ The scene shifts at this point.

⁵⁸ The Horned Lark women were married to the Badger people (*ina'n-īḡwī-ḡwī*), who were in the habit of hunting badgers.

⁵⁹ The bark referred to is of a cedar-like tree (*ina'p'i*) and is yellowish in color. Stockings were made of it as well.

⁶⁰ This was not Coyote, first spoken of, but "the idle Coyote," pro catamito usus in loco feminae. Coyote, on returning from the hunt, was the first to make use of him, after which he proceeded to the other camps. After the arrival of the Badger-wives his usefulness vanished. The Wolf and Coyote people had no women before this.

⁶¹ I. e., pudenda. The meaning of Coyote's statement is that his companions are to have nothing to do with the women.

⁶² Ad coitum per anum invitans.

⁶³ I. e., the sticks to which the quivers are sewed on for support.

⁶⁴ I. e., of the Bluejays. The blue hats are the untransformed crests.

⁶⁵ This is an interesting reference to the rôle of Wolf as creator, an apparently widespread Plateau Shoshonean idea. See Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, p. 233.

⁶⁶ This is merely a fragment of what Tony believed to be a long story. Eagle's song (see III, 1, p. 478) belongs to this story at a point antecedent to the events recounted in this fragment. The tale is a typical suitor myth and corresponds, in a general way, to Lowie's "Lodge-Boy and Thrown-away" (see Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 280-283).

⁶⁷ Powell's "Shivwits." A Southern Paiute tribe west of the Kaibab Paiutes and speaking a dialect only slightly different from that of the Kaibabs.

⁶⁸ The father-in-law had a pit or cave on the side of a hill into which he caused the smoke to enter. There was no air in the pit at all.

⁶⁹ Eagle's feathers were originally entirely white. Only where the feathers were protected by the covering wings have they remained light in color.

⁷⁰ I. e., "Quando ille me futuit?" seeing that he knows that.

⁷¹ It is quite likely that the conception of Rattlesnake as "grandfather" is due to, or at least influenced by, a popular etymology connecting *toγo'αφi* "rattlesnake" with *toγo'φi* "grandfather."

⁷² I. e., vulva ejus fructus est, cum ea copulavit.

⁷³ I. e., Gray Hawk.

⁷⁴ Transformed from the lice.

⁷⁵ Euphemistic for: cum ea copulavit.

⁷⁶ Coyote was looking for a pretext to go to her house, so as to have a chance to see the young woman.

⁷⁷ When held down by the woman, Gray Hawk made a noise, thus leading Coyote to infer that something was wrong. He thought that Hawk was attacked and made as if to help him by aimlessly shooting at Hawk's supposed enemies.

⁷⁸ She commands the bow fragments to come back, so as to prevent further destruction.

⁷⁹ This is evidently a popular Plateau Shoshonean tale and has been collected by several ethnologists. See Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 267, 268; St. Clair, *Shoshone and Comanche Tales*, p. 266; Kroeber, *Ute Tales*, pp. 270-272; Mason, *Myths of the Uintah Utes*, p. 317.

⁸⁰ An idiomatic phrase expressing contempt. "Though you may say what you will, boast as you like, still you count for nothing."

⁸¹ Cf. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 248-251; Kroeber, *Ute Tales*, pp. 268-270.

⁸² Coyote had names for his daughters, each of which ended in the word for "vulva."

⁸³ The laying on of the bark was normally the work of the men, not of the women. Coyote pretended to lie down in the house in order to direct attention to any openings they might leave.

⁸⁴ Literally, "from here."

⁸⁵ I. e., everything about the house will seem as usual, including the talking of people.

⁸⁶ A constellation of seven stars is meant. Tony thought it was the Dipper (*Ursa Major*) that was referred to, but was not quite certain. The Paiute term, *sən'c'əŋw'i*, is an animate plural in -*ŋwi-*, but is not otherwise analyzable.

⁸⁷ An ordinary term for "coyote."

⁸⁸ Cf. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, pp. 282-283, 283-284, 294-295; St. Clair, *Shoshone and Comanche Tales*, p. 272; Mason, *Myths of the Uintah Utes*, pp. 318, 319. The Shoshone *nūneyunc* "roc," like Paiute *nīŋw'i'nəϕi*, probably denotes "one who carries people away."

⁸⁹ Blood that has been roasted in a paunch under the ashes.

⁹⁰ From crying for her lost grandson.

⁹¹ The Bear Dance is a Ute dance that was learned by the Paiute bands comparatively recent times from the Utes. A series of bear dance songs obtained from Tony all have Ute texts. This little account shows how the dance spread from one Paiute tribe or band to another.

⁹² In southwestern Utah. Based on *qana'ri* "willow-bordered canyon."

⁹³ A neighboring Paiute band.

⁹⁴ These notched branches are the "rasps" that are used to accompany the bear dance songs.

⁹⁵ The hole and the pan served as a resonator for the rasps held down on the pan.

⁹⁶ Chief of the Cedar City band.

⁹⁷ Literally, "calling on to themselves."

⁹⁸ I. e., "what manitou dream have you ever had?"

⁹⁹ Referring to the white tents of the enemy. It is not definitely stated who the enemy were. In all likelihood they were either Arapaho or Cheyenne.

¹⁰⁰ A shallow canyon in a plain which fills in the rainy season; a "gutter" or arroyo.

¹⁰¹ I. e., "shall we two continue to live after our kinsmen have died?"

¹⁰² Mamputs, chief of the Cedar City Paiutes, is supposed to have been traveling about and to have returned from the country of the Southern Utes. He had a mannerism of addressing everyone by a term of relationship, by way of being friendly. An older man he addressed as "father," an older woman as "mother," a very old man or woman as "grandfather" or "grandmother," young men or women as "brothers" and "sisters." This method of address was not, however, according to Tony, the regular practice of all chiefs.

¹⁰³ In the country of the Southern Utes.

¹⁰⁴ Eagle lives far away in the west and asks leave of his mother to go east to the country of the Sibit band of Paiutes.

¹⁰⁵ It was taboo for a boy, up to the age of about sixteen, to eat game that he had killed himself, as this would make him weak and lazy. Eagle, who is merely a stripling, intends to break the taboo, apparently as a sign that he is old enough to seek a wife.

¹⁰⁶ This is merely a fragment of a myth. Tony remembered only the song, but was not clear as to its context. A certain character, he did not remember just who, used to hide in the bush from morning till night and sing this song, using the leg bones of his own parents as a rattle. He was caught at this.

4. NOTES TO TRANSLATIONS OF UTE TEXTS.

¹ For other versions of this tale see I, 17 of this part and footnote 79 of translations of Paiute texts.

² Literally, "sitting."

³ I. e., "I have been lying here as buffalo dung for some time."

⁴ I. e., "Would you rather go inside of me?"

⁵ *Fuit Canis excrementa, ab eo pro custode carnis deposita.*

⁶ When deer, elk, or antelope was killed, the blood was scooped up with the palms from the ripped carcass and deposited in the paunch. It was carried home in the paunch, poured into a mud-cactus kettle, boiled with water, and cooked to a thick soup or mush.

⁷ For other Shoshonean versions of the "eye-juggler" motive, see Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-16 (where further cognates are given); also St. Clair, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-70 (Shoshone) and 278-79 (Comanche).

⁸ *widji'guts'* refers to a small bird with black head and beak and gray back. It is said to make a whistling noise in the early spring and to bring the south wind.

⁹ I. e., they exercised their supernatural power upon him to spoil his luck.

¹⁰ Literally, "shade-house-made."

¹¹ I. e., "Go ahead, continue to louse me." It was the ants that were stinging him. Coyote imagined the girls were lousing him.

¹² Cf. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 301; Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 268; Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

¹³ For another version of this tale see I, 16 of this part.

¹⁴ *qa mbīnavī-* was translated "river-rock robe" by Charlie Mack, but I see no reason for this rendering. It is perhaps compounded of *pīnavī-* "skunk robe" (?) and *qa-*, perhaps "rat."

¹⁵ I. e., "your little boy."

¹⁶ Not actually. What is meant is that penem suum impegit against them, in order to get out the blood with which they were swollen.

¹⁷ I. e., "We have taken along none of Owl's things with which to pay you for your doctoring."

¹⁸ A rather divergent version for the Comanche is given by St. Clair, *op. cit.*, pp. 280, 281.

¹⁹ Another Ute version is given by Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 320, 321; a Shoshone version is found in St. Clair, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-272. Curiously enough, the characteristic "magic flight" episodes, while closely paralleled in the Shoshone story, are absent from Mason's Ute version.

²⁰ "Ghost Woman" was Charlie Mack's term for what is perhaps better called "ogress." Mason uses the term "devil" for a male counterpart. According to Charlie Mack, she is to be identified with the whirlwind (*turu'n'nānī*), though in the myth she is transformed into an echo.

²¹ I. e., "Is he male or female?"

²² Four inspiratory breaths cut short. *Fuit ipsa qui copulavit cum eo, super penem saltando.*

²³ In order to trick her and let her think *id penem esse*. He was accustomed to hide under the blankets *et penem suum protrudere facere consuevit*.

²⁴ For she had intruded it too far up. We may be dealing here with a folk etymology. *cō-* "lung" (absolute *cō vi-*) is apparently thought of as related to *cō v'ōnup ī-* "ghost woman."

²⁵ I. e., "cum copulo."

²⁶ Rattlesnake transforms the Ghost Woman into the Echo.

²⁷ Recorded in English. A Shoshone version is given by Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 294. A similar story, according to Charlie Mack, is told of a woman who joined a herd of buffalo. Charlie Mack also heard tell of women *quae cum canibus coirent*, but he could not tell whether it was true; he rather doubted it.

Southern Paiute Dictionary

PREFACE.

The following dictionary of Southern Paiute is based on the Paiute texts which form the second part of this volume and on the grammatical and lexical notes which were secured from Tony Tillohash at the same time as the texts. It is in no sense a complete dictionary of the language but necessarily includes only such material as I happened to record. The entries and the examples which follow must always be understood in the light of a knowledge of the fundamental Paiute sounds and their changes. In other words, the dictionary presupposes Part I, for it would be impracticable to give chapter and verse for each phonetic rule that is illustrated in the examples.

The purpose of the dictionary is twofold: to assist the student in the analysis of the texts; and to provide the future student of comparative Shoshonean with the lexical materials that he will need. No attempt has been made to heap examples, which in most instances would add nothing that is not already evident from the entries themselves and the phonology and morphology of Paiute as described in Part I. On the other hand, distinctive derivatives of stems and compounds are given where available. Cross-references to the texts, indicated by page and line numbers, are given sparingly and with attention to their value for the student.

The dictionary includes all noun and verb (including adjective) stems, pronouns, adverbs, and interjections recorded. Of the elements which cannot occur unless preceded or followed by other elements it includes noun and verb stems which occur only as second elements in compounds, enclitics (including pronominal enclitics), postpositions, and prefixes. It does not include as independent entries the derivational and relational suffixes described and illustrated in the grammar. If an entry, such as an enclitic or postposition, is treated in the grammar, it is merely listed without examples and with the appropriate reference to Part I.

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November 3, 1930.*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The order of the letters of the Paiute alphabet used in this dictionary is based on that of the letters of the English alphabet, except that certain letters, symbolizing secondary sounds, are considered mere variants of others, symbolizing primary sounds. Thus, *v* is considered a variant of *p*; *r*, of *t*; *k* and γ , of *q*; *kw* and γw , of *qw*; *c*, of *s*; *ts*, of *tc*; and *o*, of *u*.

The order, then, of initials and medials in the main entries is as follows:

<i>Initial</i>	<i>Medial</i>
a	-a-
i	-i-
ĩ	-ĩ-
m	-m·-
n	-n·-
	-ŋ-
	-ŋw-
ɔ	-ɔ-
p	-p·-
	-v-
q (k)	-q·- (-k·-)
	-γ-
qw (kw)	-q·w- (-k·w-)
	-γw-
s (c)	-s·- (-c·-)
t	-t·-
	-r-
tc (ts)	-tc- (-ts-)
	-t·c- (-t·s-)
u (o)	-u- (-o-)
w	
y	-y-
	-ʻ (only as enclitic)

Of the nasalized stops, *-mp-* comes after *-mɔ-*; *-nt-* comes after *-nɔ-*; *-ŋq-* comes after *-ŋɔ-*; and *-ŋqw-* comes after *-ŋq-*. A reduplicating syllable does not count. Further, note that ' or *h* plus vowel is considered equivalent to that vowel. Long vowels or repeated vowels summing to two moras (e. g., *aa* = *a*) come after short vowels; syllables affected by ' (whether of type 'a or *a*', which are

considered equivalent) come after equivalent syllables not so affected. Thus, for words with initial *a* the order is:

- a ('a, ha)
- a· (aa)
- 'a (a', a'a)
- a' ('a', a'a', a'a')

The main entries and sub-entries are given as stems and elements in a thoroughly normalized form, no vocalic variants (e. g., *i* for *ï*) being recognized. All voiceless vowels are restored to their voiced form. This means that no voiceless spirants are entered, for these are merely secondary forms of voiced spirants before voiceless vowels. Non-initial stops following voiceless vowels are restored to their fundamental geminated form. E. g., the recorded *qa'qa'RA* appears as the entry *qaq·ara-*. On the other hand, the actually recorded forms, which follow these theoretically fixed entries, are given as notated, with all their regular phonetic changes and in their heard variants. Final *-'* after consonant, however, is regularly restored to its proper voiceless vowel; e. g., *qanu'aŋ'* would be given as *qanu'aŋA*. There are also other slightly regularizing changes which will help the student. For compounded stems beginning with *-v-*, see *p-*; with *-r-*, see *t-*; with *-ŋ-*, see *q-* (*k-*); with *-ŋw-*, see *qw-* (*kw-*); with *-ŋw-*, see *w-* or *m-* (a few cases of *-ŋw-*, however, where the evidence for derivation from *w-* or *m-* is lacking, are separately entered under *-ŋw-*).

The main entries are in roman small capitals (the vowels are in these always to be interpreted as fundamental voiced vowels). Under these the sub-entries are given in indented italic form; they consist of derivatives of the main entries.

The following symbols are used:

- () enclose inorganic element, i. e. element which is not theoretically present; e. g., *a(·)* indicates short *a* which is secondarily lengthened, *γ(a)i* indicates parasitic *a*
- separates radical elements and affixes from each other; does not indicate syllabic division
- indicates long vowel resulting from contraction of vowels belonging to distinct morphological elements, e. g. *qanu'-a-ŋA* from *qanu'-a-aŋA*
- : separates normalized, theoretical forms from forms as actually recorded

- ; separates forms which differ only in their grammatical affixes, such as can be freely used for all words of their class (nouns, verbs)
- < "derived from"
- + indicates unusual length of vowel or consonant
- . . . precedes enclitic element, e. g. *ai-. . . -n'ia-* to think
- A^x* unknown vowel (in main entry)
- ⁿ indicates that entered stem has nasalizing power
- ^s indicates that entered stem has spirantizing power
- ^g indicates that entered stem has geminating power
- Song refers to series of Paiute songs, as yet unpublished, obtained from Tony Tillohash

ABBREVIATIONS.

abs.	= absolute form of noun (see Paiute Gram., § 24, 1)	intr.	= intransitive
act.	= active	inv.	= invisible (see Paiute Gram., § § 39-43)
adj.	= adjective	iter.	= iterative (see Paiute Gram., § 58, 2 and 3)
adv.	= adverb, adverbial	lit.	= literally
ag.	= agentive	loc.	= locative
an.	= animate	mod.	= modal
caus.	= causative	mom.	= momentaneous (see Paiute Gram., § § 30; 58, 5)
cf.	= compare	neg.	= negative
comp.	= compounded	num.	= numeral
comp. n.	= compound noun	obj.	= object
comp. vb.	= compound verb	pas.	= passive
cont.	= continuative	perf.	= perfect
dem.	= demonstrative	pers.	= personal
dim.	= diminutive	plur.	= plural
distr.	= distributive	poss.	= possessive
du.	= dual	post.	= postposition
dur.	= durative	post-nom.	= post-nominal
enc.	= enclitic	pref.	= prefix
Eng.	= English	pron.	= pronoun
excl.	= exclusive	pte.	= participle
fut.	= future	q. v.	= which see
ger.	= gerund	quot.	= quotative
Gram.	= see Paiute Grammar: "Southern Paiute, a Shoshonean Lan- guage"	recip.	= reciprocal
imp.	= imperative	red.	= reduplicated
impers.	= impersonal	refl.	= reflexive
inan.	= inanimate	res.	= resultative
inc.	= inceptive	sing.	= singular
incl.	= inclusive	Span.	= Spanish
incor.	= incorporated	stat.	= static
indef.	= indefinite	subj.	= subject
indep.	= independent	temp.	= temporal
indir.	= indirective	tr.	= transitive
instr.	= instrumental	usit.	= usitative
inter.	= interrogative	vis.	= visible (see Paiute Gram., § § 39-43)
interj.	= interjection	voc.	= vocative

A

- A- that (indef.) (dem. stem; Gram., § 43)
a-n-i- in that (indef.) way; to do (indefinitely) (Gram., § 43, 3; § 26, 2, b)
- A-, -²A- enc. (Gram., § 19, 3, a)
- A- γ AIN-IA- mod. enc. (see *- γ ain-ia-*)
- A-^o present at (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 1); not used without other suffix:
-a-t- \ddot{i} - (ptc.) being present at
-a-n-u- present at; *-a-n-u-yu-* moving from being at
-a-t-u γ wa- along toward
- ' \dot{A} interj. of surprise, disgust (Gram., § 61, 1)
- A-^s quietly, gradually (adv. pref.): *a'-tca'AI* to catch quietly, res. *a'-tca'ai-k'a'* to hold quietly, to keep quietly; *a'- χ ari- \ddot{i} '* sits quiet; *a'- η w \ddot{i} nu'* stands quiet; *a'- η w \ddot{i} 'i-k-U* to fall quietly and gradually; *a'- η WA'tsu- η 'u-m \ddot{i}* to gradually catch up with them (inv.); *a'-ya'ai'* gradually dies; *'a'-^a-tcu γ wa'-p \ddot{i} γ ai-n-i-a-m'* (it) appeared to be gradually approaching them (452, 25)
- 'A-^o horn:
'a-p- \ddot{i} - abs.: *'a'-p \ddot{i}* horn
'a- in comp. n.: *a'- η w \ddot{i}* awl made of horn; *a'-m-untso'a γ uts* horn spoon; *a'-p-an-a-^a-va-ni* horn-between-at-my, between my horns (456, 31)
'a-p- \ddot{i} - in comp. n.: *a'p \ddot{i} - χ ani* horn house; *a'p \ddot{i} -muntso'a γ uts* horn spoon (see also *'a-* in comp. n.)
'a- in comp. vb.: *'a'-t- $\dot{\epsilon}$ n'NA* to hook with horns; *'a'-t-ca'^a* to catch on the horns
- A', 'A' sign of quotation; ho! (Gram., § 60, 3; § 61, 1)
- AI- uncle; male's nephew, niece: *a'i-ni* my uncle (paternal, maternal); *a'i-(y)a- η um(w)I* uncle (obj.) of you 2 (311, 11)
ai-tsi- nephew, niece: *a'i-tsi-ni* my (male's) nephew, niece
- AI- that (indef.) (dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 43, 5)
ai-a- that (indef.) (obj.; *ibid.*)
'ai-a- it (inan. vis.; obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 7)
- AI-^s to say, to make a sound: *a'i-p- \ddot{i} γ a'* (he) said (308, 5); *a'i- γ a'*, *a'i- χ a'* saying, when (he) said (316, 5); *a'i- ξ V-cu-anA* as he said, cried (460, 30); *imi a'i-'na-mi* your saying (349, 1); *qa'-na-cu-v^w* *a'i-p- \ddot{i} γ a* just-his-own-singing (he) said, he kept on singing
ai-q-a- say, said (Gram., § 32, 2): *'a(·)ni' α -n* *'ai-k' \dot{A}* what I say! (310, 10); *a γ a'n-i- η u-tsu- η w'* *a'i-k' \dot{A}* I wonder what happened that she (inv.) says so, cries (450, 20); *a'i-k' \dot{A} -ni* I

- said (353, 6); *a'i-k̄-a-q̄-u-ηwA* as he (inv.) told; *a'i-k̄-a-rami* we 2 (incl.) said
- ai-q̄-a-* plur.: *a'i-k̄-A-p̄iγa'* (they) said (319, 13); *a'i-k̄-a-i'* (they) say
- ai-ηu-* mom.: *a'i-ηu-p̄iγa'* spoke out; *a'i-ηu-mpaA-cu-ni* let me say again (410, 2); *'a'i-ηu-m̄x-qa'a-ηwA* after he (inv.) had said so; *a'i-k̄-a-ηu* several speak out
- ai-n'ia-*, *ai-m'i-* usit.: *a'i-mA*, *a'i-m'IA*, *'a'i-mi'* always says, is in habit of saying, means (316, 7); *n̄i'γir 'a'i-m'γ'* I truly am wont to say, dream (472, 31); *i'γai a'i-mi'x-k̄a'* has been always referring to this one (466, 35); *a'i-k̄-a-mi'* several are wont to say
- ai-ηq̄i-* to say to: *a'i-ηq̄i-qai-nA* what (he) said to (them) (385, 7); *pu(w)a'-m' ai-ηq̄i-yi-aηa-ni* with-power I-say-to-him, I doctor him with supernatural power
- a'i-ntc̄i-* ptc.: *a'i-ntc̄i* saying; *a'i-n'ni-ntc̄i* one who keeps saying; *a'i-va-nti'* will be saying (fut. ptc.) (464, 8)
- ai-γw'ai-* to go and say: *a'i-xw'ai-p̄iγa'* said as (he) went (434, 30); *a'i-xwa'a* go and tell (him)! (446, 24)
- ai-* in comp. vb.: *a'i-p'aγ'i'* says while going along; *a'i-k̄-ar̄i-p̄iγa'* said while sitting (362, 11); *a'i-vuru-p̄iγa'* said as (he) went here and there (436, 6; 458, 8)
- ai-* . . . *-n'ia-* to think: *a'i-k̄-A-campa-n'ia-ni* I only think so
- ampaya-n'ia-* *ai-* there is a noise: *ampa'(i)ya-n'ia* there is a noise going on, *ampa'(i)ya-n'ia* *a'i-YU-campa* even if a noise is heard (357, 7)
- 'an'ia-cu-* *ai-* to tease: *'a(·)n'A-cu-ηwu-n a'i-k̄-a-mi'* you (plur.) are wont to tease me (327, 5)
- ta'mpi-n'ia-* *ai-* to be tired of: *ta'mpi-nia-rajw a'i-k̄-A* is tired of what we (incl.) (say)
- a-i-* to say without effect: *a'(a)i-p̄iγa'* said without effect
- AI- then, now (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)
- AI- to be where? to do what? (Gram., § 44, 2, c)
- AIN-I- to touch (only with instrumental prefix):
- m(a)ain-i-* to touch with the hand: *m(a)ain-yi-A^xqa-ni* I am touching it; mom. *m(a)ain-ηu* to touch with the hand, *n̄i' m(a)ain-ηo-qwA* touch it (inv.), plur. *m(a)ain-x̄ka-ηu* several touch, iter. *mama'in'ni'* touches several times, several objects; res. *m(a)ain-k̄a'* to have the hand touching, to keep one's hand on, *m(a)ain-k̄ai-(y)aqA* to keep holding it, have one's hand on it, plur. *ma(·)m'ain-k̄ai-(y)aqA* several have (their) hands on it

- t(a)ain-i-* to touch with the feet: *t(a)ain-i'* touches with the feet
t(a)ain-i- to touch with a thrown object: *mom. ma(·)m'a'utca-ŋA*
t(a)ain-i-ŋU woman has touched him by throwing (a stone)
- AIP·A- boy: (cf. *aiva-*):
aip-a-tsi- boy: *a'ip-a-ts-* boy; *'a'ip-a-tsi-ŋwī*, *a'a'ip-a-tsi-ŋwī* boys;
wa'-n-'aip-a-tsi-ŋwī two boys (obj.) (438, 24)
- AIP·A- to extend one's hands palm out, feet soles out (occurs only
with instrumental prefix):
m(a)-'aip-a-: *m(a)'a'ip-a'* to stretch out one's hands so as to show
the palms
t(a)-'aip-a-: *t(a)'a'ip-a'* to stretch out one's feet so as to show the
soles; res. *t(a)'a'ip-a-q'a'* to have one's feet stretched out so as
to show the soles; *tama'-r-'aip-a-* summer-foot-stretch-out, there
are summer footprints (428, 5; Song)
- AIVA-^o young man (cf. *aip-a-*): *a'iva-mī* young men (472, 10), *a'iva-*
m-i-raŋwa our (incl.) young men
aiva-p'itsi- young man: *a'ifA-p'its-*, *a'ifA-puts-* young man; *a'ifA-*
p'itsi-ŋwī, *a'ifA-putsi-ŋwī* plur.; *wa'-n-'aifA-pi-tsi-ŋwī* two young
men (348, 2)
aiva- in comp. n.: *a'ifA'-pīya-rīyiv^wini* my former-youth-friend
(350, 7)
- AIVAYA- companion: *a'iva(i)ya-ni* my fellow-man, plur. *a'iva(i)ya-*
ŋwī-ni my fellow-men (383, 8), *a'ivea-ŋwī-aŋA* his companions
(438, 19)
- AAIK·A- oh! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)
- 'AAIK·WI- oh! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)
- 'A·'INI- to be silent:
'a'ini-q'ai- res., to be silent: *'a''inu-k'a'* to be silent; *'a''inu-k'a-nti*
one who is silent
'a'ini-ŋu- to become silent: *'a'ini-ŋU-campA* though (their whoop-
ing) ceased (474, 34)
'a'ini-q'w'ai-ŋu- to grow silent: *'a''inu-k'w'ai-ŋU-q(w)a-q'A* as soon
as it became silent (474, 7)
- Aİ-^s new:
aī-vi- now (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a); *a'iv^wi-t'i* new
aī-vi-c-u- enough (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, c); enough! (interj.; Gram.,
§ 61, 2)
aī- in comp. n.: *aī'-χani* new house; *aī'-rai'* new shirt; *aī'-v^wat cA*
new moccasins; *aī'-v^wa'* new water; *a'ī-'əphi* new wood; *'a'ī-*
v^wijwawits- newly married man; *a'ī-n-aŋwa-(a)ŋA* (*a'ī-*) his fresh
tracks

AĪC-I-^s burden basket: 'a'ic-I gathering basket, carrying basket of coiled weave made of "squaw-bush"

aīc-i-teu- to make a burden basket: 'a'ic-i-teu-v^wa-nu' will make a basket; 'a'ic-i-teu-v^wa-nu-ia-ni I shall make a basket; 'a'ic-i-teu-v^wa-tη-ni being about to make a basket I (369, 2)

AĪC-I-^s butterfly:

aīc-i-vītsi-: a'ci-v^wits butterfly; pa'-a'ic-v^wits dragonfly (lit., water-butterfly)

AM-Ī-, am-u-cu- they, those (an. indef.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

am-ia-(cu-) them, those (obj.; ibid.)

am-ī- they, them (an. vis. plur.; subj. obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 2)

-AM-Ī- (enc. pers. pron.) they (an. vis.); them (an. vis.); their (an. vis.) (Gram., § 40)

AMPA-^s sound, noise:

ampa-γa-^s to talk: ampa'γa-i' talks; ampa'χα-χ_u-η_{WA} if he (inv.) talks

ampaγa-q_u- inc.: ampa'χα-q_v to begin to talk

ampaγa-q_a- plur.: ampa'x-qa-i' several talk

'ampaq_a- iter.: a'a'mpa²qa-i' talks repeatedly, a'a'mpa²qa-q_a-i' several talk repeatedly

ampaγa-p_i- pas. ptc.: ampa'xa-p_i sound of talking

ampaγa-vi- ag.: ampa'xa-φ_i one who talks

ampaγa-rī- ptc.: qan-iaγantī ampa'xa-rī-η'WA main speaker of the village; ampa'xa-rī-η'wa-z_m-ī their talker from among them, ampa'x-qa-rī-η'wa-z_m-ī their talkers

a'mpaγa- to talk in vain: a'mpaχα-i' talks to no purpose

-ampaγa- in comp. forms: fi'-'ampaγa- to have a good talk; saru'-ampaγa- to talk hoarsely; via'v-ampaγa- to chief-talk, to talk in council, nu'v-ampaχα-ηwīnu-za' while standing and talking like a chief (383, 7); it'ijwa-'ampaγa- to talk in one's sleep, it'ijw-ampaγa-i' talks in (his) sleep

ampaγa-q_wa'ai- to talk away: ampa'x-qa_wa'ai' keeps talking

ampaγa- in comp. vb.: ampaγa-t'iviteu- to talk-request, ampa'x-tiv^witeu-i' asks (one) to talk for oneself; ampa'χα-ηwīnī-i' one stands and talks; ampa'x-qari-i' one sits and talks; ampa'χα-γuxwi' several sit and talk; ti'qaz'mpaγa-i' eat-talks, prays before eating, says grace

ampa-rīηwava-γa- to talk-resound: ampa'-riηwaxaxa-i' there is a sound like talking

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- ampa-mai-* to noise-say: *ampa'-m'ai-k'A* there is a noise
ampa-rɔɣwa- to yell out orders: *ampa'-rɔɣwa-i'* stands up on a height
 and yells out orders (e. g. for hunting game, moving camp) or
 information; *ampa'rɔɣwα'-püɣa(a)i-c-u* commanded out loud
 again (430, 13)
ampa-ya- . . . *-n'ia- ai-* to noise-like say: *ampa'(i)ya-n'u*
ai-k'A noise is going on; *a'mpa(i)ya-n'u a'ip'üɣa'* made a racket
 (432, 21)
ampa-ru- to make a noise: *ampa'ro·no·χwi-tcai-ɣwai-ɣu* people
 assemble together and make a noise (of weeping) (Song 17)
 A·MPĪ-^s (cf. *ampa-*):
a'mpĭ-roa'-q'ai- to be evident because of noise: *a'mpĭ-roa'-q'ai-va'*
 will be easily told because of noise taking place (454, 35)
 A·MU-:
a'mu-q'i- to resound with a deep, hollow sound: *(a)a'mu²qwi-yü-n'u'*
 makes a deep noise as when a stone is thrown into a well (not a
 splash)
 ANAMPA-ɣA- to say something (cf. *ampa-ɣa-*): *and'mpaɣA* to say
 something
 AN·IA- what? (obj. of verbs of saying and mental activity; Gram.,
 § 44, 1, d)
an'ia- to say what? (ibid.)
an'ia- . . . *-n'ia-* to care for what? (ibid.)
'an'ia- . . . *-c-u-* teasing (with following *ai-* to say; ibid.)
 *ANIP·A·NI-: *'a(·a)nu'p'a(·a)nu-p'ü* squaw-dance, round dance
 ANIYA- relative (song form for *in'ia-*, q. v.): *'a'ni'yaŋ'a'* his relation
 (Song 173)
 *AN·Q·Q- when? (Gram., § 44, 2, b)
 ANTĪŋWĪA·VU- shoulder: *ant'ŋwĪa'vu-ma(i)yu-aŋa-φi* he from his (own)
 shoulder
ant'ŋwĪa'vu-vi- abs.: *ant'ŋwĪa'vu-φi* shoulder
 *A·N·UC·I- harness (< Eng. *harness*):
'a'nuc'i'-a-t'ui- to cause a harness to be on: *'a'n·u'ci-ä-t'ui'* harness
 (a horse)
 AŋA-(C·U-) he, that one (an. indef.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem.
 pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)
aŋaia-(c-u-) him, that one (obj.; ibid.)
aŋa- he, him (an. vis. sing.; subj., obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram.,
 § 42, 1)
aŋa- they, them (an. vis. plur.; subj., obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram.,
 § 42, 2) = *am'i-* (q. v.)

-AŋA- (enc. pers. pron.) he (vis.); him (vis.); his (vis.) (Gram., § 40)

AŋA-C-U- only, just (?) (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

AŋA- who? (pers. inter. pron., subj.; Gram., § 44, 1, a)

aŋaia- whom? (obj.)

aŋam-ï- who? which ones? (plur., subj.)

aŋam-ïa- whom? which ones? (plur., obj.)

AŋA-^s:

aŋa-vi- ant: aŋa'^(a)-φI ant (small, black sp.); aŋa'^(a)u-ŋwï plur.

AŋA-^s piñon jay: a'^(a)ŋA piñon jay; a'^(a)ŋa-ŋwï plur.

na-^aa-ŋa-ru- to make oneself a piñon jay: plur. mom. na-^aa'^(a)ŋa-
RU-qwq-u-mpa' shall all turn (our) selves into piñon jays (406, 12)

AŋAVU-^s (AŋAVï-^s) arm: aŋa'φU arm; aŋa'vu-maŋqu-ni by my arm;

a'ŋavu-maŋqu-ŋumi by your (plur.) arms

aŋavu-vi- abs.: aŋa'vu-φI arm (from wrist to neck)

aŋavu-ɔɔ-^a- arm-bone: aŋa'vu-ɔɔ-á' shoulder blade

aŋavu-γai- to have an arm: distr. a'^(a)ŋavï-χai-p-ïγa' (they) all had
an arm (468, 15); neg. distr. a'^(a)ŋavï-^ai-p-ïä' (they) had no arms
(468, 15)

AŋI-^s mosquito:

aŋi-vi- abs.: a(·)ŋi'-φI mosquito; dim. aŋi'vi-ts' flea

comp.: moo'-aŋiφI mosquito

AŋWAI-^s, aŋwai'-n-ia- signalling: 'a'ŋwai'(i)-n-i' like signalling, so as to
be easily noticed (382, 8), 'a'ŋwai(i)-n-ia-ŋ 'ani'-k-^a signalling-
like he does, he gives a signal, makes noticeable

AŋWAT-A-ⁿ rib:

aŋwat-a-mpï- abs.: aŋwat'a-mpï rib; nï'ni aŋwat'a-mpï my rib

AŋWAYA-, aŋwaya-n-ia- to be dizzy: a'ŋwai(i)γα-n-ï(y)α-ni I am dizzy

Aŋ)wïC-I- to sneeze: nï' q'wï'c-i-i' I sneeze; plur. tuŋw q'wï'c-k-a-i' we
(incl.) sneeze

AŋQA-^s (AŋQA-^o) red:

aŋqa-γa- to be red: ptc. aŋqa'-χα-rï red; mom. aŋqa'-χα-ŋU to
become red, plur. aŋqa'-x-qa-ŋU several become red

aŋqa-ru-^a- to turn red: mom. aŋqa'-r'uα-ŋU to turn red

aŋqa-p-ï-: aŋqa'-p-ï "reddish" (name of a large spring)

aŋqa- in comp. n.: aŋqa'-ɔφI red wood; aŋqa'-ɔra φï red pole; aŋqa'-
as:A red water-jar (before gum is put on); aŋqa'-nuŋwï red person;
aŋqa'-t w^wip-ï red earth; aŋqa'-q-anï red house; aŋqa'-sari-ts' red
dog; aŋqa'-p-aγï' red fish, trout; aŋqa'-q-wa-^anaŋwants' robin,
aŋqa'q-wa-nä'wants'; aŋqa'-q-wA'ci-va(i)ya-ts' red-tail-bottomed,
blue racer; aŋqa'-s-arats' red-baby, infant (term used by Escalante

band of Paiutes for infant), *anqa'-saratsi-tsi-gay* when (he) is a red littleba by (Song 179); *anqa-yiv^wi-* red pine, *anqa'-yiv^wi-mpa-γa-rux:WA* through a red pine (Song 139); *anqa'-q-anu'γa-tci-ηwi* red-cliff-base-people (band formerly living in Long Valley, now with Kaibab Paiutes)

anqa- in comp. adj., ptc.: *anqa'-c-iaq-a-Ri* pink; *anqa'-m'unuq-wi-tci* red and round; *anqa'-q-wica-Ri* red-flashing, lightning, obj. *anqa'-q-wica-rü* (317, 6); *αηqa'-p'a-NU^xquide-tci-ηwi* red-stream-people (tribal name)

anqa- in comp. vb.: *anqa'-χwic:A* to flash red (446, 27); *anqa'-q-orō-i'* paints the face (any color)

anqa-n'na- to paint: *anqa'-n'na-i'* paints (it red, blue, or other color); *a(·)ηqa'-n'NA^x-p'iγa'ai-k:WA* painted it (inv.) (404, 32)

ΑΗWA- him (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 1) = *anqa-* (q. v.)

ΑΩηΩ-^s dead tree, dead log:

αωηω-vi- abs.: *a(·)'ηηω-φi* dried up woods, obj. *a'ωηω^wα-vi'* dead log (444, 2); *a(·)'ηηω-vi-α-ni* my dried up woods; in comp. ptc.: obj. *a'ωηωvi-wini-ri'* dried up tree that was standing (422, 32)

A·P·A-: *a·p·a-nu'noq-wi-qai-ηo-mpani* tears running down (Song 63; *a·p·a-* explained by Tony as song-equivalent of *pa-* water, metaphorically used for tears)

'AP·IQ·U- to lean back and forward (iter. inc. of *avi-* to lie?): *a'a'p'i'qo-va'* will lean back and forward (while playing) (382, 8); *a'a'p'i^xqu-p'iγa'* (he) moved his body back and forward (while seated) (384, 12)

AP·ii-^s to sleep (sing.): *nü' A'p'i't-t'* I sleep; *A'p'i't-tca:ηA* he fell asleep; *A'p'i't-kai-* (*y*)*ηA* he slept, has been asleep

'*ap'ii-* iter.: *a'a'p'ii-t'* sleeps repeatedly

ap'ii-ηu- mom.: *A'p'i't-ηu-yi-ηA* he is falling asleep; *A'p'i't-ηu-nts-qα-ni* I am sleepy

ap'ii-k-u- inc.: *A'p'i't-k:U* to fall asleep

ap'ii-t-ui- caus.: *A'p'i't-tu-p'iγa'ai-ηWA* made him (inv.) go to sleep (310, 9); *A^xp'i't-tu-p'iγa'ai-mi* (he) made out as though they two were asleep

ap'ii-t-ua- impers.: *A'p'i't-ua(i)-yi-n-o'* somebody is sleeping

ptc.: *A'p'i't-tci* one who sleeps; neg. *qatc A'p'i't-ηwa'ai-t'i* one who does not sleep

ap'ii-vi- ag.: *A'p'i't-φi* sleeper, one who always sleeps

ap'ii-γwa'ai- to go and sleep: *A'p'i't-χw'ai-va-n:ai-ni* I shall go and sleep

- ap'ii-vayi-* to sleep-return, to have slept: *A'pü't-vai-k'ai-tua(i)-yü-r'ö-n-oo-xain'i iü'* somebody has been sleeping here, it seems
tü'-ap'ii- to sleep soundly: *tü''-A'pü'* sleeps well, has a good sleep
- AP'ÖN'NAI-** to gallop: *A'pö'n'nai'* gallops, lopes; *A'pö'n'nai-vü'n'i'* fut.
ap'ön'nai-t'ihwava-γa- there is a sound of galloping: *A'pö'n'ai-t'ihwava-xa-γki-xu-ayA* as a noise of hoofs was heard coming
 he . . . (476, 13)
- A'P'ÖRUC'I-^s** apples (< Eng. *apples*): *a'p'öruc'I* apples; *a'p'öric-i-xwA'c'i-p'i'* apple-ripened, ripe apples
- A'P'Ö-^s**: *a'p'ö-r'ihqani-* cave (see *tihqani-*), *a'p'ö-r'ühqani'* obj. (319, 5)
- AVA-^s** shade:
ava-vi- abs.: *ava'-φI* shade
 comp.: *ava'-xani*, *ava'-xani* shade summer house; *ava'-^a-ruq-wai-p-a'-q-wA* under side of its (inv.) shade (476, 6); *ava'-n'Nö²q(w)öm'-MI-tsi-γa-nü'* bend of canyon or wash that is shaded and not easily seen; *ava'-n'Nö²qöm'MI-tsi-γai-p'änti-^sa-q-wA* being (obj.) at its (inv.) shaded bend (474, 13)
- AVA'-** much, great, big:
ava'-na- verbal n.: *ava''^a-na* much; *ava''-n o-xw'vüaxa'* much to-be-grassy, to have much grass; *tiv^wi'tsü-(tivr^wi'tsi-)ava''a-na* very much, very many (316, 10)
 ptc. *ava'-t-i-* big: *a(·)'val'ü-ηw'α-ηw'u-ηwA* the big ones
ava'-t-i- in comp. n.: *ava''t-i-cin'a'φI*, *ava't'ü-cina'φI*, big-dog, gray wolf; *ava''t-i-ηqwin-o-ra-ts'* wolf; *'ava(·)''t-i-m.A'cüφI* big finger, thumb
- AVI-^s** to lie (sing.): *nü' a(·)vü'* I lie down
avi-q-a- plur.: *tayw a(·)vü'-k'a-i'* we lie down
avi-ηu- mom., to camp: *a(·)vü'-ηu-yü-anA* he stops over night to sleep
a'avi- inc.: *a'a'φI* to begin lying down
avi-k-u- inc.: *av(·)'-q-v(·)-v^wa* will lie down
avi-tc'i- ptc.: *avü'tc'i'* lying down; *a(·)vü'tc'i'* lying, i. e. mountain range, ridge; *a(·)vü'tc-i-tc'i'* *qwaia'ηqwöpA* little-ridge beyond, beyond a little ridge (372, 1)
tavi-avi- to lie in the sun: *tavü'-avi-xa'* while lying in the sun
pühqa-avi- to keep lying down: *pühqa'-a(·)vü-p'üγa'* kept lying down (319, 5)
 comp. vb.: *avi'-m'mua-kü* lying while moving (e. g. on the water); *'a(·)vü'-ηU-pax-pü'γa'* camped while traveling, went to bed night after night (373, 12); *punu'-av-xa'* looking while lying (308, 5)
-avi- in comp. vb.: *un-i-avi-* to lie while so doing, to lie as described

- (474, 29; 398, 26); *m^wæn-i-avi-m'ia-* to be wont to lie while doing that, acting in that manner; *tig-a-avi-* to eat while lying; *pīn-i-avi-* to look while lying (308, 5); *mantcu'ai-avi-* to lie in wait (309, 4); *muntun'ni-avi-* to lie covered up (398, 26); *'aγa-'mīc-i-avi-* to lie down and hide (335, 4); *nas:ɔγɔ'ma-avi-* to lie covered with earth (474, 28); *tap-ai:k'ai-avi-* to lie senseless; *aγaric-u'ai-avi-ŋw'ai-* to lie and pay no attention to him
- AVIT'A- chief: *tan'wa'-avit'a-i'* men's chief (obj.) (476, 18)
- AVUA-^s semicircular (valley):
avua-γa-nti- ptc.: *avo'a'γanti* semicircular valley; *a(·)vu(·)'a'χant aRi* the semicircular valley (410, 12); *avo(·)'a'χanti'* (obj.) valley bordered by a semicircular ridge (432, 3); *avo'a'γanti-p'αηwt-ux'WA* into a semicircular valley (410, 12)
- AQ'A- it, that (inan. indef.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)
aq'ia- it, that (obj.; *ibid.*)
aq'ia- it (inan. vis.; obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 7)
- AQ'A- imp. enc. (Gram., § 19, 2, o; § 52)
- AQ'A- (enc. pers. pron.) it (inan. vis.; subj., obj.); its (inan. vis.) (Gram., § 40)
-aq'a- it is . . . (Gram., § 56, 3)
- AQ'ī-ⁿ sunflower seeds: *a'q'ī* sunflower seeds
aq'ī-mpī- sunflower plant: *A^zq'ī'-mpī*
 comp.: *A^zq'ī'-c'ap'i* sunflower mush; *mo'q-wi-āq'ī* Hopi-sunflower-seeds (bigger variety than *a'q'ī*)
- AQ'ī- to feel (only compounded):
ta-aq'ī-: *ta-q'ī-* to feel with the foot
ma-aq'ī-: *ma'q'ī-i'* feels with the hand
- AQ'ɔ'I-^s to sleep (plur.) (cf. *qɔ'i-* several go to sleep): *A^zqɔ(·)'i-yi-a(·)mī* they are sleeping; *A^zqɔ''i-x'U* while (they) are sleeping (412, 17)
- AγA- what? (inter. pron. used with post.; Gram., § 44, 2, a)
aγa-n-i- how? to act how? to do what? (*ibid.*; § 26, 2, b)
- 'AγA-^s right in, among (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 2); occurs only compounded:
'aγa-ruγwa- moving through, in among
'aγa-va- right in; *'aγa-va-yu-* acting right in; *'aγa-va-tcuγwa-* right into; *'aγa-va-tcu-m'anəqwa-* out from among
- 'A'γA-^o in hiding (only compounded with vb. stems):
'a'γa-wantci- to hide-put, to hide (tr.): *a'χa-wantci-yi-'q'wA* hides it (inv.); *a'χa-wantci-ŋqī-'yi-k'wa-mi* I am hiding it (inv.) for

- you; usit. *a'γa-wantci-ηqī-m'w'k'* has been hiding from (321, 2); usit. perf. *a'χa-ηwantci-ηqī-mi-k'a'* has hidden from (one) customarily; cont. *a'χa-wantci-mi-yu(·i)-'k'wA* is hiding it (inv.); inc. res. *a'γa-ηwaywantci-qai-va'* shall have (it) hidden (388, 8); iter. *a'χa-ηwa'watu-yu-ni* has been hiding me several times
- 'a'γa-m'mic-i-* to hide (intr.): cont. *a'χa-'mici(·)n-'i'* keeps himself hidden; refl. *na-'a'χa-'m'w'i(i)ci(i)·'i'* hide yourself; refl. cont. *na-'a'χa-m'(ə)ci-ni-'i'* is hiding himself; *a'γa-m'mi'cik-w-qai-na-η'wəai'* what he had hid (386, 10); *a'γa-'m'w'ici'-a(·)w-p'iyā'* hide-lay, lay and hid himself (335, 4)
- 'a'γa-mantcaηwi-na-* to throw into a place of hiding: *a'χa-mantcaηwi-na-p'iyā'* threw away into a hiding place (438, 26); distr. plur. *a'χa-mamantcaηwi-n'NA^x-qa-p'iyā atci'RU^xqwap'iaφi'* threw away, so as to hide them, their bows which they had made (438, 28)
- 'a'γa-p'in-i-* to watch from a place of hiding: *a'γa-p'ini-k'ai-p'iyā'-ai-mi'* watched them (inv.) from (his) hiding place (325, 1); *'a'x-p'ini-k'ai-p'iyai-(y)anA* watched him while hiding (462, 38); *a'γa-p'in-i-yuγwi-p'iyā'* hide-look-sat (plur.), (they) sat watching from a place of hiding (474, 2)
- ΛγI-** to take into one's mouth: *a(·)χ(ε)'i'* takes (flour, ground seeds) and tastes (while engaged in grinding seeds); *a(·)χ(a)'i-yi-q-wA* takes it (inv.) in at one mouthful (e. g. breath of air, mass of ground food)
- aγi-q-a-* subj. plur.: *a(·)χ(a)'i-k'a(i)-yi-'q-wA* several take it (inv.) in at one mouthful
- aγi-ηu-* mom.: *a(·)χ(a)'i-ηU-tsi-'q-wA* having taken it (inv.) all in at one gulp (452, 27)
- 'aq-i-* iter.: *a'q(a)i-yi-'q-wA* takes it (inv.) in many times
- ΛγO-ⁿ** fir, see **γO-ⁿ**
- ΛγO-ⁿ** tongue: *a'x·ə* tongue
- aγo-mpi-* abs.: *aχo'-mpi* tongue
- aγo-ηqwai-* to have a tongue
- aγo-ηqwa-* to get a tongue
- aγo-ntu-* to make a tongue
- aγo-* in comp. n.: *pA'tca'-a²x·ə* (*-a²x·U*) tongue stitched to upper of moccasin
- aγo-^s* instr.: *axo'-rəv'w'i'* licks
- AS-I-^s** roan-colored, dark gray:
- as'i-χa-* to be roan-colored: ptc. *A'si'-χa-rī* roan-colored, dark gray, *A'ci'-χa-rī*

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comp.: *A'si'-s-aγwa-γa-rī* very light blue; *A'si'-(y)uw^wiaφi* roan-song (one of four types of mourning songs)

AS·IA'-^s outer covering, skin, bark: *A'ci'a'* outside, surface, covering, skin; *A'si''a'* skin, bark; *A'ci'a-zq·A* its surface, *A'si'a-zq·A* its skin, bark; *A'si'a-ni* my skin; *A'si'a(i)-ya-zq·A* its bark (obj.) (315, 7); *A'si''a(i)-ya-q^zWA* their (inan. inv.) bark (315, 6)

as'ia-vi- abs.: *A'ci'a-φi* skin

in comp. n.: *A'si'a-ra(·a)'^s* bark shirt; *A'si'a-χani* bark house

as'ia-ruqwa-γi-mi-k-u- to start to travel under the surface:
A'si(·)'a-RV^zqwa-γi-Mi'-ku-p'īγa' started to travel under the surface (454, 5)

'AC·INTU'I- to like, to want: *'a'c-intu-na'^a-mi* your liking (her), one whom you like (374, 2); *qa'va-tsn* *'a'c-ntu'i'* being-about-to-sing-I want, I want to sing

AT·A'-^s sand:

at'a-vī- abs.: *A'ta'-φī* sand

at'a-vī-aγai- to be sandy: *A'ta'-vī-aχai-aq·A* it is sandy

comp.: *A'ta'-RA^zqa-γa-nī* sand flat; *A'ta'-n-U^zqwi-nī* sand-stream (place name), Cottonwood Spring; *A'ta'-q-wī* sand-left-hand (Song 184)

AT·A'-^o rawhide:

at'a-p'ī- abs.: *A'ta'-p'ī* rawhide, hide from which hair and fat have been scraped off but which has not yet been tanned and smoked into buckskin

AT·A'-^o crow:

at'a-p'ī-tsi- abs.: *A'ta'-p'īts* crow

at'a-q-w'ō-tsi- *A'ta'-q'wōts*, *A'ta'q'ōts* crow (379, 2)

AT·Aγīvī'-^s upper cheek:

at'aγīvī-vi- abs.: *A'ta'χī(·i)vī-φi* upper cheek (between ear and eye)

'AT·ī-ⁿ good (ptc. of *'ayu-*, q. v.): *'a't'ī* good

in comp. n.: *'a't'i-ηkava'* good horse; *'a't'i-cari-ts* good dog; *'a't'i-nuηwī* good person; *'a't'i-atcī* good bow; *'a't'ū-mpa'* good water in comp. verb.: Gram., § 18, 2, b

AT·īγi- to nurse, to suckle: *A'tī'x·i* to nurse

at'īγi-q·a- plur.: *A'tī'x·i-kā-i'* several nurse

'at'īγi- iter.: *a't'īχi'* nurses several times

comp. vb.: *A'tī'x·i-qari-p'īγa'* was sitting and suckling (327, 13)

AT·URO-TSI'-^s water is hot (cf. *qwat'iro-tsi-*):

ptc.: *A'tu'rv-tu-tcī pa'* hot water

A·RAηQA'-^o grasshopper:

a·raηqa-p'ī-tsi- abs.: *a'raηqa-p'ī-ts* grasshopper

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SAPIR

- ARĪ-(C-U-) it, that (inan. indef.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)
aria-(c-u-) it, that (obj.; *ibid.*)
arī- it (inan. vis.; subj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 6)
 'ARĪK-ī- almost, nearly (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)
 ARO'A- to be (vis.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)
 AROVIYĪRA- Orderville, place name (< Eng. *Orderville*): *a'roviyira-i'* of Orderville (Song 140)
 AT·CAQ·Ī- object falls: *A'tca'q·ī* to fall (said of an object)
at·caq·ī-t·ui- caus.: *A'tca'q·ī-t·u-van·va·q·a-ni* I shall make it fall
 A·TSIQ·A-^s: *a'ts·qa-φ* place name (small town named Fredonia about 12 miles south of Kanab)
 ATCĪ-^s bow: *a(·)tcī* bow; *'a(·)tcī'-α-φī* his own (obj.) bow (313, 7)
atcī-γai-p·ī- past bow: *atcī'-γai-p·ī* formerly used bow, cast-away bow
atcī-γai- to have a bow: *'a(·)tcī'-χai-ni* I have a bow
atcī-ru- to make a bow: *atcī'-ru-v^wa-^anu'* will make a bow
 comp.: *vū'-atcī* wood bow; *wi'c'ya'-atcī* feather bow; *t(·)v''p·i-atcī* short-bow, pistol (term used by Sibit band); *ta(·)ŋa'-atcī* kick-bow, sinew-backed bow
 'AUQ·WA-:
'auq·wa-γa- makes a rasping noise (intr.): *'a(·)uq·wa-χa(i)-yī-n·i'* (it) makes a noise like that produced by rubbing a stick over the notched rasp
 A·WAWA' cry in myth (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)
 AYA-^o prairie dog: *a'(i)YA* prairie dog, *a(i)ya'-mū* plur.
 'AYA-^s (AYA-^s?) turtle: *a'(i)YA*, *'a'ia* turtle; plur. *a(i)ya'-mū*; *a(i)ya'-vunŋqu-ni* my turtle-pet, my turtle
'aya-'ini-γai- to have a turtle: *a(i)ya'-'ini-za'* to have a turtle
'aya-ru- to make a turtle: *a(i)ya'-ru-yu-ni* I make a turtle
pi'ka'-a'aya- hard-shell turtle: *pi'ka(·)'-'aiA* hard-shell turtle; *pi'ka(·)'-'ay ayA* the land turtle (400, 28)
 AYANWĪRA^z:- *ai'aŋwīR* sp. of bird (smaller than *tcīγī''uφ*, q. v.)
 AYAT·A- Coconino Indian: *aiü't·A* Coconino Indian, *aiü't·q-ŋwī* plur.
 'AYU-^s to be good: *nū' a'(i)yī-i'* I am good; *'a'a'(i)yu-αq·A* it (is) good; *'a'a'(i)yu-'u* you (are) good; *nū' a'iu-van·i'* I shall be good; *'a'(i)yu-χu-(w)aq·A* it would be good (378, 1); *'a'a'(i)yu-ŋqv-n·i-χa'* 'ca'i' would that I might get well!
'ayū-q-a- plur.: *'a'a'(i)ru-q(w)a(i)-'yu-m(w)ī* they (inv.) are good
co-'ayū- to be completely good: *cv-'a'(i)yī-i'* is completely good, feels very well

'ayu-t'ui- caus.: na(·)m'ī-'a(i)YU-tu-ŋu-p'īγa' first (he) caused to become good, first (he) brought back to life

'a-t'ī- ptc. (q. v.)

I

I-, 'I- this (dem. stem; Gram., § 43)

i-n-i-, 'i-n-i- in this way; to do in this manner (Gram., § 43, 3; § 26, 2, b)

'I, E-I cry on guessing in hand-game (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)

I-^o beforehand, in readiness (adv. pref.): i'-'i-t'ī'qa-i' eats first, beforehand, willingly, is ready to eat; i'-'i-k'-'A'qarī to run away beforehand (e. g. before battle); i'-'i-'A'p'ī-i' sleeps beforehand; res. i'-'p-ɔ(·)tsu'ī'k'-'a' to be ready to start off, i'-'p-ɔ(·)tsu'ī'k'-'ai-ni I am ready to start off, plur. i'-'p-ɔ(·)tsu'ī'k'-'qa-q'-'ai-va' will all be ready to start off (382, 9); res. ptc. 'i'-'i-ŋwaru'A'z-qa-ni-n' one who is always willing, ready; res. plur. i'-'i-m-k'-'A-qai-p'īγa' (they) got ready, were ready (385, 7)

'i-'c-u- long ago (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

I-^o old:

only in comp. n.: i'-'p-ŋqu-ni my old horse; i'-'p'-'ia-ni my old relation; i'-'p-ŋwa-ni my old wife, husband, i'-'p'-'iŋwa-ia-rūa-mu' are you (doing so to) your old husband? (452, 12)

i-t'ī-mpī- old (abs.): i'-'t-ū-mpī, i'-'t-ū-mpī old; obj. i'-'t-ū-mpī' (329, 7); i'-'t-ū-mpī-aq'A it is old; in comp. n. i'-'t-ū-mpī-ra'-'i old shirt

i-t'ī-c-u-, i-t'u-c-u- formerly (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

I-HA+ interj. expressing great joy (Gram., § 61, 1)

I'AQ-I- to descend: i'-'a'q-i to come down from a height, to dismount from a horse; i'-'a'q-i-p'īγa' climbed down (394, 29)

i'-'aq-i-k-u-: i'-'a'q-i-k-u to start to come down

IM-I- you (sing.) (indep. pers. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

im'ia- you (sing.) (obj.; ibid.)

IM-ī-, 'IM-ī- they here, these (an.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

im'ia-, 'im'ia- them here, these (obj.; ibid.)

IMP^{WA}I- let (him) . . . ! (hortatory adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

IMPĪ-^s what? (inan. inter. pron., subj.; Gram., § 44, 1, c)

imp'ia- (obj.)

imp'ī-γai- to have what?

impu-ru- to make what?

-INI- to be ready (with *i-* beforehand, q. v.):

i-ini- to be ready: plur. res. *i'-inu-k'A-qai'-pi'γa'* (they) got ready, were ready (385, 7)

INI-I-^s who? what? of what sort? (anim. inter. pron., subj.; Gram., § 44, 1, b)

in'ia- whom? (obj.)

in'iqwī- who? which ones? (plur., subj.)

in'iqwīa- whom? which ones? (plur., obj.)

INI'IA-^s (*in'ia-a-*) relative: *ini'a-ni*, *in'a-ni* my relative

in'ia-γai-p'i- former relative: *ini'a-γai-p'i-ni* my dead relative; plur. *ini'a-ηwī-γai-p'i-ηwī-ni* my dead relatives; *ini'a-ηwī-γai-p'i-a(·)-'m u'ηwA* of your dead relations (398, 15)

INI'A- thing: *ini'a'* thing, something; *ini'a-m'a-ni(γ)-a-ηA* of, from her things (314, 4)

INJA-, 'INJA- he here, this one (an.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

injaia- him here, this one (obj.; *ibid.*)

inja- he here (an. sing.; subj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 3)

injaia- him here (an. sing.; obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 3)

INWA- relative: *inwa'-ni* my relative; *inwa-rami* our (incl. du.) relative (Song 112)

IVATCĪA- early, far away (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

IVI-^s to drink: *nē' ivi'* I drink; *wi'-xu-ayA* (I see) him drinking

ivi-ηu- mom.: *ivi'-ηU* to begin to drink; *nē'aq' ivi'-ηU* I have drunk it;

ivi'-ηu-ntca-ηA he has finished drinking; *ivi'-ηu-yi'-ayA* he is about to drink; *ivi'-ηu-'u* take a drink!

ivi-k u- inc.: *ivi'k-u(u)-q-wA* to start to drink it (inv.)

ivi-γw'ai- to go to drink: mom. *ivi'-xw'ai-ηU* to go to drink

ivi-q-w'ai- to drink off: *ivi'-q-w'ai'* keeps on drinking (for a long while)

ivi-γi- to come to drink: *ivi'-χi-'i* come drink!

impers.: *wi'-t-u'A* some one drink(s)

pte.: *ivi'-tcī* drinking; plur. *ivi'-tcī-mī* two drinking

ivi-p'i- (what is) drunk: *wi'-p'i-a-ni* I (see) drink, something to drink

'*ip'i-* iter.: *i'p'i'* sips, drinks repeatedly

with adv. pref.: *tī-'ivi'* has a good drink; *na(·)m'i-'ivv-vā'* will drink first (402, 21), *nam'i'-ivi-m'i'* (usit.) always drinks first

in comp. vb.: *uē' ivi'-va(i)yt'* I drink-return, I have been drinking; *ivi'-va(i)yt-k'ai-ni* I have drink-returned, I have been drinking;

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- ivi'-wtci* drink-arrives, comes to drink; *ivi'-p-aγ(a)i'* drink-travels, drinks while walking; *ivi'-ma-νpA* to stop drinking; *ivi'-c-ua-ηU* (mom.) to finish drinking, to drink out, to drain, *ivi'-c-ua-ηU^z-qwa'* (it) has been drunk up; *ivi'-m'MA^zqñ'wA* to try to drink; *ivi'-k-ari-mi* those drink-sitting, drinking along; *ivi'-ηwññi-t'* stands and drinks; *ivi'-ηwaηwi* several stand and drink
- IVĪ- (IVA-?) way, far (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)
- IK'A- it here, this (inan.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)
- ik'-aia-* it here, this (obj.; *ibid.*)
- IK-IT-A- to have tucked under one's arm: *i'ki't-a-i'* holds, carries tucked under one's arm
- in comp. vb.: *i'ki't-a'-mua-i'* carries tucked under one's arm, goes while having tucked under one's arm; *i'ki't-a-ηwñu'* stands with something tucked one's arm
- 'IC-I- squaw-berry: *i'ic-i* squaw-berry
- ITAI-^s to slope (?):
- it'ai-tc'i-mi-* (plur. ptc.?): *i'ta'i-tc'i-m(w)ï* sloping back
- qot'ca'-it-öiteimï-* sandhill crane: *qo'tca''a-(qo'tca''o-)i'töiteim(w)ï* sand-hill crane (gray-sloping-back? cf. *qut-ca-* gray); plur. *-i'töiteim^wï-η(w)ï*
- ITÖ- meadow lark:
- itö-*tsi-** abs.: *i'tö^s-*ts-** meadow lark
- ITCĪ-, 'ITCĪ- it here, this (inan.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)
- itcĪa-*, *'itcĪa-* it here, this (obj.; *ibid.*)
- ITCU-^g morning:
- i'tcu-q-u-* when it is morning, in the morning: *i'tcu-q-U*, *i'tcu-q-U* in the morning (317, 2) (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)
- i'tcuq-u-t-ava-ya-* morning-sun-obj.: *i'tcu^zqu-t-ava-i'* forenoon
- IYA- to cut (meat) into thin slices for drying: *ya'-p-iγai(y)-aqA* (he) cut it up into thin slices (430, 10)
- iya-p-i-* pas. ptc.: *ya'-p-ï*, *ia'-p-ï* (meat) sliced for drying
- qut-cu-iyap-i-* buffalo-sliced: *qU'tcv(·)'-iyap-ï* sliced beef that has been dried
- iyap-i-* in comp.: *ya'p-u-γo'-pi-A* (deer-meat) that has been dried and cached (obj.) (394, 34), *ya'p-u-γv'-q(w)a(i)-ya-φi* their own (obj.) dried and cached (meat) (396, 6); *ia'p-i-xra-n'niṃpï* sliced (meat)-spreader, frame for drying sliced meat
- IYA-^s, YA-^s to fear; YĪĪ- (iter.):
- iya-vaγa-* to be afraid: *ya'-vaγa-i'* is afraid, *iya'vaxa-n'na-mi* whom

- you fear (410, 32); *qatcu'm iya'vaxa-va-ηwai'-mü* shall not be afraid of them (inv.) (448, 5)
- iya-r'ui-* to frighten: *iyü'-r'u-yi-ayA* frightens him, *iyü'-r'u-χai-ayA-ni* inspiring me with dread for him (466, 36); *iyü'-t'u-ni* frighten me
- iya-vi-ntu'a-* to become something fearful: *i'a-vi-ntu'α-t'i-m^w-i-n'i* something that was fearful in appearance (466, 34)
- yü'i-p-aq-a-* iter.: *yü'i'-p-aq-a-i'* is afraid several times
- IYA-NTI- (cf. *iya-* to fear):
- iya-nti-t'ui-* to cause to be apprehensive, to warn: *iya'nti-t'ui'* warns against something dangerous; *iya'nti-t'ui-ηqi-γai-(y)aq-a-ni* while warning me of it (482, 4, note 217)
- IYAT'IA- in vain, to no purpose (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)
- IYON'A-^s to carry in one's arms: *iyō'na-p'üγa'* took, carried in (his) arms (334, 9); *iyō'na-yu-q'WA* carries it (inv.) in (his) arms; plur. *iyō'na-qa(i)-'yu-q'WA* several carry it (inv.) in (their) arms
- iyon'na-* iter.: *iyon'na(i)-yu-q'WA* carries it (inv.) several times in (his) arms
- quq'wa-iyon'a-* to carry wood in one's arms: *U^xqwa'-iyina-xwa'ai'* goes for wood; *U^xqwa'-iyana-χw'ai-p'üγa'* went for wood (334, 2); *mom. qu'qwa'-ianō-γwa'i-ηu-p'üγa* (he) went for an armful of wood; *U^xqwa'-iyana-m'iq-i'* several go for wood
- ma-iyon'a-* to put one's arms around: *nü' ma(a)'-iyon'a(i)-yü-ayA*, *ma-iyu'n'a(i)-yü-ayA* I put (my) arms around her; *res. ma(a)'-iyon'a-qa(i)-(y)ayA* to have (his) arms around her; *cont. ma(a)'-iyon'a-n-χai-(y)ayA* having (his) arms around her while so doing
- na-ywa-iyon'a-* (recip.) to put arms around each other: *na(·)-ηwa'-iyun'a- m'ia-p'üγa'ai-mü* they held their arms around each other's necks as they walked along; *res. na(·)-ηwa'-iyun.n.α²-qa'ai-mü* they 2 hold arms around each other's necks
- IYÖVI-^s mourning dove: *iyō'φi* mourning dove; plur. *iyōv-ηw'i*
- iyōvi-tcuα-* dove-son: *iyō'vi-tcuα-tc ayA* the little mourning dove (402, 1); *yō'vi-tcuα-tsi-ηw αmü* (dim. plur.) the little mourning doves (402, 14)
- qan'i-iyōvi-* house-dove: *qa(·)n'i-iyōφi* domestic pigeon

ï

- ï'-^o in vain (adv. pref.): *ï'-p'ün'i-n'ni'* looks around in vain, without finding (object of his search); *ï'-'ivi'* drinks without quenching (his) thirst

ĩ' yes! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)

ĪA- to plant: *ĩa'-i'* plants

ĩa-q'ai- res.: *ĩa'-q'a'* to be planted

ĩa-p'i- what is planted: *i(ɾ)a'-p-i* corn

ĩa-c'a'ap'i- plant-boiled: *ĩa'-c'a'ap-i* boiled corn, corn mush

ĪAVĪ-^s wounded: *ĩa'φi* (animal) that has been wounded (by a person);

ĩa'vĩ-a-ni (animal) wounded by me (obj.) (458, 15)

ĩavu-ru- to make wounded, to wound: mom. *ĩa'vu-ru-ηυ-q(w)ai-n α-ni*

whom I wounded (404, 37); *ĩa'vu-ru(·)-ηυ-ntca-z-ηani* I have

wounded him; *ĩa'vu-ru(·)-ηυ-mpa-ni* I shall wound him

ĪMĪI-^s to arrive (plur.): *ĩmĩ''i* several arrive (472, 5); *ĩm''i-t-pĩγa'*

(they) arrived (404, 33), *ηm''i-t-pĩγa'* (they) got to the end of the journey

imp.: *ĩmĩ''i-tu'a* people arrive (472, 4)

ĩmĩ'i-γw'ai- several go and arrive: *ĩmĩ'i-χw'ai-p-ĩγa'*, *ĩm''i-i-χw'ai-*

p-ĩγa', *ĩmĩ'i-γw'ai-p-ĩγa'* (they) arrived, went and got (there)

(430, 6; 383, 4; 460, 16); *ĩm''i-i-χw'ai-va'* (they) will get (there) (381, 14)

ĩm'ĩi- distr.: *ĩm'mü-p-ĩγa'* each arrived by herself (434, 33);

ĩm'oi-va' (they) will enter (383, 9)

ĪMPI-N'NA- to paint (< Span. *pintar*?): *ĩmp'u'n-na-i'* paints

ĪMPĪN'I-, ĪMPĪN'Λ- to be in a raised position while resting on: *ĩmp'u'n-na'*

to be a raised covering; *ĩmp'i'n'i'-ka-ntĩ* (perf. ptc.) partly raised while resting on something

ĩmpĪn'i-ni- cont.: *ĩmp'i'n'i-ni'-i-ntcĩ* (ptc.) something raised (406, 23)

ma-ĩmpĪn-a-ηqĩ- to lift up from: *ma-ĩmpun'a-ηqĩ-p-ĩγa'* raised (it) from (them) (452, 14)

tca-ĩmpĪn'na- to uncover: *nĩ'' tca-ĩmpun'na-i'* I uncover, raise so as to uncover; *tca-ĩmpĪn-a-ηqĩ-p-ĩγai-(y)aq-Λ* lifted it up from (him)

(398, 32)

ĪNA-^o cedar-like tree with fine bark:

ĩna-p-ĩ- abs.: *ĩna'-p-ĩ* cedar-like tree with fine, yellow bark from

which twine was made for leggings and socks, growing on the plateau away from the water and having white blossoms in

summer

ĩna-n-aηwi-: *ĩna'-n-aηwi* apron made of *ĩna'-p-ĩ-* twine

ĩnap-ĩ- in comp. n.: *ĩna'-p-ĩ-v'itcaχuc-u* leggings made of *ĩna'-p-ĩ-* twine

ĪNA-ⁿ badger:

ĩna-mpĩtsi- abs.: *ĩna'-mpĩtsi-* badger; plur. *ĩna'-mpĩtsi-ηwĩ*; *ĩna'-mpĩtsi-ηwĩ'a-mĩ* they (inv.) . . . badgers (obj.) (434, 4)

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ina-ntu- to make a badger: *ina'-ntu-i* makes a badger

ina-ntuγwa-γw'ai- badger-toward-go (sing.): *ina'-ntuγwa-xw'ai'*
goes after badgers

ina-ntuγwa-m'ia- badger-toward-go (plur.): *ina'-ntuγwa-m'ia-va'*
(let us) go after badgers (434, 2)

comp. n.: *ina'-ηqwa-c* badger tail; *ina'-n'ηw'i-ηw'i* badger people;
in-α'n'ia-φi badger chief (438, 2); *ina'-n-a(·)p'u-ηw'i* badger old
man

inī-^o evil spirit:

inī-p-i-tsi- abs.: *inī'-p-i-ts*, *inī'-p-(^w)i-ts*, *inī'-p-uⁱ-tc*, *inī'-p(u)ts*
evil spirit, "devil," ghost; *inī'-p-(^w)i-ts p'ini'n'nu'* evil spirit is
looking around (used in reference to "will o' the wisp")

inī-p-i-ntu- to ghost-make: *in-i'-p-i-ntu-p-i* ghost-making, ghost
game played by children

so'-^oni-p-i- lung-spirit: *so'-^oni-p-i* lung-spirit (evil being believed
in by Ute Indians)

ī'ηA- yes! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)

īηA-^o baby: *īηa''(a)-ni* my baby

īηa'-p-i-tsi- abs.: *īηa''-p-its* baby (448, 3), *īηa''-p-itc aηA* the baby
(374, 7); plur. *īī'^oη'a-p-its-ηwa'* (obj.) babies (328, 1)

pa-īηa'-p-i-tsi- water-baby: *pa'^oη'a-p-its* water-baby (mythical
water-being), angel

īηQī' indeed (adv.; Gram., § 60, 3)

īvī- go ahead!; *īvi-ya-* (du. and plur.) (hortatory adv.; Gram., § 60,
2, d)

īvī-c'ampa-n'ia- somehow, any old way; *īvi-n'ia-* hurry and . . . !
(ibid.)

īvī-, *īvi-* alas! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 2)

īvī-^o bad: *īv^wi'ⁱ-p-a* bad-water, whiskey (Song 150)

īγA- to enter:

īγa-ηu- mom.: *īγa'-ηu-pīγa'* went in (under the stone) (430, 28),
dived down (under the water) (402, 17)

īγa-p-i- that which enters: *tūmpa'-īγap'ī*, *tūmpa^oγap'ī* mouth-
entering, bit and bridle

īγa-^oui- caus.: *tūmpa'-īγa-^oui-yī-aηa-ni* I mouth-enter-cause him,
I bridle him

īγa-n'nūmpī- means of entering: *mov^wi(·)'-īχa-n'nūmpī* nose-
entering instrument, halter

īγīR indeed, truly (adv.; Gram., § 60, 3)

īT'A- to stretch a hide: *ī'ta'-i'* stretches out (a skin)

- it-a-n'ūmpī-* hide-stretching instrument: *it'a-n'ūmpī* frame for stretching a hide
- ĪT-A-ⁿ* tired:
it'a-mpaq-a- . . . *-n'ia-* to be tired of: *it'a-mpa²qa-i-n'v'* is tired of; *v'it'a-mpa²qa-p'iyai-n'v'* was getting tired of (it) (336, 8); *v'it'a-mpa²qa-p'iyai-n'v' a'ixu(w)αηA* was getting tired of his talking thus (398, 12)
- ĪT-Ī-C-AMPA-* always (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)
- ĪT-ĪA-N-IA-* too bad, unfortunately (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)
- ĪT-Īŋ'WA-* in one's sleep (only in comp. vb.):
it'iy'ua-ampaya-: *it'iy'ua-mpaya-i'* talks in (his) sleep; *it'iy'ua-yaya-i'* cries in (his) sleep (not very good Paiute)
- ĪRA-, ĪRA-Ī'* interj. denoting fear (Gram., § 61, 1)
- ĪRĪ'* don't! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)
- ĪRĪYI-* to be spotted:
iriyi-tcai- plur.: *iriyi-tca(a)i'* it is spotted; *ta(·)v'-iriyi-tca(a)i'* there are spots of sunlight (Song 183)
- ĪRĪQ-I-* ledge:
 ptc.: *iriyi-q-i-tci* ledge
- ĪYĪŋQA-* to steal:
iy'iyqa-yu- mom.: *im'iywantuγwateca-q-an iy'iyqa-yu* I stole it from you; *im'iywantuγwa-q-an iy'iyqa-u-mpa'* I shall steal it from you

M

- MA-^{s, 9}* hand (cf. *mə'ə-^s* hand):
ma-^s instr. pref.: Gram., § 21, 1
ma-⁹ as vb. pref.: Gram., § 21, 1
ma-⁹, ma-n- as n. pref.: *MA'-c'i'u-φI* finger; *MA'-pa'(i)ya-vu-φI* palm; *ma-nts'i'v'i-φI* bone from elbow to wrist; *ma-ntca'q'oi-φI* flesh from elbow to wrist
- MA-, M^WA-* that (vis.) (dem. stem; Gram., § 43)
ma-n-i-, m^wa-n-i- in that way, so (as described); to do (as indicated) (Gram., § 43, 3; § 26, 2, b)
m^wa-c-ampa'a enough! be quiet! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 2)
- MA-ⁿ* resting on, at, for (of time) (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 7)
-ma-yqu- (obj.; Gram., § 49, 1)
-ma-nayqwa- from on, because of; *-ma-nayqwa-p-a-* on other side of
-ma-n'ia- near
-ma-nti- (ptc.) being on, at, some of, belonging to; *-ma-nti-m-a-nayqwa-* from on, from one of; *-ma-nti-ywa'ai-* with some of

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-*ma-ntuγwa-* up to, against, during

-*ma-yu-* from on, at

-*ma-γi-* around, circling

-**MA-** with (instr. post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 9)

MA- to make into, to change:

mam'a- distr.: *na'up'ani ma(·)m'a'-ni* self-like-me make-me, make me as you (plur.) are yourselves (370, 13); *na'up'aya-ηA ma(·)m'a'* change ye him into your own appearance

MA^{-s} **MAA**^{-s} thing:

ma-vi- abs.: *ma'^a-vi* things (obj.) (311, 4); *ma'^a-vi-ni* my things;

ma'^a-vi-a'-ηWA her (inv.) things (obj.) (311, 5)

ma-vi-γai- to have a thing: *ni' maa'vi-γa'* I have something; *maa'vi-χai-ta-n'ia-ηA* he will have something

MA^{-s}, **MAA**^{-s} clothing (identical with *ma-* thing):

ma-vi- abs.: *maa(·)'-φi* clothes

ma-vi'-a- to put on one's clothes: *maa(·)'vu'-a-i'* puts on (his) clothes; mom. *maa(·)'vu'-a-ηU* to dress up; inc. *maa(·)'vu'-a-qU* to begin to dress

ma'-a- to put on clothing: *ni' ma'^a-a-i'* I put on a suit; *ma'^a-a-va^ana-ni* I shall put (it) on

ma'-a-q'ai- res., to have on clothing: *ma^a-a'-q'a'* to have (a suit) on; *ma^a-a'-q'ai-p'īγa'* had (a suit) on (319, 12)

MAA^{-s}, **MA**^{-s} plant, brush:

maa-vi- abs.: *maa(·)'-φi*, *ma'^a-φi* brush, flower; *maa(·)'-vi-ni* my brush

maa- in comp. n.: *maa(·)'-χava'* brush horse; *maa'-s-ari-ts* brush dog; *maa'-raywampi* brush tooth; *maa(·)'-χani* brush house; *maa'-v^o-^o'* brush trail; *maa(·)'-xaiφA* brush-mountain, timbered mountain; *maa(·)'-xarīkī* brush-knoll, timbered knoll; *maa(·)'-yuaχantī* brush-plain, level country covered with timber; *maa(·)'-vaχarīnī* brush-lake (place name; a spot on Kaibab Plateau considered particularly liable to be haunted by ghosts and evil spirits); *maa'-tcīxA* brush-duck (sp. dwelling in swamp overgrown with bulrushes); *ma(·)a'-c'ⁱi-p'i* flower blossom (female name); *maa(·)'-c'utcampiφi* locust tree; *maa(·)'-oi-p'i-mpa-ηwt-uxWA* into a canyon full of brush (Song 17)

maa- in comp. ptc.: *maa'-c'axwari'* green (Song 139); *ma'-xarīr'ī-ηwa(i)-ya-ηA* his (obj.) brush-sitting, his clump of trees (418, 29)

maavi-nayqavī- brush-leaf: *maa'vi-nayqavī-mA* with leaves

maavi-riq'ay'wi- to turn into brush: *maa(·)'vi-riq-q'wi-ntca-a(·)ηA* he turned into brush

- MA' thus, in that way (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)
- MA'A- to decorate, to mark: *ma'a-i'* decorates, makes designs, paints
- MAI- that (quoted, referred to) (dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 43, 5)
maia-, *m^waia-* that (obj.; *ibid.*)
- MAI-, M^wAI- to say that, used particularly after direct quotation (compounded of demonstrative *ma-*, *m^wa-* and *ai-* to say, q. v.):
ma'ip'i'ya' said (311, 6); *ma'i-k'ai-n'a-ηwA* which he (inv.) had said (311, 11); *ma'i-χai-n an'i-k'A* so saying I do; *cv'q'up'i maik'A* one-thing-you say, you say anything (expresses contempt, as much as to say, "Though you may say what you will, still you count for nothing") (462, 5)
- usit.: *qate unq'ē-m-η'wai-t'i* not being wont to say that (406, 9)
mai-n'i-ηu-: *ma'i-n'ι-ηu-nūmpī-q'wa-ni* my always saying it (Song 147)
- usit. ptc.: *īma'i-vā-tēi-campA* though always saying that (400, 10)
pāηqa-mai- to keep on saying: *pū'ηqa-mai-p'i'ya'* kept on saying (454, 10)
- mai-p-i-* pas. ptc.: *ma'i-p-i-(y)a-'a* what was said (obj.) you, it was merely said so (434, 30)
- ampa-mai-* to noise-say: *amp'a'-m-ai-k'A* there is a noise
- MAI-^o to find, to discover:
mai-q-w'ai- to go to find: *ma(a)'i-q-w'aiva-zηa-ni* I will go and find him
- mam-ai-* distr.: *ta(·)ηwa'(i)-'ya-q-wA mam-a'(a)i-k'A* if we (incl.) find it (inv.) out (378, 2)
- mai-t-i-* to be found out: *ma(a)'i-t-i-va-zηA* he will get caught; *ma(a)'i-t-i-q-w'ai-va-zηA* he might get caught; plur. *ma(a)'i-t-i-kA-q'wai-va-zmū* they might get caught
- mai-t'ui-ηqī-t-i-* to cause one to be discovered: *im'i'ntcani ma(a)'i-t'ι-ηqī-t'i* you got me caught; *ma(a)'i-t'ι-ηqī-t'i-tca-zηa-n 'zai'* he got me caught; *ma(a)'i-t'ι-ηkī-ti-v^wa-zηa-rajwA* he will get us (incl.) caught, we shall be discovered because of his action (371, 6); *ma(a)'i-t'ι-ηkī-ti-x-qw'ai-va'* might cause to be discovered (371, 9)
- incor.: *naηwa'-m-a(a)i-va-n-ia-ni* I shall track-find
- MAI-T'UI- (< *mai-* to find?) to play a game of shooting arrows at a root thrown spinning into the air: *ma'i-t'ui'* plays the game; *mai-t'ui'* called out by the player as he spins the root; *ma'i-t'ui-tēi* ptc., spinner of the root; *ma'i-t'ui-p'i* game of shooting arrows at a root

MAIK·I-, MAIK· UŋWAC·U- hello! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 2)

MAIK·ISKIAN·A- Mexican (< Eng. *Mexican*): plur. *ma'ik̄'skian·a-ŋwī*
Mexicans

MAIVATCAYA- hawk (sp.):

maa(·)'vatca(i)ya·tc ferruginous rough-leg hawk (?); *ma(a)'ivātca-*
(i)ya·tcī' (obj.) chicken-hawk (with white spot under his tail)
(378, 8)

-MA'AI- together with (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 10)

-*ma'q·u-* (obj.)

MAM·A'Q·Ḷ'- bear-dance (cf. *mam·a'u-* woman):

mam·a'q·Ḷ'-na- bear-dancing: *ma(u)ma'q̄·Ḷ'·n'·a-uv^wi-t·U'-p̄iγa'* bear-
dancing-song-made, sang a bear-dance song (350, 10)

mam·a'q·Ḷ'·mi- bear-dance: *ma(·^a)ma'q̄·Ḷ'·m̄-p̄ī*, *ma(u)ma'q̄·Ḷ'·mi-*
p̄ī bear-dance (350, 12); *ma(u)ma'q̄·Ḷ'·mi-uv^w·av̄i'* bear-dance
song (obj.) (350, 13)

MAM·A'Q·WA'YA-^s magpie

mam·a'q·wa'ya-vi- abs.: *mq(·^a)ma'q̄·wa(i)'ya-φI* magpie

MAM·A'U- woman, young woman:

mam·a'u-tsi- abs.: *ma(u)ma''u-ts* (young) woman

-*mam·a'utsi-* in comp. n.: *qana'rī-m·a(·)m·a'Ḷtsi-ŋwīχ 'umī* Kanab
(Kaibab Paiute) women they (472, 17); *moγ^wα't av̄iγwa-m·am·a'-*
tsi Uncompahgre Ute woman (obj.) (Song 159)

mam·a'-c·aγwḶi-tsi- old woman: *ma(u)ma'^a-caχḶts*, *ma(·)m·a''-*
caγwḶts, *mam·a''-haγwḶtc* old woman (396, 13; 398, 35);
mam·a''^a-s·aγwḶtsi χ̄ir *uγwA* the old woman indeed (456, 1);
vaa(·)'q·U ma(u)ma'^a-cḶγḶtsi-ŋwa' two old women (obj.) (321,
13)

MAM·Ī-, MAM·U·C·U- they, those (an. vis.) (indep. pers. pron. and
dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

mam·īa-(c·u-) them, those (obj.; *ibid.*)

MAMPU-TSI- (personal name, male): *mampu'(i)ts*, *ma(·)mpu'tc uγwA*
(472, 14)

MAN·A-^s thorn, spine:

in comp. n.: *ma(·)n·a'-φA* thorn-spring (place name; now Coconino
copper mine); *man·a'-^aγu-mpa'ts* thorn-fir-spring (place name);
t·a'ci'-m·(w)ana-φI barrel-cactus spines

MAN·AI- to move about:

man·ai-n·i'·i-k·u- inc. cont.: *ma(·)n·a'·i-n·i'·i-k·u-p̄iγa'* started to
move, to fidget around (468, 27)

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-MA'NI- to cover:

na-səγə-ma'ni- to cover oneself with moist earth (səγə-):*NA'sə'xə-ma'nu-p'iyā'* covered himself with moist earth (400, 38);*nē' NA'sə'γə-ma'ni-i'* I cover myself with moist earth

MAN'I-C'AMPA- barely (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

MAN'IYI- five (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2):

man'iyimac'iywi- 50 (num.; Gram., § 59, 1)

MAN'᠔-, MAN'U- all (quasi-num.; Gram., § 59, 3, a)

MAANTSIIWA-^s effect:*maantsiywa-γai-* to have an effect (< *maa-* thing + *tsiywa-γai-*?):*qa'teU maa'ntsiywaq(·)-^a* has no effect (408, 22); *maa'ntsiywa-xa'*to have an effect; *maa'ntsiywa-xai-yi-aq'A* it has an effect

MANTCU'AI- to wait:

mantcu'ai-q ai- res., to wait: *mantcu'ai-k'ai-ⁱ* wait!*mam'antcu'ai-q ai-* distr. res.: *mam'a'ntcuai'-k'a(a)i-iywa* all wait for him (inv.) (434, 22)*mantcu'ai-(yqī)-q ai-* to wait for: *nē' mantcu'ai-yqī-qai-yi-ayA* I wait for him*mantcu'ai-(yqī)-q a-q ai-* several wait (for): *mantcu'ai-k'A-qai-p'iyai-ayA* (they) waited for him (379, 14); *mantcu'ai-yqī-q a-q ai-p'iyai-ayA* (they) waited for him*mantcu'ai-avi-* to wait-lie: *ma(·)ntcu'ai-a(·)u-p'iyā'* lay while waiting (309, 4)MAIJA-(C'U-), M^wAIJA- he, that one (an. vis.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)*maiyaia-(c'u-)* him, that one (obj.; *ibid.*)

MAIJAIA-C'U- on the other hand (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

MA'AIJI- to be lost: *ma'a'yi* to be lost*mam'a'yi-l'ui-* distr. caus.: *ma(·)m'a(·)'ayil'p'iyai-(y)ayA* (they) lost him (379, 14; 387, 7)MAIYWAVA-^s to crawl, to creep (probably compounded with *ma-* hand):*maiwa'va-i'* crawls; *maiwa'va(i)-yi-ayA* he is creeping; *maiwa'va-α'p'iyā'* crawled on his hands and knees (476, 5); *maiwa'va-xa'* while creeping on his hands and knees (404, 4); ptc. *maiwa'va-ri'* creeping*maiwava-q a-* plur.: *maiwa'va-qa(i)-yi-amī* they are creeping*mam'maiwava-* iter.: *mam'maiwava-i'* creeps in starts, creeps now and then*tayā-r'ai-maiwava-* to crawl kneeling: *tay'a-r'ai-maiwaφα-p'iyā'* crawled on (his) knees (to climb over) (458, 24)

- MAJ'wī- to cause to be: *ma'γ'wī* to cause to be
nīηwī-m aη'wī- to cause to be a person: *niηwī'-m a'ηwī-ntca-ηa-ni*
 I made him a person again; *niηwī'-m aη'u-p-īγai-(y)am'ī-mī* they
 two caused them to be people again (444, 15)
- MAJWĪ'A-, MAJWĪ'I- niece, cousin of opposite sex: *nī'ni maηwī''⁹*,
maηwī''α-ni my niece; *ma(·)ηwī''i-ni* my (male's) father's brother's
 daughter (older than I)
maηwī'i-tsi- dim.: *ma(·)ηwī''i-tsi-ni* my (woman's) father's brother's
 son (younger than I)
- MAJ'wīc-I-⁹ sun rises: *tava'i^z maη'wī'c-i-k-U* sun (obj.) when-rising,
 when the sun was up (474, 31); *ta(·)va'-i' ma(·)wī'c-i-nA* sun's
 rising, sunrise (462, 30)
tava'-maηwīc-i- to sun-rise: *tava'-maηwī'c-i'* (it) sun-rises, the sun
 rises; *ta(·)va'-m q(·)wīc-i-nA* sun-rising, sunrise; *tava'-maηwī'c-ī-n-*
aru'q-wAtux-wA sun-rising it-under-to, to under the sun-rise, to
 the east
- MAVA- to jerk back the hand: *ma(·)va'-i'* jerks back the hand, finger
 MAVATCA- masturbator (probably contains *ma-* hand): *mava'tca* bone
 masturbator used by woman (309, 7, 9)
- MA-VI- to be responsible: *maa(·)'φi-k-a-ηA qɔγɔ''i-p-īγai'* (they) have
 been killed because of him, he being responsible (398, 16);
nī'ni maa(·)'φi-k-α-ni ya'a'i' on my account he dies
- MAVĪŋWAN·ŌI- to scatter (intr.):
mavīŋwan·ōi-ηqī-q-a- plur.: *ma(·)v'ŋwan·ōi-ηqī-q-A-pīγa'* (they) all
 scattered along (468, 31)
- MAVŌYA- to trot (cf. *pɔya-*): *ma(·)vɔ'(i)ya-i'* trots
 caus.: *ma(·)vɔ'(i)ya-ē'ī'* causes to trot
- MAQA- it, that (inan. vis.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj. ;
 Gram., § 39)
maq'ia- it, that (obj.; *ibid.*)
- MA·Q'AS'1- Moccasin Springs (< Eng. *moccasin*): *ma'q'Asu-manaηqwa*
 from Moccasin Springs (472, 6)
- MAQ'īŋ'WA- to try: *MA'qī'ŋ'WA* to try
-maq'īŋ'wa- in comp. vb.: *īvi-m'maq'īŋ'wa-* to try to drink; *nəntsi-*
m'maq'īŋ'wa- to try to fly (379, 9)
- MAγA- to give: *ma(·)γa'-i'* gives; *ma(·)γa'(i)-yī-ŋWA* gives to him
 (inv.)
 usit.: *ma(·)γa'-mī-pīγai-(y)amī* used to give them (448, 29)
mamaγa- distr.: *mama'x-pi-α-φī* what has been given (obj.) to
 (your)selves (382, 1); *wī'c'a-mama-x-pīγai-(y)aηA* each gave
 him feathers (371, 12)

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- na-ŋwaŋa-ŋq̄i-* refl. indir.: *na-ŋwa'xa-ŋq̄i-i'* self-gives-to, gives in exchange, pays
- MAŋA-** to test for depth:
ta-m'aŋa- to test for depth with the feet: *ta(·)-ma'χa-i'* sees how deep it is by testing with the feet; *pa-t'a(·)-ma'ŋa-p-i'ŋa'* water-foot-tested, went out to see how deep the water was
- MA'CAŋWƏI-** old woman (cf. *mam'a'-caŋwəi-*):
-ma'caŋwəi-tsi- abs.: *wa'-m'a(a)'^a-cəŋwəitsi-ŋw̄i* two old women (322, 2)
- MA-C'ŋWI-** ten (compounded of *ma-*, q. v., and *-c'ŋwi-*, q. v.) (num. element in 9, 10, and multiples of 10; Gram., § 59, 1)
- MARA-** metate: *ma'RA* metate for grinding seeds
mara-tsi- metate: *mara'ts*, *ma(·)ra'ts* hard, flat-topped rock for grinding seeds
- MARĪ-(C·U-), M^wARĪ-** it, that (inan. vis.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)
maria-(c·u-), m^wari-a- it, that (obj.; *ibid.*)
- MARĪN·A^s** to pursue: *marī'n-a-i'* chases; *ma(·)rī'ⁿNA^x-p-i'ŋa'ai-ŋWA* pursued her (inv.) (354, 12)
marīn·a-q·u- inc.: *marī'n-a-q·U* to start in pursuit
mam'arīna- several pursue: *mama'rīn·a(i)-yī-ni* (they) pursue me; imper. *mam'a'rīna-p-i'ŋai-tua(i)-yī-amī* they (indef.) were pursued (386, 13); inc. *ma(A)ma'rīna-q·U-p-i'ŋai-c'·u-ŋWA* again they started in pursuit of him; ptc. plur. *ma(·)m'a'rīna-rī-m^wi-am aŋA* they who were chasing them (387, 6)
mamari'na- iter.: inc. *mama'rī'na-q·u-yī-aŋA* chases him several times
nīŋw̄i-marīn·a-vi- person-chaser: *nīŋw̄i'-marīn·a-φi* mountain boomer(?)
- MARĪK·A-** American, white man (< Span. *Americano*):
marīk'a-tsi- abs.: *marī'k'a-ts* white man; plur. *marī'k'a-tsi-ŋw̄i* white people (also used in Utah for "Gentiles" as contrasted with Mormons)
to-marīk'a-tsi- black-American: *tv'-marīk'a-ts* negro; plur. *tv'-marīk'a-tsi-ŋw̄i* negroes
- MAU'PA-** to stop: *ma'.up'a-a'^a* stop!; *ma'up'a-ŋA* let her go! (363, 8)
-mau'pa- in comp. vb.: *tīq'a-mau'pa-* to finish eating, to stop eating (373, 7); *ivi-mau'pa-* to stop drinking; *tsip'i-mau'pa-* to stop riding
- MAU'Q·U-** to finish (cf. *mau'pa-*):
 only in comp. vb.: *un-i-mau'q·u-* to finish making, doing so (353,

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- 13); *fiγav-i-mau'q-u-* to finish butchering, cutting up (458, 32);
eua-m' mauq-u- to finish eating, to eat up
- MAYAJA- (*mayaj-γu-?*) several appear: *wa't-uγwatca-mi ma(·)ya'γa*
 through there they have appeared, come to view (418, 35)
- MI-^o (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 13); occurs only compounded:
-mi-t-uγwa- in . . . direction
- ' . . . MI- (enc. pers. pron.) you (sing. obj.); your (sing.)
 (Gram., § 40); I . . . you (sing. obj.) (Gram., § 41)
- MIA-^s to travel, to journey (plur.): *maq'-i'* several travel, move; *ma'-*
va^ana-raywa we (incl.) shall travel; *iv^w'raywa* . . . *miya'-*
va' let us (incl.) proceed (towards it) (460, 13, 14)
- mia-q'a-ni'-* cont.: *mi(y)a'-q'a-ni-i-χa'* several traveling around
 (384, 5)
- mimia-γu-* distr. mom.: *mimi'a-γo-q(w)ai-u* (persons) having
 traveled in different directions (358, 2); *miⁿmi(y)a-γu-qwε*
 (several) start off (Song 174)
- in comp. n.: *mi(y)a'-v^o* traveled trail (324, 9); *mi(y)α'-naγwavi'*
 traveled track (obj.) (322, 13)
- m'ia-* in comp. vb. (while traveling; to go in order to): *qa-m'ia-*
 several sing while on their way, several go in order to sing;
nanayqa-m'ia- several hear while traveling (434, 19); *kiya-m'ia-*
 several go to have a round-dance (430, 14); *n^ontsi-k'a-mia-*
 several fly along; *ya-m'ia-* several go to fetch (380, 6); *tua-m'ia-*
 each gives birth to a child while women are on their way (438, 13);
wⁱni-m'ia- several stand while traveling, are in a fixed relative
 position as all move on (370, 8); *wⁱim'mia-m'ia-* several dance
 along; *ma'i-γqⁱ-vuru-γu-m'ia-c'U* to say so for (him) while going
 around again from place to place
- MIA'-^o small:
- mia'-p'i-tsi-* abs.: *mi(·)a''-p'uts* small; *mi(y)a''-p'uts* *qau* little
 house; *ma(·)''-p'utsi* *wana'RV'pⁱγa'* little (obj.) net-made,
 made a little net (464, 21)
- mia'-p'i-vⁱ-tsi-* little: *mu'a(·)''-p'i-v^wu-tsi-'a-γwa* the little-sized one
 (obj.) (458, 29)
- mia'p'i-* in comp. n. (generally with dim. *-tsi*, *-utsi*): *mi(·)a''p-u-*
χani, *ma''p'i-χani-nts* little house (also *ma''p'i-ts* *qa'ni*);
ma''p'i-m'^o-nts little finger; *ma''p'i-m'^o-nts-i-ma-φi* with his
 little finger (410, 23)
- mia''ntsi-* small, a little: *miα''α-nts* small, tiny (416, 27); *mia''a-*
nts *ava''t'i* a little larger (obj.) (464, 25); *mi(y)a''a-ntsi-c'ampa*
 only a little bit (454, 20)

- MINAŋWA- with (instr. post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 12)
- MI'NAQ'A^x- one object breaks off (cf. *mimi'əi-*): *m'na'q'* one breaks off
- MINTƏN'I^s to run away (plur.): *mintə'n'ni-ntci-m^w əmī* they running away (350, 9)
- MŋQWA- to come out forcibly: *mŋqwa''-p'ï'ya'* came out forcibly (412, 18); fut. *mŋqwa''a-va n'i*
- MİD- far off, at a distance (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)
- MIMI'ƏI- several objects break off (cf. *m'naq'a^x-*): *m'imi'əi* several break off; *mimi'ə'(ə)i-p'ï'ya'*, *mimi'əi-p'ï'ya'* (they) came out, broke off (356, 11)
- MIU- at a distance from (cf. *mīə-*) (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 15)
- m'ï-tsi-va- (dim.) at a little distance from
- miu-ma-γi-, ptc. -miu-ma-γi-t-ï- being further away from
- MIU'NA⁻, MĪU'NA⁻ to open up (intr.): *mū'u'na'* to open up (used of something clasped or bound together, e.g. two hands clasped, a flower)
- mimi'u'na-* iter.: *mimi'u'na-i'* opens up several times
- tsi-miu'na-ŋqī-* to poke out, clear out with a stick: *tsi-mi'u'na(u)-ŋqī-p'ï'ya'i(y)-aq.1* with a stick (he) poked out, cleared out (the smoking fire) (446, 1)
- ma-ŋwī'uma-ŋqī-* to clear out with the hands: *ma(·)-ŋwī''u'na-ŋqī-p'ï'ya'* tore out of the ground with (his) hands (394, 33)
- ta-m'ï'uma-ŋqī-* to clear out with the foot: *ta(·)-m'ï''u'na-ŋqī* to dig out by scraping or poking with the foot
- ' . . . M-ï- (enc. pers. pron.) they (an. inv.); them (an. inv.); their (an. inv.) (Gram., § 40)
- ' . . . M-ï- (encl. pers. pron.) du. an. subj. (Gram., § 40)
- MĪA^{-ə} moon, month:
- mīa-təγə-* moon, month: abs. *mīa'-təγu-ts*, *m^wīa'-təγə-ts*, month; *cv'v-m^wī(ə)atəγətsu-mə-cv* for one month; *m^wīa'-təγə-i'ai'* moon-dies, the moon is waning
- mīa- month (in comp. n.): *pa'a'təγə-m^wī'* long-moon (one of the winter months, corresponding apparently to December); *qa(·)ŋa'-m^wī'* "qay.1" star-moon (see *qay.1*; a winter month, apparently January)
- MĪA^{-s} divide, depression in a mountain ridge:
- mīa-γa-nti-* being a divide: *mīa'-γa-nti* divide, *mī(γ)a'-χa-nti*
- mīa-ntsi-γa-nti-* dim.: *mī(γ)a'^a-ntsi-γə-nti'* (*mī'v'a'^a*) little divide (obj.) (323, 2); distr. *mīm^wī'a'-ntsi-γə-nti'* little divides (obj.) (370, 10)

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qaiva-mīa-γantī-, *qaiva-mīa-* (poetic) mountain-divide: *qa'iva-mīa-γantī* mountain divide; distr. *qa'iva-m^wim^wl'a'-va'* at mountain divides (Song 75)

MĪM-I- you (plur.) (indep. pers. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

mīm'ia- you (plur.) (obj.; ibid.)

MĪNIC-I-^u, MĪN'IC-I-^o to turn over (intr.), several turn back; MĪNIC-A- to turn over (tr.):

mīnic-i- intr.: *mīnī'c-i-pīγa'* turned around (379, 5); *mīnu'c-pīγa'* rolled over (310, 10); *mīnī'c-i-k-A* while turning around (408, 26); *mīnu'c-qa'a-ηw.A* when he (inv.) rolled over (310, 11); *mīn'is'i-ts-* (they) having gone back home (382, 12); plur. *mīn'is'i-k.A* several return home

mīnic-i-k-i- to turn hither: *mīnī'c-ki-pīγa'* turned around this way (350, 9)

mīnic-i-q'w'ai- to go off returning, to turn upside down: *mīnī'c-qw'ai-pīγa'* went back home (438, 12); distr. *mīm'īn'ī'c-i-k-w'-ōi-pīγa'* (they) went back home one by one (474, 15), *mīm'īn'ī'c-i-k-wa'a* all turn back (468, 32); *pa-mīnīc-i-k w'ai-va'* (people) will turn over (capsize) in the water (Song 182)

-mīn'ic-i-ηqī- to roll over (tr.): *nī' ma-ηw'ī'n'ic-i-ηqī-a(·)η.A* I roll him over (with the hand); *nī' ta(·)-m^wī'n'ic-i-ηqī-a(·)η.A* I roll him over with the feet; *nī' pu-m^wī'n'ic-i-ηqī-aη.A* I roll him over with the buttocks, by sitting (on him); *mu-ηw'ī'n'ic-i-ηqī-aη.A* he rolls (it) over with the nose; *qī-m^wī'n'ic-i-ηqī-aη.A* he rolls (it) over with the teeth; *tcɔ(·)-m^wī'n'ic-i-ηqī-aη.A* he rolls (it) over with (his) head

-mīn'ic-a- to turn over (tr.): *tsu-m'īn'ica-i'* turns (meat) over (on red-hot ashes) with a stick

MĪNTĪC-I- to turn over to a side (cf. *mīnic-i-*): *mīntī'c-pīγa'* turned over to a side, dodged (460, 27); fut. *mīntī'c-i-va-ni'*

-M'IC-I- only with 'a-γa- in hiding; q. v.

MĪT'ĪŊWA- hill spur: *mī'tī'ηw.A*, *mī'tl'ηw.A* point of a hill, point of a mountain running out into a plain, place name (Pipe Spring)

MĪYĪ-ⁿ gopher:

mīyī-mpītsi- abs.: *mīyī'-mpīts*, *mīyī'mpīts*, *myyū'-mpīts* gopher (*Thomomys*)

mīyī-ηqani-ēi- gopher-house: *mīyī'-ηqa(·)nūfū* gopher pile; *mīyī'-ηqa(·)nūē-n'* like a gopher pile (329, 11)

MŌ'Ō-^s hand (see also *ma-*): *mŏ'ŏ* hand

mŏ'ŏ-vi- abs.: *mŏ'ŏ'-fŏt* hand

mŏ'ŏ-ru- to make a hand: *mŏ'ŏ'-ru-v^wa-aⁿu'* will make a hand

comp.: *wl'c'ya-mŏ'ŏ* feather hand; *pl'k'a'-mŏ'ŏ* sore-handed

- MƏ-MUNI-** Mormon (< Eng. *Mormon*): *mə' muni* Mormon; *mə' muni-ŋwī* Mormons
- MƏNTİ-ŶI-** to shake (one's head):
tcə-mənti-ŷi- to shake one's head: *tcə-mə'ntiŷi'* shakes (his) head;
 iter. *tcətcə'-məntiŷi-ka'-mi* while you keep shaking your head (456, 31)
- MƏNTSƏ-^s** beard: *mə(·)'ntsə* whiskers
məntsə-vi- abs.: *mə(·)'ntsə'-phi* whiskers
- MƏC·ƏA-** pubic hair: *Mə'cə'A* pubic hair
wi'a-m·cə·cə- penis-hair: *wi'a'-m·cə·cə* man's pubic hair
wiŷi'-m·cə·cə- vulva-hair: *wiŷi'-m·cə·cə-manfi-a-phi* some (obj.) of her pubic hair (454, 11)
- MƏC·OI-^s** mustache (for *mə-* cf. *məntsə-*): *Mə'co'i* mustache
məc·oi-vi- abs.: *Mə'co'i-phi* mustache
- MU-^{s,ə}**, nose (cf. *muvi-^ə* nose):
mu-^s instr. pref.: Gram., § 21, 2
mu-^ə as n. pref.: *MU'-pwi'ki-phi* nasal mucus
- MOO-^ə** hooting owl:
moo-p'itsi- abs.: *moo'-p'its* owl; *moo'p'ute aŋ* the hooting owl (448, 23)
 comp.: *məqə'-n·ap'·i-ŋw aŋ* the old-man-Owl (448, 28)
- MOO-ⁿ** humming-bird (cf. *mo-a-* to hum):
 comp.: *moo'-ntə'tsi-va-ts* humming-bird-head-spring (place name);
moo'-aŋiphi mosquito
mo-'t·utca-tsi- abs.: *mo'-t·utcats*, *mo'-t·utcats* humming-bird (381, 1)
- MOA-^s** father: *moa'-ni* my father; *moə'-ni-puts* my father (affectionate);
moə'-ru'a-²m aro'^a is it your father?
moa-vi- abs.: *moa'-phi* somebody's father
moa-ntsi- dim.: plur. *m·oa'-ntsi-ŋwī-ni* (*m·w'a'-*) my dear fathers
mom·oa- distr.: *momo'a-raŋwa* our (incl.) fathers; *mom·o'a(i)-ya(u)-phi* their own fathers (obj.) (438, 23)
na-ŋ'wa-tsi- du. recip. (*-ŋ'wa-* < *-ŋ'woa-* < *mo'a-*): *na'-ŋ'wa-tsi-ŋwī* father and son; plur. *nana'-ŋ'wa-tsi-ŋwī* father and sons
- MO·A-** to hum, to buzz:
mə'(u)a·i' hums, *mə'a-i'*; *m·v'a(i)-yü-n·i'* makes a buzzing sound (e. g. whirring of humming-bird's wings, buzzing of flies, bull-roarer)
- MO'A-** mealer:
mo'a-tsi- abs.: *mu'a'-ts*, *m·w·a'-ts* mealer, stone grinder of oblong-like section and rounded corners used with metate (see *mara-*)

- MOAP'A- Moapa, Muddy Creek Paiute (in S. Nevada): *moa'p'a*
Muddy Creek Paiute; plur. *moa'p'a-tsi-ηwī*
- MOWARA-γI- (= *muw^wara-* or *muara-*?) to crush in one's mouth:
mowat'a-q-i-ηqī- mom.: *muwa't'a^z-qi-ηqī* to crush in one's mouth
-*mowara-γi-vi-* crusher: *w'a(·)'m^{pi}-m^wwaraxi-φi* cedar-berry
crusher, Spermophila (?)
- MOI-^s milk: *moi'-ni* my milk
moi-vi- abs.: *moi'-φi* milk
- MOI-ⁿ to lead: *mō(w)ī'* leads; *mōī'-m^{pa}-ηumi* (I) will lead you
(plur.) (370, 13)
moi-n'ni- cont.: *moi'-n'ni-p-īγai(y)-aηi* he led around (462, 35)
moi-n'ni-γw'ai- to go to lead around: *moi'-n'ni-xwa'^a* go lead
(him) around (462, 34)
moi-ηki- to come leading: *mōi'-ηki-tci-m^wī'* who (obj.) were coming
leading (438, 24)
moi-m'nia- to lead-travel: *moi'-m'nia-p-īγa'* led along (380, 12)
- MOMPA-^g to roll (intr.): *mumpa'-i'*, *mv(·)mpa'-i'* rolls
mompa-q u- inc.: *mompa'-qu-* to roll off (462, 25)
mompa-m'ia- usit.: *mumpa'-mi'* keeps rolling (Song 140)
mompa-t'ijwava-γa- to roll-sound: *mv(·)mpa'-t'ijwava-xa-i'* sounds
like rolling
mompa-tciva-tsi- ball: *mumpa'-tcivats-* shinny ball
- MOMO-TSI-: *tū'qu'-mumu-ts-* panther (cf. *tuq-u-* wildcat)
- MON'A- son-in-law: dim. *mōn'a'-tsi-ni* my son-in-law
mon'a-tsi-γanti- having a son-in-law: *mona'-tsi-γanti* father-in-law
- MONO P'AJQWI- night hawk:
mono^op'ajwi-tsi- abs.: *mōno^ox'əpajqwi-ts-*, *mon'ə'əpajqwi-ts-* night
hawk (*Chordeiles*)
- MUNTĪARU- to heat rocks:
qu-muntiaru- to heat rocks on the fire: *nī' qumu'ntuari-y a'īφi* I heat
stones now; *qumu'ntuari-pīγa'* heated stones by putting them on
the fire (374 12); *qumu'ntiaru-q(w)ai-na-φī* what stones had been
heated by himself, his own bed of hot stones (375, 4)
qu-muntiaru-q a- plur.: *qumu'ntiaru^z-q(w)ə-p-īγa'* all heated stones
on the fire (418, 14)
- MUNTUNA'- to cover oneself, MUNTUN'I- to be covered up:
muntuna- act.: *muntu'na-p-īγa'* (went to bed and) covered
(him)self up (398, 20)
muntun'i- stat.: usit. comp. vb. *muntu'n'ni-avi-mi-p-īγa'* always
lay covered up (398, 26); res. *muntu'n'ī'-k^{aa}i'* keeping covered
up (398, 23)

MONTSI- flat-topped mountain: *monts* flat-topped mountain with three steep sides and a gradual approach on the fourth (Songs 76, 185)

in comp. n.: *qwi'a-munts*, *qwi'(y)a-munts* oak-mountain, Paunsaugunt Plateau (Song 185); *pi'ka'-munts* hard-mountain, rock-mountain, point below Indian Pasture (Song 185); *yiv'e'-munts* pine-mountain, Shinarump Cliffs, between Cottonwood and Indian Pasture (Song 185); *qima'-va-munts* strange-water-mountain (Song 185); *paɣna-tv'-paya-montsi'(montsi'montsi'n)* cloud-black-breast-mountain (Song 76)

MUNTSO'AYU- spoon:

munts'o'ayu-tsi- abs.: *munts'o'ayu-ts* spoon; comp. *a'-munts'o'ayuts*, *a'p'i-munts'o'ayuts* horn spoon

MONTCO-^o whiskers (cf. *munts'o-s*):

montco-p'i- abs.: *montco'-p'i* whiskers

comp.: *muntcu'-navaia-vats* mustache (see *navaia-va-tsi-*) (Song 63)

M'UNUQ-WI- to be round, M'UNUQ-WA- to become round:

m'unuq-wi- to be round; ptc. *aŋqa'-m'unuq-wi-te'i* red and round; *tv'-m'unuq-wi-te'i* black and round

m'unuq-wa- to become round: *tv'-m'unuq-wa-p'iyai-n'i* (it) became like something black and round (402, 38)

MO'PITCA- fly: *mo'p'its* fly (Song 170)

mo'pitca-tsi- abs.: *mo'pitca-ts* fly; comp. *qava'-mopitca-ts* horse-fly

MOVI-^o nose:

movi-p'i- abs.: *mov^wi'-p'i* nose

momovi-p'i- distr.: *momov^wi'-p'i* noses

movi-q'ai- to have a nose: *mov^wi'-ka'ai(y)-aŋa* he has a nose

movi-t-u- to make a nose: *mov^wi'-t-u-v^wa^ani'* will make a nose

in comp. n.: *mov^wi'-t'əmpi* nose-hole, nostril; *mov^wi(·)-i'xan'nümp'i* nose-enterer, halter

incor.: *mov^wi'-t'ənA* to strike with one's nose; *mu^wv^wi'-m'urun'nu-i'* rubs (his) nose against; *mu(·)v^wi'-tsu-'nik'i* to stick one's nose (in the water)

MUQ'UNTA-^s to be straight: *mu'qunta* straight ahead (396, 11);

MU'qu'nta-i' is straight; comp. *təɣɔ'i-mU'qunta* straight ahead;

ptc. *MU'qu'nta-ri'* straight (obj.), *cu^a'-rəɣə-MU'qunta-ni'* nearly straight

muq'unta-q-a- plur.: *MU^squ'ntA^s-qa-i'* several are straight

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- mumuq unta-* distr.: *mumu'q unta-i'* several are straight
muq unta-ηqw'ai- to go ahead: *təγə'-mUqunta-ηqw'ai-p'īγa'* went straight (394, 16)
muq unta-m'ia- to travel ahead: *cv'-MU^zqunta-'mia-p'īγa'* went right ahead (394, 23)
- MUQ WAN'I- headland (cf. *muq unta-?*): ptc. *MU^zqwa'n'i-ntēi* headland, cape
- MOQ WI- Hopi Indian: abs. *mo'q wi'-tc* Hopi; comp. *mo'q wi-āq'ī* Hopi-sunflower (larger variety of sunflower than *a'q'ī*)
- MOQ WIγA-^s to call for help: *MU^zqwē'x(a)(i)-yī-ni* calls on me for help
muq wiγa-q a- plur.: *MU^zkwi'x -qa-p'īγai(y)-anA* (they) called on him for help (360, 13)
muq wiγa-γw'ai- to go for help: *nē' MU^zqwē'x-a-xwa'ai-va^anu'* I shall go for help
- MOγOA-^s soul, spirit: *moxu'a^aηA* his soul (363, 1); *mo(·)'go(·w)a(·)* heart, soul (Song 112)
moγoa-vi- abs.: *məγə'a-φI* soul
- MOγWA-^o cedar-bark:
moγwa-p'ī- abs.: *moxwa'-p'ī, məγwa'-p'ī* cedar-bark; *məγwə'-p'ī* (obj.) (394, 33)
moγwa-q ani- cedar-bark house: *moxwa'-q anu* cedar-bark wickiup;
məγwa(·)'-q ani-ntēU-p'īγa' built a cedar-bark house (462, 7)
- MOγWAT AVIη'WA- Uncompahgre Ute, Indian of Ouray (cf. *moγwa-* cedar-bark, *tavi-* sun?): *məγwə't aviη'wa-ntsi-ηwī* Ouray Utes;
məγwə't aviηwa(·)-m'am'a'tsi Ouray Indian woman (obj.) (Song 159)
- MOγWIA- lizard (sp.): *moxw'IA* lizard with light-blue head and light-brown body, *Cnemidophorus* (?)
- MOγWIN-I- to run tossing one's head (only used in myths; compounded with *mu-?*):
pīηqa-moγwin-i-n'ii- cont., to run quickly while tossing one's head:
pīηqa'-muγwin-in-ii-ηqī-p'īγa' rushed tossing (his) head from side to side (385, 11)
- MUT AQ A-^s forehead: *MU'ta'q A* forehead
mut'aq a-vi- abs.: *MU'ta'q a-φI, MU^zta'q a-φI* forehead
- MU RA- mule (< Span. *mula*):
mu-ra-tsi- abs.: *mu'ra-ts-* mule; plur. *mu'ra-tsi-ηwī, mo'ra-tsi-ηwī* mules
- MO RI- bean: *mo'ri'* beans; *mori'ʼ* (obj.) (412, 10)
mo'ri-tsi- bean-person, Muddy Creek Paiute (Moapa): *mo'ri-i-ts-*

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Paiute of Muddy Valley (S. Nevada), plur. *mo'ri-i-tsi-ŋwĩ*;
mo'ri-i-nu'quntĩ Muddy-stream, Muddy Creek ("Muddy" is
 Paiute *mo'ri-* transformed)

MURU'I-^s blanket, robe: *muru''i* blanket; *muru''i-wa^antu'ɣwa-mi* on
 to your blanket (334, 10)

muru'i-ɣaip-i- past blanket: *muru''i-xaip-i* cast-away (rabbit-skin)
 blanket

muru'i- in comp. n.: *muru''i-ɣut-cv* blanket-cow, cow of which
 buffalo-robe was made, buffalo

-*muru'i-* in comp. n.: *qa(·)m'u'-m·uru''i* jackrabbit-skin blanket;
ta(·)vu'-m·uru''i blanket of cottontail-rabbit skins; *tu'qu'-m·uru''i-xai-ŋu-mpa-n-α-ni* my going to be had (mom.) as panther-skin
 blanket, what is to be my panther-skin blanket

MORONA-^s greasewood:

morona-vi- abs.: *moru'na-vi'* greasewood (obj.) (404, 3)

MURUN'NU-^s to rub one's chin against: *murv(·)'n'nu-i'* rubs (his)
 chin against one; *murv(·)'n'u-x(w)a'* while rubbing (his) chin
 against (452, 12)

muv-i-m·urun'nu- to rub one's nose against: *muv^wi'-m·urun'nu-i'*
 rubs (his) nose against

MUC'UI- to try to: *MU'cu'i-yĩ* tries to do something (hardly used
 except as second element of compound vb.)

-*muc'ui-* in comp. vb.: *ta'qwa'ia-muc'ui'* tries to stiffen (his) penis,
ta'qwa'ia-muc'u'i-q-wa to try to stiffen it (inv.)

N

NA-^s, NAN- refl. and recip. pref. (Gram., § 22, 1)

NAA'-P-Ī- old man (cf. *nana-p-i-?*): *naa'p'u-ŋwĩ* old man

in comp. n.: *moo'-n-ap-i-ŋw aŋA* the old man Owl (448, 28); *ina'-*
n-a-p'ŋwĩ badger old man; *tĩɣi'a-naap'ŋwĩ* deer old man

NA'A-C-U- differently, separately (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)

NAI-ⁿ recip. pref. (Gram., § 22, 2):

nai-mpijwa- wife's sister, (man's) brother's wife (see *pijwa-*);

nai-ŋquna- husband's brother, (woman's) sister's husband (see
qum'a-)

NA'AI-ⁿ to burn (intr.): *na'ε'i'* (fire) burns; *na'a'i-yi-aqA* it burns;

na'a'i-k'a' (it) has burned; *na'a'i-p'iɣa'* (fire) was burning

pte.: *na'a'i-ntēi*, *na'a'i-ntĩ* (something) burning

nana'ai- distr.: *na(·)na'ai-p'iɣa'* there were fires burning (358, 5);

na(·^a)na'ai-p'iɣa(a)i-cv was burning yet in several places

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- (322, 11); ptc. *na(·)'na'ai-ntē-ni'* like (something) burning here and there (380, 3)
- na'ai-t'ui-* caus.: *na'a'i-t'īi-p'īγa'* built a fire (331, 1); *na'a'i-t'ui-p'īγa'ai-k-wA* made a fire out of it (375, 3); plur. *na'a'i-t'ui-k'a-na-raywA* what we (incl.) burn (380, 8)
- na'ai-t'ui-t'ia-* causing-to-burn-place: *na'a'i-t'ui-t'ī'* fire place
- na'ai-t-up-i-* to burn up: *na'a'i-t-u'p'wī-k-U-q(w)a'* (it) has burnt up
- NA'AI-ⁿ** girl:
- na'ai-ntsi-tsi-* dim. abs.: *na'a'i-ntsi-ts'* little girl; plur. *na(·)'a'i-ntsi-tsi-γwī* little girls; *wa'a-n'ai-ntsi-tsi-γwī* two little girls (434, 36)
- NAĪ-^s** to have sexual connection, to mate:
- naī-γa-* dur.: *na'ī-χa-i'* has sexual connection (not as coarse as *γoγo-*, q. v.); *tī-n'a'γa-i'* has a good copulation; ptc. *kwī'tu'-n'āiγī-kī* anus-copulator, pederast
- naī-* in comp. n.: *na'ī-γani*, *na'-χani* house of prostitution; *na'-vuyqu-ni* my mating-pet, stallion
- NAMI-** younger sister: *nam-i'(y)ay* her younger sister (404, 35)
- nami-ntsi-* dim.: *na(·)mī(·'i)-tsi-ni*, *na(·)mī(·)'-nti-ni* my younger sister; plur. *na(·)mī(·)'-ntsi-γwī-ayA* her younger sisters (434, 12)
- NAM-ī-^s** first:
- adv. pref.: *nam-ī'-iwi-mi'* always drinks first; *na(·)m-ī'-v'ai-p'īγa'* died first (452, 26); *na(·)m-o-'uv'wit-U'-p'īγa'* was the first to sing (426, 25); *nam-u'-v'ax(a)i'* goes first; *na(·)mī'-χaxa-n'a-v u'mA* his own first-singing therewith, with his first song (346, 10)
- in comp. n.: *na(·)mu'-ru(w)a-tsi-ni*, *na(·)mu'-ru(w)a-t-η-ni* my first-born son
- NAMPA-^s** foot: *na'mpa* foot
- nampa-vi-* abs.: *nampa'-φi* foot; distr. *nana'mpa-φi* feet
- nampa-γai-* to have a foot; *nampa'-χai-ni* I have a foot; ptc. *wA'tcīi-ηwīk-U nampa'-γa-ntī* four (obj.) foot-having, having four feet
- nampa-* in comp. n.: *na(·)χa'-nampa* mountain-sheep-footed (personal name of male); *pi'k'a'-nampa-ts uηwA* the sore-footed one (Song 149)
- nampa-* incor.: *nampa'-tcqu'na-i'* scratches a foot (cf. *nī' nampa'-ia-ηA tcq(·)u'nai'* I scratch his foot); *nampa'-rīηwaxaxa-i'* (it) sounds like footsteps; *nampa'-n'a(·)ntsiγaxA-qa-va'* several will have a foot-race (418, 12); *nampa'-n'antsiγa-ηqī-q-a-ηA* several have a foot-race with him (446, 12)
- NAN'A-** to grow: *na(·)n'a-'a* grow!; *nana'-p'īγa'* grew up (396, 26)
- nana-q-u-* inc.: *nana'-q-u-mī-ntca-ηA* he has finished growing

- nana-m'mia-* to grow along: *nana'-m'mia-i'* (it) keeps growing
nana-n'ni- cont.: *nana'-n'ni-i'* grows while walking around; *na(·)-n-a(·)'-n-i'* grow up (myth word; 460, 9)
- NANA-P-Ī- old man (probably < *nana-* to grow):
nana-p-ī-tsi- abs.: *nana'-p-uts·*, *na(·)na'-p-īts·* old man; plur. *na(·)na'p-īts-ηwi*
- NAN'A-ŸA- different, various (red.): *nan'a'·aŸa-r'ua-t-ī-m·wα-ni* different-becoming-with-me, (no matter) with how many different (games you will test) me (422, 15); *nan'a'·xa-ni-n-i'* in different directions (422, 33)
nana-q-a-nti- ptc., different kinds of: *nana'·A²qa-nti-mpa'avu-ηwi* different kinds of animals (400, 4); *nana'·A²qa-nti-ηqani* different kinds of houses
- NANAC'·O·Q·U·P·I- (red.) different, various: *nan'a'c'·oq-u-p-i* different things, ways; *nan'a'c'·oq-u-pi-n-i'* in different ways; *nan'a'c'·oq-u-pi-m·wα-ni* (I don't care how you will all treat) me with different kinds (of games) (418, 15)
- NAN'I- separately, different (adv. form of recip. *na-*: each-other-wise?):
nan-i-c-u- adv.: *nan-i'-c-u* separately
nan-i-n'na- in opposed directions: *nan-i'-n'na-ηwi-tux-wA*, *na(·)n-i'-na-ηwi-tux-wA* in two different directions (387, 9; 358, 1), *na(·)ni'-n'na-ηwi-tuŸwa-q·A* to different directions . . . it (386, 8); *na(·)ni'-n'na-q·wα-Ÿa-ηa-'mi* on both sides of him . . . they 2 (430, 22); in comp. n. *nan-i'-na-q·wα-Ÿa-Ÿa-ma-A²qa-'mi* at either end of the (line) . . . they 2 (370, 7) (Gram., § 59, 3, b)
- nan-i-* adv. pref. in vb.: plur. *nan-i'-t-i'qa-q-a-i'* (they) eat separately; *Ÿya'-nan-ü-mpA²qa-i'* big-separately-beats (?), there is a big fight
- nan-i-* distr. pref. in num. adv.: *nan-i'-c·v-t-a-c-u* one each, one to each; *nan-i'-ηwanŸa-t·cA* two each, *nan-i'-ηwanŸaA-tca-tca-A²qa-'mi* they (did) it two each, each one twice; *nan-i'-p·a(a)i-t·cA* three each
- NA·N·IA- to say something:
na'n·ia-i' says something; *qateu' n·a'·n·ia'·ap·A* do not say anything (408, 33); *qate·u n·a'·n·ia·p·ïd'·a* did not speak, said nothing (400, 6); *na'n·ia-Ÿ'wai-YU-campa-ηA* without saying anything (give) her (to me) (363, 5)
- NANTA-^s "yant": *na'ntA* species of cactus (short-leaved, round, spined plant about one foot high, similar to a century plant, locally known as "yant"), agave?

- in comp. n., ptc.: *nanta'-uw^wip-I* "yant"-stalk; *nanta'-qwa'cip'i* "yant"-done, "yant" done in cooking
nanta-γa- to get "yant": comp. vb. *nanta-x-A-tiv^witecu-p-īγai(y)-aηA* asked him to get "yant"
- NA-NTSIγA- to race (probably contains recipr. *na-*):
nampa-na-ntsiγa- to have a foot-race: plur. *nampa'-na-ntsiγax-qa-va'* several will have a foot-race (418, 12); indir. plur. *nampa'-na-ntsiγa-ηqī-q-a-ηA* several have a foot-race with him (446, 12)
- NANTCUI- to be fierce: *na(·)'ntcuu-n-i'* fiercely, horribly (404, 32);
na(·)'ntcu'i-yu-n-i' (he) is fierce; *na(·)'ntcu'i-yu-n-ia-ni* I am fierce
- NAηA-ⁿ anger (occurs only compounded):
naja-y'ai- to anger-die, to be angry (sing.): *naja'-i'ai'* gets angry, is angry; *naja'-i'ai-yi-aηA* he is angry; *na(·)'ja'-i'ai-p-īγa'* got angry (373, 11); *naja'-i'ai-ntca-ηA* he has got angry
naja-y'ai-q-a- plur.: *naja'-i'ai-k-a-i'* (they) are angry, get angry;
naja'-i'ai-k-A-qa-mi when they are angry
naja-y'ai-ηqī- to get angry at: *naja'-i'ai-ηqī-yi-aηA* gets angry at him
naja-y'ai-t-ū- caus.: indir. *naja'-i'ai-t-ū-ηqī-aηA-ni* cause him to get angry for me (456, 20); plur. *naja'-i'ai-t-ū-k-A-p-īγai(y)-aηA* (they) made him angry (446, 20)
nanaη'a-y'ai- iter.: *nanaη'a-ya'i'* gets angry several times
naja-ntup-i- to be angry (plur.), *naja-ntup-a-* to get angry (plur.):
naja'-ntu'p^wi-yi-amī they are angry; *naja'-ntu'p^wi-p-īγa'* (they) were angry; *naja'-ntu'pa-p-īγa'* (they) got angry; *tiv^wl'ts-naja'-ntu'pa-p-īγa'* (they) got very angry (438, 4)
naja-mpin-i- to anger-look: *naja'-mpin'ni-nim-p-īγa'* kept looking angrily (456, 6)
- in comp. n.: *naja'-mpu'ⁱ* anger-eye, fierce-eyed (horse's name)
- NAηQA- ear-ornament (cf. *najqava-* ear): *na'ηqA* wooden ear-plug, ear ornament (in general), bead (so used in Uncompagne Ute)
- NAηQA- branch (cf. *najqava-* ear?): *najqa-z'qA* its branches
najqa-a-γai- to have branches: *najqa-z'a^axa'* to have branches
najqa-a-t-ū- to cause (a tree) to have branches: *najqa'-t-ū-p-īγa'* caused (it) to have branches (460, 32)
maavi-najqa-vi- bush-branch, leaf: *maa'vi-najqa-vi-mA* with leaves
- NAηQA- to hear: *na(·)^aηqa'-p-īγa'* heard (313, 12); *'a't-i-najq^aA-p-īγai-²k-wA* heard it (inv.) well, clearly (370, 4)
najqa-q-ai- res., to hear: distr. *nanaηq^aA-qui-tcu'a-z-q-a-ηw'i* did you (plur.) hear? (390, 8)

- nanaŋqa-m'ia-* several hear while journeying: *nana'ŋq'a-m'ia(u)-x'u* (they) hearing while traveling (434, 19)
- naŋqa-t-ca'-q'ai-* res., to listen: *naŋqa'-t-sa-q-a'* to listen; *naŋqa'-tsa-q'ai-'i* listen!; *naŋqa'-t-sa-q'ai-p'ï'ya'* listened (410, 1)
- nanaŋqa-t-ca'-q'ai-* distr.: *nana'ŋq'a-tsa-q-a'* several listen; *nana'ŋq'a-tca'-q'ai-va'* (they) will listen
- naŋqa-t-ca'-ŋq'i-q'ai-* to listen for: *ni' naŋqa'-t-sa-ŋq'i-q'ai-yi-aŋa* I listen for, instead of him
- naŋqat-ca'-ŋwini-* to stand listening: *naŋqa'tsa-ŋwini-p'ï'ya'* stood and listened (370, 1); *naŋqa'tsa-ŋwini-p'ï'ya'i-c'u-'q-wa* stood and listened to it again (370, 3)
- NAŊQAVA-^s ear (cf. *naŋqa-* ear-ornament; to hear): *naŋqa'φA* ear; *naŋqa'va-na'χi-ni* in my ear (456, 32)
- naŋqava-vi-* abs.: *naŋqa'va-φi* ear
- naŋqava-γai-* to have ears: distr. ptc. *ava''at'i' nana'ŋqava-χa-nŋi* having big (obj.) ears (464, 31); neg. ptc. *naŋqa'va-'ai-t'i* having no ears
- qani-naŋqava-vi-* house-ear: *qani'-naŋqava-φi* tent-flaps
- in comp. n.: *naŋqa'φA-canap'i* ear-wax
- incor.: *naŋqa'va-ŋwipantuxwi-x'u-mi* while you shake your ears (456, 33)
- NAŊQWA-^o direction (Gram., § 50, 4, 18)
- naŋqwa-t'i-* (*-naŋqwa-nŋi-*) (ptc.); *-naŋqwa-t'i-ma-naŋqwa-* from . . . direction
- naŋqwa-p'a-* in . . . direction, near; *-naŋqwa-p'a-tci-* being in . . . direction
- NAŊWA-^s track: *na(·)ŋwa'-ni* my tracks; *na(·)ŋwa'-a(·)ŋa* his tracks; *naŋwa'(i)'ya-mi* their (2) tracks (obj.) (450, 32); *na(·)ŋwa'-v(a)a-ŋa* in his tracks; *na(·)ŋwa'-v(a)a-mi* in their tracks; *na(·)ŋwa'-zup(a)'a-ŋa* following in his tracks; *naŋwa'-x'pa'a-mi* on their (2) tracks; *naŋwa'-x'pa'-mpa'a-mi* about to follow up their (2) tracks (373, 11)
- naŋwa-vi-* abs.: *naŋwa'-φi*, *na(·)ŋwa'-φi* tracks; obj. *naŋwa'-vi ma'* to find a track
- naŋwa-t'ui-* to cause tracks: *naŋwa'-t'u-k'ai-mi* they (2) have made tracks, left behind tracks
- in comp. n.: *a'i-n'aŋwa=(a)ŋa* (*a'-*) his fresh tracks; *mi(y)α'-naŋwa-vi'* traveled track (obj.) (322, 13)
- incor.: *naŋwa'-m'a(a)i-va-n'ia-ni* I shall find a track
- NAŊWA'AI- with each other, both (animate) (quasi-num.; Gram., § 59, 3, c)

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- NAŋW'AITCA- (probably with recipr. *na-*): to play an arrow-game:
na'ŋwaitca-i' plays the game of shooting arrows at a root thrown
 up into a tree; *na'ŋw'aitca-pi* arrow-game
- NAŋWI- apron: *na'ŋwi* apron
 in comp. n.: *ina'n-ŋwi* bark apron (see *ina-*)
- NAŋWĪN'A'MI- in sight of (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 19)
- NAP'ŌŋWI- moving down (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 20)
- NAVA-C'U- merely, in vain (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)
- NAVAS'U- following, imitating (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 23)
- NAVAI- six (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2):
navai-mac'ŋwi- 90 (num.; Gram., § 59, 1)
navai-q-a-vai- seven (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2)
- NA'VAI- to gather several objects: *na'vaai'* gathers up (several things);
na'(a)vai-p'iŋa' gathered (312, 11); *nī'aq-A na'avaik'a'* I have
 gathered them; impers. *na'avaik'ai-t'u(w)a(i)-yu-A²qa-noA* some-
 one has gathered them, they have been gathered
 plur. *na'(a)vai-k'ε(i)-ya-q-A* you (plur.) gather them!
- NA'VAI- to pack up (cf. *na-vai-* to gather several objects?): *na'va(·)i-
 va-n-ia-ni* I shall pack up in order to move; *na'va(·)i-m'ĩ-i'* is
 already packing up (438, 9); *na'va(·)i-m'ĩ-(·)i-yĩ-ni* I am already
 packing up
 plur.: *na'va(·)i-k'ε-i'* many pack up
- NAVAIA-^s to divide (contains recipr. *na-?*): *nava'i'* to divide (Song 63);
na(·)va'ia-piŋai-aqa'a-mi they 2 divided it (365, 4)
 in comp. n.: *nava'ia-va-ts'* whiskers (*-va-ts'* = *-vā-ts'*; *navaia-
 vā-ts'* dividing-hair)
- NAVI'A-^o one's own tabooed kill (probably contains refl. *na-*; only
 comp.):
navi'a-t'iq-a- to eat one's own tabooed kill: *navi''a-t'iq-a-i'* (boy)
 infringes taboo of not eating what he has killed himself; *qam-i'-
 navi''a-t'iq-a-i'* (boy) eats jack-rabbits that he has killed himself,
qam-i'-navi''a-t'iq-a-ŋw'ai-vū' (I) shall go and eat jack-rabbits
 killed by (my)self (478, 3)
- NAVITCI- (*na-* probably recipr., *-vitci-* = *pitci-* to arrive?; used as
 second element of comp. intr. vb. to indicate plurality):
qatcu-n-avitci- several are tired out (cf. sing. *qatcu-t'iq-ŋwi-*)
patcaqwi-navitci- several get wet (cf. sing. *patcaqwi-*) (388, 12)
tuŋwi-navitci- fires go out (cf. sing. *tuŋwi-*) (383, 2)
- NAVO'VI-^s spotted:
navo'vi-ŋa- to be spotted: *navo'vi-xa-i'* (it) is spotted; *pa'ŋi-
 na(·)vo''vwi-xa-mi-mpi* wont to be cloud-spotted (Song 110)

- N[·]A·γI-^o in, into (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 17)
 -n[·]a·γi-t'i-(ptc.) being in
 -n[·]a·γi-t-uγwa- moving into
 -n[·]a·γi-t-u-ma-nanqwa- from inside of
 -n[·]a·γi-yu- acting in
- NAQ·WITCU- worm: comp. *tw^wi'-nA^zqwutcu-ts* earthworm
- NAQ·WOA- to look for a track (*na-^o* probably identical with *na-ⁿ*, q. v.):
naq-woa-ηu- mom.: *NA^zqwō'a-ηu-p'īγa'* looked for a track (450, 33)
 iter: *nana'q-oa-ηu-p'īγa'* tracked around (450, 32)
- NAγA-^s mountain-sheep: *na(·)x^A* mountain-sheep; plur. *na(·)γa'-mī*;
 also *na(·)γa'-ηwī*, obj. *na(·)γa(·)'-ηwī'* (426, 19)
naγa-ηwī, plur., mountain-sheep (lit.): *na(·)χα'-ηwī* Orion's belt
naγa-tsi- mountain-sheep: *na(·)γa'-ts* mountain-sheep; plur. *na(·)-*
γa'-tsi-ηwī
naγa- in comp. n.: *na(·)γa'-ru(w)a-ts*, *na(·)xa'-ru(w)a-ts* mountain-
 sheep-son, young mountain-sheep (426, 25); *na(·)γa'-x^{um}a(i)-ya-*
ηA mountain-sheep-buck (obj.) he (356, 7); *na(·)γa'-c^{am}αp'ī*
 mountain-sheep-robe; *na(·)χα'-uw^{ia}φi* mountain-sheep song
 (one of the four types of mourning song); *na(·)χα'-nampA*
 mountain-sheep-foot (personal name of male)
- NAγA-^r, NAγA- to put on, wear (clothing) (*na-* probably reflexive):
naγa- to put on: *naγa'(i)-yī-aq^A* puts it on
naγa-q^{ai}- res., to wear: *naγa'-q^{ai}(y)aq^A* to wear it
 in comp. vb.: *naxa'^a-η'wīnu-ηqī* stand wearing (my skunk-blanket)
 for (me) (452, 6); *na(·)χα'^(u)-ηwīnī-χai-(y)aq'a-mī* while they
 two stood wearing it (452, 10)
- NAγAM-I- to be sick: *na(·)χα'mⁱ-yī-ni* I am sick
naγam-i-q^a- plur.: *na(·)χα'mⁱ-k^a-i'* many are sick
naγam-i-ηu- mom.: *na(·)χα'mⁱ-ηu-p'īγa'* got sick (462, 13)
nan'aγa'mi- iter.: *nan'a'xa'mi'* is sick several times
- NAγARī-ηQī- to dodge (probably < refl. *na-* + *qarī-* to sit): *nī' na(·^a)-*
γa'ru-ηqī I dodge
nanaγarī-ηqī- distr., recipr.: *nī'm(w)_I nana'χari-ηqī-mī* we two
 (excl.) dodge each other; plur. *ta'ηwA nana'χari-ηqī-q^A* we dodge
 each other
naγat-i-ηqī- mom.: *na(·)γa'tⁱ-ηqī* to dodge once (as when startled);
na(·^a)γa'tⁱηqī-p'īγa' dodged suddenly (312, 10)
nanaq^at-i-ηqī- iter.: *nana'q^{Atu}-ηqī-t'* dodges several times; *nana'q^A-*
tu-ηqī-p'īγa' (*na'q^{Atu}-*) dodged several times (371, 12)
naγarī-ηqī-vi- ag.: *na(·^a)γa'ru-ηqī-φi* dodger

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SAPIR

-¹NA·YI- to seize:

only with instr. prefix: *ma-'na'γi-p'ïγa'* grabbed hold of, picked up and took away (396, 39)

NARĪYWI·N·A- great power: *narīγwi'n·α-ni* my great power

narīγwi'n·a-p'ï- possessed of great power: *narīγwi'n·a-pu'uywaru''a* he is powerful; *narī'γwi'n·a'-p'ï-ηw a'ru'a(i)-YI* are possessed of great power (418, 33)

comp.: *nywï'-narīγwi'n·αp'ï* person-powered, person provided with unusual strength

NARĪYA-^s cleft, between, middle (used generally with postp.; *na-* probably recipr.): *tana'c·iχa(i)ya·ηA narī'ya-va ntux·WA* to between his hoofs (404, 11); *qa(·)ni' maa(·)vï na(·)rī'(i)ya-va'* house (obj.) tree (obj.) between-at, between house and tree; *na(·)rī'(i)ya-va-nūmi* between us (excl.)

comp. (Gram., § 50, 4, 21): *qanu'-n·arīa-va'* house-between-at, between two houses; *pu'ï'-n·arīya-va-ni* between my eyes; *tiv'v·p'ï-narī'ya-va'* land-middle-at, in the middle of the land (Song 113); *pu'ï'-n·arīya-p·a·ηA* between his eyes; *taηwa'-n·arīya-χï-aηA* between his (two) teeth; *am'ï'-n·arī(i)γα·i* between them (he lay) (462, 32); *yï'u'-n·arīya-χï-aηA* between his legs; *pi-na'rī(i)γα-ni* buttocks-between-my, my crotch; *pi-na'rīya-γï(y)-aηA* between his legs (396, 16); *taηwa'-n·arīya-na·ηA* on between his teeth

distr., comp.: *qanu'-n·anarīa-va'* (outside) among the houses

-NAS·IχA-^s split, crack (only as second member of compound): *pi-na's·i·χα-ni* my buttocks-cleft, my crotch, where my legs meet; *qu'tcu'-nta-n·as·iχa-ηwïx'ï* buffalo-hoof-cleft-vulvaed, having a vulva cleft like a buffalo-hoof

-*nas·iχa-vi-* abs.: *ta-n·a's·iχa-φi* split in a hoof, clefts between the toes

with post.: *pi-nū's·iχa-va-ni* between my legs; *pi-nū's·iχa-va(i)-yu-ni* moving between my legs; *pi-nū's·iχa-va(i)-yu-a(·)η'a-m·u-φï* between their own legs they 2 . . . them (436, 3); *pi-na'c·iχa-x·U·pa-φï* through the upper part of his legs (396, 32)

NAC·IMĪA- to forget: *NA'cï'm'wï'* to forget (314, 4); *NA'cï'm'w·a·a-ntca-A²qa-ni* I forgot it

plur.: *NA'cï'm'w·ia-q·A* several forget

usit.: *NA'cï'm'w·ia-mu(y)a·q·A* to keep forgetting it

NARĪVIA- always, customarily (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

NARĪ'Ḷ-ⁿ clothes (cf. *naro'a-* to have on): *na(·)rō'Ḷ-ni* my clothes
narō'Ḷ-ηqai- to have clothes: *nï' na(·)rō'Ḷ-ηq(w)a'* I have clothes;

- tümp^u-n-aró'-ŋq(w)a-nt aŋA* stone-clothes-having he, the stone-clothes-haver, Iron-Clothes (mythical person) (396, 10)
- naro'ó-ntu-* to make clothes: *na(·)ró'ó-ntu-ı'* makes clothes; ptc. *na(·)ró'ó-ntó-rí* clothes-maker, tailor
- tca-naro'ó-ntu-q-a-* several cause skin to be clothing: *tca'-naro'ó-ntó-q(w)a-i'* (they) have skin put on themselves (327, 4)
- naro'ó-mpi(?)*- what is worn: *na(·)ró'ó-mpi(-mpí?)* what is worn underneath, underwear
- NARO'A-** to have on (*na-* probably recipr.; *-ro'a-* perhaps contains suffixed *-a-*):
- naro'a-ŋu-* mom.: *na(·)ró''a-ŋU-píŋa'* had (skin) on (328, 10)
- NARO'ŋWA-** to barter (contains recipr. *na-*): *naro''ŋwa(i)-yí* buys *naro''ŋwa-ŋu-* mom.: *naro''ŋwa-ŋU* to sell
- NAUA-** to play shinny:
- nanaua-p'í-* distr. pas. ptc.: *nana'ua-p'í* shinny game
- NAUQ-WA-** distributed among, throughout (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 22)
- NAYAVA-, NAYA'P'A-** to seem, to look like (probably contains refl. *na-*):
- nayava-* to seem: *qv(·)'nan-ı* *naya'va-i'* looks like fire (377, 6)
- nayava-q'ai-* res.: *na(·)ya'φA^z-qa'* to look like; *a(·)'vutcim'in'ia'amí* *naya'φA^z-qa'* they 2 look as though lying down (454, 1); *naya'φA^z-qai-p'íŋa'* looked, seemed (396, 17), *na(·)ya'φA^z-qai-p'íŋa'* looked like
- naya'p'a-ŋu-* mom.: *na(i)ya'p'a^a-ŋ^zU-píŋa'* became like, turned into (315, 10), *na(·)ya'p'a-ŋ^zU-píŋa'* (it) looked, seemed like (310, 13); *o'p'a'acŋu* *na(·)ya'p'a^a-ŋU-píŋa'* (she) appeared just like before (327, 1)
- naya'p'a-ŋu-t'ui-* caus. mom.: *ı'nicunia-ŋA* *naya'p'a-ŋ^zU-t'ui-p'íŋa'* made her become just as before (365, 7); *naya'p'a-ŋqí-t'ui-p'íŋa'* caused (them) to appear (*-ŋqí-* misheard for *-ŋU-?*) (468, 29)
- N'I-** (enc. pers. pron.): I; me; my (Gram., § 40)
- NI^o** away from (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 24); occurs only compounded:
- ni-t-uŋwa-* moving away from
- N'IA-** (mod. enc.) like, as though, perhaps (Gram., § 19, 2, d)
- NIA-** to call by name (cf. *nia-* name): *ni(y)á'-ni* call me; *ni(y)a^z'a-ŋA* call him; *ni(y)a'-nim(w)ı* call us; *ni(y)a'-q'ai-(y)aŋA* (I) called him
- ninia-* iter.: *ní' nni'a(i)-yí-aŋA* I call him several times
- N'NIA-** mod. enc. (Gram., § 19, 2, d, end)
- NIA-^s** name (cf. *nia-* to call by name): *ni(y)a'-ni*, *ni'a'-ni* my name; *ni(y)a^z'(a)ŋA* his name; *ni(y)a'-nim(w)ı* our name; *cŋa'ŋwawı* *ni(y)a'^a-va'* Coyote's name-at, with Coyote's name (327, 9)

- nia-vi-* abs.: *ni(y)a'-phi* name
nia-γai- to have a name: *ni(y)a' a'-χai-va'* about to be called, have as name (337, 10); *n' i'a-γai-vü-tci'* called, always having as name (400, 37); *qava(a) n' i'a-xa'* (= *qava a' n' i'a-*) to be called a horse; *wiγimp a' n' i'a'-χai-va-nti'* vulva thus will-(be-) name-having, will be called vulva (357, 3)
- NIA'- relation (identical with *nia-* name?; cf. also *in'ia-*): plur. *ni(·)'q-ηwü-a-ηA* his (obj.) relations (460, 28)
- NIA VI-ⁿ chief (cf. probably *nia-* to call upon): *nia'phi* "captain," *ni(y)a'phi* chief, war-leader; *nia'vi-η'wa-m' aηA* their chief (371, 4); *qan' u' aγanti nia' a' vi-η' WA* chief of the village; *nia' a' vi-η' wa-raηWA* our (excl.) chief; *waa'-n' i(y)a vi-ηw amü* the two chiefs (370, 7)
- nia-vi-* in comp. n.: distr. *na(·)γuq-wi-n' u' i'a' vi-ηwü* fight-chiefs, battle chiefs (440, 26)
- nia-vi-* in comp. vb.: *nia' a' vi-nti' qan' wI* to become a chief; *nia' vi-am paγa-i'* chief-talks, talks in council; *nia' vi-ηwaiχa-p' i'* chief-deliberating, council
- NI'I-^s to touch (cf. *ma-'niγi-?*):
 with instr. pref.: *ma-ni'' i-vuru-tsi* going around touching, touching from place to place (Song 113)
- NIηWÄRI'I-^s to round up: *niηwü' arü' i'* to round up game; *niηwü' arü' i'-χu-a' qa-' mü* as they (inv.) were rounding it up (432, 20)
- NIVU-γI- to nibble at: *qü-ni' vu-χ(w) i-y' i-q WA* gnaws it (inv.), nibbles at it; plur. *qü-ni' vu-χ(w) i-t' i-y' i-q WA* nibbles at many things
 -*ni p' u-γi-* to gnaw: *qü-ni' p' u-χ(w) i'* (mouse) gnaws
- NIγI- negro (< Eng. *nigger*): *to'-niχi* black nigger (Song 161)
- NIγI-, -NIK I- to stick, be stuck in:
 -*niγi-q ai-* res.: *tsi-' nu' x i-k a'* to be stuck in, stick (intr.)
tsi-' nik-i- to stick with a point: *tci-' nu' k' z- püγa'* (he) stuck (385, 9), *na(·) ru' q WA tsi-' nu' k' i- püγa'* under herself (she) stuck (356, 10), *tsi-' nu' k' i- n' i'* seems to be stuck in; with incor. obj., *mv(·) v' w i- tsi-' nu' k' i* stick nose in the water
ma-' nu' k' i- to stick one's hand in: *ma-' nu' k' i* to stick one's hand in (water); with incor. obj., *citcu'-' manik i- püγa'* stuck in (her) claws (309, 14)
ta-' nu' k' i- to stick one's foot in: *ni' ta-' nu' k' i pa' a' γaφA* I stick (my) foot in water; with incor. loc., *pa-ra'-n' nuγi-tci* person of Corn Creek band of Paiutes (in Paranigut valley), "person who sticks his feet in the water," plur. *pa(·)-ra'-n' nuγi-tsi-ηwü* Paiutes of Paranigut Valley

- NĪYU-ŶA-** to move (dur. intr.): *nī' nu'yu'-χ(w)a-i'* I am moving, *imp' un'k'A nu'yu'-xa-xa'* what does moving? what moves?
- NĪ-ⁿ** person (cf. *nīḡwī-*):
 comp. n.: *nī-ḡqa'n-i-φi* somebody else's house
nī- incor.: *nī-cī'tcaḡwa'ι-χa'* teasing a person; *nī-ntua-ḡqī-* to give birth to (see *tua-*); *nī'-cī'm'wī'* to let a person go
- NĪ', NĪ-** I (indep. pers. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)
- NĪA-^s** wind blows: *nīa'(i)-'yu-q-wA* it (inv.) is blowing, *nīa'-va-n-i'a-q-wA* it (inv.) will blow; *pīḡqa'-nīa-i'* keeps blowing
nīa-rī- ptc.: *nīa'-rī* blowing, wind; incor. *nīa'rī-nti'qaḡwī-pīḡa'* turned into wind (330, 5); *turu'(n)'-nīaxī* whirlwind
nīa-^o comp.: *nīa'-t-aip'ī* (*nīa'-t-avp'ī*) Wind-spotted, man's name (Song 184)
- NĪM-I-** we (excl.) (ind. pers. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)
nīm-ia- us (excl.) (obj.; *ibid.*)
- NĪM-I-** (enc. pers. pron.; cf. *nīm-i-*) we (excl.); us (excl.); our (excl.) (Gram., § 40)
- NĪN-IA-** me, my (indep. pers. pron., obj.; Gram., § 39)
- NĪNTCĪ-^s** to shake:
nīntcī-ḡa- dur. intr.: *nīntcī'-χa-i'* (it) shakes, *nīntcī'-ḡa-i'*; fut. *nīntcī'-xa-va-n-i'*; neg. *qa'tcU nīntcī'-x-A-pī'a'^a* (he) did not shake
nīntcī-ḡa-q-u- dur. inc.: *nīntcī'-ḡa-q-U* begin to shake, *nīntcī'-x-A-qv(·)-ntsuk'A* (it) is just about to shake
nīn'īntcī-ḡa- inc. intr.: *nīn'īntcīx'A* to start in shaking
nīn'īntcī-q-i- iter. intr.: *nīn'īntcī-q(ε)ι'* (it) shakes several times
nīntcī-t-cu- to shake (intr.): *nīntcī'-t-cu-ι'* shakes, *qatcU nīntcī'-t-cī-p'īd'^a* did not shake at all (410, 25); inc. *nīntcī'-tcu-q-U-pīḡa'* started to shake (468, 27)
- nīntcī-ḡi-** dur., with instr. pref.: *ma(·)-nī'ntcī-xi-y'ī-q-wA* (he) shakes it (inv.); *ta(·)-n'ī'ntcī-χi'* keeps on shaking with the feet, fut. *ta(·)-n'ī'ntcī-χi-va-n-i'*
- nīntcī-q-i-ḡqī-** mom., with instr. pref.: *ma(·)-n'ī'ntcī-ki-ḡqī* to shake with the hand; *ta(·)-nī'ntcī-qī-ḡqī-pīḡai(y)-aq'A* shook it by trampling once (462, 3); *ta(·)-n'ī'ntcī-ki-ḡqī* to shake with an object thrown; *tsi-nī'ntcī-ki-ḡqī* to shake with the end of a stick; *qī-n'ī'ntcī-ki-ḡqī* to shake with the teeth; *mo-n'ī'ntcī-ki-ḡqī* to shake with the nose, muzzle (of a horse, dog); *to-n'ī'ntcī-ki-ḡqī* to shake with the fist; *pī-n'ī'ntcī-ki-ḡqī* to shake with the buttocks
- NĪḡWĪ-^s** person, Indian: *nīḡwī* person
nīḡwī-ntsi- person, Indian: *nīḡwī'-ntsi-* person; plur. *nīḡwī'-ntsi-ḡwī,*

- nīhwī'-ntsi-ηwī* persons, Indians (472, 23); incor. *nīhwī'ntsi-vīnu-ηwa'* not see a person (352, 8)
- nīhwī-* in comp. n.: plur. *yu'tq-nīhwī-ηwī'* (obj.) Ute people (474, 12); *tu'ya-nīhwī* mountain person (Song 154)
- nīhwī-* in comp. n.: *nīhwī'-ru(w)a-ts-* person-child, little human being
- nīhwī-* people, others (with postp.): *nīhwv-'it-uγwa'a-mū* before the others (440, 30); *nīhwī'-rīraxwǝp'a'* right among the people (374, 1); *nīhwī'-RUqwat-uγwa-ηu-ntca-ni* I-persons-under-went, I lost, *nīhwī'-RUqwat-uγwa-q'a-va-n-ia-raηwA* we (incl.) -shall-all-persons-under-go, we shall be beaten (408, 21); *nīhwī'-xa^ava-t'i-m^wi-ni* I (am) the greatest one, *nīhwī'-xa^ava-t'i-m^w αηA* he (is) the greatest one
- nīhwī-* incor.: *nīhwī'-rīqah'wI* to become a man; *nīhwū'-m-arα-φI* person-chaser, sp. of lizard ("mountain boomer"?; resembles *Gerrhonatus nobilis*); *nīhwī'-n^o-φI* person-carrier, mythical bird that carries people away in his talons; *qa(·)tcv nīhwū'-mai-p'ia'* did not find a person (352, 4); *nīhwī'-m-a'ηwī-ntca-ηa-ni* I have made him a person again; *nīhwū'-φUCAγai'i-xwa'* go look for a person (351, 3)
- nīhwī-γai-* to be a person: *nīhwī'-xai-vā-tcī* wont to be a person, *nīhwī'-xai-γv* being a person, like a person (313, 7)
- nīhwu-ru-* to make a person: *nīhwū'-ru-v^wa^ani'* will make a man
- nīhwī'-a-* people of: *nīhwī'-a(i)-ya-qA* people (obj.) of it (396, 12); *nīhwī'-a-xa-ntī'* being (obj.)-people-of, inhabitants (468, 29)
- NĪHWĪⁿ** liver:
- nīhwī-mpi-* abs.: *nīhwū'-mpi* liver, *nīhwu-mp a'rī* the liver (311, 11), *nīhwū'-mpi'* (obj.) liver (311, 3)
- NĪHWĪA^s** body (cf. *nīhwī-* person): *nīhwī'a-ni* my body, *nīhwī'a-η arī* his body-parts (456, 34)
- nīhwī'a-ya-* obj.: *nīhwī'á(i)-ya-ηA* all parts of his body (404, 10), *nīhwī''a(i)-ya(·)-φī* his own body (316, 2)
- nīhwīa-vi-* abs.: *nīhwī'a-φI* body
- nīhwīa-γai-* to have a body: *nīhwī'aa-xai-k'ai-na-ηA* her having had as body, what had been her body (365, 7)
- NĪVA^s** snow
- nīva-vi-* abs.: *nīv^aa'-φI* snow
- nīva-γa-nī-* having snow: *nīva'-γa-nti* snowy-mountain, name of mt. in Nevada; *nīva'-γantu-tsi-ηwī* people of Snowy-mountain
- nīva-γarī-rī-* snow-sitting, mountain-peak covered with snow: *nīv^aa'-xarī-rī*, *nīv^aa'-xarī-rī* Pine Valley mt. (north of St.

George, in Washington Co., Utah); big mountain northeast of Flagstaff always covered with snow

nīva- in comp. n.: *nīva'-rcmpoq̄(w)ι-ts* chickadee (?)

nīva- incor.: *nīva'(·)ʼ-ʼujwa(i)ʼ-yι-q-wA* it (inv.) is snowing, *nīv^wa(·)ʼ-ʼujwa-va-nʼ-a-q-wA* it (inv.) will snow, *nīv^waʼ-ηwa-p-īγaʼ* (it) snowed (330, 9), *nīv^wa(·)ʼ-ʼηwa-t-uʼ-k-a(·^a)-va^a-raηwA* let us (incl.) cause snow to fall (330, 7); *nīv^wa'-RAʼ-tonʼNIʼ-ḫiʼa-ηwA* his (inv.) place of shaking the snow off the feet; *nīv^wa(·)ʼ-χorona* carry snow on (its) head (Song 139); *nīvaʼ-vauiʼ-k-a-mi-mpaʼ* snow-rivulets shall be always flowing (from it) (Song 185); *nīv^waʼ-t-a(·)-maγa-p-īγaʼ* went out to test depth of snow with the feet (330, 10)

-NĪRU- to make a rasping noise:

wī-nīru-γi- dur. with instr. pref.: *wī-nʼru-x(w)ιʼ* makes the noise of rasping by playing the notched rasp

NŌ-^s, ^a to carry on one's back, to "pack": *nŌʼ-iʼ* carries on (his) back, *nŌʼ-vaʼ* shall carry off (311, 5), *nŌʼ-p-īγaʼ* carried on (his) back (312, 14; 316, 11), *nŌʼ-q-a(i)-ya-ni* do ye carry me., *nŌʼ-na-ni* my pack

nŌ-γi- to come to pack: *nŌʼ-χ(w)ι-aηA* come to pack him, *nŌʼ-γ(w)ι-ni* come to pack me (456, 26)

nŌ-q-i- to come packing: *nŌʼ-q(w)ι-aηA* come packing him

nŌ-nʼni- cont.: ptc. *nŌʼ-nʼni-ntci-aηA* carrying him around (402, 21)

nŌ-mʼmia- to carry along: *nŌʼ-mʼmia-p-īγai-aηA* he carried along (404, 25)

nŌ-ηqī- to carry for: *nŌʼ-ηqī-ya^a-q-a-ni* he packs it for me

nŌnŌ- iter.: *nŌ(°)nŌʼ(i)-yī-aq-a-ni* I pack them (inan.) repeatedly

nŌʼŌ-q-u- inc.: *nŌʼŌ-q^{xU}-pīγaʼai-k-wA* (he) started to pack them (inan. inv.) (313, 1)

nŌ-vi- ag.: *nŌʼŌ-φi* packer; *nηwīʼ-nŌʼφi*, *nīηwīʼ-nŌʼφi* man-carrier, mythical bird that carries away people in his talons (468, 1)

nŌ-p-ī- pas. ptc.: *nŌʼŌ-p-ī* something packed

nŌ-Ō in comp. n.: *nŌʼ-q-avaʼ* pack-horse; *nŌʼ-s-ariʼts* pack-dog; *nŌʼ-uruʼaʼ* tump-line

nŌ-Ō in comp. vb.: *nŌʼŌ-p-aγ(a)iʼ* carries from place to place;

nŌʼu-p-a(i)yι-k-wʼai-p-īγaʼ went back carrying on (his) back

(432, 27), *nŌʼ-p-a(i)yι-k-t-p-īγaʼ* came home carrying (446, 8)

-*nŌ-γwʼai-* to go to carry, with incor. obj.: *pa^a-nŌʼŌ-γwʼai-t-mi-p-īγaʼai-ηwA* caused him (inv.) to go to pack water (in a water-

jar) (336, 12); *qu²qwa'-n·v·-xw'ai-yi-ni* I go to carry wood, *qu²qwa'-n·v·-xw'ai-t·wi-p·i'γai(y)-aηA* caused her to go for wood (456, 11)

-NŌARU- to jump at in order to hold down:

ma-n·v·aru- with instr. pref.: *ma(·)-n·v·aru-p·i'γa'* jumped to hold (him) down (366, 9), *ma(·)-n·v·aru-aηA* to reach down, jump to hold him down, *ma(·)-n·v·aru-p·i'γai(y)-aηA* jumped at him to hold him down (366, 9)

ma-n·v·aru-q·ai- res.: *ma(·)-n·v·aru-q(w)ai-aηA* to hold him down, *ma(·)-n·v·aru-q(w)ai-mi* to hold them two down

NŌN·ŌC·I-^s to dream: *nɔ(·)nɔ'c·i-va-n·i'* will dream, *nɔ(·)nɔ'c·i-yα-ni* ye 2 dream of me!, *nɔ(·)nɔ'c·i-va-n·a-ni* what I shall dream, *nɔ(·)nɔ'c·i-k·ai-na-ni* what I dreamt

nɔn·v·c·i-q·a- plur.: *nɔ(·)nɔ'c·i-k·a-i'* several dream

ptc.: *nɔnɔ'c·i-tēi* dreaming; neg. *qa nɔnɔ'c·i-ηwai-t·i'* not dreaming

nɔn·v·c·i-p·i- what is dreamt: *nɔ(·)n·v·c·i-p·i* dreams

'at·i-nɔn·v·c·i- to dream well: neg. ag. *qatc (a)'at·i-nɔn·v·c·i-v·ap·A* not a good dreamer; neg. ger. *qatc (a)'at·i-nɔn·v·c·i-tsu-²-ap·A* not dreaming well

usit.: *nɔ(·)n·v·s·i-ni-n·imp·i-'q·wa(·)-n·* I have always been dreaming it (inv.) (Song 147)

NŌNTSI-^s to fly: *nɔntsi'* flies, *nɔntsi'-va-ts·* being about to fly (379, 8)

nɔntsi-q·a- plur.: *nɔntsi'-k·a-mia-i'* several fly along, *nɔntsi'-k·a-mia-γa'* as (they) flew along (370, 6)

nɔntsi-q·u- inc.: *nɔntsi'-k·u-p·i'γa'* flew up (379, 3), *nɔntsi'-k·u* to fly off (after lighting)

nɔ'nɔntsi-q·u- iter. inc.: *nɔ'nɔ'nts-qw-i'* flies several flights

nɔntsi-n·ni- cont.: *nɔ(·)ntsi'-n·ni'* flies around, *qatcU nɔ(·)ntsi'-n·i-va-ηwa'* shall not be flying around (372, 7), *nɔntsi'-n·i-vā-tēi* always flying around (378, 9)

nɔntsi-γw'ai- to go flying: *nɔntsi'-xw'ai'* flies away, *nɔntsi'-γw'ai-p·i'γa'* went and flew (379, 4)

nɔntsi-γi- to come flying: *nɔ(·)ntsi'-xi'* comes flying

in comp. vb.: *nɔntsi'-vuru-p·i'γa'* flew about from place to place (372, 12); *nɔtsi'-m'MA'q̄iη'wA* to try to fly (379, 9), *nɔntsi'-m'MA'-q̄iηwa-ntca-ηA* he tried to fly

NŌVI- to put bark over:

nɔvi-q·a- plur.: *nɔ(·)vi'-k·a-q·A* all put the bark on (462, 8), *nɔ(·)vi'-k·a(u)-x·v* while (they) covered with bark (462, 10)

nɔvi-p·i- pas. ptc.: *nɔv^m'i'-p·i* bark covering; *wi'tɔ'q·v-nɔvip·i* wind-protecting bark-cover, windbreak used when traveling

- NŌQŌM-I-, NŌQŌM'MI- to bend (intr.), to be bent: dur. *NŌʔqŌ'm-i'*
 bends slowly; *NŌʔqŌ'm'MI'-k̄α-nīi* bent
nŌqŌm'ma- mom. intr.: *NŌʔqŌ'm'ma'* to bend quickly, give a bend
nŌqŌm'mi-q-u- inc. intr.: *NŌʔq(w)Ō'm'mi-k-U* to begin to bend
nŌqŌm'mi-q-ai- res.: *NŌʔq(w)Ō'm'MI'-k̄a'* to bend (intr.), to have a
 bend of its own accord
nŌqŌm'a-t'ui- caus.: *nī' NŌʔqŌ'm'a-t'ūi-q'WA* I bend it (inv.)
nŌqŌm'mi-tsi-γai- to be bent, dim.: *NŌʔq(w)Ō'm'mi-tsi-γa'* to be
 bent, to have a bend, *NŌʔq(w)Ō'm'mi-tsi-γai-yū-aq'A* it is bent;
ava'-n'NŌʔq(w)Ōm'MI-tsi-γa-nīi shade-bent, bend of canyon (or
 wash) that is shaded and not easily seen, *ava'-n'NŌʔq(w)Ōm'MI-tsi-
 γai-p'ū-nīi-a-q'WA* being (obj.) at its (inv.) shaded bend (474, 13)
 -NŌRŌ- to poke into a hole:
tsi-nŌrŌ- to poke with a stick: *tsi-nŌrŌ-i'* pokes into a hole with a
 stick; with incor. obj. *qa'-tsi-nŌrŌ-p'ūγa'* poked into a hole
 with a stick for rats (462, 35)
 NŌ'RUA- to be pregnant: dur. *nŌ''Ōrua-i'* is pregnant, gets pregnant
nŌ't'u'a- mom.: *nŌ''Ōt'u'a* to be pregnant right off, to appear
 pregnant right off
 -NTUA-(RU'A-N'IA-) mod. enc. (see *-rua-ru'a-n'ia-*)
 -NTCA- temp. enc. (see *-tca-*)
 -NTCUA-(RU'A-N'IA-) mod. enc. (see *-rua-ru'a-n'ia-*)
 -NTCU'A- inter. enc. (see *-ru'a-*)
 -N'U- (cf. *-a-n-u-*) post. (Gram., § 50, 4, 25) with *tuγwa-*:
tuγwa-n-u- night; *-tuγwa-n-u-m-a-* for . . . night(s); *-tuγwa-
 n-u-m-a-ntuγwa-* up to . . . night(s)
 -N'OA- mod. enc. (Gram., § 19, 2, e)
 NŌ'A- to throw down several: *nu'a'(i)-yū-amī* throws them down one
 after another, *nu'a'-p'ūγai(y)-amī* threw them down one after
 another (446, 17)
 -'NOA- (-'NOŊWA-?) : *qwq'a'-nū(w)a'* goal in shinny-game (cf. *qwa-*
 to win)
 -NOI-^o canyon, wash (cf. *oi-^o*):
-noi-p'i- canyon, wash: *pa-no'ip'i* canyon with water running
 through; *to-nŌ'ip'i* wash, gutter
 NŌ'I-Q'AI- several stand (res.; cf. *nu'a-?*): *nu'i'-k̄'ai-p'ūγa'* were stand-
 ing (456, 25); comp. vb. *pīn-i'-n'ui-k̄'ai-p'ūγa'* (they) stood and
 looked (452, 32)
 -NOŊQWA- to pull out:
tca-nŌŋqwa-ŋqī- to pull out several from: *tca-nŌŋqwa-ŋqī-va-n'i'*
 will pull out many (feathers, hairs) by force

- NOQ I-ⁿ to run; to stream, to flow: *NU^zq(w)l'* runs on, streams (like water)
nonoq'i- iter., distr.: *nqn-u'q(w)l-p'ïγa'* kept running (464, 12);
nonu'q-wl' streams flow (Song 63)
noq-i-q-u- inc.: *NU^zq(w)l'-k'v-p'ïγa'* started to flow (402, 29)
noq-i-ηqw'ai- to run off, along: *NU^zq(w)l'-ηqw'ai'* runs off, *NU^zq(w)l'-ηqw'ai-p'ïγa'* ran along (353, 12; 464, 9)
noq-i-q-a-γw'ai- plur.: *NU^zq(w)l'-k'a-χwa'ai-p'ïγa'* several ran along
noq-i-ηki- to come running: *NU^zq(w)l'-ηki'* comes running
noq-i-m'mia- to run along: *NU^zq(w)l'-m'mia-i'* runs along, *NU^zq(w)l'-m^v(y)a-p'ïγa'* ran along (317, 11), *NU^zq(w)l'-m'mia-n 'u'ra'* come running towards me; plur. *NU^zq(w)l'-k'a-m'mia-i'* several run along
noq-i-nti- pte.: *paγï'u-va-NU^zq(w)nti* fish-water-flowing, Fish-stream, Panguitch creek; *pi'a'itcap-i-nuq(w)nti* oak (sp.)-spring (place name); *cə'v-nuq(w)nti* cottonwood-stream (place name); *μ(y)a'-NU^zq(w)nti* mother-stream, big-stream, Sevier river; *parï'ya-NU^zq(w)nti* elk-stream, Paria river; *qana'-NU^zq(w)l-ts* willow run, brook bordered by willows (Song 116); *əŋqa'-p'a-NU^zq(w)l-tci-tci-ηwï* red-water-flowing-people, Red-stream people
noq-i-mpaγi- to run and walk, comp. vb.: *NU^zq(w)l'-mpaγ(ε)l'* runs and walks by turns; plur. *NU^zq(w)l'-p'aγ(ε)l'-k'a-i'* several run and walk by turns
-noq-i- with incor. n.: distr. *a'p'a-no'noq(w)l'-qai-ηo-mpani* tears running down (Song 63)
-noq-i- in comp. n.: *tunqu'-n'uq(w)l* man's name
-noq-i- in comp. vb.: *paγ(a)l'-n'uq(w)l* to start to go, *pa(·)γ(a)l'-n'NU^zq(w)l-p'ïγa'* started off (460, 1), *pa(·)γa'-n^zq(w)l-p'ïγa'*, *pa(·)γ(ä)l'-n^vNU^zq(w)l-p'ïγa'* started to go, walk (308, 8; 311, 7); *pïnl'-ηwïn'q'-n'uq(w)l-χw'ai-va'a-ηwA* shall go to stand around looking for him (inv.) (476, 9)
 -NOγI-TCAl- several assemble (cf. *noq-i-* to stream?): *ampa'ro-no-χ(w)l-tcai-γw'ai-ηv* people assemble together and make a noise (Song 17)
 NO·RU-γA- to make the sound of a heavy object dragged on a level surface: *no'ru-χ(w)a(i)-yï-n-i'* (it) sounds like a heavy object being dragged (or pushed) on a smooth, level surface
 NOYD-γA- to boil (intr.): *noy'j-χ(w)a-i'* (it) is boiling
qo-noyɔ-γa- to boil (intr.): *qu-nu'yɔ-χ(w)a-i'*, *qɔ-nu'yɔ-χ(w)a-i'* (water) is boiling on the fire

pa-γo-noyɔ-γa-t'ui- caus. with incor. object: *pa(·)-γu'-nuyɔ-x(w)A-tui'* heats water

η

'η interj. of disappointment (Gram., § 61, 1)

-ηUM·I- (enc. pers. pron.) you (plur. obj.); your (plur.) (Gram., § 40);

I . . . you (plur. obj.) (Gram., § 41)

-ηQWA-^σ direction (Gram., § 50, 4, 16); occurs only compounded:

-ηqwa-p·a- beyond; -ηqw-p·a-tci- being beyond; -ηqwa-p·a-tcuγwa-to beyond

ηw¹

-ηWA-ⁿ (cf. -ma-ⁿ) resting on, at (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 8)

-ηwa-ηqu- (obj.)

-ηwa-nayqwa- from, by

-ηwa-ni- (ptc.) being at, one of; -ηwa-ni-ηwa'ai- with some of

-ηwa-ntuγwa- on to, from

-² . . . ηWA- (enc. pers. pron.) he (inv.); him (inv.); his (inv.) (Gram., § 40)

-ηWAI-ⁿ to hunt:

yivana-ηwai- to hunt in the fall: *yiv^σa'na-ηwai-mpayi-xa'* while returning from the hunt in the fall; *yiv^σa'na-ηwai-mpan·axa-xa'* as (they) were returning from the hunt in the fall (472, 4)

-ηWA'AI- together with (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 11)

-ηwa'-q·u- (obj.)

-ηWAQ·I- to feel around in a dark place:

ma-ηwaq·i- to feel around with the hand: *ma-ηwa'q·i'* feels around (in the earth or a dark place) with the hand

tsi-ηwaq·i- to feel around (in the earth) with a point: *tsi-ηwa'q·i'* feels around in the ground by stirring with a stick, fut. *tsi-ηwa'q·i-va·n·ia-ni* I shall feel around in the ground by stirring with a stick

-ηWI-^σ in, on (of time) (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 14)

-ηwi-t·uγwa- in direction of; -ηwi-t·uγwa-ni- (ptc.)

-ηWIC·A-, -ηwīc·A- to push, to throw:

tsi-ηwic·a- to push with a point, to throw with a stick: *tsi-ηwi'c·'a-*

¹ Paiute -ηw- goes back to either *w-* or *m-*. Most stems beginning with -ηw- can be found under one or the other of these. A certain number of cases are here listed apart because of my inability to infer from the available material whether they originally began with *w-* or *m-*.

- ηwA* to throw him (inv.) with a stick, *tsi-ηw'cA-pi'γai(y)-aηA* pushed him with a point (410, 22); distr. *tsutsi'-ηwicA* several throw with a stick, *tsutsi'-ηwica-p'i'γa'* (they) threw (him) with the end of a stick (406, 37)
- ma-ηwic-a-*, *ma-ηwic-a-* to push with the hand: *ma(·)-ηw'i'c-a-i'* pushes along; *na(·)m'u'-m'a-ηwic-a-va'a-mi* let me push you first; recip. *na-m'a'-ηwica-va'a-mi* 2 shall push each other (410, 18)
- ηwī-* (enc. pers. pron.) you (plur. subj.; Gram., § 40)

o

o-^o round object

- as vb. pref.: Gram., § 21, 16; see *o-paq'i-*, *u-puq-wi-*
- o-PAQ I-*, *o-VAγI-* there is a hole (cf. *paq'i-*, *paγi-* to tear):
- o-paq'i-n-a-* being a hole: *o'pa'q'i-nA* hole, *o'pa'q'i-na-aqA* its hole (408, 3)
- o-paq'i-n-a-* in comp. n.: *wi'γo'-o'paq'i-nA* vulva-hole, vagina
- o-paq'i-tci-* being holed: *o'pa'q-i-tci'*, *o'pa'q-(α)i-tci'* hole, *o'o'vi' o'pa'q-(·)i-tci'* bone (obj.) with a hole (432, 12), dim. *o'pa'q-(a)i-tci-tci'* little opening (obj.) (416, 28)
- o-paq'i-t'ui-* caus.: *o'pa'q-i-tu'i-yi'* makes a hole
- o-paq'i-p'i-* holed: comp. *kwi'to'-o'paq'i-pi* buttocks-holed, anus
- o-paq'a-ηqi-* to make a hole (with instr. pref.): *ma(·)'-o-pA²qa-ηqi'* to make a hole by sticking one's hand into; *tsi'-i'pA²qa-ηqi'* to push a hole into
- o-vaγi-tcai-* several holes are: ptc. *o'v'u'xi-tcai-tci'* openings (obj.) (462, 9)
- o'o-^s* bone:
- o'o-vi-* abs.: *o'o'-phi'* bone; comp. *to'tsi'-o'o'phi'* head-bone, skull
- o'o'-a-*, *o'o-a-* bone belonging to: *o'o'-a'* bone, *o'o'-a-ni* my bone, *qu(·)ra'(i)yaη o'o'(·)-a-i'* his neck's bone (obj.) (356, 9)
- o'o-ru-* to make a bone: *o'o'-ru-v^oa^anu'* will make a bone
- o'o-y'AI-* to be lean, starved (probably *o'o-y'ai-* to bone-die): *o'o'i'ai-yi-a(·)ηA* he is poor, *o'o'i'ai-p'i'γa'* was poor, starved (322, 6), *o'o'i'ai-yi-ro'^a* are you poor?
- o'o-y'ai-q-a-* plur.: *o'o'i'ai-k'a(i)-yi-amī* they are poor
- o'o-y'ai-ηu-* mom.: *ni' o'o'i'(y)ai-ηU* I get poor
- o'o-MPA-* fist-fight: *o'o'mpA*, *o'o'mpA* fight, fist-fight, *o'o'mpa-ia-c-a'ik'Api'γa'* (they) said, counseled a fist-fight (438, 33)
- o'o-ⁿ*: *o'o'-mp-s-ω(·)χ(w)a-i'* slides down hill sitting on a deer-skin (= *-mpi-s-i'u-γa-* to slide on the buttocks; see *si'u-*)

- ᠔A-** around (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 26); occurs only compounded:
 -*᠔a-γi-t-uγwa-* (circling) around; ptc. -*᠔a-γi-t-uγwa-nti-*
- ᠔A^s** salt:
᠔a-vi- abs.: *᠔a'-φI* salt
᠔a-ru- to make salt: *᠔a'-ru-v^wa^ani'* will make salt
᠔a- in comp. n.: *᠔a'-i-t-ümpa(i)YA* (misheard for *᠔a'-ui-²*) salt canyon-mouth (place name near Kanab)
- ᠔A^s** to spy: '᠔(·)'*a'-i'* spies
᠔a-n'ni- cont.: ptc. '᠔(·)'*a'-n'ni-ntci* one who spies
᠔a-ri- ptc.: '᠔(·)'*a'-ri* spy, obj. '᠔(·)'*α-ri-a-ni* spying on me (406, 7)
᠔a- in comp. vb.: *᠔α'-vanax:A-p'iyā'* (they) returned from spying (472, 37)
- ᠔A^o** yellow:
᠔a-q-a- to be yellow: *᠔a'-q-a-ri* being yellow, yellow; Yellow (name of Paiute chief)
᠔a- in comp. n.: *᠔a'²van'nanqA* yellow goose; *᠔a'-ηwints'i'ts* yellow bird (yellow warbler?)
- ᠔A^{o,n}** young of animal:
qam'i-᠔a-p'itsi-, *qam'᠔a-ntsi-* young jack-rabbit: *qam'i'-᠔ap'uts aηA* the little jack-rabbit (406, 2); plur. *qam'o'-aantsi-ηw'i'* (obj.) young jack-rabbits (448, 28)
- ᠔A^s** back:
᠔a-vi- abs.: *᠔a'-φI* back
᠔a-ru- to make a back: *᠔a'-ru-v^wa^ani'* will make a back
 -*᠔a-* in comp. n.: *pi'ka'-᠔a^a-χα-nti* sore-back-having, sore-backed (horse)
 -*᠔a-vi-* in comp. n.: *q᠔'ⁱnu-᠔a-φi* corn-back, cob (without corn)
- '**᠔AI'** emphasizing adv. (Gram., § 60, 3)
- '**᠔AIA-**, '**WAIA-** it (inan. inv.; obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 9)
- ᠔AQ-U-** to spill: *᠔a'qU* to spill (intr.), *᠔a'q-u-yi-aqA* it is spilling
᠔a-q-u-t'ui- caus.: *᠔a'q^xU-tui-᠔a-A^xqa-ηA* he will spill it (402, 26)
- ᠔AYA-** to watch, to wait for (cf. *᠔a-* to spy):
᠔aγa-q-a- plur.: *᠔a'xa-q-a-ri* several waiting, *᠔a'xa-q-a-ri-α-ni* several waiting (obj.) for me (408, 2)
᠔aγa-q-ai- res.: *᠔a'xa-q-ai'i-ηWA* to wait for him (inv.), *᠔a'xa-q-ai-p'iyai(y)-aηA* waited for him (406, 38)
᠔aγa- in comp. vb.: *᠔a'xa-q-arü-χai(y)-aηa²mī* while they two were sitting watching them (406, 21)
- ᠔A-RIP'AlA-** Walapai: *᠔a'rip'aiā-tsi-ηw'i* Walapai Indians (said to mean "Yellow-breast people," but this is evidently only folk-

etymology; "yellow-breast" would be *ɔa'p'aia-* or *ɔa'q'arūmpa-ia-*)

ɔ'I-TSI- spermophile (?):

ɔ'i-tsi-tsi- abs.: ɔ'ɔ'itsi-ts- very small, yellowish, white-striped
"chipmunk" (*Tamias dorsalis* ? *Spermophilus*?)

'ɔI-MI- on one's belly: ɔ'ɔ'i'mi-n- awi' I lie on my belly

ɔ-NI-C-AMPA- enough! be quiet! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 2)

ɔN'ɔ-^o early, just (adv. pref.):

in vb.: ɔ(·)nɔ'-t-A'cia-ηqu, ɔ(·)nu'-t-A'cīa-ηqu when (it) early-dawns, early in the morning (334, 1; 308, 7); ɔ(·)nɔ'-t-uγwa-r'i-nti early-night-becoming, early in the night; ɔ(·)nɔ'-t-a(·)m-a-r'ui-ηqu when (it) early-spring-becomes, early in the spring (348, 9); ɔn·ɔ'-p'ĩn-i-n'ni' has just been looking; ɔ(·)nɔ'-t·ɔvĩn'ni-χa' when just waking up (438, 10); ɔn·ɔ'-p'itci to have just arrived; ɔn·ɔ'-c-u(w)a-p'itci to just wake up, to have just wakened, ɔn·ɔ'-c·ɔa-p'itci-χa' while just waking up (432, 9)

in comp. n.: obj. ɔ(·)nɔ'-t-a(·)va-i' early in the day

ɔ'NɔQ-I- there is a small path:

ɔ'nɔq'i-tsi-tci- dim. ptc.: ɔ(·)'nɔ'q:(wε)ι-tci-tci small path (not a regular trail); comp. pa(·)γ-q'nɔq:(wε)i-tci-tci-mpa' (= paĩ-ɔ'nɔq'i-) at a smooth path (464, 29)

ɔNTɔ-^o reddish brown:

ɔntɔ-q-a- to be reddish-brown: ptc. ɔntɔ'-q-a-rī reddish brown (as of dead cedar); ptc. dim. ɔntɔ(·)-qa-ri-tci brownish (knoll) (Song 144)

ɔNTCɔYI-^s one-eyed:

ɔntcɔγi-γai- to be one-eyed: ptc. 'ɔntcɔ'χι-γα-nti with one eye lacking

ɔVA- to pull out hair, ɔVI-, ɔVA- hair comes out:

ɔva- tr.: ɔva'-i' pulls out (hair), plucks (feathers); plur. ɔva'-q-a-i' several pull out, pluck, mom. ɔva'-q-a-ηu-mpa'-c·U (let us) pull (the feathers) out again (372, 14)

ɔva- intr.: ɔva' hair is coming out, pulls out

ɔvi- intr.: ɔvi'-va-n·i' hair will come out; ɔvi'-ntuα-q-wɔi-p'·u-ηwĩ' (jack-rabbit obj.) with its hair come off from dragging along (456, 5)

ɔVAN'NAŋQA- goose: ɔva'n'naŋqa goose; plur. ɔva'n'naŋqa-ηwĩ

comp. n.: tɔ'ca(·)'-ɔvan'naŋqa white goose; tɔ'-'ɔvan'naŋqa black goose; ɔa'-'ɔvan'naŋqa yellow goose

ɔVI-ⁿ wood: ɔ'phi wood

ɔvi-γai-p'ĩ- former wood: ɔvi'-γai-p·i dead wood (Song 170)

- ovi'-ini-γai-* to have a stick: *ovi'-ini-χai-ni* I have a stick
ovi-ntu- to make wood: *ovi'-ntu-v^wa-^ani'* will make wood
ovi- in comp. n.: *ovi'-ηkani* wooden house; *ovi'-ηkava'* wooden horse;
ovi'-c-ari-ts- wooden dog; *ovi'-n-iηwī* wooden person; *ovi'-m-^o'^o*
 wooden hand; *ovi'-ntots-* wooden head; *ovi'-ntanwampi* wooden
 teeth; *ovi'-atēi* wooden bow; *ovi'-mpaγi'* wooden fish; *ovi'-ηqw'(y)-*
αp'i wood-fence (personal name); *qon'-a'-ovi-m-puηqu* fire-log-horse,
 fire-wagon, locomotive (Song 179)
ovi- in derivatives in *-γai-*: *ovi'-m-^o'^o-χα'* to be wooden-handed;
ovi'-nt^o'tsi-χα' to be wooden-headed
*ovi-*ⁿ the very . . . : *ovi'-mpimpin-ara'-putsi-ηw αηA* the very
 last little (boy) of the family (myth word) (452, 32)
ov-w'i- to cough: *ovqw'e'-i'* coughs; *ovqw'e'-yī-n-i'* there is a sound
 like coughing
ovγ^o-ⁿ, *Aγ^o-ⁿ* fir:
ovγ^o-mpī- abs.: *ov(·)χ^o'-mpī*, *öχ^o'-mpī*, *aγ^o'-mpī* fir
ovγ^o- in comp. n., ptc.: *aγ^o'-ηq^oampits-* fir grouse; *man'-a'-aγu-*
mpa-ts- thorn-fir-spring (place name); *ovγ^o'-c-iap'i* fir-sapling;
ovγ^o'-ntava'ats- fir chipmunk; *ovγ^o'-ηq(w)ari-rī'* fir-island (obj.)
 (468, 14), dim. *ovγ^o'-ηqari-tsi-tēi'* little fir-knoll (obj.) (474, 22);
ovγ^o'-ntavac-up'i fir-dried, dead dried-up fir tree (334, 7), *ovγ^o'-*
ntavac-up-urU the one (inan.) with dried-up firs (422, 12)
ovγ^o- incor.: *ovγ^o'-ntun-uq'(w)I-püγa'* there was a small fir-knoll
 (474, 5), ptc. *ovγ^o'-nt^on-ovγ^o(w)I-tēi'* (obj.) little island with firs
 (468, 2)
ovγ^o-ⁿ bull-snake:
ovγ^o-mpitsi- abs.: *ovγ^o'-mpits-* bull-snake (general term, apparently,
 for non-venomous snakes that resemble rattlesnakes but are
 without rattles)
ovγ^oT-CA'YAQ-I-^s crested mountain-bluejay: *ovγ^o't-ca(i)yaq'i* mountain-
 bluejay; plur. *ovγ^o't-ca(i)yaq'i-ηwī* bluejays, *ovχ^o't-ca(i)'yaq-i-ηw*
αmü the bluejays (442, 37)
 comp. n.: *ovγ^o't-sa(i)'yaq-i-nηwī-ntsu-ηw αmü* the bluejay people
 (438, 34)
ovγ^o't-ca'yaq-i-γai- to be a bluejay: *ovγ^o't-sa(i)'yaq-i-χα'* to be a
 mountain-bluejay
ovC-A- water-jar, carrying basket: *ov's-A* water-jar
-oc-a- in comp. n.: *ayqa'-^os-A* red water-jar before gum is put on;
yant^o'-^oc-A carrying basket of twined open-work weave, *yant^o'-*
'^oc-α-ni my carrying basket

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- ᠔S᠔R᠔᠓WI- to snore: ᠔'s᠔'᠔᠔᠓w-γī snores; plur. ᠔'s᠔'᠔᠔᠓w-ḱ-a-i' several snore
- ᠔RA- to dig: ᠔ra'-i' digs, ᠔ra'-p-īγa' dug (394, 32); usit. ᠔ra'-n-ī-mpīγa' used to dig (396, 22)
- ᠔ra- with instr. pref.: ta(·)-'᠔ra-i' digs a hole with the foot; tsu-᠔ra-i' digs with the end of a stick
- ᠔RA-^s pole:
- ᠔ra-vī- abs.: ᠔ra'^a-ḱī pole, post
- ᠔ra-vī- in comp. n.: aḡqa'-᠔ra-ḱī red pole; tv'-'᠔ra-ḱī black pole; pa(·)mpī'n-i-᠔ra-ḱī bucket-sticks (3 sticks serving as tripod for the support of a bucket suspended by a rope or chain)
- ᠔R᠔᠓WI-^s to roar, to growl: ᠔᠔'᠔᠔w' roars, growls, fut. ᠔᠔'᠔᠔w-va-n-i', ᠔᠔'᠔᠔w-mpa-n-i', '᠔(·)᠔᠔(·)'᠔w-χu'u-᠓WA as he (inv.) was roaring (332, 7)
- ᠔᠔᠔᠓w-q-a- plur.: ᠔᠔'᠔᠔w-ḱa-i' many roar
- ᠔᠔᠔᠓w-᠓- mom.: ᠔᠔'᠔᠔w-᠓U to give a roar
- ᠔᠔᠔᠓w-q-u- inc.: ᠔᠔'᠔᠔w-k-U to start roaring, ᠔᠔'᠔᠔w-ḱu-v^ua-n-i' will roar
- '᠔᠔'᠔᠔w- iter.: ᠔'᠔'᠔᠔'᠔᠔w' roars several times
- ᠔᠔᠔᠓w-mpī- ag.: ᠔᠔'᠔᠔w-mpī grunter (name of horse)
- ᠔TCA-^s water jar: ᠔'t-ca water jar (after gum is put on)
- ᠔t-ca-γai-p-ī-, ᠔t-ca-vī-γai-p-ī- discarded water jar: ᠔'tca'-χai-p-ī, ᠔'tca'-vī-γai-p-ī formerly used water jar
- ᠔t-ca-ru- to make a water jar: ᠔'tca'-ru-v^ua^ani' will make a water jar
- ᠔t-ca- in comp. n.: ᠔'tca'-uru strap by which a water jar is carried; tam'a'-'᠔ts-A spring water-jar (name of month when bear-dance takes place, probably March)

P

- PA-^s at (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 37)
- va-c-u- in (so and so many) places
- pa-tcī- (ptc.) being at, to, about
- pa-tcuγwa- moving to
- va-tcuq-u- during (of time)
- va-yu- acting at, from; during, through (of time)
- PA-ⁿ at (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 38)
- mpa-᠓qu- (obj.)
- pa-ntī- (ptc.) being at; -p'a-ntī- (with verbs) about, concerning;
- pa-ntī-m'a-nan᠓wa- starting from

- pa-ntuɣwa-* to, on to; -*pa-ntuɣwa-* (with verbs) to, during
 -*pa-yu-* acting at, from
- PA-^s water: *pa'* water, spring
- pa'p-a-ɣai-* to have springs (distr.): *pa'p-a-ɣa-nti'* (places) having water, springs, obj. *pa'p-a-ɣa-nti'* (370, 10)
- pa-vi-tsi-* little spring: *pa'-vi-ts'* little spring (name of spring near Enoch; also personal name)
- pa-vi-a-* spring owned: *pa'-a-vi-a-ni* spring that I own
- pa-* in comp. n.: *pa'-c-arɔɣ(ɔ)ɪ-ts'* water-splasher, swallow; *pa'-oipɪ* canyon with water, creek
- pa-*^s in comp. n.: *pa-rüa-* water-deer, elk (q. v.); *pa(·)-tcu'q-u* beaver; *pa-ɣiu-* fish (see *-qüu-*); *pa(·)-rɔ'χɔaφi* water-snake; *pa'-c'i'ɣu'mints'*, *pa'-c'i'χi'mints'* water-lizard (*Phyllodactylus tuberculatus*); *pa-(a)'c-wüts'* water-butterfly, dragonfly; *pa-η'ap'its'* water-baby, angel (see *ηa'-*); *pa(·)-no'ipɪ* canyon with water running through; *pa(·)-χa'n-aφi* drooping willow; *pa(·)-χi'ηwαφi* water-edge, shore; *pa'(a)-u'op(w)ɪ* water-berry (see *o'op'i-*), buffalo berry; *pa(i)-yü'v^wimpü* water long-leaved-pine (460, 9), *pa'(i)-yü-v^wimpü* (obj.) (460, 8); *pa-ɣw(·)'aφi* water-oak (red oak growing along rivers); *pa-ηw(·)'avu-m^wα-nti'* some (obj.) of the mud at the bottom of the water (420, 27); *pa(·)-n-a'ɣiɣpɪ* water-tightened, spring in a tight place, Iron Springs; *pa-rü'ia-ra-va'* water-desert-at, out in the rain (389, 2); *pa-ru'e-ɬ* water-white (referring to foaming water in the canyon), Virgin river
- pa-* incor.: *pa'-ts'pɪ-k'ai-na* water-risen, emerging, Moccasin Spring; *pa-sa'χwa-vunük'ai-p'üɣai-n-u'* looked as though water-gray (in her eyes) (470, 2); *pa'-q-arü-rü'* water-sitting, lake (obj.) (420, 26)
- pa-* incor.: *pa-ɣa'ri-rü* water-sitting, lake, *maa(·)-vaχarüri* brush lake (place name), *tv'-p-aχarüri* black lake (place name); *pa(i)-yü('u)χwɪ-tci* waters-sitting, lakes, Three Lakes; *pa-ro'°ɣ(w)an-ti*, *pa(·)-ro'°uχ(w)α-nti* water-fighting, fighting water, Parowan Lake (so named because its water rises on the approach of a person to fight him, drag him in, and drown him); *pa(·)-mü'nicu-k-w'ai-vü'* will turn upside down in the water (Song 182); *pa'-sɔ'rɔrɔi-tci* waterfall; *pa(·)-rα'-n'ɪɣi-tsi-ηw'i* people who stick their feet in water, Indians of Paranigut Valley (Corn Creek band of Paiutes); *pa-o'ɪ-k-a-m-ɪ-mpa'* water is flowing down the steep side of a mountain (Song 185); *pa-rüɣi-* to water (q. v.); *pa-tcaqwa-*, *pa-tcaqwi-* to be wet, to get wet (q. v.)

- pa-* in comp. n.: *iv^wi'-p'a* bad water, whiskey (Song 150); *tɔ'ca'-p'a* white water; *aŋqa'-p'a-NV²q(w)ɪ-tci-tci-ŋwⁱ* red-water-flowing-people, Red-stream people (band of Paiutes near Cedar City); *ci'pu'-v^wa* cold water; *ɔγɔ-nfirⁱ'na-va'* fir-butt spring; *qima'-va-m'unts* stranger-water-mountain (Song 185); *si-va-rimbu-ma-haiyo* from squaw-bush-spring-rock (Song 183); *a't-ü-mpa'* good water; *w'a'-q-arirⁱ-mpa'* cedar-knoll-spring, Yellowstone Spring
- pa-tsi-* dim. in comp. n.: *qatsɔ'a-va-ts* end of springs (place name); *pavo'a-va-ts* Point Spring (Indian pasture about 3 miles east of Moccasin Spring); *tonɔ'-va-ts* greasewood-spring; *cüi'-v^wa-ts* squaw-bush-spring; *tsü'a'mpi-va-ts* wild-rose-spring, Yellowjacket Spring; *tiŋqa'nu-vä-ts* cave-spring; *moo'-ntɔ'tsi-va-ts* hummingbird-head-spring; *saxwɔ'-virⁱ'i-pa-ts* blue-hanging-down-spring; *wa'a'-p'a-ts* cedar-spring; *man'a'-³aγu-mpa-ts* thorn-fir-spring; *suu'-mpa-ts* gravel spring; *tca²qo'aru-mpa-ts* wild-geese-spring; *qwi'u'-mpa-ts-i-wⁱ* crown (?)-spring-people (cf. *qwi'yu-n*), Paiute band originally west of Sevier lake; *to-ri'-mba-ntsün* ?-little spring (Song 194)
- PA- - altogether (perhaps identical with *päi-n* entirely, q. v.):
 as vb. pref.: *pa'-m'anu-n'ɪ* every single one; *pa'-tsiŋqoŋqo'o* entirely destroyed (as of wheat-field trampled down by people) (Song 76)
- PAA- aunt: *paa'* aunt; *paa'-ni* my aunt, *paa'a-mi* your aunt, *paa(·)'-aŋA* his aunt, *pa(·)q(·)'²a-ŋwA* his (inv.) aunt (308, 10); obj. *paa'-ia-ni* my aunt, *paa'-i'a-mi* your aunt, *paa'-ia-rami* aunt of us 2 (incl.) (308, 4), *pa(·)a'-ia-v uŋwA* of his own aunt (308, 8); plur. *paa'-ŋwⁱ* aunts, *paa'-ŋwⁱ-ni* my aunts, obj. *paa'-ŋwa-a-ni*
- paa-vi-* abs.: *paa'-φI* somebody's aunt
- PA'A-: *tA'-pa'a-p'i* stockings, socks
- PA'A-n, PA'AN-I- high:
pa'a- high: ptc. *pa'a'-nti* high; *pa'a'(i)-yo-n'ɪ* high up in the air (he went and returned) (404, 12)
pa'an'i- to be high, loud: *pa'a'n'i* (it) is high, loud, *pa'a'n-i-yi-aq'A* it is high (in position, pitch)
- PA'A-T-ɔγɔ-n long (cf. *pa'a-n* high):
pa'a-t-ɔγɔ-nti- ptc.: *pa'a-t-ɔγɔ-nt 'uraro'^a* long it is (446, 21)
pa-p'a-t-ɔγɔ-nti- distr.: *pa'p'a-t-ɔγɔ-nti-m'ü* long ones
pa'a-t-ɔγɔ- in comp. n.: *pa'a-t-ɔγɔ-m-wⁱ'* long-month (name of winter month, perhaps December)

PA'A-³ animal:

pa'a-vi- abs.: *pa'a'-φ1* animal (any living thing but man and plants); plur. *pa'a'vi-ηwī*; in comp. n. *nana'x-qa-nti-mpa'avu-ηwī* (obj.) different kinds of animals (400, 4)

-*pa'a-tsi-vi*- animal: *ma(·)nī'-va-nti-p'a'atswi-ηw amī* all future animals (346, 1)

PAI- to call: *pa'(a)i-yī-aηa-nu* he calls me, I call him, *pa'i-y'ī-nu* calls, asks for you (353, 3)

pavai- inc.: *pava'(a)i'* called, *pava'i-va-ηA* will call him (408, 32); *nī' pa(·a)va'i-yī-aηA* I commence calling him, tell him to come, *pa(·a)va'i-p'īγa'* commenced calling (331, 5)

pīηqa-vai- to keep calling: *pīηqa'-va(a)i-p'īγa'ai-k-wA* kept calling it (inv.) (331, 8)

-*pai*- in comp. vb.: *nī' t'iqal'-p'ai-yī-aηA* I call him to eat

PAI- three (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2):

pai-mac'īηwi- 30 (num.; Gram., § 59, 1)

-VAI-⁰ (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 39); occurs only compounded:

-*vai-t'ī*- (ptc.) equally to, as . . . as; -*vai-t'əγə-n* alongside of

-VAIA- (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 40); occurs only compounded:

-*vai-a-nanqwa-t'ī*- (ptc.) before reaching

PAIYA- (PAIYə-) to be many (always neg. in form and with enclitic

-*c-u*-): *qatcu'tca-mī pa(a)'iyə-ηwa'a-p-a-c-U* they have become many (404, 34), *qatcu'raηwA pa(a)'iya-ηwa'ai-c-U* we (incl.) are many, *qa'tcu pai'ī'-p'īdi-c-U* were in great number (448, 2); mom. *pai'ī'-ηu-ηwa'-q-u-c-U* being in great numbers (448, 17); ptc. plur. *pa(a)'iya-ηwai'-t'ī-m'w'ī-c-U* lots of (them)

-VAIYAU-Q-U- at . . . time (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 41)

PAI-ⁿ smooth:

pai-ηqa- to be smooth: ptc. *pa'-ηqa-nī* smooth; mom. *pa(·)ī'-ηqa-ηU* to get smooth

pai- compounded: *pai'-yua-xa'* to be smooth and level, *pa'ī-yua-χa-ntī* level desert with no vegetation or only sagebrush, *pa(·)γ-q'noq(wε).tctci-mpa'* (= *pai-ə'nəq-utci-*) at a smooth path (464, 29); *pa'-ntA'cu'k(w)i-ηqī* to slip on something smooth

PAI-ⁿ entirely identical (probably identical with *pai-ⁿ* smooth):

in comp. ptc.: *pai'-mpə-t'əq(w)a-nī* perfectly spherical; *pai'-ntəγ(ə)ī-mU'qunta-nī* perfectly straight; *pai'-mpa'n'nəa-γa-ntī* perfectly hollow (park, valley)

PAI-⁰ blood:

pai-p'i- abs.: *pai'-p-I* blood

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- paï-ηwa-* pos.: *paï'-ηwA* blood (of one), *paï'-ηwα-ni* my blood, *pa(·)'i-ηwα-m arī* their blood (474, 27), *pa'-ηwa-ia-φī* her own blood (obj.) (416, 34)●
- paï-* incor.: *pa'-m-a-ntcaA^x-qai-n-a-φī* his own having-blood-hand-taken, his bloody hands (460, 11); *pa'i-q-wanaηwa'* blood-? (myth word; 454, 23), *paï'-q-wanaη'wa-nts-ηwī* blood-?-people, mythical beings that made a noise to force people to peep and die with blood streaming from their mouths
- PAÏQ·A-^o ice:
païq-a-p'ī- abs.: *paï'q-a-p'ī* ice
- PAÏΓI-^s hair: *pa'ix-i* hair of the head; *pa'ixi-ni* my hair
païγi-vi- abs.: *paï'γi-φi*, *pa'xi-φi* hair of the head
païγi-a- pos.: *pa'γi-a-ni* my hair (382, 6)
-païγi- in comp. n.: *qava'(u)-xwA'ci-vāix-i* horse-tail-hair, having a horse-tail in the hair (472, 25)
païγi- incor.: *pa'ix-i-siχwa'ai* braids the hair
- PAÏC·A·YA-^s bridge: *pa'ic:ax:A* bridge
païc'aya-ru- to make a bridge: plur. *païc'axa'-RU-q(w)a-p'iyā'* (they) all made into a bridge (468, 30)
- PAMPÏN·I- bucket: *pamp'ni*, *pampu'ni*, *pa(·)mp'ni* bucket, mud or clay basket without handle; comp. n. *pa(·)mp'ni-ora-φī* bucket-stick (one of three for supporting *pamp'ni* suspended by rope or chain)
- PAN·A-^o metal:
pan·a-q-a-rī- being metal: *pa(·)n·a'-q-a-rī* metal, iron, money
pan·a-q-a-rī'-ηwa-γai- to have money: *pa(·)n·a'q-ar'i-ηwa-χα-ntī* one who has money; *pa(·)n·a'q-ar'i-ηwa-γai-ka-ntī* one who has had money
pan·a- in comp. n.: *pa(·)n·a'-p'atca* iron-moccasin, horseshoe; *qava'-va(·)n·a-p'atca* horse-iron-moccasin, horseshoe
- PA·N·A-^s bread (< Span. *pan*):
pa·n·a-ru- to make bread: *pa'na-ru-i'* makes bread
pa·n·a-ru-p-i- bread made: *pa'na-ru-p-i* bread; in comp. n. *qo'ni-va·n·arup-i* corn-bread, corn-cake
- PAN·A'·A·- crotch: *pan·a''a'* crotch (as of forking branch); *a'-pan·a'-va-ni* horn-crotch-at-my, between my horns (456, 31)
- PA'AN·A- on, upon, resting above, about (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 47)
-pa'a-ntī- (ptc.) being on
-pa'a-ntuγwa- on to, against
-pa'an·a-yu- acting on

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- PAN·AŋQWA- coming down, north (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)
- PAN·AQ·WIC·AQ·A- breakfast (< Engl. *breakfast*; Arizona Paiute dialect, remodeled by folk-etymology so as to suggest *pan·a*^o iron + *quic·a*- to spark): *pa(·)n·a'q·wicaq·A* breakfast
- PAN·A·YA-^s several return (cf. sing. *payi*-):
pan·a·ya-q·w'ai- several go back: *pan·a'x·qwa'* all go back (430, 3),
pa(·)n·a'x·qw'·ai-p·i'ya' several went back home (396, 18), *pa(·^a)·na'x·qwa'·ai-p·i'ya'* (they) went home (321, 8)
pampan'naq·a- distr.: *pampa'n·A^zqa-i'* (they) go home one after another, in parties
pampan'naq·a-q·w'ai- several return one after another: *pampa'n·naq·A·qw'·a* go back home, each of you (346, 12), *pampa'n·naq·A·qw'·ai-p·i'ya'* all went back at different times (432, 26)
 -*pan·a·ya*- in comp. vb.: *ya'·vanax·-p'i'ya'* (they) brought home (408, 30); *ax'·vanax·-p'i'ya'* (they) returned from spying (472, 37)
 -*pan·a·ya*- several have been -ing: *ti'qa'·vanax·qai-tua(i)-yi-r'ua·A^zqa-n·ua·χain·i'* it seems that they (impers.) have been eating it (long ago), had eaten; *pA^zqa'·vanaya·ya'* (they) having been killing (him) (325, 13)
- PAN·I- to take off a water-jar: *pa(·)n·i'* takes off a water-jar and puts (it) on the ground, *pa(·^a)n·i'·va·^a·ts* when about to take (a pitched water-jar) (337, 2)
pa·an·ni- iter.: *pA'pa'n·ni'* takes off a water-jar several times
- PA·N·NDA-^s to be hollow, open valley:
pa'n·nda·yai- to be hollow: *pa'n·nda·χai(y)-aq·A* it is hollow
pa'n·nda·ya·nti- ptc.: *pa'n·nda·ya·nti* hollow; *pa'n·nda·ya·nti*,
pa'n·'·da·ya·nti, *pa'·i'n·'·da·χa·nti* "park" (not necessarily watered),
 open hollow valley, spot of level ground surrounded by ridges (474, 26)
pava'n·nda·ya·nti- distr. ptc.: dim. *pa(·)va'n·nda·ntsi·χa·nti'* (obj.) those (countries) that have hollow valleys (370, 11)
 -*pa'n·nda·ya·nti*- in comp. ptc.: *pai'·mpa'n·nda·yantī* perfectly hollow (park, valley); *ti'ra·va·n·'·da·yantī* plain valley (surrounded by mountains); *paŋwa'·^a·van·nda·yantī* meadow, hollow valley (474, 3)
- PAN·Q·Q·AI- to be wet (cf. *pa*- water?): *pa(·)n·q'x·q(w)a'* to be wet, *pa(·)n·q'x·q(w)ai·yi·aq·A* it is wet, *pa(·)n·q'x·q(w)a(a)·i·yU* while wet (389, 11), *pa(·)n·q'x·q(w)ai·'yu·campA* even when wet (389, 10)
pampan·q·q·ai- distr.: *pampa'n·q·q·(w)a'* several are wet

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- PA'NTA-γA- to make a pecking noise: *pa'nta-χa(i)-yī-n-i'* makes a noise like the pecking of a woodpecker
- VANTĪ- place left over (Gram., § 50, 4, 42)
- PANTU- to shake:
 with instr. pref.: *qī'-p-antu-i'* shakes (line) with the teeth; *tA'-pa'ntu-i'* shakes with the hands; *tA'-pa'ntu-i'* shakes with the feet; *tcō'-pa'ntu-i'* shakes with the head; *pī'-pa'ntu-i'* shakes, moves about (his) buttocks
-pantu-γi- dur.: *nanqa'va-ηwi-pantu-γ(w)i-yī-ni* I shake my ears
- PAŊQWI- mountain valley:
paŋqwi-tsi- abs.: *paŋqwi'-ts* valley with mountains on both sides
- PA'ŊQWō-γA- to make a wet, slappy sound: *pa'ηq^wō-χ(w)a(i)-yī-n-i'* sounds like two wet things loosened from each other, wound striking on surface (e. g. sore heel on ground)
- PAŊWA-^s: *paŋwa'^a-vav'i'nōa-γa-nī'* meadow, hollow valley (obj.) (474, 3)
- PAŊWAI- to yell: *paŋwa'ī-pī'γa'* yelled (464, 15)
paŋwai-q-a- plur.: *paŋwa'ī-k-a-pī'γa'* several yelled
paŋwai- iter.: *pava'ηwqī'* yells several times
- PAŊWI-^s throat:
paŋwi-vi- abs.: *pa(·)ŋwi'-φi* throat
- PAŊWI-^s in, inside of (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 43)
-paŋwi-t-ī- (ptc.) being in
-paŋwi-t-u'γwa- into; *-paŋwi-t-u-m'a-nanqwa-* out from inside of
-paŋwi-yu- acting in
- PAŊWIγA-^s: *paŋwi'χa-ruχwa-n av'i'* I lie on my back, *pa(·)wi'χa-ruχWA* on (her) back (309, 10)
- PAŊWUTCA-^s yellowjacket:
paŋwutca-vi- abs.: *paŋwu'tca-φi* yellowjacket
- PAVATCI- to call (inc. of *patci-?*):
pavatci-ηqī- to call a person: *pava'tci-ηqī-va-ηa-ni* let me call him (408, 35)
- PAVI- older brother:
pavi-tsi- dim.: *pa(·)vi'-tsi-ni* my older brother; plur. *pa(·)vi'-tsi-ŋwī-ni* my dear older brothers (476, 17)
na-vavi-ηwī- recip.: *na-va'vi-ηwī* two brothers (308, 2); distr. *nan-a'-vavi-ηwī* three brothers
- PAVU-ⁿ clear (?):
pavu- in comp. n.: *pa(·)vu'-mpa'* clear water, *pa(·)vu'-mpa-s* clear water (Song 111)

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PAVO'A-^s: *pavo''a-va-ts* Point Spring, Indian pasture 3 miles east of Moccasin Spring

PAQ'A- to kill, to beat (sing. and dual obj.): *pA²qa'(i)-yî-n-ŭ-i* you are whipping me, *tami'ayA pA²qa'-va'* we 2 (incl.) will kill him
paq-a-q-a- plur.: *taywa'mî pA²qa'-q-a-va'* we (incl.) will kill them 2
paq-a-ŋu- mom.: *nî' pA²qa'-ŋU* I kill, *nî' pA²qa'-ŋu-mpa-n'c'a-q-wA* I shall kill it (inv.); pas. plur. *pA²qa'-ŋU-tîx'-qa-va-²na-ŋwi* you (plur.) will get killed

paq-a'-q-u- inc.: *nî' pA²qa'-q-u-ŋwA* I gave him a licking

paq-a-q-w'ai- to kill off (dur.): *pA²qa'-q-w'ai(y)-ayA* kill him while on (your) way

paq-a-q-w'ai-ŋu- to kill off (mom.): *pA²qa'-q-w'ai-ŋU-q(w)α-ni* when I have killed (442, 30); *pA²qa'-ŋU-qw'ai-ŋu-mpa'* will kill as (he) passes along (410, 3)

paq-a-ŋw'ai- to go and kill: *pA²qa'-χw'ai-(y)ayA* go and kill him
pap-aq-a-ŋu- distr. mom.: *pA²pa'q-a-ŋU* several kill

with incor. obj.: *qam-î'-φ(w)A²qa-q-a'* has killed a jack-rabbit (446, 11); *tî-v'w'a'q-a-va-n'ia-ni* I shall kill game; *naŋwa(·'a)'q-u-mpA²qa-ŋU* to kill both, to guess both gambling bones correctly

with adv. pref.: *piya'-nanü-mpA²qa-i'* there is a big fight

paq-a-n'niimpi- killing instrument: *pA²qa'-n'numpi* gambling bone that is to be guessed

PAQ'A- to be sore:

paq-a-ŋqî- to have a pain: *pA²qa'-ŋqî-yî-ni* I have an ache

-paq-a-ŋqî- to have a pain in (with incor. n.): *taywa'-mpA²qa-ŋqî-yî-ni* I have a tooth-ache; *tō'tsî'-φA²qa-ŋqî-yî-ni* I have a head-ache; *mov'w'i'-pA²xa-ŋqî-yî-ni* I have a nose-ache; *saxwi(·)'a'-φA²qa-ŋqî-pî'ŋa'* had a stomach-ache (374, 10)

taŋu-paq-a- to be thirst-sore: *ta(·)ŋu'-pA²qa-i'* is dying of thirst, is thirsty (402, 8); *taŋu'-pA²qa-va-n'ia-ŋA* he will be thirsty

'î't-a-mpaq-a- . . . *-n-ia-* to be tired of: *'î't-a-mpA²qa-i-n'c'* is tired of, *'î't-a-mpA²qa-p-î'ŋai-n'c'* was getting tired of (336, 8)

piya-vaq-a- to be drowsy: *piya'-φA²qa(i)-yî-ayA* is drowsy, has a lazy feeling (Song 145)

pap-aq-a- to groan with pain: *pA²pa'q-A-pî'ŋa'* groaned from suffering (450, 3); comp. vb. *pA²pa'q-a(i)-ya'ai-p-î'ŋa'* kept groaning with pain (468, 26)

PAQ'A-^s sweat:

paq-a-vi- abs.: *pA²qa'-φi* sweat

PAQ'ATCA- horned toad:

paq'atca-tsi- abs.: *pa^zqa'tca-ts.*, *pa^zqa'tsa-ts.* horned toad (*Doliosaurus?*)

-PA'A'YI-^o over, across (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 46)

-*pa'a-yi-t'i-* (ptc.) being over

-PAQ'Ï- to bathe:

na-vaq'ï- refl.: *nava'q'ï-i'* bathes (him)self; plur. *nava'q'ï-qa-p'ïya'* bathed (them)selves (402, 30)

-PAQ'Û'RA-ⁿ face (?):

-*paq'Û'ra-mpïtsi-* -faced: *tó'sa'-p'a^zqo'rcmputs.* bald-faced (not in ordinary use), *tó's'a-mó'-p'aqo'rcmputsñ* white-faced (Song 75)

PAQ'WAN'A- frog, toad: *pa^zqwa'n'NA* frog, toad; plur. *pa^zqwa'n'a-ñwi'* *paq'wan'a-yai-* to be a toad: fut. ptc. *pa^zqwa'n'a-yai-va-nñi'* who is destined to be a toad (424, 11)

PA'YA-, PAQ'A- to tear (intr.); PA'YI-, PAQ'I- to tear, to rip (tr.), to be torn:

pa'ya-q'i- to tear (dur. intr.): *pa(·)ya'-q'(t)u'* tears slowly

paq'a-q'i- to tear (mom. intr.): *pa'qa'-q'i* to tear at once

pa'yi-tcai- several flexible objects are torn, worn out: *pa(·)y(a)'i-tca-i'* (clothes, hat) are worn out, *pa(·)y(a)'i-tcai-p'ïya'* was worn out by scratching (452, 21); mom. *pa(·)y(t)u'-tcai-ñu* (moccasins) wore out (394, 12)

tca-paq'i-n'na- to tear (mom. tr.): *tca^z-pa'q'u-n'NA* to tear once in two pieces

tca-pa'yi-tca- to tear (dur. tr.): *tca^z-pa'y(a)i-tca(i)-'yñi-ñwa* tears him (inv.) up to pieces; plur. *tca^z-pa'y(a)i-tca-q'a-p'ïya(i)y)-añA* (they) tore him up to pieces (386, 7); distr. *tca'tca'-p'a'y(a)i-tca-p'ïya'* tore (them) apart (387, 5), *tca'tca'-p'a'y(a)i-tca-p'ïya-i-qa'ca* tore it up to pieces (404, 17), *tca'tca'-p'a'ya-tca^z-qai-na-ñi* his having torn (it) up to pieces

tó-p'a'yi-tca- to rip open (dur. tr.): *tó'-pa'yü-tca-i'* rips open in several places

tsi-p'a'yi-tca- to scratch (dur. tr.): *tsi-pa'y(t)u'-tca-p'ïya(i)y)-añA* scratched him (452, 20)

wii-ñwa-paq'i-n'na- to rip open with a knife: *wii'-ñwa'-paq'u-n'NA* to rip open with a knife (-ñwa- = *ma-* with the hand)

o-paq'i-, *o-va'yi-* there is a hole (q. v.)

PA'YA-ⁿ cane:

pa'ya-mpi- abs.: *pa'ya-mpï*, *pa(·)xa'-mpï* cane

in comp. n.: *pa(·)ya'-ntuñoi'p'i* canyon with cane; *pa'ya'-ñqwi'-*

tən'nintcī cane-valley, Canepatch creek (east of Canaan);
pa(·)χa'-o- cane-arrow; *pa(·)χa'-u'qwiyu'* cane-arrow; *paγa'-
 ηwi'-isu-ηwī* cane-knife-people, Navaho Indians

PAγA-ⁿ: *paγa'-ntcA^zqap-1* black bird which makes a clicking sound
 (see *tcaq-ap-i-*), *paγa'-tca^zqap-1* red-winged blackbird; *paγa'-
 ntīγiūts'*, *pa-ntī'γiūts'* killdeer

PAγA- great water (cf. *pa-* water): *pa(·)γα'-* great water, Colorado
 river; *pa(·)γα'-'oi-p-1* Colorado river canyon

PAγAN'AINA- to play the arrow game (cf. *paγa-* cane?):

paγan'aina-p-i- arrow game: *pa(·)γα'n'aina-p-1* arrow game played
 without bows

PAγAN'WI- bowstring: *paγa'ηwi'ⁱ*, *pa(·)γα'ηwī'ⁱ* bowstring; *paγa'η'wi-
 ni* my bowstring, *pa(·)γα'η'wi(y)-a-mī* their bowstrings (obj.)
 (406, 28), *paγa'η'wi-a-m 'ai'* their bowstrings (obj.) (408, 12)

PAγI-ⁿ to go, to walk: *ni' pa(·)γ(a)'i-mpa^ani'* I shall go, *pa(·)γi'ⁱ-
 mpa^ania-ni* I shall go, *pa(·)γ(a)'i-ηka'* while walking, *paγi'-χi'
 walking along* (Song 112)

paγi-q-a- plur.: *paγ(a)'i-k'a-va-n-ia-raηwA* we (incl.) will go

paγi-ηqw'ai-, *paγi-q'w'ai-* to go off: *pa(·)γ(ε)'l'-q'wa'^a* to go away,
pa(·)γ(a)'i-ηqw'ai' walks off, *pa(·)'x-1-qw'ai-tca-rca^a-ηA*, *pa(·)-
 γ(ε)'l'-q'w'ai-tca-rca^a-ηA* did he go away? *pa'x-1-qw'ai-k'a-nt uru-
 'avī* I wonder if (he) went away!

paγi-ηki- to come walking: *paγ(a)'i-ηki'* comes walking

paγi-n'ni- cont.: *pa(·)χ(a)'i-n'ni-va-η'wai-n-i'* (no longer I) shall
 go about, live (462, 14); usit. *paγ(a)'i-n'ni-m-i-nα-ni* my being
 wont to go about, where I always take my trip (468, 5)

paγi-n'ni-q'w'ai- to be going off, to walk away: *pa(·)γ(a)'i-n^{v'z}-
 qw'ai-va'* shall go away, *pa(·)γ(ä)'i-n^{v'z}-qw'i-p-i'γα'* went off
 (313, 2)

paγi-m'mia- to walk along: *pa(·)χ(ε)'l'-m'miq-i'* keeps on walking,
paγ(a)'i-m'mia-χu-aηA (I found) him walking

paγi-m'ik-u- to begin to walk along: *paγ(a)'i-mm'qu-v^{va}'* (from
 there) shall walk along (400, 14)

paγaγi- inc.: *pa(·)va'x^(a)1* to start to walk

paγi- in comp. vb.: *paγ(a)'i-n'uq^(w)1* to go-stream, to start to
 go, *pa(·)γ(a)'i-n'NU^zq(w)ι-p i'γα'* started off (460, 1), *pa(·^a)γ(ä)'i-
 n^{v'}NU^zq(w)ι-p i'γα'* started to walk (311, 7), *pa(·)γa'-n^{v'z}q(w)ι-
 p i'γα'* started to go (308, 8), *pa(·^a)γa'-n^{v'z}q(w)ι-p i'γα'* started on
 (his) way (322, 12), *paγ(a)'i-n'NU^zq(w)i-q'wa'^a* to walk off,
pa(·)γ(a)'i-n^{v'z}q(w)i-q'wa' qwa'u' to walk off; *paχ(a)'i-mpuru-
 χ(w)a'* while walking from one to another (436, 6)

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paγi-n'ni- in comp. vb.: *paγ(a)'i-n'ni-vä(i)yε-i'* walk-returns, has come back from a trip (468, 5); *paχ(a)'i-n'ni-t'iv'utcuα-p'iyā'* learned how to walk (464, 21)

-vaγi-: *nam-u'-v^wax(a)i'* goes first; *t'i'ηwu-v^wax(a)i-ηk'ai-n'u'* while hurriedly-going, hurrying; *ya'-vaγi-* to fear-go, to be afraid (q. v.)

-p'aγi- while walking, from place to place: *qa'-p'aγ(a)i-p'iyā'* sang as (he) went along (424, 24), *qa'-p'aγ(a)i-ηki-n 'u'ra'* comes singing toward me; *nī' qa(·)nu'vaγi-p'aγ(a)i'* I visit from place to place; *n^w'²-p'aγ(a)i'* carries on (his) back from place to place; *iv'i'-p'aγ(a)i'* drinks while walking; *t'qa'-p'aγ(a)i'* eats while traveling; distr. *qu'qwi'-p'apaγ(a)i-mpa'* (you plur.) shall shoot as (you) move along (474, 38); *tira'ηwantu-p'aγ(a)i-p'iyā'* stepped (on their heads) as (he) walked along (448, 7); *kwi'pa'-p'aγ(a)i-ηqw'ai-χa'* while hitting as (he) went along (434, 31), distr. *kwi'pa'-p'apax-i-p'iyā'* whipped and kept moving (476, 1); *'a(·)v'ηv-pax-i-p'iyā'* went to bed night after night (373, 12); *qwa(·)v'ηv-pax-i-p'iyā'* (they) stopped to camp while traveling (380, 12); *qwarα'vayai-p'ax-i-p'iyā'* cried from pain as (he) went along (398, 2); *wa'a'ηi-pax-i-p'iyā'* shouted as (he) went along (371, 7); *a'i-p'aγ(a)i'* says as (he) goes along; *paγi'n-a-ηwini-p'a-γi-yi'* cloud stands up and walks (Song 119)

PAγIN'A-^s cloud, fog:

incor.: *pa(·)γi'n-a-xaqarī-χu'* (earth) would cloud-settle, become foggy (364, 10); *pa'γina-vo''v^wiχa-mi-mpi'* cloud-spotted (Song 110); *paγina-tu'-p'aya-montsi'montsi'montsi'n* cloud-black-side-mountain, mountains whose flanks are black with clouds (Song 76); *paγi'n-a-ηwini-pa-γi-yi'* cloud stands up and walks (Song 119)

PAγWAI'A-ⁿ: abs. *paγwa'i'a-mpi'* tree (sp.?)

PA'S-I- seeds of a certain plant: *pa'c-i* seeds of a certain weed, used for mush; *pa'asu-ts'* personal name

PAT'A-Q-I- to burst (mom. intr.): *pA'ta'-q-i-p'iyā'* burst (462, 4)

pat'a-q-i-q-a- plur.: *pA'ta'-q-i-k'A* several burst

pat'a-q-i-t'ui- caus.: *pA'ta'-q-i-tu'i* to burst (tr.)

-pat'aq-i-ηqū- to burst (tr.), with instr. pref.: *ma-va'tA^zqi-ηqū* to burst by means of the hand; *t^w'-pa'tA^zqi-ηqū* to burst by punching

PA-T'Ḷ'ηWI-ⁿ vein: *pa't'Ḷ'ηwi* vein

pa't'Ḷ'ηwi-mpi- abs.: *pa't'Ḷ'ηwi-mpi* vein

PARA- to straighten out: *pa(·)ra'(i)-yi'* straightens out

PA'RA-γA- to make a pattering sound: *pa'ra-xa(i)-yi-n'u'* (rain) patters

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-PARA- to make a popping sound:

qu-p'ara-γa- to pop in burning (sing.): *qu'-pa'ra-χa-i'* (it) pops,
qu'-pa'ra-χa-vatci wont to pop in burning (334, 3)

qu-p'ara-γi-q'a- plur.: *qu'-pa'ra-χ(ε)u-k'a-i'* (they) pop

-PARAI- to knock down several:

with instr. pref.: *ts-pa'rai'* knocks several down by poking with a stick; *wi'-pa'rai'* knocks several down by slashing with a stick; *ta'-pa'rai'* knocks several down with stones; *to'-pa'rai-p'iγa'* knocked (them) all down with (his) fist (446, 19), *to'-pa'rai-va-n'ia-m'ü-ni* I shall knock them all down with (my) fist

PAP'A RAJQA- (distr.?) branch, limb: *pa'pa'raŋqa-i'* (obj.) limb (375, 1), *pa'pa'raŋqa-q'a* its branches, *pa'pa'raŋqa(·)-m'a(i)yu-a(·)q'a* from one of its branches (460, 35)

PARAŋWARA-ⁿ pumpkin: *pa(·)ra'ŋwara* pumpkins, *para'ŋwanta* (Song 205)

paraŋwara- in comp. n.: *para'ŋwara-nti'm^wαp'i* pumpkin-roast;
para'ŋwara-c'a'ap'i pumpkin-mush

PARĪ(YA)- sand:

in comp. n.: *pari'ya-oip'i* sand-wash (only in song), *pari'yo-o(w)i-*
pa(·)ŋwt'ux'WA going through a sand-wash; *pari'-s'iywa-oip'i*
sand-gravel-wash (ordinary prose)

PARĪIA-^s elk (water-deer; cf. *pa-s* water, *tīγia-* deer): *pari'i'* elk;
plur. *pari'ū(y)a-ŋwī*

pariia- in comp. n.: *pari'ya-γaiva-m* elk (?) -mountain-at (Song 139);
pari'ya-nv'q(w)inti elk-stream, Paria river

PARĪYI- to wash (cf. *pa-* water): *pari'χi'* washes (tr.)

na-variyi- refl.: *na-va'rīχi'* washes (him)self

-PARĪRA^z- (cf. *pa-* water): *yīv^wū'-m-parīr* stream of water at which
pines end, East Fork

PARO-ⁿ water-gravel (cf. *pa-* water):

in comp. n.: *parō'-ntiūmp(w)i* gravel, water-gravel stone; *parō'-*
n'tū-mbi-ndzin gravel stone (Song 118)

PARUγU-^s prophet:

paruγu-tsi- abs.: *pa(·)ru'χu-ts'* prophet in the Ghost Dance, one
that composes a round dance

paruγu-γa-nti- being a prophet: *pa(·)ru'χu-γ(w)α-nti* prophet, one
who leads the round dance and prophesies the future

PARUγUNA- Parowan band of Paiutes (cf. *pa-ro-γa-n*):

paruγuna-ntsi- abs.: *paru'γuna-ntsi-ŋwī* Indians of Parowan Lake

PAT'CA- moccasin: *pat'ca* moccasin (of deerskin), shoe; *pa'tca'-ni*
my shoes, *pa'tca'-raŋWA* our (incl.) shoes (1 pair)

- pap'at'ca-* distr.: *pA'pa't'ca-rayWA* our (incl.) shoes (each one's pair)
- pat'ca-* in comp. n.: *pA'tca'-a(?)xə* moccasin tongue
- pat'ca-* in comp. n.: *pü(·)i'-vat'ca* hide moccasin; *pa(·)n'a'-pat'ca* iron-moccasin, horseshoe; *a'i-v^wat'ca* new moccasin
- PA·TC'A-^o bat:
- pa'tc'a-tsi-* abs.: *pa'^atca-ts* bat
- pa'tc'a-* in comp. n.: *pa'^atca-vu'i* bat-eyed (female personal name)
- PAT·CA'I-, PAT·CA'A'- to hang, to be fastened:
- pat'ca'i-q'ai-* res.: *pA'tca'i-k'a'* (fruit, leaves, branch) hang, *pA'tca'i-k'a'* to be fastened on to (a tree); ptc. *pA'tca'i-k'α-nü'* hanging (obj.) (394, 28)
- pat'ca'i-q-a-q'ai-* plur. res.: *pA'tca'i-k'a-q'a'* (they) are fastened on
- pap'at'ca'i-q'ai-* distr. res.: *pA'pa'tcai-k'a'* several (berries) hang
- pat'ca'a-* to be fastened: *pA'tca'a-p'iyā'* was left fastened (336, 4), *'a'na^ax₁ pA'tca'a(·)'* (was) left fastened therein (336, 7)
- pat'ca'i-* in comp. vb.: caus. *ma(·)'-rəarə-mpA'tca'(a)i-t'ui'* causes (it) to nearly hang
- pat'ca'a-* (tr.) to fasten: with instr. pref. *ma(·)-va'tc'i'a-i'* fastens; mom. *ma(·)-va'tca-ηV-p'iyā'* (he) fastened (310, 12), *ma(·^a)-va'tca-η^x-p'iyā'* (he) fastened on (315, 11); *ma(·)-va'tc'i'a(·)-ηqu-tca(·)-q-w'ai'* (it) has been fastened (-ηqu- misheard for -ηu-?)
- VATCAηWI-^o meeting, towards (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 44)
- vatcaηwi-t-uγwa-* moving towards, facing
- PATCAQ·WI-, PATCAQ·WA- to be, get wet (cf. *pa-* water):
- patcaq-wi-* to be, get wet (sing.): *patca'q'wi'*, *pa(·)tca'q'wi'* is wet, moist, gets wet
- patcaq-wi-navitci-* (plur.): *patca'q-wi-navitci-p'iyā'* several got wet (388, 12)
- patcaq-wa-* to get wet: *patca'q-wa^a-va'* will get wet
- PATCAQ·I-ηWA- to water (cf. *patcaq-wi-* wet): *pa(·)tca'q'i-ηwa-i'* waters, irrigates
- PATSI- older sister: *patsi'-ni* my sister (404, 34)
- pap'atsi-* distr.: *pA'pa'tsi-amü* their older sister (434, 8)
- patsi-tsi-* dim.: *patsi'-tsi-ni* my older sister; plur. *patsi'-tsi-ηwü-ni* my dear older sisters (476, 17)
- na-vatsi-ηwü-* recip.: *na(·)-va'tsi-ηw amü* the two sisters (406, 16)
- PATCĪ- daughter: *pa(·)tcĭ'-ni* my daughter; plur. *patci'-ηwü-ni* my daughters, *patci'-ηwü-αηA* his daughters, *pa(·)tcĭ'-ηu-ηwā'ai-φi* together with his own daughters (396, 19), *patci'-ηwü-ηwā-q-u-αηA* together with his daughters (408, 29)

PAU-ⁿ hail:

pau-mpī- abs.: *pa(q)'u-mpī* hail

pau-'uŋwa- to hail: *pa(a)'u-'uŋwa* (i)-'yu-q-wA it (inv.) hails

PAONTSI-^s beaver: *pao'nts*- beaver

pao'ntsi-vi- beaver-band: *pao'ntsi-φī* hair-wrapping strip, band of beaver skin

PAYA-^s, PAYA- slope, bottom surface, breast: *paia'-ni* my slope, my breast, *tu(·)χu'mpaia* *pa(i)ya'-m-anayqwa* from sky's surface, coming from the sky (365, 11), *paia'-ruχ^{wa}* slope-toward, horizontally, on the side in air (Song 118)

paya-vi- abs.: *pa(i)ya'-a-φi* slope of a hill

-paya-, *-paya-* in comp. n.: *ayqa'-q-wA'ci-va(i)ya'-ts* red-tail-bottomed, blue racer; *tuγu'-mpa(i)ya'-φi* sky-surface, whole sky; *qanl'-pa(i)ya'* house-slope, wall of house; *tümp^u'-paia-i 'ura'* rock-slope (obj.) toward, toward the side of the cliff (456, 15); *qaiwa-va'ia-ruχ-wA* mountain-slope-to, (bird flying) in air beside a mountain, (man walking) on the slope of a mountain (Song 118); *paγina-tv'-paya-montsi'montsi'montsi'n* cloud-black-slope-mountains, mountains whose slopes are black with clouds (Song 76); *tγɔ'i-N'ɔ^q(w)ɔ'mu-tsi-γai-pa(i)ya-φi* right-be-bent-surface-my, right where my lower surface is bent (406, 35)

-paya-^s, *-paya-^s* is compounded postpositions (Gram., § 50, 4, 45):
-paya-γi- moving through, along; *-paya-m'a-yu-* from; *-paya-n'a-nayqwa-* from; *-paya-ruγwa-*, *-paya-ruγwa-* up beside; *-paya-ruqwa-*, *-paya-ruqwa-* under, next to

-paya-vi- surface of object: *tA'-pa'ia-φī* boot-surface, moccasin sole

-paya-vi-vi- surface of body-part: *MA'-pa'(i)ya-vu-φi* palm; *tA'-pa'(i)ya-vu-φi* sole of foot

-paya-mpitsi- in comp. n.: *tɔ'ca'-pa(i)ya-mpats* white-breasted, gull

PAYAN-I- pan (< Eng. *pan*): *pa'(i)yan-i* pan

PAYĪ-^s to return (sing.): *pa(i)yi'-i'* comes back; ptc. *pa(i)yi'-ni* one who goes home

payi-ŋu- mom.: *pa(i)yi'-ŋu-piγa'*, *pa(·)yi'-ŋ^ɛ-piγa'* went back (313, 3; 320, 2); usit. *pa(i)yi'-ŋu-m-i-piγa'* (it) always returned (408, 28)

payi-q-w'ai- to go back: *pa(i)yi'-k-w^ɔ'ai'* goes back, *pa(·)yi'-k-w^ɔ'ai-* *p-iγa'* (he) went home

payi-k-i- to come back: *pa(i)yi'-k-i'* comes back; mom. *pa(i)yi'-k-i-ŋu-ŋqv-'ŋwa-χa' 'ɔai'* would that he (inv.) might come back!

pa-p'a'yī- distr.: *pA'pa'(i)yu'-p'īγa'* (they) all returned each to (his) home (402, 34)

payī- in comp. vb.: *pa(i)yu'-vuru-i'* goes away and comes back the same way

-payī- in comp. vb.: *ya'-va(i)yu'-q-wA* to bring it (inv.) back, mom. *ya'-va(i)yu'-ηU-p'īγa'ai-k-wA* carried it (inv.) back (400, 30); *vu'(w)a'-va(i)yu'-η^x-p'īγa'i'k-wA* brought it (inv.) back (313, 8); *no'('u)-p'a(i)yu'-k-w'ai-p'īγa'* returned carrying on (his) back (432, 27), *no'(-p'a(i)yu'-k-i-p'īγa'* came back home carrying (446, 8); *paγ(a)'i-n'nu-vū(i)y(ε)u'* has come back from (his) trip (468, 5)

-payī- to have been -ing: *nī' ivi'-va(i)yu'* I drink-return, I have been drinking, *ivi'-va(i)yu'-k'ai-ni* I drink-returned, I had been drinking; *tr²qa'-wayu-p'īγa'* (he) was to eating; *nī' qa'-va(i)yu-yī* I have been singing, *qa'-va(i)yu'-k'ai-yī-ayA* he must have been singing; *tōna'-va(i)yi-i'* has been punching; *ts·p'i'-mpa(i)yu'-k'ai(y)-ayA-ni* I have been riding him; *A'p'i'i-vai-k'ai-tua(i)-yī-r'ō-n-ōa-xain-i ivū'* somebody has been sleeping here, it seems; plur. *MU²qwi'χa-vai²-ka-p'īγa'ai-ηwA* (they) had called on him (inv.), came back from calling on him (362, 1)

PAYU- Paiute Indian:

payu-tsi- abs.: plur. *pa(i)yu'-tsi-ηwī* Paiute Indians (said to mean: "those who return by the same way they have gone," but this is probably folk-etymology)

PI-^o buttocks, rear (cf. *pi^{-s}*):

instr. pref.: Gram., § 21, 3

as n. pref.: *pi'-tō'ō-mpi* rump fat; *pi'-tea'm-uq-U* buckskin belt; *pi-na'-s-iχa-ni* my crotch, where my legs part; *pi-na'-rī(i)yα-ni* my crotch, where my legs part

with post.: *pi-n-ayqwa-* soon (q. v.); *pi-m-i^o* back, *pi-mi-t-uγwa-* backward (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

-vi^o, *-vi-* in back of (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 48), occurs only compounded: *-vi-mi-t-uγwa-* out of; *-vi-n-a-γi-* behind; *-vi-nayqwa-p-a-*, *-vi-nayqwa-p-a-* (resting) behind, ptc. *-vi-nayqwa-p-a-tcī-*; *-vi-nayqwa-p-a-tcuγwa-* moving after; *-vi-nayqwa-p-a-yu-* acting behind; *-vi-na-p'ī-*, *-vi-na-p'ī-* behind

PI-^s backward (adv. pref.): *pi'-vīnu-k'a'* to look back, mom. *pi'-vunu-k'ai-ηu-ts'* while looking, having looked back (452, 23)

PIA-^s mother, female: *nī'nu pi'A* my mother; *pi(y)ε'-ni* my mother (410, 2)

- pia-vi-* abs.: *pi(y)a'-phi* mother
pia-tsi- dim.: *pi(y)a'-tsi-ηwi-ni* my dear mothers (476, 16)
pivia- distr.: *pivi'a-raηwa* our (incl.) mothers
pia-p'i- female of animal: *pia'-p'i* mare (Song 117)
pia-p'i-tsi- dim.: *pi(y)a'-n'i'-puts* my dear mother; *qava'ru(w)ats*·
pi(y)a'-puts colt little-female, filly
-pia- in comp. n.: *qava'a-v'* mare, *qava'a-via-ni* my mare; *tiγi'a-v'*
doe; *tcik'ina-v'* hen; *qu'tcu'-mπu(y) aηA* buffalo-cow (456, 28);
yv'-p'i(y)α-ni my younger sister
-pia-p'i-(tsi-) in comp. n.: *saγwa'-viap'i* blue mare (Song 117)
na-via-ηwi- recip.: *na-vi'a-ηwi* mother and child, *na(·)-vi'a-ηw αmī*
the mother and daughter (356, 1); dim. *na-vi''-tsi-ηwi* mother
and child (452, 1)
- PIA- main, big (identical with *pia-* mother? cf. our "mother stream"):
pia- in comp. n.: *pia'-ma'ciūphi* main-finger, thumb; *pi(y)a'-NV'q(w)ι-*
nti main-stream, Sevier river; in comp. vb. *pi(y)a'-nanū-*
mPA²qa-i' there is a big fight
- PIA-^s sap:
pia-vi- abs.: *pi(y)a'-phi* sap; in comp. n. *ciā'-p-iaφi* sap of tree
- PIAIT·CA·P·I- oak (var.): *pia'itca-pi* oak-like tree with white and red
blossoms; in comp. n. *pia'itcapι-nuq(w)intī* oak (var.)-stream
(place name)
- PI'AYU- centipede: *pi'(y)a'x-U* centipede (green, with two "feathers");
plur. *pi'a'x-u-ηwi*
- PIN·A-^s last, youngest:
pin'a-p'itsi- abs.: *pina'-p'u'tsi-ηw αηA* the smallest of all, the young-
est one (460, 20)
-pimpin'ara-p'itsi- distr. comp.: *vi'-mpimpin'ara'-putsi-ηw αηA*
(myth word) the very last youngster of the family (452, 32)
- PINAIQWA- after a while, soon (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)
- PIN'NARA- to spread the legs apart bow-legged fashion: *pin'na'ra-i'*
spreads the legs apart bow-legged fashion
pin'nara-qai- res.: *pin'na'ra-q-a'* to stand bow-legged
- PIŋ'ANA- to stamp:
-piŋ'ana-γi-ηqī- dur. with instr. pref.: *ta'-pi'ŋ'ana'-χι-ηqī-i'* stamps
on the ground (in order to make it smooth)
- PIŋKI·YA- to sound like dripping water: *pi'ŋki-χα(i)-yū-n'i'* (it)
sounds like dripping water (water-spout, spring)
- PIŋWA-^s wife, spouse: *piŋwa'(a)ηA* his wife; plur. *piŋwa'-ηwi-a-raηw*
u'ηWA those (inv.) wives (obj.) of ours (incl.)

piŋwa- distr.: *piŋ'ŋwa(i)-ya-m aŋA* of their wives (434, 8)

piŋwa-γai- to have a wife: *piŋwa'-xai-ni* I have a wife

piŋwa-ru- to make a wife, man gets married: *piŋwa'-RU-q(w)ai-ŋu-tsa-ŋA* he has taken a wife, has been married, *piŋwa'-RU-q(w)ai-ŋu-p'ïγa'-qo-ŋwa'a-mi* he had taken them for his wives
-piŋwa- in comp. n.: *i'-p'ŋwa-ni* my old wife, *i'-p'ŋwa-ia-rúa-mu' uŋi'k'A* are you doing so to your old husband?; *'a'ï-v'ŋwa-vi'ts uŋWA* the new-wived one, newly-married (young man) (446, 5);
na'i-mpiŋwα-ni my (man's) sister-in-law (potential wife)

incor.: *piŋwa'-χw'ï-p'ïγai(y)-aŋA* wife-took her, took her for (his) wife (396, 20)

PIŊWA-^s foot of a mountain: *qa'ivaiA piŋwa'-a-va'* at the foot of a mountain (432, 2)

PIŊ-γA- to drag (dur.): *piŋ'χ(w)a-i'*, *pi(y)ŋ'χ(w)a-i'*, *pi(y)ŋ'xa-i'* drags (something)

piŋ-γa-q'a- plur.: *pi(y)ŋ'x(w)A-qa-i'* several drag

piŋ-γa-m'mia- to drag along: *pi(y)ŋ'xŋ-m'mia-xa'* while dragging along (456, 5)

piŋ-γa-q-w'ai- to drag off: *pi(y)ŋ'x:A-qa-w'ai-p'ïγa'ai-ŋWA* dragged him (inv.) off (466, 30)

piŋ-γa-q-i- to come dragging: *pi(y)ŋ'x:A-qi-p'ïγa'ai-ŋWA* he (inv.) came home dragging (it) (466, 24)

ta-piŋ-γa- to drag with the foot: *tA'-pi'ŋ-γ(w)a-i'* scrapes the foot along, walks while scraping with the foot

PI·P·Uŋ'WA-^s red-headed woodpecker:

pi·p·uŋ'wa-ntsi- abs.: *pi'p'·uŋwα-nts'*, *pi'p'·u'wα-nts'*, *pi'p'·uŋwa-nts'* red-headed woodpecker

pi·p·uŋ'wa- in comp. n.: *pi'p·uŋ'wa-rïxwï-aŋ aŋA* the woodpecker-friend of him, his friend Woodpecker (422, 28)

PIK·A-^s sore; hard:

pi'k'a- sore (in comp. n.): *pi'k'a'-χwit'ï* sore buttocks (personal name);
pi'k'a'-mŋ'ŋ sore-hands, sore-handed; *pi'k'a'-rŋ(ŋ)ts'* sore-headed;
pi'k'a'-wa-γai-p'ïγa' had a sore back (474, 37), ptc. *pi'k'a'-ŋa·a-χα-ni'i* having a sore back, sore-backed; *pi'k'a'-nampa-ts uŋWA* the sore-footed one (Song 149)

pi'k'a- hard (in comp. n.): *pi'k'a(·)·'aiA* hard-shell turtle, *pi'k'a(·)·'ay aŋA* the land turtle (400, 28); *pi'k'a'-χunaφi* rawhide bag, dim.
pi'k'a'-χunavu-tsu-a-ŋA his little rawhide bag (obj.) (400, 15);
pi'k'a'-m·unts' rock mountain (below Indian Pasture) (Song 185)

-PIK-I- to touch:

ma-p'ik-i- to touch with the hand: *MA'p'i'k-i* to touch with the hand
ma-p'ik-i- to touch (in general; with other instr. pref.): *tsi-ma'p'ik-i*
 to touch with the end of a stick; *pi-ma'p'ik-i* to touch with the
 buttocks; *to-ma'p'ik-i* to touch with the fist; *wi-ma'p'ik-i* to
 touch with the edge of a stick

ta-p'ik-i- to touch with the foot: *tA'-p'i'k-i* to touch with the foot

-PIK-I-^s semi-liquid mass:

mu-p'ik-i- nose-fluid, nasal mucus: abs. *MU'-p(w)'i'k-i-phi* nasal
 mucus; incor. *MU'p(w)'i'k-i-cin'i'* blows (his) nose

tcw-p'ik-i- head-fluid, brains: *tcw'-p'i'k-i-a-r'w-ni* my brains (obj.
 inter.) (373, 9)

PIQ'w-^s "yant" cake: abs. *pi'q'w'-phi* "yant" cake made out of the roasted
 heart of the cabbage-like head of the "yant" (see *nanta-*)

PIYI-^s pig (< Eng. *pig*):

pi'yi-tsi- abs.: *pi'yi-tsi-*, *pi'xi-tsi-* hog; plur. *pi'xi-tsi-ηwi-ni* my pigs
piyi- in comp. n.: *pi'xi-vunqu-ranwa* our (incl.) pig-pet, our pig;
pixi-tcu(w)ats- pig-child, little pig

PI-S'I'AVA- animal: *pi's'iaφA* animal, obj. *pi's'i'ava-i'* (460, 12)

PIS'w- child:

pis'w-tsi- abs.: *pi's'w'-ts-* boy; plur. *pi's'w'-tsi-ηwi* children

pip'is'w-tsi- distr.: *pi'pi's'w'-tsi-ηwi* children (438, 22)

pi's'w'-a-tsi-ηwi- pos. plur.: *pi's'w'-a-tsi-ηwi-ni* my children, *pi's'w'-
 a-tsi-ηwi-ni* your children, *pi's'w'-a-tsi-ηwa-ranwa* our (incl.)
 children

PIP-IT'A'NI- to vomit: *pi'p'it'a'ni'* vomits

in comp. vb.: *pi'p'it'a'ni-mU'cu-i'* tries to vomit; *pi'p'it'a'ni-tiγa-
 (a)i'* pretends to vomit, imitates vomiting, *pi'p'it'a'ni-tiγax-
 pi'γa'* tried to vomit (373, 10)

pivi'tan'ni- iter.: *pivi'tan'ni'* vomits several times

-PIT'w-M'I- to groan with a twinge of pain:

na-vit'w-m'i-ηu- refl. mom.: *na(·^a)-v't'v-m'i-ηu-p'üγa'* made a groan
 with sudden pain by drawing in the breath (408, 7)

-PITC'A- to crush:

ta-p'it'a- to crush by trampling: *tA'-p'it'a-i'* crushes by trampling;
 plur. *tA'-p'it'a-q-A-p'üγai-ηγA* (they) crushed him by trampling
 (412, 19)

ta-p'it'a-q-i-ηqi- to trample on (mom.): *nü'* *tA'-p'it'a-q-i-ηqi-'q-wA*
 I crush it (inv.) by stepping on it

ma-vit'a-q-i-ηqi- to crush with the hand (mom.): *ma(·)-v'it'a-q-
 qi-ηqi'* to crush with one's hand

-PITSI-γI- to clap (hands):

ma-vitsi-γi- (dur.) to clap hands: *ma(·)-vi'tsi-γi'* claps hands

PIITSI-^s female's breast:

piitsi-vi- abs.: *pi'tsi-φi* female's breast

PITCĪ-^s to arrive:

pip'itcī-, *pi'tcī-* mom.: *pi'tci-qq(·)-'ηwA* if he (inv.) arrives, fut. ptc.

pi'tci-v^wa-ntī being about to arrive (420, 13); *ni' qa(·)ni'-va-ni pi'pi'tci* I arrived at my house, *pi'pi'tci-p'īγa'*, *pi'pi'tci-p'īγa'* got to the end of the journey, arrived (336, 5), *pi'pi'tci-rī* he who arrives, fut. ptc. *pi'pi'tcu-v^wa-ntī* shall be arriving (348, 12)

pip'itcī-γw'ai-, *pi'tcī-γw'ai-* to go and arrive: *pi'tcī-χwa'ai-p'īγa'*, *pi'tci-γw'ai-p'īγa'*, *pi'tci-χwa'ai-p'īγa'* arrived, went and arrived (450, 14; 308, 9; 316, 11; 317, 12), *pi'tcī-χwa'ai-va'* shall get (there); *pi'pi'tci-χw^aai-p'īγa'* arrived (311, 8)

pip'itcī-q'a- plur.: *pi'pi'tci-q'A* several arrive

pitcī-ηqī- to arrive-for, to engage with in combat: *pitcī'-ηqī^w-v^wa-ni* shall engage with me, test me (422, 15), *pitcī'-ηqī-yī-ayā-ni* he engages with me; ptc. *pitcī'-ηqī-rī-ni* engaging with me, *pitcī'-ηqī-rī-m'ī-ayā* two who engage with him; plur. ptc. *pitcī'-ηqī-qa-rī-m'ī-ayā* several who engage with him; recip. ptc. *na(·)-vi'tci-ηqī-yī-rāmi* we 2 (incl.) engage; recip. plur. *na(·)-vi'tci-ηqī-q'a(i)-yī-rāηwA* we (incl.) all engage

cuā-p'itcī- to breathe-arrive, to wake up (intr.): *cu(w)a'-p'itcī'* is waking up (308, 7), *cu(w)a'-p'itcū* to wake up, *cu(w)a'-p'itcū-i'* is waking up, *cu(w)a'-p'itcī-ya-q'A* wake up, ye 2!; plur. *cu(w)a'-p'itcū-q'a(i)-ya-q'A* wake up (plur.)!, *cu(w)a'-p'itcū-q'A* several wake up; caus. *cu(w)a'-p'itcū-t'ui-ni* wake me up, plur. *cu(w)a'-p'itcū-t'ui-k'a(i)-ya-ni* you (plur.) wake me up!

pitcī- in comp. vb.: *pitcī'-t'īηwawaxa-p'īγa'* made a noise as (he) arrived (450, 1)

-*pitcī-* in comp. vb.: *ivi'-vitcī'* comes to drink; *ya'-p'itcī-χw'ai-p'īγai(y)-aq'A* arrived carrying it (404, 24); *tsa'a'i-vitcī-χw'ai-p'īγa'* went and took hold of (her) as soon as (he) arrived (363, 3); *un-i-vitcī-* to do-arrive, to attack (q. v.)

PIT-CUA'MI- downward (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

PIYA-^s drowsiness: incor. *piya'-φA²qa(i)-yī-ayā* he is drowsy, has a lazy feeling; *pi'ya-vai-'o'īηwa-ro'γ(w)a'* drowsy-canyon-through (Song 145)

PIYAI-, PIYAN'WI- to be left over:

piyai- dur.: *piya'i'* is left over (361, 2), *piya'i-p'īγa'* was left (316, 2)

- piyaŋ'wi-* mom.: *piya''ŋwɪ* to be left over, *piya'ŋ'wi-va-^ani'* (it) will be left over
- PIYAIT-CA-ⁿ locust tree:
piyait-ca-mpi-vi- abs.: *piya'itca-mpi-phi* locust tree
- PIYAŶA-ŋQĪ- to be easy to do, overcome: *piya'Ŷa-ŋqĭ(i)-yĭ-aq-^A* it is easy (Song 204)
qateu-, *qa piyaŶa-ŋqĭ-* not to be easily overcome, to be powerful:
 neg. ptc. *qa'teu piya'Ŷa-ŋqĭ-ŋwai-t'ĭ-mĭ* not easily overcome (422, 25), *imi qa piya'xa-ŋqĭ-ŋ'wai-t-i-mĭ* you are very powerful, *qa'teu piya'xa-ŋqĭ-ŋ'wai-t-i-mĭ'* (obj.) very mighty, most powerful (man) (361, 10)
- PIYĪ-^o heart: *pi'yĭ* heart; *ipyĭ'-ni* my heart, *piyĭ'-a-^zŋ-^A* his heart (obj.) (404, 11; 458, 5)
piyĭ-p-i- abs.: *piyĭ'-p-i* heart
piyĭ-t-u- to make a heart: *piyĭ'-t-u-i'* makes a heart
 incor.: *piyu'-tca^xqavn-a-i'* breaks the heart; kills the rabbit by strongly stroking his sides between thumb and index finger, thereby causing his heart to burst
- PĪ- whom, which, what (relative pron. with post.; Gram., § 45)
 -VĪ- (encl. pers. pron.) refl. poss. (in obj. forms; Gram., § 40, 4)
- PĪ-^o, PU-^o eye (cf. *pu'i-* eye):
 instr. pref.: Gram., § 21, 4
 as n. pref.: *pu'-ti'ŋqanu-phi* eye-cave, superciliary ridge
- PĪĪ-^s hide, fur:
pĪĪ-vĪ- abs.: *pĪ(·)Ī'-phi*, *pĪĪ'-phi(w)Ī*, *pĪ(ŕ)Ī'-phi* hide before preparation, fur (Song 205)
pĪĪ-a-, *pĪĪ'-a-* pos.: *pĪ(ŕ)Ī'-a-^zŋ aRĪ* his (animal) hair; *pĪ(ŕ)Ī'-a(i)-ya-^zŋ-^A* her skin (328, 10); abs. *pĪ(ŕ)Ī'-a-phi* animal's fur
 -*pĪĪ-vĪ-* in comp. n.: *tĪŕu'a-vĪĪphi* deer-hide; *tĪ-v^wi'-phi* hide owned, *tĪ-v^wi'-v^wi-ni* hide which I own
pĪĪ- in comp. n.: *pĪ'-ti-ra(·)'ⁱ* hide shirt; *pĪ(·)Ī'-vat-ca* hide moccasin
 -*pĪ-* prepared hide, blanket, clothing (in comp. n.): *tĪŕu'a-phi* tanned deer-hide, *tĪŕu'a-vu-ru-v^wa-^ani'* will make a deer-hide; *fiŋqwĪ'-tca'a-phi* rabbit-skin blanket; *pŕ(·)ni'a-vu-ru-χ(w)a'* while making skunk blankets (450, 15); *pao'ntsu-phi* beaver-wrap, band of beaver-fur wrapped about the hair; *A'ta'-p-Ī* rawhide; *tA'pa''a-p-Ī* stockings, socks; *tV'qu'-p-Ī* panther-skin; *na(·)rŕo'^o-mpĪ* underwear, what is worn next the body; *quwĪ'n-ŕŕo'^o-mpĪ* clothing, blanket (452, 8)
- PĪĪA-^s hair (cf. *pĪĪ-*): *pu'ti'ŋqanwĪ* *ŕĪ'-t'a'* brow-ridge's hair, eyebrow
pĪĪa'-vi- abs.: *pĪĪ'a-phi* body-hair

-*pī'a-*, abs. -*pī'a-vi-* hair (in comp. n.): *tō'tsu'-vīd'* head-hair, abs. *tō'tsu'-vīd'-φI*; *naŋqa'va-vī(·)d'-φI* ear-down; *sō'r'ɔa-vī'a-φI* arm-pit hair; *nava'ia-va ts·* (read -*vīa-ts·?*) divide-hair, whiskers, *munteu'-navaia-va-ts·* mustache (Song 63)

PĪA- relative: *pīa'-ni*, *pī(·)a'-ni* my relation, *pīa''a-mi* your relation

PĪN-I- to see, to look: neg. *qatcu'ru'ax:qa'a qan'·ani pīni'-ŋwa'a* did you not see my house? (452, 3), *pīni'-n'a'ai'* while not seeing *pīn-i-q ai-* (res.) to see: *pūnu'-k ai-va^aŋa-ni* let me see him, *pīnu'-k ai-k ai-na-mi* what you saw (380, 2), *pīnu'-k ai-aq·A* look at it *pīn-i-t'u'a-q ai-* impers.: *pīni'-t-uα-q a'* (it) looks, seems (380, 4) *pīn-i-q ai-ŋu-* mom.: usit. *pīni'-k ai-ŋu-mi-ŋku-aŋA* while he now and then took a look (452, 10)

pīn-i-n'ni- cont.: *pīni'-n'nu-p'·iγa'* kept on looking (396, 37)

pīn-i-m'mia- to look along, while moving: *pīnu'-m'mua-i'* looks while walking

pīn-i-m-i-qu- to look while moving (mom.): *pīn-i'-m-i-qu-p'·iγai(y)-a(·)ŋ'a-mī* they 2 went looking straight ahead up to them 2 (432, 24)

pīmpīn'ni- iter.: *pīmpīn'ni'* looks repeatedly

pīmpīn'ni-q ai- distr.: *pīmpīn'ni'-k ai-vā'-tsi-ŋwa* if (ye are) intending to see him (inv.) (434, 22), *pīmpīn'ni'-k a'* (ye) saw, just looked on, let go (326, 4)

pīn-i-q ai-γw'ai- to go to see: *pīni'-k ai-χwa'a* to go and see (381, 2), *pīni'-k ai-χw'ai-p'·iγai(y)-aŋ'a-mī* they 2 went to see him (450, 5); mom. *pīni'-k ai-χw'ai-ŋu* to go to look for (378, 7)

pīn-i-q ai-q w'ai- to see away: *pīn-i'-k ai-q w'ai'* keeps looking, looks without cessation

pīn-i-t'ui- to cause to see: *pīni'-t'ui-k ai-q wa-ni* (he) let me see it (inv.); refl. *na(·)-vī'ni-t'ui-k ai(y)-a(·)ŋa-ni* he let me see himself

pīn-i-q ai-t'ui- to cause to see (res.): *pīni'-k ai-tu'ⁱ* to cause to (come and) see (450, 4)

pīn-i-t'ui-na'ai- to cause not to see, be seen: *pūnu'-t'ui-na(·)ai-p'·iγa'* caused (it) not to be seen (310, 8), *pīni'-t'ui-n'ai-va-a^aqa-ŋA* shall not cause him to see it (454, 15)

pīn-i-nu'i-nūmpī- usit. pas. ptc.: *pī(·)ni'-nu'i-nūmpī'* (obj.) (things) seen about (311, 4)

pīn-i- in comp. vb.: *pīni'-k ai-i'* sits looking, watches, *pīn-i'-k ai-χa'* while sitting and looking; *pīni'-yuγwi-p'·iγa'* (they) sat down and watched (382, 11); *pūnu'-av-χa'*, *pīni'-av-χa'* lying down and looking (308, 5), *pīn-i'-a(·)vi-va-tsi-²q wa* when about to lie

- down and watch it (inv.) (462, 9); *pīnu'-ḡwīnu-p'īya'ai-ḡwa* stood watching for her (inv.) (353, 14), *pīn-i'-ḡwīn-i-χa'ai-ḡwa* while (he) stood looking at him (inv.) (466, 35); *pīnu-ḡwī'nī-p'a γ(ε)u-tu-k'a* walks around, stops, and watches (Song 161); *pīnu'-ḡwīn-ḡ-n'uq(w)u-χw'ai-va'a-ḡwa* shall go to stand around looking for him (inv.) (476, 9), *pīn-i'-n'ui-k'ai-p'īya'* (they) stood and looked (452, 32)
- with incor. obj.: *po²-vī'ni-k'a'* to see a trail; *pa(·)-vī'ni-k'a'* to see water, cont. *pa(·)-vu'n'i-n-i'-i'* is looking for water; *tūmp^wi'-p'īni-k'a'* to see a rock; *tīγl'-p'īn-i-k'arī-xai-m'ī²* ye sitting and looking for something to eat! (436, 2); *na(·)-mpī'n'i'-k'ai'* sees the track, *na(·)-mpī'n'i-n-i'-i'* looks for the track, *na(·)-mpī'n'i-n-i-p'īya'* acted as though looking for a trail (325, 8)
- a'ya-p'īn-i-(q'ai-)* to look from a hiding-place: *a'ya-p'īni-k'ai-p'īya'ai-nū* watched them from (his) hiding-place (325, 1), *'a'x-pīn²-k'ai-p'īyai(y)-aḡA* watched him while in hiding (462, 38); comp. vb. *a'ya-p'īn-i-yuγwi-p'īya'* (they) sat watching from a hiding-place (474, 2)
- pī-vīn-i-(q'ai-)* to look back: *pī'-vīnu-k'a'* to look back; mom. *pī'-vunu-k'ai-ḡu-ts'* having looked back (452, 23); plur. comp. vb. *qa'tcu pī'-vun-i-k'a-m'ia-va-ḡwa^a* (ye) shall not look back on (your) way (462, 15)
- i-p'īn-i-n'ni-* to be looking in vain: *i'-p'īn-i-n'ni'* looks around in vain
- naḡa-mpīn-i-n'ni-* to be looking angrily; *naḡa'-mpīn'ni-nu-mpīya'* kept looking angrily (456, 6)
- pīn-i-(q'ai-)* . . . *-nia-* to appear like: *ci'-pī'n-i-k'ai-n-i'* (it) cold-look-like, to be draughty, chilly; *pa-sa'χwa-vūnu-k'ai-p'īyai-n-i'* looked water-gray in (her) eyes (470, 2); mom. *tca²-pī'nī-ki-ḡu-p'īyai-n-i'* (it) came appearing like open, darkness cleared up (333, 4); comp. vb. *si'umpun-i-k'arī-p'īyai-n-i'* (something) sat with eyes that looked light-gray (466, 7)
- pīn-i-* in comp. vb.: *wī'cī'γunta-p'īn-i-n'ni'* is looking out of nearly closed eyelids, *wī'cī'γunta-p'īnu-m'ua-p'īya'* peeped out of nearly closed eyelids as (he) moved along (430, 26), *wī'cī'xnta-p'un-i-aw-p'īya'* lay with eyes only partly closed (460, 26); *ti'qa'-p'īn-i-n'ni'* looks around for something to eat
- pīn-i-m'nia-*, mom. *-pīn-i-m-i-ḡu-* to look-along, to be on the lookout to, to be about to: *ti'qa'-p'īn-i-m'ia-i'* is going to, about to eat; *ta(·)va'i' ya'uq-wi-p'īnu-m(y)a-ḡo-αḡA* sun's when it was

just about to set, near sunset (394, 8); *pA^zqa'-ηU-pyū-mi-k-u-mī* (two) are on the lookout to kill; *nīwu'-RUqwαt-uγwα-pyū-mi-qu-'mī* (two) are on the lookout to be beaten, just about to be beaten

PĪMPĪN'NŌA-^s toad:

pīmpīn'nōa-vī-γai-p-ī- abs. (formerly a toad?): *pōmpō'n'ōa-vī-γai-p-ī* toad (422, 9), *pu'mpun'nua-vī-gai-p-ī* (418, 6); obj. *pīmpī'n'ōa-vī-χai-p-ī'* (418, 11)

pīmpīn'nōa-ntsi- dim.: *pīmpī'n'ōa(·)-ntsi'* (obj.) of the toad (424, 21)

PĪNTĪ- to hang on to (cf. *pīrī'rī-*, *-pīt-ī-k-ī-*):

pīntī-ηu- mom.: *pīntī'-ηu-p-īγa'* hung on (to him) (438, 26)

pīmpīntī-q-ī- iter.: *pīmpī'ntī-qi'* keeps hanging on, *pīmpī'ntī-qi-va n'ia-ηA* he will hang on several times

PĪŊQA-^s continually (adv. pref.): *pīŋqa'-Rīqa-^a* keep on eating!;

pīŋqa'-'ivī' keeps on drinking; *pīŋqa'-χa-^{a-^a}* keep singing without stopping!; *pīŋqa'-a(·)u-p-īγa'* kept lying down (319, 5); *pīŋqa'-'ampaxa-ī'* keeps on talking; *pīŋqa'-nīa-ī'* (it) keeps blowing; *pīŋqa'-RUcu-p-īγa'* kept on grinding (406, 31); *pīŋqa'-ηwa'ah-ī'* keeps shouting; *pīŋqa'-va(a)ī-p-īγa'ai-k-wA* kept calling it (inv.) (331, 8); *pī'ŋqa-muntun'ī'-kai-p-īγa'* kept lying covered up (398, 23); *pī'ŋqa-mai-p-īγa'* kept on saying so (454, 10); *pīŋqa'-m a(·)n u-γī-ni* I do so very fast, *pīŋqa'-ma(·)n u-m'ya-xa'* while so acting very fast (385, 4)

PĪŊQAVĪ-^s upper part of the leg: *pīŋqa'φī* thigh, leg from hip to knee

pīŋqavī-vī- abs.: *pīŋqa'vu-φi* upper part of the leg

PĪγA- to put away for future use: *pīχa'-ī'*, *pīγa'-ī'* puts away, leaves in order to use when returning, hangs (game or other thing) on branches in order to come back for it later, *pīχa'-p-īγai(y)-ahA* hung him (porcupine carcass) up in order to return to him shortly (458, 33)

with incor. n.: *un'a'-vīχa-va'* shall put away a quiver (poetic), *uγu'n'a-vīχa-va'* (prose); *o'-v^wuγa-ī'* puts away an arrow; *tīmp^wī'-p-īχa-va'* shall gather rocks; *atcī'-p-īγa-va'* shall put away bow and arrow for later use (322, 7)

-PĪT-ĪK-Ī- to miss, to barely graze:

mom. with instr. pref.: *wīz'-pīt-ki-η'u-q-wA* to graze it (inv.), *wīz'-pīt-ki-ηU-p-īγa'* missed, merely grazed (366, 13)

PĪRA-^s right side: *pī(i)ra'-ni* my right, *pī(i)ra'-ηwi'tux-wA* to the right

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- pīra-γai-* to have the right side: *pī(i)ra'-χα-ntī* right-handed (personal name)
- pīra-* in comp. n.: *pī(i)ra'-m'ḡ-ni* my right hand; *pī(i)ra'-v'ui-ni* my right eye
- PĪRA- (with *cī-ḡ*) to be cold:
- cī-pīra-* to be cold: *cī'-pī'ra-i'* (it) is cold (e. g. ice); plur. *cī'-pī'RA'-qa-i'* several objects are cold
- PĪRA-^s arm: *pī'RA* arm (from shoulder to fingers), *pīra'(i)-ya-ηA* her arm (obj.) (365, 3)
- pīra-vi-* abs.: *pīra'-φi* arm
- pīra-* in comp. n.: *pīra'-ḡḡḡi* arm-bone, bone from elbow to shoulder
- pīra-* in comp. n.: *pura'-vīra-φ* flour-arm (personal name)
- PĪRĪ'RĪ-^ḡ to hang on, down (cf. *pīnti-*): *pīrī'rī-p-ī'γa'* hung on (375, 1) in comp. n.: *saxḡḡ'-vīrīr'i-pa-ts'* blue-hanging-down-spring (place name)
- Pḡ- trail: *pḡ'* road; *pḡ'ḡ-ni* my trail, *pḡ'ḡ-ḡ-mi* your trail
- pḡḡḡ-* distr.: *pḡḡḡ'ḡ* trails
- pḡ-in'ni-* owned trail: *pḡ'(ḡ)-i'n'ni-ni* my owned trail
- pḡ-aγai-* to have trails: ptc. *pḡ'-a(·)γa-ntī* full of trails, *pḡ'-a(·)xa-ntī-mpa'* at a (place) that has trails (466, 6)
- pḡ-* in comp. n.: *mi(y)a'-ḡḡḡ* traveled trail (324, 9)
- Pḡ- to cut off, to pry out: *pḡ'-i'* shears (wool), cuts off (hair), trims off (leaves of agave)
- tsi-pḡ-* to pry out with a point: *ts-pḡ'-i'* tries to remove (splinter from flesh) by pricking, pries out with a point (e. g. needle)
- tsi-pḡ-ηqī-* to prick out for: *ts-pḡ'-ηqī-q'wα-ni* prick it (inv.) out for me with a point (450, 5)
- Pḡ'ḡ- to mark, to write: *pḡ'ḡ'-i'*, *pḡ'ḡ'-i'* makes marks, brands (horse), writes
- in comp. vb.: *pḡ'ḡ'-t'ī'γa-i'* practices writing
- Pḡ'A-^s louse: *pḡ'ḡ-ni* my louse; plur. *pḡ'ḡ-ηwu-ni* my lice
- pḡ'a-vi-* abs.: *pḡ''a-φi* louse, *pḡ'(·)''a-vi-χain-i'* lice as it turned out (464, 23); plur. *pḡ'ḡ-vi-ηwī* lice, obj. *pḡ'a-vi-ηwī'* (452, 5)
- pḡ'a-γai-* to have lice, to be lousy: *pḡ'(·)''ḡ-χai-va-n-ia-qA* it will be lousy; plur. *pḡ'ḡ-a-q-a-χai-tcaηwA* we (incl.) all have lice; ptc. *pḡ'ḡ-χa-ntī* lousy, *pḡ'ḡ-γa-ntī-mī* two lousy ones; plur. ptc. *pḡ''a-q-a-γa-nti-mī* lousy ones
- PḡA RŪ'I- to make straight lines:
- tsi-si-pḡa-rū'i-* distr.: *ts-tsi'-pḡa-rū'i'* makes straight lines, furrows, with a pointed object, *ts-tsi'-pḡa-rū'i-va-n-ia-ni* I shall make straight lines

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SAPIR

- PƏ·I-^s upper part of chest: *pə'ɪ* chest; *pəɔ'ɪ-nɪ* the upper part of my breast; *pəɔ'ɪ-paä-mü* at the upper part of their breasts (408, 19), *pəɔ'ɪ-pa-t'ï-a-mü* through (obj.) the upper part of their breasts (408, 24), *pəɔ'ɪ-pa-t'ï-a-mü* through (obj.) the upper part of their (inv.) breasts, the lower part of their necks (430, 1)
pə·i-vi- abs.: *pəɔ'ɪ-φɪ*, *pə(·)ɔ'ɪ-φɪ* chest, lower part of the neck-front
- PƏN·I-, PƏN·A- to stoop and project one's buttocks:
pən·i- mom.: *pə(·)n·i'·i* projects (his) buttocks, *pə(·)n·i'-p·i'γa'* commenced to sit, put out (his) buttocks (462, 3)
pən·i-q ai- res.: *pə(·)n·i'-k·a'* has buttocks projecting
pən·a- dur.: *pən·a'*, *pə(·)na'A* to have one's buttocks projecting when stooped, *pən·a'-va·n·ia-nɪ* I shall have my buttocks projecting
pəmpən'na- iter.: *pə(·)mpə'n·a-i'*, *p'impi'n'na-i'* keeps stooping and projecting (his) buttocks (408, 13; 482, 9); *pəmpu'n·a-p·i'γa'ai-mü* they 2 stooped and put out (their) buttocks several times (408, 15); plur. *pəmpə'n·a-q·a-i'* several keep stooping and putting out (their) buttocks
- PƏN·IA-^s skunk: *pən·i'*, *pə(·)n·i'A* skunk; plur. *pən·i'q-ηwï*
pən·ia-vi- skunk-blanket: *pə(·)n·i'a-vu-ru-χ(w)a'* while making skunk-blankets (450, 15)
- PƏN·NƏA- to drum:
pən·nə-γa- to make a drumming sound: *pə(·)'n·nə-χ(w)a(i)-yï-n·i'* sounds like drumming
wï-p·ən'nəa- to drum: *wï'-pə'n'nəa-i'* drums
- PƏN·ɔ'ɪ-, PƏN·ɔ'A- to get full, to be full:
pən·ɔ'ɪ- mom. *pə(·)n·ɔ''i-yï-nɪ* I am getting full; *tï'-mpə(·)n·ɔ'ɪ-p·i'γa'* got very full (460, 33)
pən·ɔ'a- dur.: *tï'-mpən·ɔ'a-ntsa-nɪ* I am full; plur. *pə(·)n·ɔ''a-q·A* several are full
- PƏNTA- to be notched:
pənta-tsi-γai- (dim.) to have a notch: ptc. *pənta'-tsu-γα-nti-a·ηA* (stick) having-one-notch (obj.) . . . he (398, 12)
- PƏNTƏ-γA- to make a thud-like sound: *pə'ntə-γ(w)a(i)-yï-n·i'* sounds like a thud (e. g. on a window-pane)
- PƏγƏ-ⁿ currant:
pəγə-mpi- abs.: *pəχə'-mpi* currant
pəγə-mpi-vi- currant bush: *pəχə'-mpi-φï*, *pəχə'-mpi-φï* currant bush
- PƏγƏI- to make a pile of dirt:
 with instr. pref.: *ma(·)-və'xəi-rï* makes a pile of dirt

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- ma-vəγəi-p-i* dirt-pile making: *ma(·)-və'xəi-p-i* game of making dirt-piles
- PƏT·A-** to have one's feet extended:
in comp. vb.: *pə'ta'-q·arī-i'* sits with feet extended
- PƏT·Ə-, PƏ·T·Ə-^o** round, spherical:
pə't-ə-n'i-q·ai- to be spherical: *pə'tə'-n'i'-k'ai-yi-aq·A* it is spherical; ptc. *pə'tə'-n'i'-k'a-nīi* round like a ball, comp. ptc. *tə'·ə-p·ə'tən'iz-k'a-nīi-n·i'* (something) like a black, spherical object (460, 21)
pə't·ə-q·a- to be round, spherical: ptc. *pə't·ə-q(w)a-rī* round like a ball, *pai'-mpə't·ə-q(w)a-rī* perfectly spherical, comp. ptc. plur. *qu'tca'-p·ə't·ə-q(w)a-rī-m·i(·)-aŋa-n uŋwA* the one (inv.) who is light-gray all around (his body) . . . (you shall cause) him (to see for) me (450, 7)
- ma-və't·ə-q·a-* to make a sphere with the hands: *ma(·)-və'x·tə-q(w)A-pi'ya'* made a ball, made (it) round like a ball (396, 35); with incor. n. *wia'-m·a-vəx·tə-q(w)A-qai-na-v o'mA* his own mud-sphere-made therewith, with the mud-ball that he had made (398, 1)
- PƏRƏ-ŷA-** to make a clattering sound: *pə(·)rə'-x(w)a(i)-yi-n·i'* (it) sounds like hail dropping on the ground, horse's hoofs striking the ground
- PƏRƏ-** several travel (cf. *-puru-*): *pə'rə'-i'* several travel, are on a journey
pəru'-q·u- inc.: *pəru'-q·u-pi'ya'* started out (380, 12)
pə'rə-m'mia- several travel along: *pə'rə'-m'ya-p·i'ya(a)i-c·u* (they) went out again (402, 38), *pə'rə'-m'mia-p·a·ntuŋwə-φi* during their own traveling (438, 13)
- PƏRƏ-** cane, staff: *pə(·)rə* cane; *pə(·)rə'-ni* my cane; *pə(·)ru'-ma-ni* with my cane, *pə(·)ru'-ma-raŋwA* with our (incl.) canes, *pə(·)rə'-ma(u)-φi* with his own cane, *pə(·)ru'-m'a-mo-φi* with their own canes (324, 10)
- PƏMPƏTSA-** lizard (var.):
pəmpətsa-tsi- abs.: *pəmpə'tsa-tš-* lizard (speckled white and yellowish; *Crotaphylus wislizenii*?)
- PƏTSIN'NA-, PƏTSIN'NI-** to start off (for a race):
pətsin'na- to start off: *pə(·)tsin'na'* to start off (for a race); plur. *pə(·)tsin'na-q·A*
i-p·ətsin'ni-q·ai- (res.) to be ready to start off: *i'-p·ə(·)tsin'iz-k'a'* to be ready to start off, *i'-p·ə(·)tsin'iz-k'ai-ni* I am ready to start off, plur. *i'-p·ə(·)tsin'iz-qa-q'ai-va'* shall all be ready to start off (382, 9)

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- POYA- to run: *pɔ'ya-χu'u-ηWA* while he (inv.) was running
pɔ'ya-q-a- plur.: *pɔ'YA^z-qa-χɔ-amī* while they were running
pɔ'ya-m'mia- to run along: *pɔ'ya-m'mia-i'* runs along, keeps on running
pɔvɔ'ya-m'mi-q-u- inc.: *pɔvɔ'(ⁱ)ya-m'mi-k-U* to start to run, to jog along
pɔ'ya-ηqi- to come running: *pɔ'ya-ηqi-p'iyā'* came running (357, 13)
pɔ'ya- in comp. vb.: *pɔ'ya-mpuru-i'* runs about here and there,
pɔ'ya-mpuru(i)-yī-αmī they 2 run about; *pɔ'YA-tīγa-i'* practices running
- POYĪ-ⁿ stomach fat:
pɔ'yī-mpi- abs.: *pɔ'yī-mpi* fat around deer-stomach
- PU-^o eye (see *pī-^o*)
- PO- to stoop and project buttocks: *pv'-i'* stoops down and projects buttocks
po-t'ui- caus.: *pv'-t'ui'* causes to stoop down and project buttocks
- POA-^s supernatural power: *pu(w)α'-ni* my supernatural power,
pu(w)a'-m' aiηqūyīājanani with supernatural power I say for him, I doctor him
poa-γai- to have supernatural power: ptc. *pua'-χα-nti*, *pu(w)a'-χα-nti*, *pua'-γα-nti* having supernatural power, medicine-man (317, 10)
poa-ru'a- to become possessed of supernatural power, to become a medicine-man: *pua'-ru'^a* to commence to be a medicine-man, *pu(w)a'-r'ua-i'* commences to be a medicine-man, *pu(w)α'-ru'a(i)-yu-ni* I am becoming a medicine-man, *pu(w)a'-ru'(w)a(i)-yu-ru'α-ni* am I getting to be a medicine-man? (317, 9), *pu(w)a'-r'ua(i)-yī-ruj-n-i-χain'i'*, *pua'-ru'a(i)-yu-r'uo-n-i-χain'i'* am I too getting to be a medicine-man? (458, 10; 369, 6), it looks as though I too were becoming a medicine-man!, *pua'-r'ua-va-r'ɔ-n-i-χain'i'* it looks as though I too am to become a medicine-man!, fut. ptc. *pua'-r'ua-va-nti-ni'* being destined to become a medicine-man
pua- in comp. n.: *pua'-uv^oiaφi* medicine-man's song
incor.: *pīa'(u)-χwīi'* takes out (sickness) with medicine-man's supernatural power
- PUI- to cloud:
uηwa-p-ui- to cloud up: *uηwa'-p-ui-yī-aq-A* it is clouding up; *uηwa'-p-ui-p-i* clouds; comp. ptc. *tv'-²uηwa-p-u-k-a-nti* having black-clouded, black clouds (388, 5)

- PU'I-^s eye: *po''I* eye; *pu'^(w)l'-ya-φī* one's own eyes (obj.) (320, 6)
pu'i-vi- abs.: *po'l'-φi* eye
pu'i-γai- to have an eye: distr. neg. *puv'-i-γai-p'īd'* had no eyes (468, 16)
-pu'i- in comp. n.: *naja'-mpu'i* anger-eye, fierce-eyed (name of horse); *pa.'atca-vu'i* bat's-eye (female name); abs. *yaγa'-p-u'i-φi* cry-eye, tears (Song 63)
 incor.: *pu'l'-ηwi'tuw'ca-i'* covers (his) eyes; usit. pas. ptc. *pu'l'-ηwi'qam'mi-nīmpī* eye-coverers, blinds (for a horse)
- PU'I-^s seed (identical with *pu'i-* eye?)
pu'i-vī- abs.: *pu'l'-φī* seed
-pu'i- in comp. n.: *to'-p-u'i*, abs. *tv'-p'u(w)ι-φi* black-seed, vine-like plant with black, oily seeds
- PU'ITCA-^s mouse:
pu'itca-tsi- abs.: *pu'^(w)l'tca-ts*, *pu'l'tca-tc'* mouse, *pu'l'tca-tsi-χain-i'* mice as it turned out (464, 27), plur. *pu'l'tca-tsi-ηwi* mice (406, 19)
na-vu'itca-ru- to make oneself a mouse: plur. mom. *na(·)-vu'itca-ru-q(w)q-u-mpa'* shall change selves into mice (406, 18)
- PUNQU-^s horse (possessed by one), domesticated animal: *pu'ηqu* horse (as owned by a particular person), obj. *puηqu'A* (474, 20); *puηqu'-ni* my horse, *puηqu'-rami* horse of us 2 (incl.); *puηqu'-ηw'ai-ni* with my horse; plur., *puηqu'-ηwi-α-φī* his own horses (obj.), *puηqu'-ηwu-ηw'ai-ni* with my horses; distr. *pumpu'ηqu-ηwi-αηwA* our (incl.) horses owned severally
puηqu-tsi- dim.: *puηqu'-tsi-a-mi-φī* their dear horse (obj.) (476, 1)
-puηqu- in comp. n. (regularly used as second element of nouns indicating owned animal): *qava'-vunqu-ni* my horse-pet, my horse; *na'-vunqu-ni* my copulating-animal, my stallion; *pi'χi-vunqu-raηwA* our (incl.) pig; *a(i)ya'-vunqu-ni* my turtle; *qon'a'-vum-punqu* fire-wood-horse, fire-wagon, locomotive (Song 17⁽ⁱ⁾)
puηqu-γa- to get a horse: *puηqu'-x(w)A-pi'γa'* got a horse
puηqu-γai-, *-puηqu-γai-* to have a horse, domesticated animal: *nī' puηqu'-χ(w)a'* I have a horse, *puηqu'-χ(w)a(i)-yī-ahA* he has a horse; plur. *puηqu'-q(w)a-γai-p'īaγai-tua-i'* once people had horses; distr. *pumpu'q-u-γ(w)a'* each has horses; comp. fut. ptc. *to'-p-unqu-χ(w)ai-va-nī* one who will have a black horse (462, 21); *nī' cari'-vunqu-χ(w)a'* I have a dog, *sarī'-vunqu-χ(w)ai-ahA* he has a dog
puηqu-ηwi-γai- to have horses: *puηqu'-ηwi-χai-yī-ahA* he has horses

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SAPIR

PUN'WI- to make a peeping sound:

puŋ'wi-ŋq̄i- iter.: *puŋ'wi'-ŋq̄i'*, *pu'wi'-ŋq̄i-i'* (mouse, rat) makes a peeping sound (406, 22)

-PUQ-WI- to jump, to bounce:

ta-puq-wi- to jump: *ta'-pu'q-wi'* jumps, *ta'-pu'q-wi-* jump!, *ta'-pu'q-wi-p̄iγa'* jumped (318, 6); plur. *ta'-pu'q-wi-k̄:A* several jump; iter. *ta'ta'-p-u'qwi'*, *ta'ta'-p-uqwi'* keeps jumping, hops, skips; *ta'-pu'q-wi-ts* jumper

u-puq-wi- to bounce (mom.): *u'-pu'q-wi* to bounce

o-voq-wa-γi- to bounce (dur.) *o-v^wo'q-wa-γ(ε)i'* bounces up and down (like a rubber ball)

PUQ-WI-^s bladder: *pu'q-wi* bladder; *pu'qwi-ni* my bladder, *pu^xqwi'-a-ŋwa* his (inv.) bladder (obj.) (312, 12)

puq-wi-vi- abs.: *pu^xqwi-φi* bladder

PUQ-WIAI-ŋQĪ- to pant: *pu'qwi'ai-ŋq̄i-yi-n-i'* pants, makes a panting noise

PUQ-WIYA- outer end, top: *pu^xqwi'ya-zq:A* outer end, top of the tree

PO·γU-γA- to make a ripping sound: *po'γu-z:A-p̄iγai-n-i'* there was a sound as of something going through (his) flesh (450, 2),

po'χu-χ(w)a(i)-yi-n-i' there is such a sound

PO·S·IAP·IT·A': *po's·iapit'a'* (name) (Song 175)

PUC·UT·UQ·WI-^s medicine: *pu'cu't-uqwi-(y)a-ŋwa* his (inv.) medicine, medicine bundle possessed of magic power (332, 4)

pu^cut-uq-wi-vi- abs.: *pu'cu't-u'qwi-φi* medicine, poison, magic power

PUT·ī-ⁿ eyeball (?) (*pu-t-ī-ⁿ* eye-rock?):

in comp. n.: *pu'ti'-ŋqani-φi* eyeball-house (?), eye-rock-house = eye-cave (?), ridge above the eyes; *pu'ti'-ŋqani-vi* *pi'd'* brow-ridge's hair, eyebrow; *pu'ti'-c-iivu-φi* eyelash

PURAU- flour (< Eng. *flour*): *pura'u'*, *pura'u* flour

purau-in'ni- possessed flour: *pu(.)ra'ɔ-in'ni-ni* my flour

pura- in comp. n.: *pura'-viraφ* flour-arm (personal name)

-PURU- (only in comp. vb.) to move from place to place (cf. *porɔ-*):

wi'vi'-vuru-i' dances around, from place to place; *ti'qa'-vuru-i'*

walks back and forth eating, plur. *ti'qa'-vuru-q(w)a-i'* several

walk back and forth eating; *a'i-vuru-p̄iγa'* said as (he) went here

and there (436, 6; 458, 8); mom. usit. *ma'i-ŋq̄i-vuru-ŋu-m·ia-c-u*

say it for (him) going around again; *an·i·i'-vuru-yi'* does so moving

from place to place, goes from place to place (Song 178); *paχ(a)'i-*

mpuru-χ(w)a' while walking from one to another (436, 6); *noŋtsi'-*

vuru-p̄iγa' flew around (372, 12); *po'ya-mpuru-i'* runs about

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here and there, *po'ya-mpuru-yi-αmī* they 2 run about; *yu(·)u'-vuru-χ(w)a'* while running about (387, 9)

-PURUI-, -PURU-YI- to throw about, to scatter:

tca-puru- to throw about: *tca'-pu'ru-i-²yī-q-wA* throws them (inan.) around; plur. *tca'-pu'ru-i-k'A-pīγa'* (they) threw about here and there (386, 8); distr. intr. *tca'tca'-puru'-i-q-wA* it goes apart, scatters in all directions

tca-puru-yi- to scatter (tr.): *tca'-pu'ru-χ(w)i'* scatters, sows (seeds)

tcat-ca-puru-yi- distr. intr.: *tca'tca'-puru-x(w)i* to scatter in different directions, *tca'tca'-puru-x(w)i-pīγai-n-i'* it seemed as though thrown off in different directions (456, 18)

PURUQ-WI- to break to pieces: *pu'ruq-wi-pīγa'*, *pu(·)'ruq-wi-pīγa'* broke to pieces, was crushed to pieces, was shattered (402, 36; 430, 29; 442, 40)

PUT-CA- to be filled: *pu'tca'-p-īχa'* was filled up (410, 17)

PUT-SI- to crush:

qī-pu't-si-q-i-ηqī- to crush between one's teeth: *qī'-pu'ts-xi-ηqī* to crush between one's teeth

ma-vut-si-q-i-ηqī- to slip from between one's hands: *ma(·)-vu'ts-ki-ηqī-pīγai(y)-aηa'a-mū* they 2 slipped out of their hands (402, 17)

PO-TSI-^s star:

po'tsi-vi- abs.: *pu'^utsi(·)-φi* star

in comp. n.: *pu'tsi-γwutcap/i* star-excrement, shooting stars

PUT-CUTCUγWA-^s to know, to understand (*pu-* with the eye?): *pu'tcu'tcuγwa-p-īγa'* knew (310, 9); ptc. *pu'tcu'tcuγwa-rī* one who understands

pup-ut-cutcuγwa- distr.: pas. ptc. *pu'pu't-cutcuγwa-p-ī* what has been learned by several, learning of several (472, 1)

put-cutcuγwa-t-ūi- caus.: *pu'tcu'tcuγwa-t-ū(y)ī-q-wa-mī* caused them (inv.) to know it (inv.), taught them how to do it (472, 18)

-*put-cutcuγwa-* in comp. vb.: *nī' nava'q-ī-pu'tcutcuγwa-rī-mū* I swim-knowing (plur.), I know how to swim; *ra'a'-p-ū'tcutcuγwa-p-īγa'* learned how to dig (396, 27); *qa'-p-ū'tcutcuγwa-i'* learns to sing, caus. *nī' qa'-p-ūtcuγwa-t-īi-yī-aηA* I teach him to sing

Q

QA not (Gram., § 57)

QA-^s to sing: *qa'(i)-yī-aηA* he sings, *qa'-p-īγa'* sang (308, 3), *qa'-va-n-α-nu* I will sing; ptc. *qa'-rī* singing; *qa'-n.A-cu-v ai-k'A* says his still singing, sings on without interruption

- qa-q-a-* plur.: *qa'-q-a-va-n-ia-raηwA* we all (incl.) shall sing
qaγa- inc.: *qaγa'* to start to sing, *qaγa'-tca²ηA* he finished singing
qaq'a'a- iter.: *qA²qa''a-i'* sings repeatedly; plur. *qA²qa''-q-a-i'*
 several sing repeatedly
qa-t'ui- caus.: *qa'-t'ui-ni* make me sing!; ptc. *qa'-t'ui-tci* one who
 makes sing
qa-n'ni- cont.: *qa'-n'v'* sings round, sings while walking, working;
 ptc. *qa'-n'v'-ntci* standing around singing
qa-m'mia- to sing along: *qa'-m'mia-i'*, *qa'-m'mia-i'* is singing, sings
 while in motion, *qa'-m'v'* to sing along, *qa'-m'mia(i)-yī-ni* I
 keep on singing, *qa'-m'mia-va-n-ia-ni* I shall sing along, *qa'-*
m'mia-n 'u'ra' comes singing towards me, *qa'-m'mia-p'īγa'*
 sang while moving (e. g. in round dance), *qa'-m'mia-p'īγa'i-*
tua-i' people sang along (e. g. while dancing the scalp dance)
 (476, 6); inc. *qa'-m'mia-q-U* to start singing
qa-m'v-q-u- to start singing: *qa'-m'v-k'U* to begin to sing, *qa'-*
m'v'-qu-p'īγa' started in to sing along (430, 23)
qa-γw'ai- to go and sing: *qa'-χwa'^a* to go to sing, *qa'-χw'vī-va-n-ia-ni*
 I shall go and sing, *qa'-χw'ai-p'īγa'* went in order to sing
qa-qw'ai- to sing off: *qa'-q w'v'ai'* keeps on singing; mom. *qa'-*
q w'v'ai-ηU to sing while going past
qa-γi- to come and sing: *qa'-χv'* comes to sing
qa-ntu'i- to make a song (?): ptc. *qa'-ntui-nti* something that
 sings (e. g. a gramophone); ptc. pos. *qa'-ntui-nti-η'wa²aηA* song
 belonging to him
qa-a- to sing in vain: *qa'-a-p'īγa'* sang to no effect
qa-vi- ag.: *qa'-φI* singer
qa-p-i- singing: *qa'-p-I* singing, obj. *qa'-p-i'* (369, 5); plur. obj.
qa'-qA-pi' several singing (370, 4)
qa-t'ia- singing place: *qa'-t'ia* singing place
qa- in comp. vb.: *qa'-p-aγ(a)i-p'īγa'*, *qa'-p-aγ(a)i-p'īγa'* sang
 while on (his) way, sang as (he) went along (424, 24), *qa'-p-a-*
γ(a)i-ηki-n 'u'ra' comes singing towards me, *qa'-p-aγ(a)i-ηqw'ai-*
yī-a(-)ηA sings while going along; *qa'-m'iq-i'* several go in order
 to sing, *qa'-m'ia-p'īγa'* (they) sang while on (their) way;
qa'-q-ari-i' sits and sings, *qa'-q-ari-χa'* while sitting and singing
 (363, 1); *qa'-ηwīnī-i'* stands and sings; *qa'-ηwawwi'* several
 stand and sing; *qa'-t-ηwaxaxa-q-a-i'* (it) sounds like many
 singing; *qa'-t-U'cuηwī-t-ηwA* to make him (inv.) sing
-qa- in comp. vb.: *U'cu'q(w)u-χa-p'īγa'* whistle-sang, whistled a
 tune (450, 15); *ti'qa'-q-a-χa'* eating while singing

QA'-rat:

qa'-tsi- abs.: *qa'-ts-* rat, wood-rat; plur. *qa'-tsi-ηwī* rats

na-γa'-tci-teu- to make oneself a rat: plur. *na(·)-γa'-tci-tcu-q(w)a-ηu-mpa'* shall all turn selves into rats (406, 26)

-QA'-to test, to feel:

ma-γa- to test with the hand: *ma(·)-γa'-i'*, *ma-χα'-i'* tests with the hands, by feeling

QAA-ⁿ ruffed grouse:

qaa-mpītsi- abs.: *qa(·)a'-mpīts-* ruffed grouse

-qaa-mpītsi- in comp. n.: *aγo'-ηqqa-mpīts-* fir-grouse

-γA'A- (mod. enc.) indeed, then! (Gram., § 19, 2, b)

QAI'NACA-^s supernatural being:

qai'naca-vi- abs.: *qa'i'naca-φi* supernatural being who owned the deer on Kaibab Plateau

-γAIN'IA-, -A-γAIN'IA- (mod. enc.) too, also; it seems, indeed, just (Gram., § 19, 2, a)

QAIVA-^s mountain: *qa'iφA* mountain

qaiva-γai- to have a mountain, to be mountainous: ptc. *qa'iva-γa-nti* having a mountain

qaγaiva- distr.: *qaχα'iva(·^a)-χα-nti* mountains-having, mountains (456, 19)

qaq'aiva- distr.: *qa'q'aiva(·)-χα-nti* mountains-having, mountains (364, 11); dim. *qa'q'aiva(·)-ntsi-γα-nti'* (obj.) those with mountains (370, 10)

qaiva- in comp. n., ptc.: *qa'iva-mīa-χanti* mountain-divide (Song 75); *qa'iva-yaγats-* mountain-edge, *qaiva-ya'tsi* (Song 109); *qa'iva-γwitcuw^wari* mountain-peak; *qa'iva-vitci*, *qa'iva-vitci*, *qa'iva-vuts-* mountain-lying, plateau, Kaibab Plateau, *qa'iva-vitci umA* mountain-ridge thereon, on the mountain-ridge (382, 11), *qa'iva-vitci-t-η-ni'* like a mountain-ridge, plateau (312, 14), *qa'iva-vitci-tsi-wī* Plateau-people, Kaibab Paiutes; *qa'iva-γariki*, *qa'iva-χariki*, *qa'iva-xariki* mountain-sitting, peak (361, 3), mountain in northern Arizona directly east of Moccasin Springs in Navaho country (known by Navahoes as *nantsis'a'n*); *qa'iva-raq-a-φi* mountain-plateau, *qa'iva-raq-a-xi* through a mountain-plateau (Song 193)

inor.: *qa'iva-tsiηkonqu-η'qwin'ia'va* when the mountain has been deprived of trees (Song 76)

-qaiva- in comp. n.: *tō'ca'-q-aiφA* white-mountain, White Cliffs, *tō'ca'-q'aiva(·)-χα-nti* white-mountain-having, having a white

mountain; *pari'ya-yaiva-m* elk-mountain-on (Song 139); *qwana'-ntsi-yaiva-ma(i)YU* from on the eagle-mountain (Song 192)

qaipa- (borrowed from N. Paiute dialect?): *qa'ipa-ro(w)ats* mountain-son, Kaiparowitz Peak

QAIC-*i*-s plant (sp.):

qaic-i-vi- abs.: *qa'ic-i(·)-phi* mountain plant (sp.)

QAIT-CƏYƏ-s hat, cap: *qa'itcəx:U*, *qa'itcəx:ə* hat, obj. *qa'itcəx(w)α'*

qaitecəyə-yai- to have a hat: *qa'itcəyə-x(w)ai-əŋA* he has a hat

-qaitecəyə- in comp. n.: *tU'qu'-qaitcəx:U* hat of wildcat skin; *cī'-yaitecəx:U* squaw-bush hat, woman's basket-cap; *saɣwa'χa-ya'itcəy(w)a-ya-nti-ŋwī-ŋwənti* of those who had blue-hats, of bluejays (440, 24), *saɣwa'-χaitcəx(w)α-n-ŋwī-ŋwī* blue-hat people, bluejays (440, 30)

incor.: *qa'itcəyə-tcA'qoinA* to take off one's hat; *qa'itcəy(w)ə-ŋ'wI'-tca-p'i* hat-band

-QAIYUŋWI- to split in two:

ta-qaiyuywi- to split in two with a stone: *tA^z-qa'i.yuywi-tsi-qWA* having split them (inan inv.) in two by hitting on a stone (448, 33)

QAM-*i*-s jackrabbit: *qa(·)'mü* jackrabbit; plur. *qa(·)mu'-ŋwī*, *qa(·)m-i'-ŋwī* jackrabbits

qam-i-yai- to be a jackrabbit: usit. ptc. *qam-i'-χai-vä-tci* wont to be a jackrabbit; neg. distr. *qəŋqa'm-i-a'-q-u-t'ua-c'ampA* others not being jackrabbits

qam-i- in comp. n.: *qam-i'-ɔap-uts əŋA* the little jackrabbit (406, 2), *qam-o'-aantsi-ŋwī'* young jackrabbits (obj.) (448, 28); *qam-i'-ru(w)ats* jackrabbit-son, little jackrabbit; *qam-u'-m-uru'ⁱ* rabbit-skin blanket; *qa(·)m-u'-v^wui-tsi'* rabbit-eyed (obj.) (personal name) (448, 24); *qam-i'-χani* rabbit-house, rabbit-camp, camp occupied when out rabbit-hunting, *qam-i'-χani-χai-yi-əŋA* he has a rabbit-camp, *qa(·)m-i'-χani-χai-p-i'ya'* had a rabbit-camp, *qa(·)m-i'-χani-χai-p-i'γai-tua-i'* they (impers.) used to have a camp for hunting jackrabbits (360, 1), *qam-i'-χani-a-γai-tua-i'* people have a rabbit-camp, *qa(·)m-i'-χani-a-γai-p-i'āγai-tua-i'* people had a rabbit-camp (377, 1); dim. *qam-i'-saɣwəya-tsi-χα-nti* having a jackrabbit stomach (Song 178); *qam-v-z'(u)v^wa-c-'ap-i* rabbit-soup-boiled, boiled rabbit

incor.: *qam-i'-i'ⁱma-p-i* rabbit-roasted, roasted rabbit; *qam-i'-n-ari^vi'ⁱ-p-i* game in which each tries to head off jackrabbits away from one another

QAN·A-^s willow:

qan·a-vi- abs.: *qana'-φi* willow

qan·a- in comp. n., etc.: *qana'-u-ηwa-γα-nti-mpaηwitux·WA* willow-canyon-through, through a willow-grown canyon (402, 29); *qana'-NU^xq(w)ι-ts* willow run, brook bordered by willows (Song 116)

-qan·a-vi- in comp. n.: *pa(·)-χα'n·a-φi* water-willow, drooping willow

qan·a-ri- willow canyon-mouth: *qana'-ri'* mouth of canyon bordered by willows, Kanab; *qana'ri'-o(w)ip·i* Kanab-canyon, Kanab creek; *qana'ri'-m·a(·)m·a'otsi-ηwi-χ'umī* the (inv.) Kanab-women, it is said (472, 17)

qan·a'ɔc·a- willow-basket (see *ɔc·a-*), Kanosh band of Paiutes: *qana'-'ɔc·A* personal name; *qana'-'ɔc·a-tsi-ηwi* Kanosh band of Paiutes (Song 185)

QAN·AQ·ɔ'-^{n, s} chin: *qana'q'ɔ'ɔ* chin

qan·aq'ɔ'-mpi-, *qan·aq'ɔ'-vi-* abs.: *qana'q'ɔ-mpī*, *qan·a'q'ɔ(·)φi* chin

QAN·I-^s house: *qa'ni* house, *qanī'-va'a-ηWA* at his (inv.) house (308, 10), *qanī'-ni* my house (which I live in), *qa(·)ni' 'u'ra'* towards the house (308, 8), neg. *qanī'-ap·A* not a (real) house

qanqan·i- distr.: *qanqa'ni* houses

qan·i'-ni- owned house: *qanī'-ni-ni* my house (which I own)

qan·i-ntsi- dim.: *qanī'-ntsi* little house

qan·i-t'ia- house-place, camping place: *qa(·)ni'-t'ī'* camping place, *qa(·)ni'-t'īα-ni* my camping place; distr. *qa(·)ni'-t'īri·A* camping places, obj. *qa(·)ni'-t'īri·a-i'* (370, 9)

qan·i-p'ī- former house: *qanī'-p'ī*, *qa(·)ni'-p'ī* old camp, camp no longer used, obj. *qanī'-p'ī* (374, 3), *qa(·)ni'-p'ī-ni'* like an uninhabited house (470, 1), *qa(·)ni'-p'ī-v^oa·a-nt u'RU* being at an abandoned camp (322, 11)

qan·i-vi- nest: *qa(·)ni'-φi* nest

qan·i-γai- to be a house: usit. ptc. *qanī'-χai-vā-tci* always being a house; neg. usit. ptc. *qanī'-a'i-vā-tci* no house that ever was; fut. ptc. *qa(·)ni'-χai-va·a-nti* going to be a house

qan·i-γai- to have a house: *qa(·)ni'-χα'* to have a house, to live; ptc. *qa(·)ni'-χα-nti* who has a house, plur. *qanī'-χα-nti-m^w αmī* villagers (385, 2); perf. ptc. *qa(·)ni'-χai-k'α-nti* who had a house; usit. ptc. *qanī'-χai-vā-tci* always having a house; distr. *qanqa'ni-χα'* to have houses

qan·i-γai-ηqi- to live with: *nī' qa(·)ni'-χai-ηqi-tu'a-i'* I live with

- them (impers.), *qa(·)ni'-χai-ηqi-tu'α-p'iγa'* lived in camp with people (394, 1)
- qan'i-aγai-* to be provided with houses: *qan'i'-axa'* there are many houses, there is a village; ptc. *qani'-aγa-nt arī* the village, camp (381, 11)
- qan'i-a-t'ui-* to cause to have houses: *qan'i'-A-tui-p'iγa'* caused (it) to have houses
- qan'i-ntcu-* to make a house: *qa(·)ni'-ntcu-i'* builds a wickiup; mom. *qa(·)ni'-ntcu-ηu-mi-ts'* having finished the camp (355, 5); ptc. *qa(·)ni'-ntcu-rī* builder of a house; ag. *qa(·)ni'-ntcu-φi* house-builder; *qa(·)ni'-ntcu-χwaa'i'* go make a camp (355, 1)
- qan'i-ntcu-t'ui-* to cause to make a house: *ni' qa(·)ni'-ntcu-tui'* I build houses
- qan'i-ntcu'a-* to become a house: mom. *qani'-ntcu'a-ηv* to become a house, *qani'-ntcu'a-ηu-ntca-a(·)ηA* he became a house
- qan'i-* in comp. n.: *to(w)a'-q-anī* giving-birth house, parturition hut; *moχwa'-q-anī* cedar-bark wickiup, *mαγ^wa(·)'-q-an'i-ntcu-p'iγa'* built a cedar-bark house (462, 7); *NA'sa'a'-q-anī* sweat-house; *axa'-χanī* shade-house, summer hut; *tca'ci-χanī* menstrual hut; *na'-χanī* copulating house, house of prostitution; *quriya'tsi-ηqa(·)-nu'* bear-den (obj.) (349, 5), *ti-ηqa'ni* rock-house, cave (q. v.); *ni-ηqa'n'u-φi* somebody else's house
- qan'i-vi-* in comp. n.: *mīyī'-ηqa(·)ni-φi* gopher house, *mīyī'-ηqa(·)ni-vi-nu'* like a gopher-pile (329, 11); *tūγ'a-xanū-φi* deer-hide covering of a tepee
- qan'i-* in comp. n.: *qan'i'-ntcuats'* house-child, little house; *qani'-yīi'* house-entrance, doorway; *qani'-p'a(i)ya'* house-slope, wall of house; *qa(·)ni'-iγαφi* house-dove, domestic pigeon; *qani'-naηqava-φi* house-ears, tent-flaps
- incoh.: *qa(·)ni'-t'īηwa(i)-yī* house-closes, shuts the door; *qa(·)ni'-vu-ηwantci'* puts up a tepee; *qa(·)ni'-ntca'qoina-i'* takes down a tepee; *qa(·)ni'-nti'qan'wī* to become transformed into a house (for a limited time); *ni' qa(·)ni'-vaγi-p'aγ(a)i'* I visit from place to place; *qani'-ntcuwq-'nīmpī* house-closer, door; *qa(·)ni'-nts-turu'(w)-nīmpī* flap-poles
- QANI-ⁿ kidney: *qa(·)ni'-ni* my kidney
- qani-mpi-* abs.: *qa(·)ni'-mpi* kidney
- QANI-['] to seek: *ni' qani-''i* I stay around waiting (for something); plur. cont. *taηwA qani-''-q-a-nu'* we (incl.) stay around waiting (for something)

-*qani'*- with incor. obj.: *wara'-x·ani'·v·xwa'a* to go to ask for grass-seeds (308, 4); *tu^xqu'a-xani'·v·ni'·i'* hangs around waiting for some one to give meat; *ta(·)γu'-q·ani'·i'* to hang around waiting for some one to give water (see *taγu-*)

QANI'ARU- sheep (< Span. *carnero*):

qani'aru-tsi- abs.: *qani'aru-ts'* sheep; plur. *qani'aru-tsi-γwī* sheep

QANI'YA- base of cliff:

qani'ya-tsi- abs.: *qani'ya-ts'* base of cliff; in comp. n. *ayqu'-q·ani'ya-tcī-wī* red-cliff-base people (name of Paiute band)

QA'NIYA- side, proximity: *qa(·)ni'ya-a·va'* at proximity, next, beside (e. g. the house), *qa'ni'ya-va-ntux-wA* to the side (of it), near by (354, 5), *qa'ni'ya-a·vaiYU* on the side (of the round dance) (426, 24)

-*qa'niya-* in comp. postp. (Gram., § 50, 4, 3): *nī-ya'nuxa-a·va'* on the side of me (at rest like a tree), *taγwa'-xa'nuxa-a·va'* (resting) alongside of us (incl.); *nī-ya'nuxa-a·va(i)YU* (something in motion) on the side of me; *u-x(w)α'n'nuxa-xI* (moving) along it (inv.)

QAIJA- morning star: *qa(·)ja* morning star

in comp. n.: *qa(·)ja'-m·wī'* morning-star month, December or January (so called because at the time of greatest frost the children were told to go out in the early twilight to see the star rise out of the bush in the east)

QA'Ḷ-^s pine-cone:

qa'Ḷ-vī- abs.: *qa'Ḷ-φī* pine-cone; in comp. n. *tivwa'-q·a'Ḷφī* pine-nut cone, pine-cone

QAP'A-, QAVI- to stop:

qap'a-q'i- mom. intr.: *qA'pa'-q·I* to stop, *qA'pa'-q·I-pīγa'* stopped (389, 5)

qap'a-q'i-t'ui- caus.: *qA'pa'-q·I-tui-va·n·ia-A^xqa-nI* I shall stop it

qavi-tcai- several stop (intr.); *qavi'-tcai-yī-aq·A* they (inan.) stop
ma-γavi-tca- to stop several: *nī'aq·A ma-γa'vi-tca-va·n·i'* I shall stop them (inan.)

-γA·VA'²- (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 4):

-γa·va'-t'i- (ptc.) being —er than

QAP'I-, QAVI- to cut, to break through:

qavi-tcai- several snap (intr.): mom. *qa(·)vi'-tcai-γU* many snap

tsi-q·ap·i-, *tsi-q·avi-* to cut with a point, knife: dur. *ts·k'a'vi-na-i'*, *ts·k'a'vi-na-i'* cuts (one object); mom. *ts·k'a'p·i-n'NA* to cut (one object) in one cut, *ts·qa'p·i-na-p·i'γa'ai-k·wA* cut it (inv.) off

(336, 9), plur. usit. *ts-ka'p-i-n'na-q-a-m-i-ni-mpïγa'* (they) always cut (them) through (474, 10); with plur. obj. *ts-k'a'v-tca-i'* cuts several; distr. *ts-tsi'-k'avi-tca* to cut several one after another *tca-q'avi-na-* to break through (one object) with the fingers (dur.): with incor. obj. *piyu't-cA^z-qavi-n-a-i'* breaks the heart of a rabbit, by stroking (his sides) strongly between thumb and index finger

wi-q'ap-i-, *wi-q'avi-* to cut with a blade, with the length of an instrument: dur. *nï' wI'-qa'vi-na-va'* I shall cut (one object), *wi^z-qa'vi-na-va'* (you) will cut (one branch from a tree) (348, 10); mom. *nï' wI'-qa'p-i-n'NA*, *wI'-qa'p-i-n'NA* I cut (one thing) in one cut; with plur. obj. *wI'-qa'vi-tca-i'* cuts several, plur. *wi^z-qa'v-tca-q'a-i'* (they) cut down several; distr. *wi^z-q'a(·)v-tca-pïγa'* (it) cut (them) in half one after another (460, 29)

qi-q'avi-tca- to cut several objects with the teeth: *qi'-qa'v-tca-i'* breaks in the mouth by gnashing with the teeth (Song 172)

qo-q'avi-tca- to break in two by means of fire: *qo-q'(w)avi-tca-yi'* breaks (it) in half by burning over a fire (Song 172)

QA'P-ï- cup (< Eng. *cup*):

qa'p-ï-tsi- abs.: *qa''p-u(i)-ts-* cup

QAVA-^s horse (< Span. *caballo*): *qava'* horse; plur. *qavq'-ηwï* horses *qava-γai-* to be a horse: *nï' qava'^a-γa'* I am a horse, *qava'-χai-y(i)^t* 'ηni horse-being thus, like a horse

qava-γa- to get a horse: *qava'^a-xa-tca-ni* I got a horse

qava-aγai- to be provided with horses: ptc. *qava'-axa-nli* (country) filled with horses

qava-ru'a- to become a horse: mom. *qava'-ru'α-ηu-ntca-ηA* he became a horse, *qava'-ru'α-ηu-mpa'n-ua-ηA* he will become a horse

qava- in comp. n.: *qava'-vunqu-ni* my horse-pet, my horse; *qava'-ru(w)ats-* horse-child, colt, *qava'-ru(w)ats- piya'p-uts-* colt little-female, filly; *qava'^a-v'* horse-female, mare; *qava'A-sa'mαp'ï* horse-blanket, saddle blanket; *qava'-va-n-a-p'atca* horse-iron-moccasin, horseshoe; *qava'(u)-xwA'ci-vïïx-i* horse-tail-hair, wearing a horse's tail in (his) hair (472, 25)

-*qava-* in comp. n.: *tɔ'ca'-qava-tc aηa-* the white-horsed one (personal name) (Song 202); *tï'ra-γava-ηwï-nu* like desert horses (Song 174)

QAVA-Q I- to break (mom.) (cf. *qavv-q-i-*):

with incor. n.: pas. ptc. *wi'a'-qava-q i-pï-η'* penis-broken (personal name)

-Q·AVAI-:

in comp. num.: *na(·)va'i-k'a(a)va'ai-yu* seven (cf. *navai-* six), *na(·)va'(i)z-k'a(·)vai-yu-ni'* seven (in counting)

QAQ·ARA-^o quail: *qA²qa'ra* quail; plur. *qA²qa'ra-mü*

QAQ·ARİ-^s to run away: *qA'qa'rī* to run away, *qA'qa'rī-pīγa'ai-mü* they 2 escaped (319, 6); ptc. *qA'qa'rī-rī* one who runs away
qaq-arī-'q-u- inc.: *qA'qa'rī-q-u* to jump off to run away for fear
qaq-at-ī- iter.: *qA'qa'ti'* runs away several times
tī-ηqA²qarī- to run away intensely: *tī-ηqA²qarī* to run away on a dead run

QA·Q·I- to make a noise of clearing one's throat:

qa'q'i-ηu- mom.: *qa'q'i-ηu-pīγa'* as in clearing one's throat (404, 13; 458, 6)

QA·γ·I- necklace, loop: *qa(·)'x·I* necklace, collar, *qaχi'-ni* my necklace
-qaγi- in comp. n.: *tcō'i-ηqa(·)'x·I* beaded necklace

qaγi-'a- to put on a necklace: *qaγ(ε)'i-'a-i'* puts (necklace, collar) around the neck

-qaγi-'a- with instr. pref.: *ma-γa'x'(a)i-(y)a-i'* loops to the hand, hangs to the wrist through a loop, *ma-γa'x'(a)i-(y)a-ηqī-ts·* having hung to the wrists through loops (474, 16); *tA'-qa'xi-'a-i'* loops around the feet, ankles

QA·γ·U- grandmother: *qa(·)γu'-ni*, *qa(·)γu'-ni* my grandmother (paternal, maternal)

qaγu-tsi- dim.: *qa(·)γu'-tsi-ni*, *qa·χu'-tsi-ni* my (woman's) grandchild, *qaγu'-tsi-ηwA* her (inv.) grandson; plur. *qa(·)γu'-tsi-ηwī-ni* my dear grandmothers (476, 17)

QA·γ·UP·İN·A·A-^s: abs. *qa'χup'ın a'a-φī* low plant growing near Colorado river the leaves of which are chewed to wet pebbles thrown as medicine at a mustang that cannot be caught

QAS·AVİ- striking wing (cf. *qīc'a-vi-?*): *qA'sa'φī* striking wing (of chicken-hawk), *qA'sa'vu-ma-ni* with my wing, *qA'sa'vu-ma-ηa-φī* with his wing . . . him (366, 12)

QA·T·A- cat (< Span. *gato* or Eng. *cat*):

qa't-a-tsi- abs.: *qa't-a-ts·* cat

in comp. n.: *qa'ta'-γuma* cat-male, tom-cat

QA·'AT·A- God (< Eng. *God*): *qa''atA* God (term used by Escalante Paiute)

QARA·γ·A- to make a crackling sound: cont. *qa(·)ra'-xa-n'i-i-ηī-ni'* makes a noise as of rustling paper or crackling rawhide

QARA·Q·A-^s occiput: *qara'q·A* occiput, back of head

qaraq'a-vi- abs.: *qara'q'a-φi* occiput

- QARĪ-^s to sit (sing.), to dwell: *nū qarī'-i* I sit, *qarī'-p-īya'* sat (308, 2),
neg. *nū qa qarī'-ḡwa'^a* I not dwelt, I was absent
qarī-ḡu- to begin to sit: *qa(·)rī'-ḡ-u-q-u* when (the sun) begins to
sit, sets (430, 5)
qarī-m'mia- to sit along, to ride: *qa(·)rī'-m'muq-i* is riding, rides
horseback, *qa(·)rī'-m'mia-xa'* while riding; plur. *qa(·)rī'-q-a-*
m'muq-i' several ride horseback
qarī-m-i-q-u- to begin to sit along, to begin to ride: *qa(·)rī'-m-i-k-u*
qwa'u' to ride off
qarī-ḡi- to come sitting, riding: *qa(·)rī'-ḡi-ī* comes riding
qaq-ari- to begin to sit, to settle: *qa'qa'rī-p-īya'* sat down, gathered,
settled (388, 5); with incor. n. *pa(·)ḡ'n-a-x-qarī-ḡu'* would fog-
settle, (it) would become foggy (364, 10)
qaq-at-i- iter.: *qa'qa't-i-xa'* having sat several times
a-ḡarī- to sit quietly: *a'-ḡarī-i'* sits quietly
qarī-n-impī- sitting instrument, saddle: *qarī'-n-impī* saddle; in
comp. n. *qarī'n-imp-ḡotsu-ḡ'* saddle-head, saddle horn; *qa(·)rī'-*
n-impī-ḡ-t-u' causes saddle to be on, saddles (a horse)
qarī-rī- ptc.: *qarī'-rī* sitter; knoll, hill, peak; dim. *pa'vaḡwi qarī'-*
tcu-ts- in-water little-knoll, island; *pa'ia^x qarī'-rī* of water-sitting,
of the lake (402, 12), *pa'ai'* *qarī'-rī'* water (obj.) sitting, lake
(404, 33) (see also comp. *pa-ḡa'rī-rī-* water-sitting, lake)
-qarī-rī- in comp. n.: *yiv^w-i-ḡkarīnī* pine-peak, Mt. Trumbull; *ma-*
a(·)'-xarīnī timbered knoll, *maa(·)'-xarīrī'* (obj.) clump of woods
(418, 17); *qa'iva-ḡarīr* *arī* the mountain-peak (361, 3); *niv^w-a'-*
xarīnī snow-peak (see *niv^w-a-*); *ḡḡ'-ḡq(w)arīrī'* fir-island (obj.)
(468, 14), dim. *ḡḡ'-ḡqarī-tsu-tcī* (obj.) little fir-knoll (474, 22);
tḡsa-q-arīrī-nūḡwīntsu-tsu-ḡai' being white-peak persons (Song 115)
-qarī- in comp. vb.: *a'i-k-ari-p-īya'* said sitting (362, 11); *'anū-*
k-ari', *an-i'-k-ari-i'* does, is so while sitting (362, 12; 436, 1);
tī'qa'-q-ari-i' eats while sitting; *ampa'x-qarī-i'* sits and talks;
qa'-q-ari-i' sits and sings, *qa'-q-ari-ḡa'* while sitting and sing-
ing (363, 1); *kia'ḡqī-qarī-i'* sits laughing; *pīnī'-k-ari-i'* sits
looking, watches, *pīn-i'-k-ari-ḡa'* while sitting and looking
(436, 2); *cīv'-rv^x-q(w)arī-pīya'* was making a basket of squaw-
bush as (she) sat (450, 16); *qutcu'ḡwa-q-ari-p-īya'* sat on (his)
haunches rabbit-like (389, 3); *pḡ'ta'-q-ari-i'* sits with extended
feet; *tA'ta'-q-ukwi-k-ari-i'* keeps kicking (his) feet while sitting;
quitca'-ḡari-p-īya sat down and defecated (357, 12); *taḡ'a'rcai-*
ḡari- to kneel (q. v.); *tḡ's-A^x-ḡarī-ḡi-na-nu* comes white to sit
down (Song 194)

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- qarī-* to be stationed, to keep on -ing: *wūnī'-χarī-nī* stand-sitting, stationed man, *wūnī'-χarī-χw'ai-p'īγa'ai-mī* they 2 went to stand-sit, to be stationed (at certain points) (432, 19); *tr'qa'-qarī-i'* keeps on eating
- QARī-* to protect:
with instr. pref.: *ma-xa'rī-ηA* protect him from danger, fut. ptc. *ma-xa'rī-v^wa-nī-'mī* which will be protecting you (442, 33)
- QATCDA-^s top-end: *qatcō'a-mA* at the top-end (above one's head in sleeping) (464, 22)
in comp. n.: *qatsō'a-va'ts* end-spring, end of springs
- QATCU- not (Gram., § 57)
qa'tcu- no! (Gram., § 61, 1)
- QATCU- to be exhausted (cf. *qatcu-* not):
qatcu-ηu- mom. *nī' qa(·)tcu'-ηU* I have given out; plur. *tanηA qa(·)tcu'-q(w)a-ηU* we (incl.) have given out
in comp. v.: *qatcu'-n'au'tcu'* (they) are all tired out; dur. *qa(·)tcu'-t'γai-p'īγa'* was giving out (329, 3), mom. *qatcu'-t-i'qan'wī* to be tired out
- QA'YU- to grind up: *qa'a(i)YU-p'īγa'ai-k'WA* (it) ground them (inan. inv.) up (356, 3); plur. *qa'YU-q(w)a(i)'yī-q'WA* (they) grind them (inan. inv.) up
qaγa'yu- inc.: *qaχa'iyu'-q'WA* grind them (inan. inv.) up (like a dog crushing bones)
- QA'YD- to hop: *qa(·)'yō'-i'* hops, *qa'yō'(i)-yī-ηA* he hops
qa'yō-m'mia- to hop along: dim. *qa'yō'-m'yα-ntsu-χa'* while hopping along on one leg (398, 2)
- γI-^σ (post.; Gram., § 40, 4, 5) moving through
- KIA- to laugh:
kia-n'ni- cont.: *ki(y)ε'-n'nu'* laughs
kia-ηqī- to laugh: *ki(y)a'-ηqī-i'* laughs, *ku(y)a'-ηqī(i)-r'ua-ηA* does he laugh?; impers. *ku(y)a'-ηqī-tu'^a* some one laughing
kia-ηqī-q'u- to start laughing: *kiε'-ηqī-q'U* to commence laughing
kiχia-ηqī- inc.: *kiχi'a-ηqī'* to start in laughing; usit. *kiχi'ε-ηqī-m^wi'* is wont to burst out laughing, laughs several times
kik'ia-ηqī- iter.: *ki'ki'ε-ηqī'* laughs several times
kia-ηqī-vi- ag.: *ku(y)a'-ηqī-φi* laugher, one who always laughs
kia-ηqī-p'i- laughter: *ku(y)a'-ηqī-p'i* laughter, obj. *ku(y)a'-ηqī-pi'*
kia-ηqī- in comp. vb.: *kia'-ηqī-qarī-i'* sits laughing; *kia'-ηqī-ηwūnī-i'* stands and laughs
-kia-: *tūmp^wi'-k'ia-hōγō-ts* rock-laugher (?), sp. of sparrow-like bird

-QIA-: *MA'-cu'-q'ia(i)-yï-ni* my hands are cold

KIHWA'A-^s doll:

kihwa'a-vi- abs.: *kihwa''a-phi* doll (used only by girls)

KI·P·Ï-^s elbow-joint: *ki'p'ï* elbow-joint

ki'p'ï-vi- abs.: *ki'p'ï-phi* elbow-joint

KIK'A- to make a sound of pierced paper:

ki'k'a-q-i- mom.: *ki'k'a'-q'i-n'u'* (it) makes a sound as of paper pierced by something (Song 111)

-KIK·I- to sound like a slap on something soft: with instr. pref. *pi'z-k'i'k'i-n'u'* to sound like a slap on buttocks, face, or other soft part of the body

-QIYI- to narrow (?):

na-γiγi- refl.: *na-γu'γu-p-i* tight place between two hills; *pa(-)na'-γuγu-p-i* water-narrow, spring in a tight place (willow creek between two mountains), Iron Springs

KI·T̄C̄O·ȲA- to sound thick and wet: *ki'ł̄c̄o-χ(w)a(i)-yï-n'u'* sounds thick and wet (like the noise produced by withdrawing a foot that has sunk in mud)

KIYA- to have a round-dance:

kiya-m'ia- several go to a round-dance: *kiya'-m'ia-va'* will go and have a round-dance (430, 14)

kiya-q-a-γi- several come for a round-dance: *kiγa'-q-a-x-i* come and have a round-dance (426, 20)

kiya-p'ï- round-dance: *kiya'-p'ï* play, dance, round-dance, "squaw dance" (321, 12; 400, 8)

KI·YU·ȲA- to make a metallic, rattling sound: *ki'yū-χ(w)a(i)-yï-n'u'* makes a noise like rattling coins

qï-^s with the teeth, mouth (instr. pref.; cf. *qï'ï-* to bite): Gram., § 21, 5

qï- to sound like tearing:

qï-γa- dur.: *qï'-χa(i)-yï-n'u'* (it) sounds like a rag tearing

qï-k'i- mom.: *qï'-k'i-n'u'* (it) sounds like one tear of a rag

qï'ï- to bite: *qï'ï* to bite, *nï'ntcaa(·)ŋ qï'ï* I bit him, *qï'ï'-i'*, *qï(·)''-i'* bites, *qï'-va-n'u'* will bite, *qï'ï'(·)tca-ηα-ni* he bit me, *qï'ï'-p'ïγai(y)-aq·A* bit it (404, 12)

QĪAŋWI- yesterday (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

QĪM·A-^s stranger, other:

qïm'a- other, stranger (Gram., § § 39, 2; 59, 3, d): an. sing. *qïma'-ηa-c·U* another one, stranger, obj. *qïma'-ηa-ia-c·u-ru' ai'k·A* are you talking about a stranger? (366, 2); an. plur. *qïma'-m·u-ċ·U* strangers; inan. *qïma'-rï-c·U qau* strange house, *qïma'-rï-c·U*

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- aRi qan'u ni* my other house, *qïma'-ru-c-U ya'axwa'a* go and fetch another (458, 30); obj. *qïma'-q-U-cu-n qaχa'ava-ac-U* I shall sing another (song) again (346, 7); *qïma'-ηwi'tux WA* in another direction (325, 5)
- na-γïm-a-ηwï-* recip.: *na(·)-γï'm-a-ηu-ηu-c-U* strangers to each other you (plur.) (367, 3)
- qïm-a-ntsi-* abs.: *qïma'-ntsi-ηwï* strangers, Shoshone Indians (cf. *Comanche*)
- na-γïm-a-ntsi-ηwï-* recip.: *na-γï'ma-ntsi-ηwï* two who are strangers to each other
- qïm-a-ntsi-* in comp.: *wa'-qïma-ntsi-ηwï* two strangers
- qïm'a-* in comp. n.: *qïma'-χani-ni* my other house; *qïma'-va-m-unts'*, *qïma'-p'a-m-unts'* stranger-water-mountain (Song 185)
- qïm'a-* incor.: *qïm'a'-ntcïku-va-ηwa'a* shall not be mixed up with others' (urine) (434, 25)
- qïm'a-* in comp. postp.: *nï-γï'ma-ηwa-ntï* being other-from me, strange to me, not related to me, obj. *imi'-xïma-ηwa-ntï'* not related to you (366, 3); *nï-χï'm-a-ηwit-uγwα-q-a-ηA* he goes away from me, *a-χï'm-a-ηwit-ux WA*, *a-χï'm-a-ηwit-ux WA* away from here (464, 5; 450, 18); *u-γu'm-a-ηwit-ux WA* (moving) away from it (inv.) (325, 6; 389, 6), *qan'u'-χumaywit-ux WA*, *qan'u'-γïmaywitux WA* away from the house
- QïηWA-^s* edge: *qïηwa'^s* edge, *qηwa'^sqA* side, edge of it, *qïηwa'-a-va-ntï* at the edge (380, 3), obj. *qïηwa'-a-va-a-ntï'* (317, 7)
- pa-γïηwa-* water-edge: abs. *pa(·)-χï'ηwα-φi* water-edge, shore; *pa(·)-χïηwa'-a-ruχ WA-pïγa'* went along the river-shore (456, 24)
- Qï-vi-* locust: *qï'φi* locust; plur. *qï'vi-ηwï* locusts; *qï'vi-ni* my locust, pos. *qï'vi-n'i-ni* my (owned) locust
- Qï-qA-γA-* (old tree) creaks: *qï'q-a-χa-i'* wood (or old tree) creaks, strains in the blowing of the wind, *qï'q-a-χa(i)-yï-n'i'* (it) sounds like an old tree's creaking in the wind
- qïq-ïi-* (see *-qoq-oi-*)
- Qïc-AP-ai-* to have supper (< Eng. *supper*): *qï'ca'p-ai-vä-n'i'*, *qïha'f-ai-vä-n'i'* will sup, eat supper (Escalante Paiute term)
- Qïc-avi-* hawk (sp.) (see *qïc-avi-* wing): *qï'ca'φi*, *qï'ca'φï* Sennett white-tailed hawk (?), white-breasted sp. that hits smaller birds with his wings
- in comp.: *caγwa'-xUCAφi* gray-hawk, *caγwa'-xUCav aηA* the chicken-hawk (360, 4)
- Qïc-avï-^s* wing (see *qas-avï-*):
- qïc-avï-vi-* abs.: *qï'ca'vu-φi* wing

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SAPIR

QĪRA- cut in the hair: *qī'RA* cut in the hair

qīra-tsi- with hair cut: *qīra'-ts-* with the hair cut off

QĪRA-C'ĪA-^o water-jar stopper:

qīrac'ī'a-p'ī- abs.: *qīra'c'ī'α-p'ī* stopper for a water-jar

QĪRIN'NAŋQA- hawk (sp.):

qīrin'naŋqa-tsi- abs.: *qīri'n'naŋqa-ts-* sparrow-hawk (?)

QĪRĪRĪ- to make the sound of a hard object drawn over a row of teeth:

qī'rīri(i)-yī-n'v' (it) sounds like a hard object played over a toothed or notched thing

QĪTCA-^o blood for roasting:

qītca-vi- abs.: *qītca'-φi* prepared blood, blood held in a paunch for roasting, *qītca'v-na-^aγut-uxWA* into blood to be roasted (468, 20)

incor.: plur. *qītca'-rī'mα-ŋqī-qa-va-ηa-ni* (you) all will blood-roast him for me (468, 7); in comp. vb. *qītca'-rī'mα-t'iv^witcu-q(w)ai-nα-ni* my blood-roast-asked, blood-roast that I have asked for (468, 12); *qītca'-rī'mα-p-1* blood-roast, blood held in a paunch and roasted under ashes (468, 4)

QĪT-SI-^o saliva:

qīt-si-vi- abs.: *qīt'si'-φi* spit

qīt-si'-a- pos.: *nī'ni qīt'si'-ā'* my spit

-QĪŪ-^o fish (only compounded with *pa-* water):

pa-γū- fish: *paγū'*, *pa(·)γū'* fish

paγū-tsi- fish-person: *paγū'u-ts-* Fish (personal name); plur. *pa(·)γū.'i-tsi-wī* fish-people, Paiute band of Panguitch Lake

paγū- in comp. n.: *paγū'u-φA* fish-water, Panguitch Lake (so called because abounding in trout, suckers, and white fish);

paγū'u-va-NV'q(w)enti fish-water-stream, Panguitch creek

-paγū- in comp. n.: *tcuŋu'-p-aγū'* pipe-fish, sucker; *aŋqa'-p-aγū'* red-fish, trout

incor.: *paγū'u-rīq-a-i'* eats fish

-QŌ'AI-^o grove bend:

in comp. n.: ptc. *w'a'-q-ōadi-tcī* cedar-grove bend, semicircular cedar-grove

QŌ'I- to kill several: pas. ptc. obj. *qŏ'ŏ'i-p'ī-a-i'* who (plur.) had been killed (424, 23)

qŏ'i-t'ī- pas.: ptc. plur. *qŏ'ŏ'i-t'ī-rī-m'ī'* of those who had been killed (474, 27)

qŏqŏ'i- distr.: *qŏχŏ''i-tca-m'ī-ni* I have killed them (452, 12), *qŏχŏ'i-va'* will kill (them), *qŏqŏ''i-p'īaγar-tua(i)-yī-aqA* they (impers.) killed them (inan.) all (396, 12)

- with incor. obj.: distr. *na(·)γa'-γɔχɔ'ι-ḿai-n-a-ḿi* mountain-sheep (plur.) that he had killed (452, 16)
- Qɔ'ɪ- several go to sleep (cf. *qɔ'ɪ-* to kill several, *aq'ɔ'ɪ-* several sleep): *qɔ''ɔi-p'ɪγa'* (they) all went to sleep (334, 1)
- Qɔɪ'NA-, Qɔɪ'NI- to fall apart, to hang loosely apart:
- qɔi'na-* to fall apart: *qɔ'i'na'* to have two parts separate yet without falling away from each other (like bread cut into two chunks), *qɔ(ɔ)'i'na-p'ɪγa'* (line) was mowed down, fell right down (320, 12)
- qɔi'na-t'ui-* to cause to fall apart: *qɔ'v'na-t'ui-aq'A* cut it off into two parts that hang together, *qɔ(ɔ)'in-a-t'ui-mi* to mow them down, make them fall down, *qɔ(ɔ)'in-a-t'ui-k'wA* to mow down (grass, objects)
- qɔγɔi'na-* iter.: *qɔγɔ'ina'* to keep coming together in two chunks (Song 144)
- qɔi'ni-* to hang apart: *qɔ'i'ni-yi-aq'A* it hangs together consisting of two parts
- Qɔɪ'NI-^s corn (< Eng. *corn*): *qɔ'v'ni* corn, *qɔ'v'ni-ni* my corn
- qɔi'ni-* in comp. n.: *qɔ'v'ni-wa-n'arup'ɪ* corn-bread, corn-cake, *qɔ'v'ni-waḿi* corn-bone, corn-cob
- incor.: *nḿ' qɔ'i'ni-ntciqa-i'* I eat corn
- Qɔ'N'ɪ- to return: *qɔ'ni-ntca-ni* I returned, *qɔ'ni'-p'ɪγai-c'U* turned back again (460, 5)
- qɔ'n-i-q'a-* plur.: *qɔ'ni-ḿA* several return
- qɔ'n-i-γi-* to come back: *qɔ'ni-χi-n'v'* come back (myth word) (456, 20)
- QɔN'ɔ- cradle of basketry: *qɔ(·)'nɔ* cradle, *qɔ(·)n'ɔ'-ni* my cradle
- qɔn'ɔ-* in comp. n.: *qɔ(·)n'ɔ'-uru'a'* cradle carrying-strap
- QɔP'ɔ-, QɔVɔ-; QɔP'ɪ-, QɔVI- to break (intr., tr.):
- qɔp'ɔ-q-i-* mom. intr.: *qɔ'pɔ'-q(w)ɪ*, *qɔ'pɔ'-q'ɔ* to break (once, right away); with incor. n. *yu'ɔ'-x'ɔpɔ-q(w)ɪ* to leg-break (intr.), to break one's (own) leg
- qɔvɔ-q-i-* dur. intr.: *qɔvɔ'-q(ʔ)ɪ'* breaks slowly, not at once; *qɔvɔ'-q(w)ɪ-tsi-χa'* to commence to break; pas. ptc. *qɔvɔ'-q(w)ɪ-p'ḿi*, *qɔvɔ'-q(ʔ)ɪ-p'ḿi* broken (person, arrow)
- qɔvi-tai-* several break (intr.): pas. ptc. *qɔv'it(ɪ)ai-p'ḿi* broken (arrows)
- qɔp'i-n'na-* to break one object (mom. tr., with instr. pref.): *ma(·)-χɔ'p'i-n'NA* to break (tr.), *ma(·)-χɔ'p'ɪ-n'a-p'ḿi,a'* broke (his bow) (335, 6); *wɪ'-qɔ'p'i-n'NA* to break by swinging on to the

edge of something; *ts-qɔ'p-i-n'NA* to break by sticking into (the ground) and bending; *tA'-qɔ'p-i-n'NA* to break by stepping on; with incor. obj. *yu'ɔ'-RA'-qɔp-i-'na-q'ai-na-η aηA* the one who had had his leg broken (398, 9), *yu'ɔ'-RA-qɔp-i-n'NA* to break a leg (by throwing)

QɔVA-^s (QOVA-^s) face: *qɔ'φA* face

qɔva-vi- abs.: *qɔva'-φI* face

ta-q'ɔva-vi- foot-face-skin (?), moccasin upper: *tA'-qɔ'va-φi* moccasin upper

tca'-γɔva-γai- to have a wrinkled face: *tca'-χu(w)a-χai-nI* I have a wrinkled face

-QɔQɔI-, -QİQİI- to sound like a noise made by punching:

with instr. pref. *tcɔ-: tcɔx-qɔ'q'ɔi-n^y-i'*, *tci-x-qİ'qİ(i)-n^y-i'* to sound like a noise made by punching one hard on the head or face

QɔCɔ-^s slow-match, tinder:

qɔc'ɔ-vi- abs.: *qɔ'cɔ'-φi* slow-match, cedar-bark roll used as tinder, obj. *qɔ'cɔ'-vi-a-φi* his own tinder (385, 8)

qɔc'ɔ-vi-ru- to make tinder: *qɔ'cɔ'vu-ru-i'* makes, gets ready tinder; pas. ptc. obj. *qɔ'cɔ'vu-ru-p-i-a-nI* my cedar-bark roll prepared for starting a fire (382, 5)

qɔc'ɔ-vi-teu- to make tinder: *qɔ'cɔ'vu-teu-i'* makes, gets ready tinder; *qɔ'cɔ'vu-teu-pI* something made for tinder

QɔT'CA'- (= *qut'ca-^s* gray?): in comp. n. *qɔ'tca(:)''-(ɔ)itɔitcim(w)ü* ?-sloping back (cf. *it'ai-tei-m-i'*), sandhill crane (?), plur. *qɔ'tca(:)''-(ɔ)itɔitcim^w-i-ηw'i*

-QɔRA- to spread out:

in comp. vb.: *tca(:)γw'-k'ɔra-i'* puts out to dry

with incor. obj.: instr. n.: *ia'p-i-xɔra-n'nimpi* sliced-meat spreader, drying frame for sliced meat

-QɔRɔ- to paint:

in comp. vb.: *aηqa'-q'ɔrɔ-i'* red-paints, paints the face (any color)

QU-^s with fire (instr. pref.; cf. *qun-a-* fire): Gram., § 21, 12

QO'-YA- to make a noise of whirring wings: *qo'-χα(i)-yü-nu'*, *qo'-χ(w)a(i)-yü-n-i'* makes a noise of whirring wings (*xw* +) as when a duck or eagle sails down with wings held still, *qo'-xA-piγai-n-i'* there was a noise of whirring wings (365, 11)

QO'U- plant (sp.): *qo''u* "weeds like grass burrs" of red seeds of which mush is made

-QU'AI- to gallop (?):

with incor. n.: *ta(:)ηa'-xw'ai-p-i'γa'* galloped (476, 12)

-QOI- to take off:

tca-q'oi- to take off clothing, a cover: dur. with sing. obj. *tca^z-qo'i-na-i'* takes off one article of clothing, pulls down, with incor. obj. *qa(·)nu'-ntca^z-qoi-na-i'* takes down a tepee, *tai(·)'tca'-qoi-na-i'* takes off a shirt, *qa'itcɔɔɔ-tca'-qoi-na* to take off one's hat; with plur. obj. *tca^z-qo'i-tca-i'* takes off (several clothes, saddle, blankets), *tca^z-qo'i-tca-p'iɣa'* took off several (349, 2), plur. *tca^z-qo'i-tca-q-a-i'* several take off several, iter. *tca^ztca'-q'oi-tca-i'* takes off several things several times

ma-γoi-tca- to take off from the hands: *ma(·)-γo'i-tca-i'* takes off (bracelet, rope, armlet) from the arm, wrist, *ma(·)-γo'i-tca(i)-'yī-q-wa* takes it (inv.) (e. g. gloves) off

ta-q'oi-tca- to take off from the feet: *tA'-qo'i-tca-i'* takes off shoes, stockings

mo-γoi-na- to take off with the nose (sing. obj.): *mo(·)-γo(·)'i-na-i'* takes off with the nose

qī-q'oi-n'na- to take off with the teeth (mom.): *qī'-qo'i'-na-i'* takes off with the teeth

pi-q'oi-n'na- to take off from the buttocks (mom.): *pi'-k'o'i'-na-i'* lets (his) trousers down

-QOITSIVI- to shake from side to side:

with instr. pref.: *tca^z-qo'itsivi'* shakes (head, penis) from side to side

QUM'A- male, husband: *qom'α-ni* my husband, *quma^z(a)ηA* her husband

na-γum'a-ηwī- recip.: *na(·)-γu'ma-ηwī* husband and wife

-qum'a- in comp. n.: *sari'ⁱ-γumA* male dog; *tci'k'ina-γumA* chicken-male, cock, plur. *tci'k'ina-γuma-ηwī*; *na(·)γa'-xum'a(i)-ya-ηA* mountain-sheep buck (obj.) . . . he (356, 7); *na'i-ηqumα-ni* my (woman's) brother-in-law

qum'a-ru- to make a husband, a woman marries: *quma'-ru-yī-aηA* (she) marries him

incor.: *quma'-xwīi'-ηwA* to take him (inv.) for a husband

QUM'IA^z- corn: *qom'ɨ'* corn (old Indian name for "corn," rarely used now; cf. *qoi'ni-*)

QUN'A-^s sack:

qun'a-vī- abs.: *quna'-φī* sack

-qun'a-vī- in comp. n.: *tīγ'a-xuna-φī* deer-sack, sack of deerskin; *MA^z-qu'na-vi-α-φī* his own hand-sack, gloves (obj.); *tca^zqī'v'ui-xuna-φī* testicle-sack, scrotum; *pi'k'a'-xuna-φī* hard-bag, rawhide bag, dim. *pi'k'a'-xuna-vu-tsi-a -ηA* his little rawhide case (obj.)

-*qun a-* in comp. n.: *u-χu'n A* arrow-case, quiver; incor. *un a'-vīχa-ra'* shall put away a quiver (poetic), *uγu'n a'-vīχa-ra'* (normal form)

QUN A-^o fire: *qu'n A* fire, *quna'-p'ana* on the fire, *qu(·)na'-ia-raηWA* our fire (obj.) (385, 1)

qun a-i'ni- pos.: *quna'-i'ni-a-raηWA* our (incl.) possessed fire (obj.)

qun a-q'ai- to have fire: ptc. *quna'-q-α-ntī* having fire

qun a-ηwa-γai- to be provided with fire: ptc. *quna'-ηwa-xa-ntī* containing fire; fut. ptc. *quna'-ηwa-xai-vū-ntī* destined to have fire (390, 5); mom. *quna'-ηwa-χai-ηu-p'īγa'* got fire (390, 7)

qun a- in comp. n.: *qon a'-vū-mpuηqu* fire-log-horse, fire-wagon, locomotive (Song 179)

incor.: *quna'-tea'ai-k'a'* to hold fire

QO N'I- to lie on the ground:

qon'i-q'ai- res.: *qo'(i)n'v'z-k'a'* (it) lies (398, 5), *aru'q WA qv'n'i'-k'a'* under it lie (460, 24)

QUN U- great-grandfather: *qunu'-ni*, *qunu'-ni* my (male's or female's) great-grandfather, great-grandfather's brother, *qon o'-m'm uηWA* your great-grandfather (454, 21)

qun u-tsi- dim.: *qunu'-tsi-ni* my (man's) great-grandchild, brother's great-grandchild

QUN UγUI-^s huckleberry:

qun uγui-vi- abs.: *qon o'xui-φī* huckleberry

QO P'AN A- to spill water out of one's mouth: *quv(·)'p'anya-p'īγa'ai-k WA* (he) let it (inv.) spill out of (his) mouth (402, 27)

QUQ WA-^o (frequently heard as *uq wa-*) wood, to gather wood: *qu'qwa'-m a-ntī(u)-'mi-ni* (give) me some of your wood

quq wa-p'i- abs.: *v^xqwa'-p i* wood, *v^xqwa'-p ari* the wood (337, 8), *v^xqwa'-p i-α-ni* I . . . a stick (obj.)

quq wa- incor.: *qu'qwa'-m aχa-ni* give me wood; *v^xqwa'(i)-yana-m i-q-i'* (they) go for wood, *v^xqwa'(i)-yīna-xwa'ai'* goes for wood, *v^xqwa'(i)-yana-χwai-p'īγa'* went after wood, mom. *qu'qwa'-i vna-γw'ai-ηu-p'īγa'* went for an armful of wood (375, 3); *v^xqwa'-n v'v-xw'ai-yi-ni* I go to carry wood, caus. *v^xqwa'-n v'v-χw'ai-t'ui-p'ī-γai(y)-aηA* caused her to go to carry wood (456, 11), dim. ptc. *v^xqwa'-n v'v-nts-tcī* little wood-carrier (337, 10)

quq wa- to gather wood: *v^xqwa'-p'īγa'* gathered wood (456, 12)

QUQ WI-^o to shoot at: *qo'q wi* to shoot, *qu'qwi'*, *qu'qwi'* shoots, (evil spirit, medicine-man) "shoots" (disease into one), *qu'qwi'-vū-n i-α-ni* I shall shoot, *qu'qwi'-tea^aηA* he shot, *qu'qwi'-p'īγa'ai-k WA*

- shot at it (inv.) (313, 9), *qu'qwi'-t'u'a-c'uya-γwa-a'ηa-no'* would that he might get shot! (321, 3)
- quqwi-γw'ai-* to go to shoot: *qu'qwi'-xw'i-va-n'ia-ni* I am going in order to shoot
- ququ'qwi-*, *qu'qwi-* iter.: *qu'qo'qwi'* shoots several times, *qu'qu'qwi-pi'ya'* shot at (him) several times (456, 16), *qu'qu'qwi-xai(y)-ami* as (he) kept shooting at them (452, 9); plur. *qo'qwi-k'a-p'i'ya'ai-k-wA* (they) kept shooting at it (inv.) (402, 33); *qo'qwi-qwa'ai'* keeps shooting off, shoots one after another
- quqwi-ηu-* mom.: *qu'qwi'-ηu-nts-qα-ni* I am ready to shoot
- ta-quqwi-* to shoot with one's foot, to kick out one's feet: *ta'-qu'qwi'* kicks one's feet out into the air, stubs one's toes, bumps against with the foot; iter. comp. vb. *ta'ta'-q'ukwi-k'ari-i'* keeps kicking out (his) feet while sitting
- quqwi-* in comp. vb.: *qu'qwi'-p'Apay(a)i-mpa'* shall shoot while moving along (474, 38); *qu^xqwi'-ηw'ini-i'* stands and shoots; *qu'qwi'-t'iyaa^x-qa-va'* (plur.) all shall practice shooting (402, 32)
- ququqwi-'n'impi-* shooting instrument (iter.): in comp. n. *wa'a(·)'mpix-uquqwi-numpi* cedar-berry shooter, kind of bean-shooter
- na-γuqwi-* (recip.) to shoot at each other, to fight: *na(·^a)-γu'qwi-ηqi-t'u'u* to fight with people (impers.), to have a fight (319, 8), *ni'na'-uqwi-ηqu-t'u'a-i'* I fight, *na(·)'-uqwi-ηqu-t'u'a-va-a-na* being about to fight, future combat (317, 1), *usit. na(·)-γu'qwi-ηqi-t'uα-m'ia* there is always fighting; *na(·)-γu'qwi-p'a* fighting-contest, war, *na(·)-γu'qwi-pa-ia-c'u* (obj.) war with bow and arrows (438, 34); in comp. n. *na(·)-γu'qwi-n'in'i'a-vi-ηw'i* (distr.) war-chiefs, great fighters (440, 26); with incor. obj. *wa'a'-n'a-xuqwi'* shoot mud at each other, there is a mud-battle
- QUYI-** to point:
- ma-γu'x(w)I-k'a'* to point at
- QUCA-**, **QUCA-^s** leggings, trousers:
- quca-ru-mpi-* trousers-string: *qu'ca'-ru-mpi*, *qu'ca'-a-ru-mpi* trousers-string, rope; Paiute band at Grass Valley whose chief was *ca'q'ari* "Yellow"
- quca-** in comp. n.: *witca'-xuc'a* calf (of the leg)-trousers, buckskin leggings
- QUCI-** round lid (?), rim (?):
- quci-**, **-quci-vi-** in comp. n.: *tümpa'-xusi-phi* mouth-lid, lip; *ta^x-qu'c'i* foot-cover, moccasin top stitched on to upper

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SAPIR

-QUT·U·N·A- to take out:

tsi- with a stick: *ts-qu'tin·a·ηA* to take him out with a stick,
ts-qu't·ηna-p·iγa'ai-ηWA took him (inv.) out with a stick (400, 30)

QUT·UC·U- giant: *qu'tu'c·uηWA* the giant (408, 34)

in comp. n.: *qu'tu'c·η-nariχw·n·ap·aηA* the giant-powered, the
 powerful giant (410, 6)

QURA-^s neck: *qu'RA* neck

qura-vi- abs.: *qura'-φi* neck

QURUN·A- to carry on one's head: *quru'NA* to have on one's head,

quru'na-yi-'q·WA carries it (inv.) on top of (his) head
 with incor. obj.: *niv'a'-χorona* carry snow on (its) head (Song 139)

QURUTCA- to stick out one's head (cf. *qurun·a-*):

qurutca-q·ai- res.: *quru(·)'tca-q·a'* to have one's head sticking out
 (of the water, from a corn-field)

with incor. n.: *ci²p'i'-χirutca-q·ai-p·iγai-n·i'* (he) had (his) head
 projecting as though in the cold, felt as though a cold breeze
 were in (his) head (373, 7)

-QUR'U- to poke in a hole:

tsi- with a pointed object: *ts-qu'r'u-i'* pokes in a hole (e. g. gopher
 hole, hole in the wall) with the point of a stick, tamps (a pipe),
 cleans (a gun-barrel) by pushing a stick back and forth

ma- with the hand: *ma(·)-γu'r'u-i'* pokes in a hole with the hand,
 feels around in a hole

ta- with the foot: *ta²-qu'r'u-i'* pokes in a hole with the foot

-QUR'UVI- a limbless object is erect:

with instr. pref.: distr. mom. *wiwī-gor'uv^{wi}-xi-ηu* (branchless
 objects) stand up straight (Song 45); in comp. vb. *wi²-qu'ruv^{wi}-
 ηuni-yu-ni'* stands up straight as though without limbs

QUT·CA-^o light gray; ashes:

qut·ca-q·a- to be gray: ptc. *qu'tca'-q·a-rī* gray, light gray, bluish
 gray, obj. *qu'tca'-q·a-rī-A* (319, 12)

qut·ca- in comp. ptc.: *qu'tca'-c·aγwa-γa-rī* gray-blue, light blue
 (color of U. S. mail-carriers); *qu'tca'-p·c·t·c'q(w)a-rī-mī* light-
 blue and round, one who is light blue around, *qu'tca'-p·c·t·c'q(w)a-
 rī-m·i-a-ηa-n uηWA* the one who is light-gray around (obj.)
 . . . him (for) me (450, 7)

qut·ca-p·i- ashes: *qu'tca'-p·i* ashes

QUT·SIA·γOT·CA²- receptacle (perhaps *qut·cī'a-* to burn + *ot·ca-* jar,
 receptacle; receptacle for burning, pan?): *qu'tsi'ayot·c'* receptacle
 for food or drink, cup, pan, tray (term used by Utes)

-QUT-CĪ'A- to burn (contains *qu-* with fire):

na-γut cī'a- refl., to burn (intr.): *na(·)-γu't-ca'^a* to begin to burn (430, 10); *na-γu'tc'-yī-aq'A* it burns fast, *na(·^a)-γu'tc'ua-p'īγa'* (he) burned up (337, 12); ptc. *na(·)-γu't-cī'ai-tcī* burning, being on fire (434, 9)

QUT-CU-ⁿ buffalo, cow: *qu'tcu* buffalo, cow

qu'tcu-mpuŋqu- cow-pet, cow owned (by one): *qu'tcu'-mpuŋqu-ni* my cow, ox; plur. *qu'tcu'-mpuŋqu-ŋwī-ni* my cattle, *qu'tcu'-mpuŋqu-ŋwī-raqWA* our (incl.) cattle

qu'tcu-mpuŋqu-γai- to have a cow: *nī' qu'tcu'-mpuŋqu-χa'* I have a cow

qu'tcu-mpuŋqu-ŋwī-γai- to have cattle: *nī' qu'tcu'-mpuŋqu-ŋwī-χa'* I have cattle, *qu'tcu'-mpuŋqu-ŋwī-γai-p'iaγat-tua-i'* people (impers.) used to have cattle

-*qu'tcu-* in comp. n.: *muru'ι-γut-cu* blanket-cow, buffalo (i. e. aboriginal cow from whose hide robes used to be made); *tɔ'ca'-qu'tcu-mpuŋqu-ŋwī* white cattle (Song 161)

qu'tcu- in comp. n., ptc.: *qu'tcu'-mpu(y) aŋA* the buffalo-cow (456, 28, *qu'tcu'-mpu(y)a-ts'* cow mother, heifer; *qu'tcu(·)''iyap'ī* cow-dried, dried beef; *qu'tcu'-ntan-as'ιγa-ŋwīx'ī* buffalo-hoof-cleft-vulva, (girl) with a vulva like a buffalo's hoof-cleft

-QUTCU'- to feel around, to pick at:

ma- with the hand: *ma-χu'tcu'-i'* feels around in a part of the body, picks at (ear, arm-pit, tooth)

ta- with the foot: *ta'-qu'tcu'-i'* feels around, picks at with the foot

-QUTSI'NI-γI- to put (feet) into (cf. *tsi-'niγi-?*):

ta- with the feet: *ta^x-qu'tsun'ιγι-n'impī* puts (his) feet into (shoes, stirrups); instr. n. *ta^x-qu'tsun'ιγι-n'impī* instrument of putting the feet in, stirrups

QUTCUJ'WA- to sit on one's haunches:

in comp. vb.: *qu'tcu'ŋ'wa-q'arī-p'īγa'* sat on (his) haunches rabbit-like (389, 3)

QW

-γWA-, -γWA'A- temp. enc. (Gram., § 19, 1, b); -γWA- mod. enc. (Gram., § 19, 2, c)

-' . . . QWA- (enc. pers. pron.) it (inan. inv.; subj., obj.); its (inan. inv.) (Gram., § 40)

QWA- to win, to beat:

qwa-ŋu- mom.: *nī' qwa(·)''-ŋU* I win, beat, *nī'm(w)I qwa'a'-ŋU* we

- (excl.) have won out, *nī'ntcaŋ qwa'-ŋ(w)ɔ-aŋA* I beat him, *qwa'-U'-q(w)ai-ŋU-campa-ni* (you) have beaten me
qwaŋwa- distr.: *qwaŋwa'-pīŋai-tua-i'* they (impers.) won (414, 22)
qwa- in comp. n.: *qwa'-'a-'nu(w)a'* goal (generally a tree) in a ball-game
- QWA'A- to hold down:
ta- with the feet: *tA'-qwa''a-ŋA* (catch hold offh im and) hold him down with (your) feet; res. *tA'-qwa'-'a-q ai-ni* to hold me down with the feet, *tA'-qwa'-'a-q ai(y)-aŋA* to hold him down with the feet
- QWAI-A-ⁿ beyond, opposite (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)
 comp.: *-q'wai-a-ntuŋwa-* (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 27) to opposite, across
- QWAN'A- eagle:
qwan'a-ntsi- abs.: *qwa(·^a)na'-nts·* eagle; plur. *qwa(·^a)na'-ntsi-ŋwī* eagles
qwan'a-tsi-tsi- dim.: *qwa(·^a)na'-tsi-ts·*, *qwa(·)n'a'-tsi-ts·* little eagle, red-tailed hawk, chicken hawk
qwan'a-ntsi- in comp. n.: *qwan'a-ntsi-ŋaiwa-ma(i)YU* from on the eagle-mountain (Song 192)
- QWAN'AN'Ī-ⁿ plant (sp.):
qwan'an'ī-mpī- abs.: *qwa(·)n'a'n'ī-mpī* aromatic plant about three feet high with blue or purple flowers
- QWAN'AN'WA-:
-qwan an'wa-ntsi- abs.: in comp. n. *anqa'-q'wa(·)na'wa-nts·*, *anqa'-q'wa'-'naŋwa-nts·*, *anqa'-q'wa(·^a)'naŋwa-nts·* robin (cf. *anqa-* red); *pāi'-q'wanan'wa-ntsi-ŋwī* evils beings who caused blood-flowing (cf. *pāi-* blood)
- QWAN'NU- to stir (mush):
tsi- with a stick: *ts-qwa'n'u-i'*, *ts-qwa'n'nɔ-i'* stirs (mush); instr. n. *ts-qwa'n'u-numpī*, *ts-qwa'n'nɔ-n'ompī* stirrer used in boiling mush
- QWANWA-NTCUŋWA- (cf. *qwa-*) a little further beyond (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)
- QWAVI- to lie down (plur.) (cf. *avi-* sing.):
qwavi-ŋu- inom.: *qwa(·)v'-'ŋw-i'* (they) stop to camp over night; in comp. vb. *qwa(·)v'-'ŋU-pax-i-pīŋa'* (they) stopped to camp while traveling (380, 12)
nam'ī-ŋwavi-ŋu- to camp for the first time: pas. ptc. *na(·)m'ī-ŋwavi-ŋU-pī-a-i'* (obj.) first place of camping over night (438, 16)
-qwavi- in comp. vb.: *anq'-ri'cu'ai-k'wɔ(a)v-i-p'-'a'* (they) lay down

- without paying any attention to him (436, 7); *u'tcu'm'i'z-qwavi-va'*, *-qavav-va'* (several) shall lie with eyes closed (460, 25)
- QWA·γWI- grass seed (sp.): *qwa'xwI* grass seed of plant two or three feet high from which mush is made
- QWAS·I-^s tail: *qWA'ci'(y)-aηA* his tail (316, 2)
qwas·i-vi- abs.: *qWA'si'-φI* tail
-qwas·i- in comp. n.: *yīyī'-ηqwas·I* porcupine-tail; *aηqa'-qWA'ci-va(i)ya-ts·* red-tail-bottomed, blue racer; *qava'(u)-xWA'ci-vūix·I* horse-tail-hair, wearing a horse-tail in the hair (472, 25)
- QWAC·Ī-^s to be ripe, done: *qWA'cī'-i'* is ripe, done, cooked
qwač·i-p·i- pas. ptc.: *qWA'cī'-p·i-aq·A* it is ripe, done; with incor. n. *nanta'-qWA'cī-p·i* yant that is cooked (see *nanta-*)
qwač·i-t·ui-q·ai- caus. res.: *qWA'si'-t·ui-ḡ·a-q·ᵛ(w)-aq·A* when it is cooked, caused to be done (378, 3)
tōγ(i)-q·wac·i- to be quite done, just ripe: ptc. *tōγ(ᵛ)'i-qWA'cī-rī'* just ripe (obj.) (394, 7)
qwač·i-t·u'a- to be hot: *pa' qWA'ci'-t·ua-i'* water is hot
- QWAT·ĪRO-TSI- to be warm (inan.) (cf. *at·uro·tci-*): *qWA'vī'ruv(·)tsi'* (it) is warm (object)
- QWARAḂARA^x- rolling country: *qwarā'ηar* rolling country, country intersected by several petty hill-ridges
- QWARAVA- pain:
qwarava-ya'i- to pain-die, to cry from pain: *qwarα'va-ya'ai'* (baby) cries because hurt; in comp. vb. *qwarα'va-yai-p·ax·i-p·iγa'* cried from pain as (he) went along (398, 2)
- QWATCA- to splash in the water:
qwaica-γa- dur.: *qwa'tsa'-xa-i'* splashes about in the water; plur. *qwa(·)'tca-xA-qa(i)-yī-n·i'* (it) sounds like (ducks, pigs) splashing around; in comp. vb. *qwa'tsa-xa-vuuv-p·iχai-n·i'* made a splashing-like noise as (he) moved about (410, 29)
qwat·ca-q·i- mom.: *qWA'tca'-q·I* to make a splash
- QWAU- off, away; to go off:
qwau- adv.: *qwa'u'* thither, away, *pa(·)γ(a)'in^v·'* *qwiq·wa' qwa'u'* to walk off, *qa(·)rī'm·uk·U qwa'u'* to ride off, *ma'nī qwau'* off in that direction, *i'tēi qwau' tin·a'xwa'a* go hunt in this direction (355, 10); *qwa'u-t·uγwα-c·U* (facing) the other way, turned around (408, 13)
qwau-t·ui- to cause to go off: *qwa'u-t·ui-yi'-ηWA* to make him (inv.) go ahead, proceed; iter. *qWA'qwa'U'-t·ui-yi'-aηA* causes him to go ahead several times

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- QWI-^s left (side): *qwi'-ni* my left, *qwi'-mi'tux-wA* to the left
qwi'-tsi- left-handed: *qwi'-ts* left-handed (male name)
qwi- in comp. n.: *qwi'-m'ɔ-ni* my left hand; *qwi'-vu'i-ni* my left eye
-qwi- in comp. n.: *A'ta'-q-wi'* sand-left-hand (Song 184); *tɔ'ca'-q-wi'-i-ts* white-left-hand (personal name)
- QWI-^o smoke:
qwi'-q-a- to smoke (intr.): *qwi'-k-a-i'* (it) smokes; mom. *qwi'-k-a-ηU* to start to smoke; ptc. *qwi'-k-a-rī*, *qwi'-k-a-rī* smoke (of a house)
 incor.: *qwi'(-)'t-īηwα-p-īγai(y)-aηA* smoke-locked him, locked him up in smoke (444, 32); *qa(·)n-i'-q-w'e-c-ururuin'nɔa-i'* house-smoke-whirls (?), smoke-hole (416, 28)
- QWIA-^s grizzly bear:
qwia-γa-nti- abs.: *qwi'a-γa-nti*, *qwi'(y)a-γa-nti* grizzly bear, obj. *qwi'a-γa-nti'* (309, 2); plur. *qwi'a-γa-nti-m(w)ī*
qwia-tsi- abs.: *qwiγα'-ts* grizzly bear (309, 14); plur. *qwia'-tsi-ηwī*
-qwia-γa-nti- in comp. n.: *tɔca'-q-wiaγanti-m-a-matsi* white-grizzly-bear-woman (Song 158)
qwia-tsi- in comp. n.: *qwi(y)α'tsi-m-auma'uts iηA* the grizzly-bear-woman here (350, 11); *qwi(y)a'tsi-ηqa(·)ni 'u'ra'* towards the grizzly-bear-den
qwia-tsi- incor.: *qwi(y)a'tsi-ya(a)i'* hunts grizzly-bears; *qwi(y)a'tsi-nti'qaη'wI* to become a grizzly-bear
- QWI'A- fence:
qwi'a-p-ī- fence: *qwi'(y)α'-p-ī* fence; in comp. n. *ɔvi'-ηqwi'(y)α-p-ī* wood-fence (personal name)
- QWIMPU- to wiggle:
qwimpu-γa- dur.: *qwimpu'-χ(w)a-i'* (it) wiggles, *qwimpu'-χ(w)a-va-n'ia-qA* it will wiggle
-qwimpu-q-i-ηqī- to make wiggle (with instr. pref.): *ma-γwi'mpU^z-q(w)ι-ηqī* to make wiggle with one's hand; *tA^z-qwi'mpU^z-q(w)ι-ηqī* to tilt up with the foot (while walking along)
- QWI-MO-RA-ⁿ (?):
 in comp. vb.: *kwi'mv^urα-ntuk-a-mua-γa'* (several) going in order to eat people up (myth form) (370, 5)
- QWI-N-ORɔ'-ⁿ blanket (cf. *narɔ'-n*):
qwi'n-orɔ'-mḽi- abs.: *qwi'-n-orɔ'ɔ-mḽi* clothing, blanket (452, 8)
- QWINUN'NU- to revolve: *qwinu'n'nu-i'* (it) turns around
qwiηqwin-uηqwa- iter.: ptc. *qwiηqwi'n-uηqwa-rī* turning around, revolving continually (Song 154)

QWIN·O·RA- wolf (?):

-*qwin·o·ra-tsi-* abs. in comp. n.: *ava'ti-ηqwin·o·ra-ts-* big-wolf (?), wolf

QWI'᠔Q·I- to be hollow and round: ptc. *qwi'᠔q(w)·i-tci*, *qwi'᠔q(᠔)·i-tci* round and hollow, solid high ring, hollow ball, circular valley

paï-ηqwi'᠔q-i- to be perfectly hollow and round: ptc. *paï'-ηqwi'᠔q(ʷa)·i-tci*, *pa'-ηqwi'᠔q(᠔)·i-tci* perfectly round and hollow, smooth and hollowed (like a round basket)

qwi'᠔q·i-q·ai- res.: *paï'-ηqwi'᠔q(w)·i-kai(y)-aq·A* it is smooth and hollowed, *paï'-ηqwi'᠔q(w)·i-kai(y)-aq·ai(y)-aq·A* it has been smoothed and hollowed (?), it is smooth and hollowed (450, 26); *tca'-a-χwi'᠔q·i-k'a'* there are marks of wrinkles (450, 28)

QWIP·A- to hit, to strike, to throw (tr.); to strike, to fall (intr.):

qwi'p·a- tr.: *kwi'p·A* to hit, *kwi'pa'-ni* hit me, beat me (398, 27), *kwi'pa'-p·i'ya'* struck at (313, 10)

qwi'p·a- intr.: *qwi'p·A* to fall, *kwi'pa'-p·i'ya'* fell down (dead), struck (the ground as he fell) (404, 24; 373, 3)

ta-qwi'p·a- to fall with the foot: *ta'-qwi'p·A* to stumble

qwi'p·a-m·i- usit. *kwi'pa'-mi-pi'ya'* (they) always threw (321, 13)

qwiq'wip·a- iter.: *kwi'kwi'p·a-i'* hits several times, *kwi'kwi'p·A-pi'ya'* hit several times (324, 11)

qwi'p·a- in comp. vb.: *kwi'pa'-p·aγ(a)·i-ηqw'ai-χa'* hitting as (he) went along (434, 31), iter. *kwi'pa'-p·A·pax·i-pi'ya'* whipped and kept moving (476, 1)

na-γwip·a-q·a- recip. plur.: *na(·)-γw(᠔)·i'p·A²-qa-p·i'ya'* (they) hit each other (440, 28)

with incor. instr.: *qwa'si'-xwi'pa-p·i'χai(y)-aq·A* with (his) tail (he) hit it (458, 5)

qwi'p·a-n'ni'mpï- striking instrument: *kwi'pa'-n'ni'mpï* shinny-stick
-*qwi'p·a-* in comp. vb.: *təηwə't·ui-ηqwip·a-ηw·A* to knock him (inv.) down with the fist

-QWIVĪ- to squeeze:

ma- with the hand: *ma(·)-χwi'vu-i'* squeezes with the hand

ta- with the foot: *ta'-qwi'vu-i'* squeezes with the foot; iter. *ta'ta'-qwi'vu-χw'ai-ηw·A* go and squeeze her by stepping on (her) (446, 37)

QWIVUA·- top: *qwivua'·a-q·A* top of it, *qwivv(·)'a-m·a-q·A* on top of it (394, 27), *qwivvua'·m·a·q'·a-η·A qar'i'i'* on top of it he sits, *qwivvua'·m·anti-m·a-nayqwa·q·A* from its top down, *qwivvua'·m·anti-m·a-nayqwa-n·ia-q·A* from its very top down

- QWIC·A-^s to flash: *qwi'ca'-i'* (it) flashes
qwiq'wic·a-, *qwi'c·a-* iter.: *qwi'qwi'c·a-i'* (it) flashes several times;
qwi'c·a-i' (it) sparks, (iron) sparks several times like lightning
-qwic·a- in comp. vb.: *tə'χwa^a-χwic·A* to flash purple (446, 27);
aŋqa'-χwic·A to flash red (446, 30); ptc. *aŋqa'-q-wiica-rī'* red-
flashing (obj.), lightning (317, 6)
- QWIT·ƏN'NI- round valley at the foot of a hill: ptc. *qwi'tə'n'ni-ntēi'*
semicircular valley at the foot of a hill
-qwit·ən'ni- in comp. ptc.: *paγa'-ŋqwitən'ni-ntēi'* cane-valley,
Canepatch creek
- QWIT·U-ⁿ buttocks, anus: *kwi't·U*, *qwi't·i* buttocks, *kwi'tu'-ni* my
buttocks, *kwi'tu'-x·pə-q·o-aŋA* through his anus (40S, 4)
qwit·u-mpi- abs.: *kwi'tu'-mpi* buttocks
qwit·u- in comp. n.: *kwi'tə'-əpaq·i·p·i* buttocks-hole, anus; *kwi'tu'-
n·ai'γ·i·rī* anus-copulator, pederast; *kwi'ti'-i·oγ·ə-t·i'* anus-copulat-
ing-place, person used for pederastic purposes
-qwit·u- in comp. n.: *pi'ka'-χwit·i* sore-anus (personal name)
- QWIT·UA- bottom: *kwi'tu'a'* bottom, *kwi'tu'a(i)-ya·q·A* the bottom
(obj.) of it, *quna'vī kwi'tu'a'-va'* at the bottom of a sack (358, 3)
- QWITCA- to defecate: *qwitca'-n·a·ŋA* his defecating, excrement (410,
14); usit. *qwitca'-m·i'* is wont to defecate (410, 11)
qwitca-γw'ai- to go to defecate: *qwitca'-χw'əi-p·i'γa'* went to defecate
(40S, 1)
qwitca-p·i- pas. ptc.: *qwitca'-p·i* what is defecated, excrement,
qwitca'-p·i-a·ŋA his excrement (obj.) (410, 28); in comp. n.
pv'tsi-γwitcap·i star-excrement, shooting stars
qwitca- in comp. vb. (= excrement): *qwitca'-t·i'ma-i'* buries
excrement
qwitca- in comp. vb. (= to defecate): *qwitca'-χari-p·i'γa'* sat down
and defecated (357, 12)
qwitca- in comp. n.: *qwitca'-q·anu'-a·ŋwA* his (inv.) defecating-
house (obj.) (406, 36)
- QWITCAC·i-^s wild onion: *qwitca'c·i* wild onion (used as medicine)
qwitcac·i-vī-aγai- to be provided with wild onions: ptc. *qwitca'c·i-
v^w·i-aγa-nti* (country) that has wild onions
- QWITCUMPI- to assemble (intr.): *qwitcu'mpi-p·i'γa'* (they) gathered
together, came together one by one (412, 2)
- QWITCUVA-^s to be peaked, a hill: ptc. *kwi'tcu'v^wa-rī*, *qwitcu'va-rī*
mountain peak, knoll
qwitcuva-tsi-tēi- dim. ptc.: *qwitcu'va-tsu-tēi* knoll; distr. *kwi'kwi'tcuva-
tu-tēi'* (those places) that are peaked, knolls (obj.) (370, 11)

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- qwitcuva-* in comp. ptc.: *qa'iva-γwitcuva-rī* mountain peak, obj. *qa'iva-χwitcuva-rī*' (363, 1)
- QWĪ'U-ⁿ: *qwi'u'-mpa-tst-wī* ?-water-people, Paiute band formerly dwelling west of Sevier Lake
- QWIYA-^s scrub oak:
- qwiya-vī-* abs.: *qwi'ya-φī*, *qwi'a-φī* scrub oak, *qwi'ya-vī awa'anA* on an oak, *qwi'ya-vī-mA* on (the surface of) an oak
- qwiya-* in comp. n.: *qwi'a-numts*, *qwi'ya-munts* oak-mountain, Paunsaugunt Plateau; *qwi'ya-rīnaφī* oak-stump (Song 63)
- qwiya-vī-* in comp. n.: *pa-γwi(·)'aφī* water-oak, red oak growing along rivers
- QWĪYU- to mark a wavy line:
- tst-* with a pointed object: distr. *tst-tst'-k-wiyu-i'* scrapes wavy lines
- QWĪ'YU-ⁿ crown of the head: *qwi(·)'YU* crown of the head, *qwiyu'-mpa-ni* at the crown of my head, obj. *qwiyu'-mpa-ηqu-ni*
- qwi'yu-mpi-* abs.: *qwi'yu'-mpi*, *qwiyu'-mpi* crown of the head
- qwi'yu-* in comp. n.: *tst'tst'-χwiyu-ni* my head-crown, the center of my head
- QWĪ- to take (sing. obj.): *nī' qwī(·)'-q-wA* I take it (inv.), *nīa'q qwīi'-v^oa-n'v'* I shall take it, fut. ger. *qwīi'-va-tst-* being about to take (385, 1)
- qwīi-ηu-* mom.: *qwīi'-ηU* to start to pick up
- qwīq-wī'* iter.: *nī'aq qwī'qwī''-i'* I take it several times
- with incor. n.: *quna'-q-wīi'-va'* will seize fire (382, 6); *quma'-χwīi'-ηwA* to take him (inv.) for a husband; *piηwa'-χw'i-p-īγai(y)-aηA* took her for (his) wife (396, 20), *piηwa'-χwīi'-pī-ηwA* his (inv.) wife-taken, the wife that he had taken (398, 18); *puad'-χwīi'* (medicine-man) takes out (disease) with (his) supernatural power
- QWĪ'^{NI-Q}AI- (res.) to strut one's breast pigeon-fashion: *qī'(i)'NI^z-k(a)i'* struts out (his) breast, *qī'(i)'NI^z-k(a)i-yī-n'v'* acts as though strutting out (his) breast, *qī'(i)'NI^z-k(a)i-pīγa.i-n'v'a-mī* they 2 acted as though putting (their) breasts out and heads back (402, 4)
- QWĪRI- to rake out:
- tst-* with a stick: *tst-qwī'ri'-na-p'īγa'* (mom.) raked out (one animal, plant) with a stick (456, 8); *tst-qwī'ri-tca-i'* rakes out several (animals, plants) with a stick
- QWĪRĪ- to get up:
- qwīrī-q-i-* to get up: *qwīrī'-q-i-pīγa'*, *q^wīrī'-k-i-pīγa'*, *qwīrī'-k-i-pīγa'*

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SAPIR

- got up (310, 3; 312, 9; 394, 5), *qwiri'-k-i-yi-ahA* he is getting up (460, 1); usit. *qwiri'-k-i-m-ʔ* always gets up (468, 13)
qwit-i-q-i- mom.: *qwit'-k-i-pi'ya'* got up (quick, excitedly) (310, 2)
 QWɔ'A-^o tobacco:
qwa'a-p-i- abs.: *qwa'a'-p-i* Indian tobacco
qwa'a- incor.: *qwa'a'-t-i'qa-i'* tobacco-eats, smokes, *qwa'a'-t-i'qa-q-w'a'i'* smokes away, keeps on smoking, usit. *qwa'a'-t-i'qa-m-ʔA* always smokes; *qwa'a'-t-a-ɣwa-i'* smokes tobacco
 QWɔRɔ-ɣA- to make a sound like a cork in a bottle: cont. *qwa'ɔɔ'-xa-n-i-i'* (it) makes a noise as of something hard shaken in an enclosed object (e. g. a cork in a bottle)
 -QWɔTSAYAI- to wrap around (?):
pi-q-wɔtsayai-p-i- wrapped around the buttocks (?): *pi-qwa'tsa(i)-yai-p-i* breech-clout

s (c)

c + don't! shut up! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)

SA'-ⁿ raw, unripe:

- sa-ɣqa-* to be raw, unripe: *sa-ɣqa'-i'* (it) is unripe, not cooked, *sa'-ɣqa-χob-q-wA* when it (inv.) is raw (377, 9)
sas'a-ɣqa- distr.: *sA'sa'-ɣqa(i)-i'* several things are unripe
sa- in comp. vb.: usit. *sa'a-nliq-a(-)-m-i-p-i'ya'* was accustomed to eat (him) raw (462, 37)
 SA'A-^o to boil (tr.), to make mush: *sa'a'-i'* boils, *wa'a(-)'mɔi sa'a'-i'* makes mush out of cedar-berries
sa'a-q-a- plur.: *sa'a'-q-a-i'* several boil
sas'a'a- iter.: *sA'sa''a-i'* boils several times
sa'a-ɣqi- to make mush for: *sa'a'-ɣqi-ahA* make mush for him (410, 5); impers. *sa'a'-ɣqi-tua(i)-yi-ni* they (impers.) make mush for me, mush is made for me, *sa'a'-ɣqi-tua(i)-yi-χwa-noa-n 'ɔai'* mush was made for me, *sa'a'-ɣqi-tua-va-n-ia-noa-ni* mush will be made for me; plur. *sa'a'-ɣqi-qa-va-ŋ'wai(y)-am-i* shall not make mush for them (462, 29)
 with incor. obj.: *ov^va'-c'a'a-i'* soup-boils, boils meat
na-s'a'a- refl.: *NA'-sa''a-i'* boils self, takes a sweat-bath; in comp. n. *NA'-sa''a-qani* sweat-house
sa'a-p-i- what is boiled as mush: *sa'a'-p-i*, *c'i'a'-p-i* mush, Mush (personal name), obj. *sa'a'-p-i'* (373, 4)
sa'a- mush (incor.): distr. *sa'a'-m'amax-qai-ni* several have given me mush (373, 6)

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- sa'a-p-i*- in comp. n.: *Aʔq̄i'-c'ap'i* sunflower-seed mush; *wa'a'i-c'i'ap'i* mush of *wa'ʔAi-* seeds (q. v.); *wara'-c'i'ap'i* mush of *wa'RA-* seeds (q. v.); *para'ḡwara-c'a'api* pumpkin mush; *o'c'i-ca'ap'i* yucca mush
- sa'a-p-i*- pas. ptc.: in comp. ptc. *ʔa'-c'a'ap'i* boiled corn
- C'A'A- (mod. enc.) and, but, then! (Gram., § 19, 2, i)
- SA'AI- to melt: *sa'i-yi* melts (intr.)
- sa'ai-t'ui-* caus.: *sa'a'i-t'ui'* causes to melt
- SA'MA- to spread out (a blanket): *sa(·)'ma'-i'* spreads out in order to lay on (e. g. bedding)
- sa'ma-q'ai-* res.: *sa'ma'-q'a'* to lie spread out; ptc. with incor. n. *ʔ(·)'u-s'a'm-a-q-a-nṭi-ni'* like timber laid low (on the ground) (474, 25)
- sa'ma-p-i-* pas. ptc.: *sa(·)'ma'-p-i'* spread out, cover on which something is laid or put; in comp. n. *qava'-sa'mαp'i* horse-cover, saddle blanket, *na(·)γa'-c'am'αp'i* mountain-sheep robe, *tṭiγ'A-cam'αp'i* deer-robe
- C'AMPA- (mod. enc.) only, except, but, although (Gram., § 19, 2, j)
- C'AMPĪA-: in *tṭiḡwī-c'ampīa-ya'i-* to hurry (q. v.)
- SAIWA-^s sagebrush:
- saḡwa-vi-* abs.: *saḡwa'-ḡi* sagebrush (389, 13)
- saḡwa-* in comp. n.: *saḡwa'-waγantī-m'am'atsv* sagebrush-singer-woman (Song 172)
- SAP'YA- to overcome: *qatcu'aḡA sa'pi'ḡa-ḡwa'a* did not overcome him, injure him in combat
- sap'iḡa-q-a-* plur.: *sa'pi'ḡA-qa-va-tsi-ḡWA* all being about to overcome him (inv.)
- sap'iḡa-t-i-* pas.: ptc. *sa'pi'ḡA-ti-rī* one who is overcome
- sap'iḡa-m-i-* usit.: pas. ptc. *sa'pi'ḡa-m-i-p'i* one always overcome
- sas'ap'iḡa-* iter. usit.: *sa'sa'p'iḡa-m'a-ni* is wont to overcome me (several times)
- SAP'ī-^s belly:
- sap'i-vi-* abs.: *sa'pī'-ḡ(w)* belly
- incor.: pas. ptc. *sa'pī'-ḡwi'tca-p'i* belly-wrapped, cinch
- SAVITCA- to hop off:
- savitca-γi-* dur.: *savī'tca-ḡi-p'iḡa'* hopped off in several hops (used only of rabbits) (389, 7); plur. *savī'tca-ḡi-k'a-i'* several (rabbits) hop off
- C'A'YAI- to seek:
- pu-ca'γai-* to seek with the eye, to look for: *pu'ca'ḡa-i'* hunts for,

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- pu'ca'χai-p'ïγai-aŋA* looked for her (374, 4), *pu'ca'γai-p'ïγai(y)-aq'A* looked around for it (404, 10)
- with incor. obj.: *pa(·)-vu'caxa-i'* hunts for water; *wi'-p'u'caxai-χa'* while looking for a knife (458, 8); inc. *na-mpu'cayai'-ku-p'ïγa'* started to look for a track (458, 13)
- CAYOI- old (?): in comp. n. *mam'a''-cayoi-tsi-* old woman (q. v.)
- SAΓWA-^s blue:
- saγwa-γa-* to be blue: ptc. *sa(·)γwa'-χa(·)-rii*, *caγwa'-γa-rii*, *caγwa'-χa-rii* blue (e. g. sky), green (e. g. grass), gray (320, 8)
- saγwa-n'na-* to paint blue: *sa(·)γwa'-n'na-i'* paints blue, red
- saγwa-γa-ri-* in comp. ptc.: *A'su'-s-aγwa-γa-rii* very light blue; *qu'tca'-c-aγwa-γa-rii* light blue; *tu'-c-aγwa-γa-rii* black-blue, dark blue; *maa'-c-axwa-rii* plant-blue, green (Song 139)
- saγwa-* in comp. n.: *saγwa-v'ap-i* blue mare (Song 117); *saγwa'-χaitcaxwα-n-ïγwi-γwi* blue-hat-people, bluejays (440, 30); *caγwa'-xucaφi* gray-hawk, *caγwa'-xucav aŋA* the chicken-hawk (360, 4); *caγwa'-η'wintsi'its-* bluebird
- saγwa-* in comp. vb.: *pa-sa'χwa-vyuu-k'ai-p'ïγai-n-i'* looked water-gray in (her) eyes (470, 2); *saxwα'-viri'r'i-pa-ts-* blue-hanging-down-spring (place name)
- saγwa-ri-* being blue (?): *saxwa'rii*, *sa(·)χwa'rii* lizard (sp.) of bluish color that was eaten roasted or boiled
- SAΓWIA-^s stomach, belly: *saxw(ε)'ia-ni* my belly, *saxwi(·)'a-i'a-ŋWA* her stomach (obj.) (374, 6)
- saγwia-vi-* abs.: *saxwi(·)'a-φi*, *saxw(a)'ia-φi*, *saxwi'ya-φi*, *sa-γwo'i-φi* stomach, belly
- saγwia-in'ni-* pos.: *saxw(ε)'ia-in'ni-ni* my owned belly (some animal's paunch that I possess as meat)
- saγwia-* in comp. n.: dim. *qamii'-saγwαya-tsi-γα-ntii* having a little jackrabbit-stomach (Song 178)
- incor.: *saxwi(·)'a-φA^zqa-ηqï-pïγa'* had a stomach-ache (374, 10)
- SAN'A-^o gum: *san-a-p-i-* abs.: *sana'-p-i*, *san'a'p-i*, *sa(·)n'a'-p-i*, *sa(·^a)na'-p-i* gum, pine-gum, sap, juice
- san'a-p-i-* in comp. n.: *nanqa'φA-cana-p-i* ear-gum, ear-wax
- san-a-n'na-* to put on gum: *sa(·)na'-n'na-i'* smears on gum
- san-a-* in comp. n.: *sa(·)n'a'-t'ots-* gum-head; *sa(·)n'a'-ηwits-* gum-knife; *sa(·)n'a'-atci* gum-bow; *sa(·^a)na'-ηw'a(i)-ya-φi* his own gum-penis (obj.) (326, 12)
- incor.: *sana'-q'utsuk-i-ts-* gum-burner (man's name)

-SARA- baby:

-sara- in comp. n.: abs. *anqa'-s-ara-ts* red-baby, infant (term used by Escalante Paiutes, but not Kaibab Paiutes; *sara'-ts* not used alone); dim. *anqa'-sara'-tsu-tsu-gay* when (he) is a red little baby (Song 179)

SA'RA-ŸA- to make a noise with a rattle in the mourning ceremony: *sa'ra-xa(i)-yü-ni'*, *ca'ra-xa(i)-yü-ni'* makes a noise with the rattle used in the mourning ceremony

-CARA- to open, to bare (?):

qï-c-ara- to open one's mouth wide: *qï'-ca'ra-(i)-yü-anA* (snake) opens (his) mouth

qï-c-ara-q-ai- res.: *qï'-ca'ra-q-ai-p'ïŸa'* (his) mouth remained open with incor. obj.: res. *tü'vü-k-i-cara-q-ai-p'ïŸa'* (his) mouth was filled with earth (404, 20)

CARAŸA-:

caraŸa-nümpï- (instr. n.) shell: *cara'Ÿa-nümp(w)I* shell; dim. *cara'Ÿa-nämpu(i)-tsi'* little rattle-like shell (obj.) (331, 4)

SARI-^s dog:

sari-tsi- abs.: *sari'ï-tsi-* dog, *sari'-tci aro'^a* it is a dog, *sari'-tci-tcu' aro'^a* is it a dog?

sari-tsi-Ÿai- to be a dog: *nü' sari'-tci-Ÿa'* I am a dog, usit. ptc. *sari'ï-tsi-Ÿai-vü-tci'* always being a dog

sari- in comp. n.: *sari'ï-ŸumA* dog-male, male dog; *sari'ï-tcu(w)a-ts* dog-child, little dog; *sa(^a)ri'ï-Ÿwitcap'ï'* dog-excrement (obj.) (329, 7)

sari-vunqu-Ÿai- to have a dog: *nü' cari'-vunqu-Ÿ(w)a'* I have a dog, *sari'-vunqu-Ÿ(w)ai-anA* he has a dog, usit. ptc. *sari'ï-vunqu-Ÿ(w)ai-vü-tci'* always owning a dog

sari- incor.: *sari'ï-t-ïqa-ts* dog-eater, Arapaho Indian; plur. *sari'ï-t-ïqa-mü* dog-eaters, Arapaho Indians

-sari-, -sari-tsi- in comp. n.: *yu(w)a'-sari'-tci-Ÿwï* dogs of the plain, coyotes (Song 174); dim. *to-sari'-m-a-m'atsi-tsi-gai'* when (she) is a little black-dog-woman (Song 181)

-C'ARŸŸI- to splash:

with incor. obj.: *pa'-c-arŸŸ-its* water-splasher (when he darts down to drink), swallow

SARU- hoarse:

saru-tsi- abs.: *saru'-ts* hoarse

saru- in comp. vb.: *saru'-ampara-i'* talks hoarse

SAYA-^s backbone: *sa'ïA* backbone

saya-vi- abs.: *saya'-phi* backbone, *saya'-v* (460, 23)

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- SI'I-^s to urinate: ptc. *si'i'-tcī* one who urinates, perf. ptc. *si'i'-k'a-ntī*
 one who has urinated
tī-s'i'i- to urinate well: *tī'(i)-si'i'* urinates well (e. g. after keeping
 water back long)
sis'i'i- iter.: plur. *s:si''i-k'a-n'a-mū* what they always urinate,
 their urine (434, 25)
si'i-p-ä- pas. ptc.: *si'i'-p-ü* what is urinated, urine, *si'l'-p-ü-a-ηA*
 her urine (obj.) (periphrasis for "vagina") (446, 34), *si'i'-p-u-mi*
 your urine, vulva, *si'i'-p-i'(r)-a(·)'m 'ḡqi'* your urine (obj.)
 (353, 7)
- SI'A- plant (sp.): *si''a* plant whose stalks are eaten raw in June
 (*Refinesquia californica?*)
- SIA·M'ṢḶḶ- scorpion (?):
si'a'm'ṣḶḶ-tsi- abs.: *si'a'm'ṣḶḶ-tṣ* "worm-like, long-tailed animal
 about as long as a finger, of reddish yellow color, with three or
 four legs on each side; it hits with its tail, causing a swelling
 and pain, creeps on and sometimes into the earth, and lives
 chiefly in sandy country"
 in comp. n.: *si'a'm'ṣḶḶ-ṣḶḶ-wṣḶḶ-ṣḶḶ-wṣḶḶ* scorpion (?)-people (438, 33)
- SI'IM·O·RA-ⁿ bumble bee:
si'im·o·ra-mpi- abs.: *si'l'm·o·ra-mpi* bumble bee
- SIḶQWA-NANQWA-T-*ī-* the other of two (ptc. of *-nanqwa-* postp.):
 in comp. n.: *siḶqwa'nāḶqwat-ī-aḶḶvī-a-ηA* her other arm (obj.)
 (364, 4), *siḶqwa'nāḶqwat-ī-aḶḶvī-ni* my other arm; *siḶqwa'nāḶq-*
qwat-ī-pu'(w)ī'-ni my other eye
- SI·P-I- sheep (< Eng *sheep*):
si·p-i-tsi- abs.: *si'l·p-i-tṣ*, *ci'l·p-i-tṣ* sheep
- SIVA- to whittle: *sivā-i'* whittles
sis'iva- iter.: *s:si'va-i'* whittles many times
 with incor. obj.: *wī'ci'A-sivā(i)-γī* scrapes a quill smooth; *wawa(·)'*
s:wā-tṣ having whittled a foreshaft to a cane arrow (458, 18)
- SIVAVAI-^s to drop sheer (?) (cf. *siva-* to whittle?):
 with incor. n.: *tūmp'w'l'-s:wavai-tcī* rock-precipitous, cliff, precipice
- SIVI-ⁿ Sibit band of Paiutes:
sivi-tsi- abs.: *sivl'-tṣ-wī* Sibit Paiutes formerly living at Trumbull
 Mt., Arizona, now at St. George, Nev.
sivi- in comp. n.: *sivi'-nṣiv'p-ü-v'α'* at the Sibit country (444, 20),
sivi'(·i)-nṣiv'p-u-v'a-ni at the Sibit country . . . I (478, 6)
- CIIVU-^s hair (?):
 in comp. n.: abs. *pu'tī'-c'üvu-φi* eyeball (?)-hair (?), eyelash

- SIK'I-N'NA- to turn the head to a side: *s'ki'-n'na-i'* turns the head to a side
sis'ik'i-n'na- iter.: *si'si'ki'-n'na-i'* keeps turning the head to a side
- SIK'U-S,^o squirrel: *si'k'u* squirrel (any kind)
sik'u-tsi- dim.: *s'qu'-ts* gray squirrel (*Sciurus castanonotus?*);
 plur. *s'qu'-tsi-ηwī* gray squirrels
sik'u-mpī- squirrel-plant: *s'qu'-mpī* "rabbit bush," bush with yellow blossoms; in comp. n. *s'qu'-rumpa'ya'* mouth of rabbit-bush canyon (place name, said to be called "Skoorumpaw" in English)
- SIYA-S crack, long opening:
siya-γai- to have a crack: ptc. *siχa'-χα-ntī* crack in the rocks; with incor. n. *tūmp^w's-iyā-a-χα-ntī* rock with a crack big enough to see through
-na-siya- (recip.) opening between two long things: in comp. n. *pi-na'-siχa-ni* the cleft at my buttocks, my crotch, where my legs part; *ta-n-a-siya-* foot-cleft, *tan'a'c'ixA* hoofs, abs. *tan'a'c'ixA-φi* hoofs, *tana'c'ixA(i)-ya-ηA* his hoofs (obj.) (404, 11) *qu'tcu'-ntan-as-iyā-ηwūxī* buffalo-foot-cleft-vulva, (girl) with a vulva like a buffalo's hoof-cleft
- SIYA-γA- to make a scraping, rustling noise: cont. *si'γa-xa-n'i-yī-n-i'* makes a noise as of feet scraping on the ground, of a lizard rustling on leaves or in his rock-crack
- SIYI-S^o spear:
siyi-c'i- spear: *siyi'-c-i* spear for spearing bears, sword
 incor.: *siχi'-t'ona* to pierce, hit with a spear, stick
- SIYD'Q- "sego": *siyD'()*"^o "sego," sort of "wild onion"
- SIYU-N navel: *si'x'u* navel
siyu-mpi- abs.: *siχu'-mpi* navel
- SIYWA'A- to braid:
 incor. *pa'i'x-i-siχwa'a-i'* braids the hair of the head
- SIU-N light gray (pebble-colored? cf. *siu-n* gravel):
siu-ηqa- to be light gray: ptc. *siu'-ηq(w)a-rī* light gray (like some glasses or pebbles, rabbit's eyes)
siu- in comp. vb.: *si'u-mpun-uk-arī-p'iyai-n-i'* (something) sat looking light gray in the eyes (466, 7)
- SIU-N gravel:
 in comp. n.: *suu'-mpa-ts* gravel-spring (place name)
- CIU'- to slip:
pa'i-nta-c'iu'-k-i-ηqī- to slip on something smooth: *pa'-ntA'-cu^w-k(w)i-ηqī* to slip on something smooth

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sɪ'yu-^s to slide:*si'yu-γa-* dur.: *si'yu'-χ(w)a-i'* slides*si'yu-q-i-* mom.: *si'yu'-q'(w)l* to take a slide, to slip*si'yu-γi-* to come sliding: *si'o'y'o-χ(w)ι-nA* (glass, stones, snow, ice) coming sliding (Song 195)with incor. n.: *ɔ'ɔ'mp-s-ω(°)-χ(w)a-i'* (dur.) slides in a gamecī-^o cold:*cī-* vb. pref.: *c-tu''-i'* is cold weather, *cɪ'-tu'i-y'ï-q-wA*, *c-tu'i-y'ï-q-wA* it (inv.) is cold weather; *cɪ'-p'i'n-i-k'ai-n-i'* to look like cold, to be draughty, chilly; *MA'-cɪ'-q-ia(i)-yï-ni* my hands are cold; *ta-c-ï-n'ai-* feet burn from cold (see *c-ï-n'ai-*)*cī-p-a-* cold feeling, suffering cold: incor. *c-pa'-i'ai'* cold-dies, (he) is cold, *cɪ'pα'-i'αi-yï-ni* I feel cold; plur. *cɪ'pa'-i'ai-k'a-i'* several feel cold*cī-p-ï-* cold (of objects): incor. *c-pi'-ra-i'*, *cɪ'p'i'-ra-i'* (it, e. g. ice) is cold, plur. *cɪ'p'i'-RA^z-qa-i'* several (e. g. pieces of ice) are cold; *cɪ^zp'i'-χirutca-q ai-p'ïγai-n-i'* felt as though a cold breeze passed through (his) head (373, 7)*cī-p-ï-* in comp. n.: *cɪ'pu'-v^oa'* cold water; pos. dim. *cɪ'pu'-v^oa'-in-i-nts-γai-m-i'* is wont to have a little cold water (456, 2)-cī-N'AI- to burn from cold (*cī-* cold + *na'ai-* to burn):*ta-* in the feet: *tA'-cɪ'n'ai-yï-ni* I foot-cold-burn, my feet burn from the cold (e. g. from walking barefoot in the snow), *tA'-cɪ'n'ai-k'ai-ni* my feet have burned from intense cold, snow has burned my feetcīi-^s strong:*cīi-γai-* to be strong: ptc. *cīi'-xa-nli* strongcīi-^s "squaw-bush" stems used for basketry:*cīi-vi-* abs.: *cīi'-φi*, *cīu'-φ(w)l* squaw-bush stems*cīi-vi-mpi-* "squaw-bush" (abs.): *cīi'-v^oι-mpi* squaw-bush, *cīi'-v^oι-mpi-a(i)-ya(u)-v* his own squaw-bush (obj.) (369, 4)*cīi-γa-* to get "squaw-bush" stems: *cīi'-xa-xw'ai'* goes for squaw-bush stems, *si'-γa-χw'ai-p'ïγa'* went to get squaw-bush stems (456, 23); *cīi'-xa-ηqi-xw'ai-ni* go to get squaw-bush stems for me (369, 2); in comp. vb. *cīi'-x-A'-ïv^oιtcu-p'ïγai(y)-aηA* asked him to get squaw-bush stems (456, 22)*cīi-ru-* to make a basket of "squaw-bush" stems: *cīi'-RU^z-q(w)ARU-piγa'* was making a squaw-bush basket as (she) sat (450, 16)*cīi-* in comp. n.: *cīi'-v^oa-ts* squaw-bush spring (place name); *si'-va-r'i'mbι-ma-haiyo* from a squaw-bush-spring-rock (Song 183); *cī'-γaitcaxU* squaw-bush cap, woman's basket-cap

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- c'ü-vi- in comp. n.: *to'-c'ü-φ(w)*_I black-squaw-bush; small, black plant whose black leaves, curving up into thorns, are split up into strands for sewing material when designs in black are desired
- cī'ī-^o blossom:
cī'ī-p'i- abs.: *cī'ī'-p*_I, *cī'ī'(i)-p*_I blossom
-c'ī'ī-p'i-, *-c'ī'ī-* in comp. n.: *ma(·)'a'-c'ī'ī*_p_I plant-blossoms, flower blossom (female's name); *maa(·)''-c'iu-t-campi-φī* blossoms of locust tree (cf. *piyai t-campi-^o* locust tree)
- c'īA-^o pink, rosy-colored:
-c'īa-q-a- to be pink (only used to qualify otherco lors): ptc. *tv'-c'ia-q-a-rī* black-rosy, brown; *aq'a'-c'ia-q-a-rī* red-rosy, pink; *to'ca'-c'ia-q-a-rī* white-rosy, very light pink (between pink and white)
- cīA-^o sapling:
cīa-p'ī- abs.: in comp. n. *wa'a'-c'iap'ī* cedar-sapling; *oγo'-c'iap'ī* fir-sapling; *γiv'v'ī'-c'iap'ī* long-leaved pine sapling, *pa(i)-yī'φi'-sīa'pu-tsi-mA* on a little long-leaved pine sapling growing along the water (458, 33); *īiv'wa'-c'iap'ī* pinon sapling
cīa- in comp. n.: *cīa'-p'iaφ*_I sap of a young tree
- cīA-P'ī- after sunset (cf. *ta-c'īa-ⁿ* dawn): *cīa'-p'ī'* (obj.) after sunset, when it is already dark, evening, early night
cīa-p'ī-a- in comp. n.: *cīa'p'īa-ruγwanU* dark up to midnight
- cīMī- Muddy River, Nev.:
cī'mī-ntsi- abs.: *cī'mī'-ntsi-* Muddy River (Song 147)
- cīm'īA-^o to let go: *cim'wī'** to let go, *cimī''a-ηWA* to leave him (inv.), *nī' cīm'wī''a-q-wA* I let it (inv.) go, *cimī''A^x-qai-ni* left me, *cimī''A^x-pīγa'ai-k-wA* let it (inv.) go (313, 11)
cīcīm'īa- distr.: *ci'ci'm'īa-p'īγa'ai-ηWA* (they) left him (inv.) (there)
cīm'īa-q'w'ai- to let go moving away: *cīm'ī'x-qwa'^{ai}-pīγa'* left as (they) started away (450, 13)
cīm'īa-q'ī- to let go moving hither: *cīm'ī'α-k*_I to leave (him) and come away (450, 17)
with incor. obj.: *Nī'-ci'm'wī'** to let a person go
- cīN'A- maternal uncle, nephew; parallel cousin:
cīn-a-: *cūnα'-ni* my maternal uncle; *cūnα'-ni* my (male's) father's brother's son, older than I
cīn-a-tsi-, *cīn-a-ntsi-* dim.: *cūnα'-ntsi-ni* my nephew; *cūnα'-tsi-ni* my (male's) father's brother's son, younger than I

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CĪN·A·ŊWA-VI-ⁿ coyote (cf. *cīna'avi-* wolf, dog): *cīna'ηwαφI* coyote (common myth name) (308, 7), *cīna'ηwavi' tɔ'ts'ana* coyote (obj.) his-head, head of a coyote

cīn aηwavi-ηqai- to be a coyote: ptc. *cīna'ηwavi-ηka-ntī* being a coyote, inordinately amorous, (boy) who is crazy for girls, (girl) inordinately fond of boys, usit. ptc. *cīna'ηwavi-ηkai-vū-tcī* always being a coyote, "sissy" (446, 4)

cīc'īn aηwavi-ηqai- (distr.) several are coyote-like: neg. impers. *c'c'inaηwavi(y)-a'-q-u-t'ua-c'amp aηA* while others were not coyote-like, still he . . . (446, 4)

cīn aηwavi-'ai-ηqī- to act coyote-fashion to: *cīna'ηwavi-'ai-ηqī-i'* hugs, kisses, and teases (a girl) in all sorts of ways

cīn aηwavi- in comp. n.: *cīna'ηwavi-ntɔts I* (having a) coyote-head, coyote-headed, crazy-headed

cīn-a- in comp. n.: *cīna-'u(w)iaφI* coyote-song (one of the four types of mourning songs)

CĪN·A·'AVI-^s wolf, dog: *cna''aφI*, *cīna''aφI*, *cīn·a''aφI* wolf, dog

-c'īn·a'avi- in comp. n.: *ava't'ī-c'ina'aφI* large-wolf, gray wolf; *t'īRA'-cīn'avi-χai-va-ntī* destined to be a desert-wolf, coyote (464, 17)

-CĪN'I-:

with incor. n.: *MU²p^wi'k-I-cīn'i'* voids nasal mucus, blows (his) nose

CĪ'NI-K-I- to stick through (cf. *tsi'nik-i-*): *c'ni'-k-I-pīγa'* stuck (it) through (326, 13)

ta-c'īni- to stick through by throwing, to play cup and ball: plur.

tA'-c'īn'ī²-qa-va-raηWA let us (incl.) play cup and ball; *tA'-c'īn'ni-p I* cup and ball, game played with rabbit-head; usit. pas. ptc. *tA'-c'īn'ni-nīmpī* wherewith cup and ball is played, rabbit-head used in cup and ball game

CĪN Ī-MPĪ- vulva (not as coarse as *wīγīⁿ*, q.v.): *cīn'īmpī-aη aRī* her vulva (356, 4), *cīn'īmpī-α-nI* my vulva (obj.) (353, 11), *cīn'īmpī-a-η 'ai'* her vulva (obj.) (356, 6)

CĪηWA-ⁿ sandy gravel:

cīηwa-mpī- abs.: *cīηwα'-mpī* sandy gravel

ta-c'īηwa- gravel: abs. *tA'-c'īηwα-mpī* coarse gravel; incor. *t' A'-c'īηwi-yunta'q-a-γ(°)i'* (it) keeps changing color like gravel

-c'īηwa- in comp. n.: *pari'-s'īηwa-oīp I* sand-gravel-wash

-C'ĪηWI- count of fingers, ten (cf. *-c'īu-*):

-ma-c'īηwi- ten: *tɔγɔ'-m·A'cūηwi-YU* just-ten, ten; *cu(w)a'-rɔγɔ-*

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ma'cüŋwa-YU nearly-just-ten, nine; *waa(·)'-ma'cüŋwa-YU* two-ten, twenty; *pa(a)'i-ma'cüŋwa-YU* three-ten, thirty; *wa'tcü'ŋwa-ma'cüŋwa-YU* four-ten, forty; *manu'χi-ma'cüŋwa-YU* five-ten, fifty; *nava'i-ma'cüŋwa-YU* six-ten, sixty; *cv'yu-t-ɔɔɔ-ma'cüŋwa-YU* one-just-ten, one hundred (Gram., § 59, 1)

cīγī- lizard:

cīγī-p'itsi- lizard: *cīγī'-p'its* common, small lizard

cīγī-'mi-ntsi- lizard (sp.): *cīχī''mi-nts* lizard (sp.) (*Holbrookia*?)

pa-c'īγī-'mi- water-lizard: abs. *pa'-cī'γū'mu-nts*, *pa'-cu'χi'mi-nts* water-lizard, newt (?); in comp. n. *pa'cu'χi'mu-vaχariri* water-lizard lake (place name)

cīRA- Cedar City (< Eng. *cedar*): *cī'ra'* Cedar City, obj. *cī'ra-y uŋwa* the one of Cedar City (472, 7)

in comp. n.: *sī'ra-m a(·)m'a'ɔtsu-ŋwī-χ'a-m uŋwa* the Cedar City women then . . . them (472, 18)

cīRī'YA-, *cīRī'I-* to be, become frightened:

cīri'ya- to be frightened: *cīri''ya'*, *cīri'(i)'ya'* to be frightened, surprised; plur. *cīri''ya-qA* several are frightened

cīri'ya-t'ui- caus.: *cīri''ya-t'ui(y)-aŋA* to frighten him

cīcīri''ya-t'ui- iter. caus.: *cī'cī'ri''ya-t'ui-yī-ni* frightens me several times

cīri'i- to become frightened: *cīri''i-pī'ya'* was frightened (318, 7); with incor. n. *pu'i'-cīri'i-p'ī'ya'* became eye-frightened, was surprised (466, 19)

cīTCA'ʼA-^o sage hen: *cīca'ʼa'* sage hen, sage grouse; plur. *cīca'ʼa-mī*

cīTCAŋ'WAI- to fool, to tease: *cītca'ŋwai-yī-aŋA* teases him, *cītca'ŋwai-p'ī'ya'ai-mī* fooled them

cītcaŋwai-ŋu- mom.: *cītca'ŋwai-ŋu-ŋwa* to fool him (inv.)

with incor. obj.: *nī-cī'tcaŋwa't-χa'* while teasing a person

cīRCU- finger-nail, claw:

incor.: *cītcu-'ma-nu'k-i-pī'ya'* put (her) claws in (309, 14)

cītcu-m'mi- to pinch: *cītcu-'m'mu-ni* pinch me; iter. *c'cū'tcu-m'mu-χa'* always pinching (452, 13)

ma-c'ī(n)tcɔ'-ⁿ finger-nail: *MA'-cī'tcɔ'* finger-nail; abs. *MA'-cī'tcɔ-mpi*, *MA'-cī'nlcɔ-mpi* finger-nail

-c'īu-^s finger, toe:

ma-c'īu- finger: *MA'-cī'* finger; abs. *MA'-cī'u-φi* finger

ta-c'īu-vi- toe (abs.): *tA'-cī'u-φi* toe

cīYA-^s quaking asp:

cīya-vi- abs.: *cūa'-φī* quaking asp, obj. *cūya'-vī'* (336, 2)

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SAPIR

- sɔɔ-^s lung: sɔ(·)ɔ'-ni my lung
 sɔɔ-vi- abs.: sɔ(·)ɔ'-φi lung
 sɔɔ- in comp. n.: sɔ'-²ɔni'p-i lung-spirit (evil spirit believed in by the Utes)
- sɔ'ɔ-Q-I- to sit down: ni' sɔ'(w)ɔ'q-I I sit down
- sɔ'A- to sound like flowing water: sɔ'a(i)-yī-n-i' (it) makes a noise as of flowing water
- sɔ'I- soldier (< Eng. soldier):
 sɔ'i-tsi- abs.: sɔ''i-ts' soldier, sɔ'i'-tsi-ni' like a soldier (320, 9)
- cɔN-I-^s tinder: cɔ(·)ni'-mä-nti'u-mi-ni some of your tinder (give to) me (330, 13)
 cɔn-i-vi- abs.: cɔ(·)ni'-φi tinder, something to start a fire with
 incor.: ni' cɔni'-maxa(i)-ya-γa I give him tinder, some of my fine material
- sɔN-IA-ηwī- (anim. plur.) Great Bear: sɔ(·)ni'a-ηwī, sɔ(·)ni'a-ηwī seven stars of the Great Bear (believed to be transformed from Coyote's daughters who fled from him when he tried to rape them)
 sɔni'a-ηwī-γai- to be the Great Bear stars: fut. ptc. sɔ(·)ni'a-ηwī-xai-va-nti-mi who are destined to be the Great Bear (464, 16)
 incor.: sɔ(·)ni'a-ηwa-ri-xai-ηv-pi-γa' (they) became the Great Bear (464, 17)
- sɔP-ik-I-^s brains: sɔ'pi'k-i brains
 sɔpi'k-i-vi- abs.: sɔ'pi'k-i-φi brains
- sɔVAVU-^s cheek: sɔ(·)va'φi cheek
 sɔvavu-vi- abs.: sɔ(·)va'vo-φi cheek
- sɔ-VI-^o cottonwood:
 sɔvi-p-i- abs.: sɔ'vi-p-i cottonwood
 sɔvi- in comp. n.: cɔ'vi-nuq(w)nti cottonwood-stream (place name)
- sɔγɔ-: in comp. n. tümp^wl'-k-i-ε-hɔγɔ-ts' rock-laughter, sparrow (sp.)?
- sɔγɔ- Sioux Indian:
 sɔγɔ-tsi- abs.: sɔγɔ'-ts' Sioux Indian; plur. sɔγɔ'-tsi-ηwī
- sɔγɔ-^s moist earth:
 sɔγɔ-vi- abs.: sɔγɔ'-φi moist earth
 sɔγɔ-aγai- to be provided with moist earth: ptc. sɔχɔ'-axa-nti moist
 sɔγɔ-rī- moist: sɔχɔ'-rī moist (?), female name
 sɔγɔ-'ma-q'ai- (res.) moist earth is covered over (for -'ma- cf. sa'ma-): cɔγu'-m'^{MA}-qai' moist earth is covered over

- na-s·ɔɣɔ-'ma-* (refl.) to cover self with moist earth: *NA'-cɔ'χu-'ma-p-ïγa'* covered himself with earth (474, 14); cont. *nï'* *NA'-sɔ'γɔ-'ma-'ni-i'* I cover myself with moist earth, *NA'-sɔ'xɔ-'ma-'nu-p-ïγa'* covered himself with moist earth (400, 38); in comp. vb. *NA'-sɔ'xɔ-'ma-'vu-p-ïγa'* lay covered under dirt (474, 28), ptc. *NA'-cɔ'xɔ-'ma-'vu-tc aŋA* the one who had covered himself with dirt while lying down (476, 4)
- SƏRI-K-I-** Salt Lake City (< Eng. *Salt Lake*): *səri'ik-I* Salt Lake City; *səri'ɪ²ku-ŋ'wt-uχwa-ramI* to Salt Lake City (let) us two (Song 149)
- SƏ-R'ƏA-'s** arm-pit: *sə'r'ɔa'* arm-pit
sə'r'ɔa-vi- abs.: *sə'r'ɔa-φI* arm-pit
 in comp. n.: *sə'r'ɔa-vi'a-φI* arm-pit hair
- SƏRƏRƏI-'s** water falls in a waterfall:
 with incor. n.: ptc. *pA'-sə'rərəi-tci* water-falling, waterfall
- SƏTSI-** to peep: *sə(·)tsi'-i'* peeps out, puts out (his) head to peep;
 neg. *sə(·)tsi'-n-ai-və'a-q-wα-mi* (you) two shall not peep at it (inv.) (454, 16)
sətsi-ŋu- mom.: *sətsi'-ŋU-pïγa(a)i-c-U* again (he) peeped out, *sətsi'-ŋu-mpa-A²qa-ni* I shall take a peep at it; impers. *sətsi'-ŋU-tu'a* someone peep(s) (454, 22)
sətsi-q-ai- res.: *sə(·)tsi'-k-a'* to peep, to have one's head stuck out to peep, *sə(·)tsi'-k-ai-p-ïγa'* peeped out (404, 7)
- CƏYA'-, CƏI-** to bend (intr.), to be bent:
cəya- to bend: *cə(·)'ya'(i)-yï-aq·A* it is bending, *cə(·)'ya'-pïχa'* bent (410, 22)
cəi-q-ai- res.: *cə(·)'i-k-a'* to be bent
- C-U-** (mod. enc.) also, again, same; just, only (Gram., § 19, 2, k)
- CO-'s** very (adv. pref.; probably identical with *co-* one): *cv-'a'(i)yï-i'* is very good, feels very well, *sv-'a(i)yu-χv-p-ï* (it) would (be) extremely good (378, 4); *cv'-mV²qunta-'ma-p-ïγa'* went straight ahead (394, 23); *sv'-p-a'a-nti* very high; *su'-tcaxp·A* very near (381, 11)
- CO-** one; other, the other (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2):
co-yu-t·ɔɣɔ-mac-ïŋwi- 100 (num.; Gram., § 59, 1)
- CUA-** to consume:
cua-ŋu- mom.: *nï'* *cua'-ŋ'u-q·WA* I finish up eating it (inv.), *cui'α-ŋu-mi'-tsi-'q·WA* after having finished eating it (468, 24); usit. *cua'-ŋu-mi-ŋkadi-k·WA* as (he) finished it (inv.) all up time after time (410, 10)

- cua-q-w'ai-* to consume away: *cu(w)α'-q-wa(a)i-x-U* eating (it) up (396, 4)
- cua-* in comp. vb.: *nī' cu(w)α'-m'muq-U* I eat (it) up
-c-ua-ηu- in comp. vb.: *ivi'-c-ua-ηU* to finish drinking (one's portion), to drink out, to drain (a cup), *ivi'-c-ua-ηU^z-q(w)a'* has drunk (it) up, *ivi'-c-ua-ηU-tx-qa'* (water) has been drunk up
- CUA-^s nearly (adv. pref.): *cu(w)a'-ηWA'tci-p-ī'γa'ai-mī* nearly caught up with them (inv.) (322, 10); *cua'-φA^zqa-ηu-utsa-nu-'i* you nearly killed me (367, 1); *nī' cu(w)a'-riqa-q-A* I nearly ate it; *nī' cu(w)a'-ivi-ηu-aq-A* nearly drank it; *nī' cu(w)a'-Ap'ī'i* I nearly slept; *nī' cu(w)a'-ya'A* I nearly died; *nī' cu(w)a'-vuni-k'ai(y)-aηA* I nearly saw him; *nī' cu(w)a'-χwīi-'q-WA* I nearly took it (inv.); *nī' cu(w)a'-χwīri-k-i* I nearly got up; *cu(w)a'-mU^zqmiχa-χwa'ai-YU* (I) nearly went to call for help (400, 2); *cu(w)a'-RU-pi-k-U-pī'γa'* (berries) were nearly all gone (394, 18); *cua'-ruγwi-p-ī'γa'* (fire) nearly went out (388, 13); *cu(w)a'-ηniwtci-a-nīmi* he was about to attack us (excl.); *cua'-rɔγɔ-mU'qunta-rī* nearly straight; *cu(w)a'-rɔγɔ-mA'cūηwi-YU* nearly-ten, nine (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2)
- cua-r'ua-* perhaps (Gram., § 60, 2, d)
- CUA-^o to breathe:
- cua-q-a-* to breathe (dur.): *cu(w)a'-q-a-i'* breathes, *cu(w)a'-q-A-pī'γa'* breathed
- cua-η'wi-* to take a breath (mom.): *cu(w)a'-η'wī'* takes a long breath
- cua-p-itci-* to breathe-arrive, to come to life (see *pitci-*)
- CUAI- to be glad: *cu(w)a'(a)i'*, *cu(w)a'.i'* is glad, *cu(w)a'I-pī'γa'* was glad (333, 5)
- cuai-p-i-* being glad: *cu(w)a'i-p-i* (some one's) being glad, *s-v(·)'ai-pi-n-i'* like being happy (454, 36); *cu(w)a'I-pi(y)-a'a* (it was meant for) welcome words (434, 30)
- CUMAI- to have in mind: *ana' cūma(·)'i'* what are you thinking of?
cum'ai-q-ai- (res.) to remember: *sūma'i-qa'ai-p-ī'γa'ai-k-wA*, *cumq'i-qai-pī'γa'ai-k-wA* remembered it (inv.), kept it (inv.) in mind (312, 13; 313, 2)
- CO·P·A·γAI- to be assembled (cf. *co-* one, *co·p-ar'ua-* to assemble):
co'p-a-γai-p-ī'γa' (they) were assembled together (474, 6)
- CO·P·A·R'UI-, CO·P·A·R'UA- to assemble (tr., intr.) (cf. *co-* one):
co·p-a-r'ui- tr.: *co'p-ar'ui'* gathers (people) together; mom. *co'p-a-r'ui-ηu-mū-ts'* after (he) had collected (them) together (365, 7); iter. *co'p-a-r'ui'* gathers together several times

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- co·p·a·r'ua-* intr.: *cv'p·ar'ua-i'* (people) gather together, *cv'p·a·ro'α-p'iyā'* (they) gathered together in one group
co·p·a·r'ua-p'i- place of assembly: *cv'p·ar'uα-p'i'* gathering-place (obj.) (400, 18)
- SO·VA- provided that, if (Gram., § 60, 2, d)
- CO·Q·U·P·I·A- (obj.) anything at all, recklessly (cf. *co-* one; see also *nan'a-c'o·q·u-p'i-*): *cv'q·U-pi m·aik'A* you say anything! (contempt: "what you say counts for nothing") (462, 5), *cv'q·U-pi(y)-a-η an'i'k'A* he does anything, acts without regard for anyone else, *so'q·U-pi(y) an'i'k'A* anything at all you do, act as though superior to everybody else (424, 10)
- CO·YĪ- sugar (< Eng. *sugar*): *cv'χi'* sugar; pos. *cv'χi-i'ni-ni* my sugar
- C·URU'U- (mod. enc.) nor can (Gram., § 19, 2, l)
- CURUR'U- to make a noise of whirling down: *cu'rur'u-i'* makes a noise of whirling down, *cu'r'uru-p'iyai-n'i'* made a noise like that of an object whirling down (373, 3)
- CURURUIN'NDAI- (smoke-) hole: in comp. n. *qa(·)n-i'q·w'e-c·ururuin'-nāi'* house-smoke-hole, smoke-hole (obj.) (416, 28)
- C·UYA-γWA-(N·OA-) (mod. enc.) would that! (Gram., § 19, 2, h)

T

- TA-^s sun, heat (cf. *tava-*, *tavi-* sun, day): Gram., § 21, 14; *ta-ru'i-* to be hot weather (see *-tu'i-*); *ta-c'ia-* to dawn (q. v.); *ta-c'ipa-* to be evening (q. v.)
- TA-^o foot:
 instr. pref.: Gram., § 21, 6
 as n. pref.: *tA'-t'j'mpi'tca-φi* ankle; *tA'-c'i'u-φi* toe; *tA'-pa'a-p'i* stockings, socks; *ta-n'a'-s·iyā-φi* foot-cleft, split in hoof, spaces between toes; *tA^x-qo'va-φi* moccasin upper; *tA'-pa'ia-φi* moccasin sole; *tA'-pa'i(y)a-vu-φi* sole; *tA^x-qu'c'i* top piece stitched on to upper of moccasin
- TA-^o stone (cf. *tavi-* to throw a stone):
 instr. pref. (by throwing, with a stone): Gram., § 21, 11
 as n. pref.: *tA'-ci'ηwα-mpi* coarse gravel
- TA-ⁿ far away (adv. pref.):
ta-ntivai- far west: *ta-nti'v'ai-p'a'* in a far-west (country) (345, 2);
 abs. *ta-nti'v'ai-pi* country way west; in comp. n. *ta-nti'v'ai-vv'iaφi* far-west songs, Mohave songs

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SAPIR

TAM·I-^s shirt: *ta'ʷi*, *taa(·)ʷi*, *ta(·)aʷi* shirt, *ta(·)aʷi-ni* my shirt
taʷi-ru- to make a shirt: *ta(·)aʷu-ru-p·iγa'* made a shirt (315, 6);
taʷi-ru-ηqʷi-p·iγai-Aʷqa-aηA made it into a shirt for him (315, 7)
-taʷi- in comp. n.: *Aʷsiʷa-raʷi* bark shirt; *piʷi-raʷi* hide shirt;
tiaʷi-raʷi deerskin shirt; *iʷt·iump·i-raʷi*, *-raʷi* old shirt; *aʷi-raʷiʷ* new
 shirt

TAM·A- spring:

tam·a-n·a- abs.: *tam·aʷ-nA*, *tamaʷ-nA* spring
tam·a-rʷi- to turn spring: ptc. *tamaʷ-rʷi-ni* turning spring, spring
on·o-tam·a-rʷi- to turn early spring: *o(·)noʷ-ta(·)m·a-rʷi-ηqu*
 when (it) turned early spring, early in the spring (348, 9)
tam·a- in comp. n.: *tam·aʷ-ʷuts·i*, *tam·aʷ-ʷot·sA* spring water-jar (?),
 name of spring month (probably March); *tam·aʷ-ru(w)ats·*
 little spring, name of spring month (perhaps April)
 incor.: *tamaʷ-rʷi·ai·p·a-raʷi·p·a-raʷi·p·A* there are summer-footprints
 (song form; 428, 5)

TAM·I- we 2 (incl.) (ind. pers. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

tam·ia- us 2 (incl.) (obj.; *ibid.*)-RAM·I- (enc. pers. pron.; cf. *tam·i-*) we 2 (incl.); us 2 (incl.); our (du.
incl.) (Gram., § 40)TAMPI-^o heel: *taʷmpt* heel*tampi-p·i-* abs.: *tampiʷ-p·i* heel*tampi-* in comp. n.: *tampiʷ-n·ʷuRU*, *tampiʷ-nʷ-n·uRU* heel-string,
string for tying a moccasinTAMPI-N·IA- tiringly; with *ai-*, to talk tiringly, to tire somebody:
taʷmpt-ni ʷaik·A you talk tiringly, (they are)tired of you, *taʷmpt-
 ni-a-η aʷik·A* (they are) tired of him, *taʷmpt-ni-a-ηw aʷik·A* (they
 are) tired of us (incl.), *taʷmpt-ni(y)a-ηw i niʷwʷiʷ aʷik·a(·)miʷ*
 you (plur.) are wont to talk tiringly (to) us (excl.), we are tired
 of what you always say (327, 8)-TAMPOQ·WʷI-: in comp. n. *niʷaʷ-rampoqʷ-wi-ts·*, *-rampoqʷ·wi-ts·* snow-?,
chickadee (?)TAM·U-^s sinew:*tam·u-vi-* abs.: *ta(·)m·uʷ-φ(w)I*, *tq(·)m·uʷ-φ(w)I* sinew*tam·uʷ-a-* pos.: *niʷni tq(·)muʷ-ʷaʷ* my sinewincor.: *ta(·)muʷ-ηwʷiʷ qwinta-iʷ* wraps sinew around

TAN·AQ·I- rattlesnake:

tan·aq·i-tsi- abs. (myth word for *toγavi-*): *tanaʷq·i-tc uηwA* the
rattlesnake (404, 15), obj. *tanaʷq·i-tsi aηA* the rattlesnake (400, 11)

- TAŃA-^s knee: *ta'ŃA* knee
taŃa-vi- abs.: *taŃa'-φI* knee
taŃa-γai- to have a knee: *taŃa'-xai-nI* I have a knee
taŃa- in comp. n.: *taŃa'-tsi'na-φI* bone from knee to foot
taŃa'-rɔai- to kneel: in comp. vb. *taŃa'-rɔai-xaru(·)-i'* kneel-sits, is kneeling, mom. *taŃa'-rɔai-xaru-Ńw-i'* kneels down; *taŃa'-rɔai-maŃwa'φA-p'i'γa'* crawled on (his) knees (458, 24)
taŃa-γu'ai- to gallop: *ta(·)Ńa'-xu'ai-p'i'γa'* galloped (476, 12)
- TAŃA- to kick: *ni' ta'ŃA*, *ni' ta(·)'ŃA* I kick, *taŃa'-i'* kicks, *ta(·)Ńa'-ni* kick me, *taŃa'-va-n-i'* will kick; pas. plur. *taŃa'-t-i'-q-a-tca-raŃWA* we (incl.) were all kicked
taŃa-mpi- ag.: *taŃa'-mpi* kicker
taŃa-ntsi- dim.: cont. *taŃa'-ntsi-k-a-n-i'* (mountain-sheep) keeps kicking up (his knees) when walking
in comp. n.: *ta(·)Ńa'-'atci* kick-bow, sinew-backed bow
- TAŃI- to put into:
with instr. pref.: plur. *ma-ra'Ńi-k-a-i'* (they) put into
- TAŃWA- we (plur. incl.) (ind. pers. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)
taŃwaiA us (plur. incl.) (obj.; *ibid.*)
- RAŃWA- (enc. pers. pron.; cf. *taŃwa-*) we (incl.); us (incl.); our (incl.) (Gram., § 40)
- TAŃWA-ⁿ tooth: *ta'ŃWA* tooth
taŃwa-mpi- abs.: *taŃwa'-mpi* tooth
taŃwa-Ńqai- to have a tooth: *taŃwa'-Ńqai-nI* I have a tooth
taŃwa-ntu- to make a tooth: *taŃwa'-ntu-v^{wa}aⁿⁱ'* will make a tooth
taŃwa- in comp. n.: *taŃwa'-nti'qoa-φI* gum of tooth
- TAŃWA- to kick (misheard for *taŃa-* ? q. v.): *ta(·)Ńwa'-t-si-qWA* having kicked it (inv.) (329, 8)
- TAŃ'WA- man:
taŃ'wa-tsi- abs.: *taŃ'wa'-ts'* man; plur. *taŃ'wa'-tsu-Ńw'i* men
in comp. n.: *taŃ'wa'-avit-a-i'* men's chief (obj.) (476, 18)
- TANTAŃWAVI- (red.) man's brother-in-law: *tanta'Ńwa(·^a)vi-nI* my (man's) sister's husband, wife's brother (?)
- TAŃ'WAC-U- to charge on horseback: *ta(·)Ń'wa'c-U* to charge on horseback
taŃ'wac-u-Ńu- mom.: *ta(·)Ń'wa'c-u-Ńu-p'i'γa'ai-mi* they 2 galloped (their) horses on a charge (474, 17)
- TAŃWĪAT·A-^s ankle (see *-wi'at-a-^s*)
- TAŃWĪYARU- to circle around: *taŃwĪ'xaru-p'i'γai(y)-aŃA* rounded him up (404, 1), *ta(·)ŃwĪ'xaru-p'i'γai(y)-aq·A* circled around it (406, 40)

- taḡwīyaru-q-a-ḡu-* plur. mom.: *taḡwī'xaru-q(w)q-u-mpa-ḡa-raḡWA*
let us (incl.) round him up
- TAP'AC'I- to be stunned: *tA'pa'c-i-pīy* lay senseless (373, 3)
tap'ac-i-q-ai- res.: *tA'pa'c-kai-ni* I was senseless; in comp. vb.
nī' tA'pa'c-i-kai-a(·)vi I have been lying senseless
- TAP'IT'CA- to tie: *tA'pi't-ca-i'* ties, *nī' tA'pi't-cu-yī-ḡa* I tie him
tap-it-ca-q-a- plur.: *tA'pi't-ca-qa-i'* several tie
tat'ap-it-ca- iter.: *tA'ta'p-i'tca-i'* ties several times; plur. *tA'ta'p-i'tca-qa-pīy'a'* (they) all tied (them) (474, 9)
tap-it-ca-q-ai- res.: *tA'pi't-ca-x-qa'* to be tied; distr. *ta'p-i'tca-q-ai-pīy'a'* (they) were tied (474, 8)
- TAP'ORU'- to pound with a stone (probably with instr. pref. *ta-* with a stone): *tA'pī'ru-pīy'a'ai-k-wA* hammered them (inan.) up with a stone (394, 19)
tat'ap'oru'- iter.: *tA'ta'p-orō'-pīy'a'* pounded, hammered with a stone (394, 9)
- TAVA- sun, day; to be day: *ta'φA* sun, day, *tava'-tcuq-wA* sun-under, during the day, *sv'yuc-U ta(ə)va'-ma* one day-at, for one day (314, 8); *tava'-i'*, *ta(·)va'-i'* (it) is day, *o(·)no'-ta(·)va-i'* (it) is early in the day
-tava- in comp. n.: *wa-i't-a(·)va-ma-nu'* for two days, *man-i'γiyu-tava-m-a-n-i'a-mī* for five days . . . they (474, 24); *toγ(o)'i-tava-i'* (obj.) midday; *tA'cu'p-A-tava-i'* dusk-day, afternoon; *i'tcu^zqu-tava-i'* morning-day, forenoon
tava- incor.: *tava'(i)-yauq-wi'* sun sets; *tava'-²maḡwīc-i'* sun rises, *tava'-²maḡwīc-ī-n-a-ruq witux-wA* sun-rising-under-toward, to the east
- TAVA'A- chipmunk:
tava'a-tsi- abs.: *tava'ats aḡA* the chipmunk (408, 33)
in comp. n.: *oγō'-ntava'ats* fir chipmunk
- TAVAI- to burn brush: *tava'i'* sets fire to piles of brush or weeds
tavai-q-a- plur.: *tava'i-kā-i'* several set fire to piles of brush or weeds, *ta(·)va'i^z-kā-q-ai-n-a-φī* their own having-been-set-afire, brush-fires that they had made (383, 1); *ta(·)va'i^z-kā-p-i'* brush-fires (obj.) made (by them) (382, 11)
tavai-ḡqī-t-u'a- to burn brush with others: *ta(·)va'i-ḡqī-t-u'α-p-i'y'a'* helped to burn brush (in order to scare up rabbits) (454, 35)
- TAVAIWAI-ⁿ fox:
tavaiwai-mpi-tsi- abs.: *ta(·)va'ḡwai-mpu^s* fox

- TAVAC-U-** to dry: *tava'c-ü-i'* (it) is drying
tavac-u-p-ü- pas. ptc.: *tava'c-u-p-ü* dried up, dry (334, 7), *tava'c-u-p-ä(-)q-A* it (is) dry; distr. *tA'ta'φacu-p-i'* all dry
-tavac-u-p-ü- in comp. n.: *yiv'v'-ntavac-u-p-ü'* dried up pine tree (obj.) (422, 30)
- TAVARİŋQWI-** chipmunk (cf. *tava'a-*)
tavarïŋqwi-tsi- abs.: *tava'rïŋqwi-ts* chipmunk, *tava'rïŋqwi-tc aŋA* the chipmunk (408, 31)
- TAVATSI-^s** leg bone:
tavatsi-vi- abs.: *tava'tsi-vi* leg bone (Song 176)
- TAVI-** sun (cf. *tava-*; apparently used only in certain forms):
tavi- incor.: *tav'-avi-za'* while lying in the sun; *ta-v'-irïγl'-tcaai'* there are spots of sunlight (Song 183)
tavi-ŋ(-)wa- pos.: *ta(-)v'-ŋwa(-)χa-nü* sun-having, canyon wall (or mountain slope) that gets the sunlight; in comp. n. *məγwa'-t-av-ŋ'wa-ntsu-ŋwï* cedar-bark sun-slope people, Uncompahgre Utes (now at Ouray)
tavi-n'ï-q-ai- sun is shining: *ta-vi'-n'ï-k'a-k-U* while the sun is shining (Song 176)
- TAVI-** to hit by throwing: *ta'φl* to throw, *nï' ta(-)v'-aq-A* I hit it by throwing, *ta(-)v'-tsu-tca-ŋa-nl* having hit me . . . he, *ta(-)v'-p-ïγai(y)-aŋA* he hit by throwing (mud) at (398, 1); impers. *tav'-t-ua'a-mi* somebody hit you by throwing
tat-avi- iter.: *tA'ta'φl-k'ai-n-a-nl* which I strike several times (Song 205)
na-ravi-q-a- to throw at one another: *tümp'v'mA na(-)ra'φl-k'a-p-ïγa'* with rocks (they) bethrew one another, (they) threw rocks at one another (440, 28)
with incor. instr. n.: pas. ptc. *nïa'-t-avi-p-ü*, *nïa'-t-ai-p-ü* wind-spotted (man's name)
tavi-n'ïmpï- hitting instrument, axe: *ta(-)v'-n'ïmpï* axe
tavi-n'ïmpï-rua-tsi- axe-child, little axe, hatchet: *ta(-)v'-n'ïmpï-rua-ts* tomahawk (of iron), *ta(-)v'-n'ïmpu-rua-ts* tomahawk (of iron), *ta(-)v'-n'ïmpu-rua-tsi-nl* my hatchet, *ta(-)v'-n'ïmpu-rua-tsa-m-ï-φi* their own hatchets (obj.) (474, 16)
- TAVI-^s** to light (in flying): *tav'-p-ïγa'* (he) lit (474, 22)
tat-ap-i- iter.: *tA'ta'p-ï-χa'* having lit several times
- TAVIN'NA-** to put out one's breast pigeon-fashion: *tav'n'na'* to put out one's breast
tarav'n'na- iter.: *tara'vn'na(-a)-i'* keeps putting out (his) breast

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(408, 17), *taravun'naA-püγa'ai-mi* they kept putting out their breasts, kept strutting pigeon-fashion (408, 18)

TAVITSI- weasel:

tavitsi-tsi- abs.: *ta(·)vu'tsi-i-ts* weasel

TAVU- cotton-tailed rabbit:

tavu-tsi- abs.: *tavu'-ts*, *ta(·)vu'-ts* cotton-tailed rabbit (394, 4)

tavu- in comp. n.: *ta(·)vu'-m'uru'i* cotton-tailed rabbit blanket

tavu-mpitsi- abs.: *ta(·)vu'-mputs* cotton-tailed rabbit (song word) (Song 160); in comp. n. *yona'-ra'vumputsi* gravel cotton-tailed rabbit (Song 160)

TAVU-^s heart beats:

tavu-v'u- heart beats: *ta(·^a)vu'-v^wi'* (my heart) beats, *ta(·^a)vu'-v^wu-x-U* while beating (404, 12)

tavu-γw'ai- heart beats: *piyü'ni ta(·^a)vu'-xw'ai'* my heart beats

TAQ·A-^s flat:

taq·a-γai- to be flat: ptc. *tA²qa'-γa-nü*, *tA²qa'-χa-nü* flat (country), spread out flat

taq·a-vi- abs.: *tA²qa'-φi* flat country, table-land

-taq·a-, *-taq·a-vi-* in comp. n.: *qa'iva-raq·a-φi* mountain plateau (Song 193); *qa'iva-raq·a-xi* through a mountain plateau

-taq·a-γa-nü- in comp. n.: *A'ta'-RA²qa-γa-nü* sand-flat

TAQ·INA-^s stocking (< Eng. *stocking*): *ta'q·una'* stocking, *ta'q·una-ni* my stockings

TAQ·IU- to reduce to small pieces:

taq·iu-γi-ηqü- dur.: plur. *tA²qu'u-γi-ηqü-qa-p'üγa'* (they) chipped (it) into small pieces (468, 20)

taq·iu-q-i-ηqü- mom.: *tA²qu'U^x-q(w)-ηqü-püγai-A²qa(·)-'mi* they hit it so that it went to pieces (424, 9)

TAγAP·IA-^s servant: *taγa'p·ia-ni* my servant

taγap·ia-vi- abs.: *taγa'p·ia-φi* one who serves another

TAγAVAYA- between the legs, crotch: *taχa'vaya-va-nü-a-φi* from between her legs, crotch (452, 4)

TAγU-^o thirst:

incor.: *ta(·)γv(·^u)-y'ai-yü-aηA* he thirst-dies, he is thirsty, *taχv(·ⁱ)-ya'i-yü-ni* I am thirsty, plur. *ta(·)γv(·^u)-yai-ḫ-a(i)-yü-αmü* they are thirsty, caus. *ta(·)γv(·^u)-yai-t·ui-yü-αηA-ni* he makes me thirsty, I make him thirsty, *nü' ta(·)γv(·^u)-yai-t·ui-yü-αmü* I make them thirsty; *ta(·)γv(·^u)-p·A²qa-i'* is thirst-sore, is thirsty (402, 8), *taγv(·^u)-p·A²qa-va-n·ia-ηA* he will be thirsty; *ta(·)γv(·ⁱ)-tucup-i'* (they) are all thirsty, *ta(·)γv(·ⁱ)-tucup-i-püγa'* (they) were

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- all thirsty (400, 35); *ta(·)γv(·^u)-t·v'cuŋ'wi-yi-aŋa-ni* he makes me thirsty by exercising supernatural power, *ta(·)γv(·^u)-t·v'cuŋ'wi-p'iyā'ai-mi* he caused them to be thirsty by exercising supernatural power (400, 34); *ta(·)γw'-q·ani'* to hang around as though waiting for someone to give water
- TAγU- sun-dance:
in comp. n.: *ta(·)χw'-wiaφi* sun-dance singing, sun-dance (not a Paiute ceremony)
- TAQ-WAIA- to stiffen: *tA'qwa'i'* Stiffen-(penis) (woman's nickname)
in comp. vb.: *tA'qwa'ia-muc·u't-q·WA* try to stiffen it (inv., penis)
- TAQ-WI-(N)TCUMPA-, -TAQ·O'-MA^zQ·AI- to assemble:
na-raq·wi-(n)tcumpa- (refl.) to gather together: *nara'q·wintcumpa-i'* (they) assemble together, *nara'q·witcumpa-pi'ya'*, *nara'q·wüntcumpa-pi'ya'* gathered together (346, 1; 377, 4), *nara'q·wintcumpa(i)-yi-amī* they assemble together
na-raq·wi-ntcumpa-ŋu- mom.: *na(·)ra'q·wintcumpa-ŋu-mi-tc 'əqi'* after (they) were assembled together (346, 2)
na-raq·o'-ma^zq·ai- to be gathered together: *nara'q·om'zqai-yi-amī* they are gathered together, *nara'q·om'qa-yu-c·U* as (they) were still gathered (378, 5)
- TAQ-WI'·U- roasting basket-tray: *tA^zqwi''o* roasting tray, *tA^zqwi''u-ni* my basket-tray
- TAγWA-^s to smoke: *ta(·)χwa'-i'* smokes, ptc. *ta(·)γwa'-ri* smoking
taγwa-ŋu- mom.: *ta(·)γwa'-ŋu-ntca-ni* I smoked, *ta(·)γwa'-ŋu-ntca-r'əa-ni* did I smoke?
with incor. obj.: *qo'a'-t·aγwa-i'* smokes tobacco
- TAS·I·P·i- flint, knife: *tA'si'-p·i*, *tA'ci'-p·i* flint, knife
incor.: plur. *tA'si'p·u-φU'caxai-k·A* several look for flint (468, 18)
- TAC·i-ⁿ cactus (sp.): *ta'c·i*, *ta(·^a)c·i* small cactus about one foot high
with curving spines, "barrel cactus" (?)
tac·i-mpi- cactus-plant: *tA'ci'-mpi* clump of cactuses
tac·i- in comp. n.: *tA'ci'-m^wanaφi* cactus spines
- TAC·iA-^s red ant:
tac·ia-vi- abs.: *tA'ci'a-φi* red ant, obj. *tA'ci'a-vi aŋA* (404, 23)
-tac·ia-vi- in comp. n.: *tuγwa'-rA'ciaφi* dark-ant, big black ant
tac·ia- in comp. n.: obj. *tA'ci'a-χa(·)nwi'* ant-hill (331, 12)
- TAC·iA-ⁿ to dawn (probably contains *ta-* sun):
tac·ia-ni- ptc.: *tA'ci'a-ni* early morning, before sunrise, obj. *tA'ci'a-ni' tuγa'ix·U* when dawn appears (382, 7), *tA'ci'a-ni uru'·q·WA* dawn under-it, just before daylight (331, 12)

- tac'ia-ηqw'ai-* to dawn off: *tA'ci'a-ηqw'ai-xU* when dawn was approaching (474, 30)
- tac'ia-* in comp. n.: *tA'ci'A-tuγwanU* dawn-night, from midnight to morning twilight
- ɔnɔ-t-ac'ia-* to be early dawn: *ɔ(·)nɔ'-tA'ci'a-ηqu* when it was early dawn, early in the morning (308, 3); ptc. *ɔ(·)nɔ'-tA'ci'a-rī-m-an-tux·WA* up to break of day, dawn (428, 6)
- TAC'IN'I- to play cup and ball (see CĪ'NI- to stick through)
- TAC'ĪP·A-^{s, n} to be early evening, dusk (probably contains *ta-* sun; cf. *tac'ia-n* to be dawn): *tA'ci'p·a(u)-xU* when it was early evening, in the evening (315, 1), *tA'ci'p·a-va·nia-'q·WA* it (inv.) will be evening
- tac'ip·a-nti-* ptc.: *tA'ci'p·a-nti* at sundown, dusk, early evening
- tac'ip·a-ηqw'ai-* to be dusk off: *tA'ci'p·a-ηqwa'i-xU* as evening commenced (352, 6)
- tac'ip·a-* in comp. n.: *tA'ci'p·A-tava-i'* (obj.) dusk-day, afternoon
- TARAI'NA- to strut pigeon-fashion: *tara'i'na'* to strut pigeon-fashion, breast out and head back (Song 156)
- TARAJQO- Durango (< Eng. *Durango*): *taranqo'-va-nt ari* the (thing) from Durango, Col. (Song 150)
- TARU'I- to be hot weather (*ta-* sun, heat, cf. *ta-c'ia-n*; -*ru'i-*, cf. *cī-t'u'i-* to be cold weather): *ta(·)ro''i'* (it) is hot weather
- TATCA-^s summer: *ta(·)'tca* summer
- tatca-t'ui-* to turn summer: *ta(·)tca'-t-u-nti* turning summer, summer
- TAT'SIQ·WA- to peep out: *tA'tsi'q·wa'* to peep out, to appear like peeping
- tat'siq·wa-γa-* dur.: *tatsi'q·wa-γa-i'* peeps out while walking along (Song 193)
- TAT·CĪQ·WĪI- to play the arrow-game:
recip.: *na-ra't·ciqw'·i-p·I* arrow-game
- TAT·CO·P·A- to fall down (of animals):
tat·co·p·a-ηu- mom.: *tA'tcu'pa-ηU* to fall down (of animals), *tA'tcu'pa-ηu-mp'i-ηwα'^a* perhaps he (inv.) fell, *tA'tcu'pa-ηu-mpa-mpu-ηwa'^a* perhaps he (inv.) will fall; plur. *tA'tcu'pa-q·a-ηu-mpa-mp'i-mi'ⁱ* perhaps they (inv.) will fall
- TIYĪ·γI-NĪMPI- oesophagus (see *yī'iyi-* to swallow)
- TĪ-ⁿ stone (see *tīmpī-*; *tī-ηqani-*)
- TĪ-^s game, deer (probably contracted from *tīγia-*):
incor.: *tī-v^αq·a-va·n·ua-ni* I shall kill game

TĪ-C·AMPA- = *tī-i-c·ampa-* always (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)

TĪ-ⁿ well, heartily (adv. pref.): *tī'-ntoγoq^xwi-pīγa'*, *tī'-ntoγoq^xwi-pīγa'* was on a dead run (328, 12; 396, 9); *tī'-ηqA^xqarī* to run away on a dead run, plur. *tī'-ηqA^xqarī-q·A*; *tī'-nti^xqa-i'* eats well, eats a grand feast, *tī'-nti^xqa-p·iγa'* ate well (384, 1); *tī'-'iōi'* has a good drink; *tī'(i)-s·'i'* urinates well (after keeping back long); *tī'-n·aⁱγa-i'* has a good copulation; *tī'-'·ampaγa-i'* has a good talk; *tī'-ηwa'ayū-i'* gives a good shout; *tī'-'A'pū'* sleeps well, has a good sleep

TĪ-ⁿ, TĪI-ⁿ up; TĪ-NAŋQWA- coming up (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

TĪA-^s service-berry:

tīa-vī- abs.: *tīa'-φī* service-berry, obj. *tu'a'-vī'* service-berry bush (315, 3)

TĪ'ANWA-^s mountain range:

tī'aŋwa-γai- to be a mountain range: ptc. *tī'a'ηwa-χα-nti* mountain range

TĪNTĪAγA-^s (red.) end of camp-wall: *tīntī'axa-m·aⁱ·q·wA* on its (inv.) camp-end (464, 26)

tīntīaγa-vi- abs.: *tīntī'axa-φi* end of camp-wall (e. g. tent cover at either side of entrance)

TĪ'AC·Ī- to freeze (cf. *cī-* cold): *tī'aci-yī-ni* I am very cold, freezing with incor. n.: *naŋqa'va-rī'aci-yī-ni* my ears are cold

-TĪTCU- to gnaw:

qī-t·iūtcu- to gnaw: *qī'-tī'iūtcu-i'* gnaws to pieces

qī-t·iūtcu-q·u- inc.: *qī'-tī'iūtcu-q·U* to begin to gnaw to pieces, *qī'-tī'iūtcu-q·U-pīγa'* gnawed to pieces (406, 28)

TĪ'MA- to roast under ashes: *tī'm^waⁱ-i'* roasts under ashes, *tī'mα'-p·iγa'* buried in ashes to roast (456, 7), *tī'mα'-p·iγa'ai-ηwA* roasted him (inv.) in ashes (400, 29); plur. *tī'mα'-q·a(·)-γu-c·ampa-n·i^mi* though we (excl.) roast (him) under ashes (468, 13); usit. *tī'm^wα'-m·i-nūm-pīγai(y)-amī* always roasted them in ashes (448, 27)

with incor. obj.: in comp. vb. *qūtca'-rī'mα-t·i^witcu-q(w)ai-n·α-ni* blood-roast that I have asked for (468, 12)

-*tī'ma-p·i-* roasted: in comp. n. *tō'ts'ⁱ-t·i^wmα-p·i* roasted bread; *qam·i'-rī'ma-p·i* roasted jack-rabbit; *para'ηwara-ntī'm^wαp·i* roasted pumpkin

TĪ'MA- to bury (same as *tī'ma-* to roast under ashes?):

with incor. obj.: *qūtca'-t·i^wma-i'* buries excrement

TĪMPA-^s mouth: *tūmpA* mouth

tūmpa-vi- abs.: *tūmpa'-φi* mouth

- tümpa-γai-* to have a mouth: *tümpa'-γa'* to have a mouth (316, 4)
 in comp. n.: *tümpa'-x-usiφi* lip; *tümpa'-iγap'i* mouth-entered, bit
 and bridle; *tümpa'-γap-u-ru'a'* bridle-strings, reins
 incor.: caus. *tümpa'-iγa-t'ui-yi-aγa-ni* I cause him to mouth-enter,
 I bridle him
- TÜMPA'YA- mouth of canyon (cf. *tümpa-*):
 in comp. n.: *s-qu'-rumpa'ya'* rabbit-bush canyon-mouth (place
 name); *ɔa'i-t-ümpa'ya'* salt canyon-mouth (place name)
- TÜMPI-^o stone, rock; iron: *tümp(w)I* stone, *tümp ari* the rock (430, 29)
tümpi-η'wa- pos.: *tümp^wi'-η'wa-η'* *ari* his rock (422, 8)
tümpi-tsi- dim.: *tümp^wi'-ts* small stone
tümpi-qai- to be a rock: *tümp^wi'-k'ai-ni* I am a rock
tümpi-qai- to have a rock: *tümp^wi'-k'a'* to have a rock, *tümp^wi'-
 k'ai-ni* I have a rock
tümpi-qa- to get a rock: *tümp^wi'-k'a-va-n-ia-ni* I shall get a rock
tümpi-aγai- to be rocky: *tümp^wi'-aγai-aqA* it is rocky
tümpi-a-t'ui- to cause to be rocky: *tümp^wi'-A-t'i-p-iγa'* caused (it)
 to have stones
tümpi-tu- to make a rock: *tümp^wi'-t-u-v^wa^anu'* will make a rock
tümpi- in comp. n.: *tümp^wi'-p-ai-a-i 'ura'* cliff-side (obj.) toward,
 towards the side of the cliff (456, 15); *tümp^wi'-t-ina-i'* rock-bottom
 (obj.) (394, 4); *tümp^wi'-k'anu* stone house; *tümp^wi'-k'ava'* stone
 horse; *tümp^wi'-m-ɔ'ɔ* stone hand; *tümp^wi'-atci* stone bow; *tümp^wi'-
 m-a^ov-i-a-ηA* his stone-clothes (obj.), his iron clothes (406, 29);
tümp^wi'(y)-u' iron-arrow, gun, *tümp^wi'(y)-u-a-ηA* his gun (obj.)
 (406, 30); *tümp^wi'(y)-u-ruats* iron-arrow-child, little gun, pistol;
tümp^wi'-tcɔx-U small weed with round, wide leaves that are
 cooked and taste like dandelions; *tümp^wi'-t-aiyay* (personal
 name) (Song 173)
 incor.: *tümp^wi'-n-arɔ'-ηq(w)a-nt aηA* the stone-clothes-having, Iron-
 clothes (396, 3); *tümp^wi'-k-iε-hɔγɔ-ts* rock-laughter, sparrow
 (sp.?), *tümp^wi'-t-on-oi-p-I* gulch (cutting through rocks); *tümp^wi'-
 s-wavai-tci* cliff, precipice
- tümpi-* in comp. n.: *si-va-r'i'mbu-ma-haiyo* from squaw-bush-spring-
 rock (Song 183); *pa-rɔ'-ntümp(w)I* water-gravel-stone, gravel,
 dim. *pa-rɔ'-n'tümbi-ndzin* gravel-stone (Song 118)
- TÜN'A-^s to pursue: *tüna'(i)-yi-aηA* chases him
ma-rin-a- to pursue (q. v.)
na-ntün-a- to follow a track, to track: *na-ntü'na-i'* follows in the
 track, *na-ntü'na(i)-yü-αmi* follows their tracks, tracks them;

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na-nti'na-γwa'ai-p-īγai(y)-amī went and tracked them 2 (452, 2); plur. comp. vb. *na(·)-nti'na-vuru-q(w)ᵛ-p-īγai(y)-aηA* they (plur.) tracked him back and forth (387, 7)

pī-t'ina- to follow with one's eyes: *pī-t'ina(i)-yī-aηA* follows him with his eye; distr. *pī'pī-t'ina(i)-ya-ηA* watch him go! (379, 12), *pī-t'ina-p-īγai(y)-aηA* followed him with (their) eyes (379, 12) with incor. obj.: in comp. vb. *wantsi'-t'ina-vuru-χu-ni* while I was chasing antelopes around (394, 12)

TĪN'A-^s stump (cf. *-tīrin'a-*)

tīn'a-vi- abs.: *tīna'-φī* stump (Song 63)

-tīn'a-vi- in comp. n.: *qwi'ya-rīna-φī* oak stump (Song 63) ·

TĪN'A- to hunt: plur. ptc. *tīn'a'A^z-qa-rī-mī* hunters; plur. usit. *tīn'a'A^z-qa-m-i-nīm-pīγa'* (they) used to hunt (432, 2)

tīn'a-γwa'ai- to go hunting: *tīna'·a-χwa'a* go hunting (335, 2), *tīna'·χwa'ai-tēi* one who goes out to hunt (from the house)

in comp. vb.: *tīn'a'A-tīγa-rī* hunting leader; *tīn'a-tuγwa-n'ni-ntēi* one out on a hunting trip (when all are camped in the mountains during the hunting season), plur. *tīn'a-tuxWA-qa-n'i-ntēi-m^wī* those out on a hunting trip (obj.) (472, 24)

TĪN'A-^s bottom, base: *tina'·i'* basin, bottom (obj.) (394, 3), *tina'·(a)qA* bottom of it

tīn'a-vi- abs.: *tina'·φi* bottom (of anything)

-tīn'a- in comp. n.: *tūmpī-tina'·i'* rock-bottom (obj.) (394, 4), *tūmp^wī-tīn'a'·va.(i)YU* at the base of a cliff (432, 23)

TĪN'IA-^s to tell, to tell on: *tīn'a-i'* tells, *tīn'a'·qWA* tell it (inv.), *tīn'a-pīγa'ai-kWA* told it (inv.) (410, 31); neg. fut. *qatcun tīn'a-va-a-γwa'ai-ni* shall not tell on me (348, 9); plur. *tīn'a^z-qa-i'* several tell; ptc. *tīn'a-rī* telling, plur. *tīn'a-qa-rī-mī* several telling

tīn'ia-vi- ag.: *tīn'a-φi* teller

tīn'ia-ntsi- ag.: *tīn'a-ntsi* one who always tells

tīn'ia-p-i- what is told: *tīn'a-p-i* something told

tīntīn'nia- iter.: *tīntīn'ia-i'* tells several times

tīn'ia-ηqī- to tell to: *tīn'a-ηqī-va-c'·u-mi* let me tell you again

tīntīn'ia- to tell on: *tīntīn'ia-ni* to tell on me; fut. ptc. *nī' tīntīn'ia-va-nti-aηA* I shall tell on him

tīntīn'ia-ηqī- to tell to: impers. *tīntīn'ia-ηqī-tua-tsa-n'oa-ni* somebody has told me something, *tīntīn'ia-ηqī-tua-tsa(·)-m·i-n'oa* someone has told you news (450, 23)

na-rīntīn'ia- recip.: *na-rīntīn'ia(i)-yī-αmī* they tell on each other

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-TĪŋQA- to create:

ma-rīŋqa- to create: *ma-rī'ŋqa(i)-yī-aq·A* creates it (e. g. this earth) (442, 35)

TĪŋQANI-^s cave (= *tī-ŋqani-* rock-house): *tŋqa'ni* cave, *tīŋqa'ni-ni* my cave

tīŋqani-ntsi- dim.: *tŋqa'ni-ntsi'* little cave (obj.) (330, 8)

tīŋqani-vī-a- cave owned: *tīŋqa'ni-vī-a-ni* cave that I own; dim.

tŋqa'ni-vī-a-tsi-α-φī his own little cave (obj.) (331, 9)

tīŋqani- in comp. n.: *tŋqa'ni-vā-ts·* cave spring (place name)

-*tīŋqani-*, -*tīŋqani-vī-* in comp. n.: *a'p·ɔ(·)-rūŋqani'* cave (obj.) (319, 5); *pū'-tī'ŋqani-φī* eye-cave, brow-ridge

TĪŋQWITCA'A- rabbit-skin:

tīŋqwitca'a-vī- rabbit-skin blanket: *tīŋqwi'tca'a-φī* rabbit-skin blanket

TĪŋWA- to close: *tīŋwa'-i'* locks up, *tīŋwa'-y'ī-q·WA* closes it (inv.)

with instr. pref.: *tɔ'-tī'ŋwa-i'* closes up (e. g. a hole) by pushing a fist against (it); *pi'-tī'ŋwa-i'* closes by pushing with the buttocks; *tA'-tī'ŋwa-y'ī-q·WA* closes it (inv.) by pushing with the foot; *ma-rī'ŋwa-ŋq²i-pī'γa'* shut with (their) hands (402, 6)

with incor. n.: *qwi(·)-t'īŋwα-p'ī'γai(y)-aŋA* locked him up in smoke (444, 32); *qa(·)n·i'-t'īŋwa(i)-yī* house-closes, shuts the door, *qani'-ntcɪwq-'nīmpī* house-closing-instrument, door

TĪŋWA-ⁿ service-berry (cf. *tīa-*):

tīŋwa-mpi- abs.: *tīŋwα'-mpi* service-berry

tīŋwa-mpi-vī- service-berry bush: *tīŋwα'-mpi-φī* service-berry bush

TĪŋWAVA-γA- to make a noise (dur. intr.): *tīŋwα'va-xa-i'* sounds, makes a noise, *tīŋwa'va-x·A* to make a noise (e. g. of gun that is fired off)

tīŋwava-γa-n'ni- cont.: *tīŋwα'va-xa-n'ni-p'ī'γa'* made a noise (while bumping around trying to find his way out) (422, 32)

with incor. n.: *nampa'-rīŋwαva-xa-i'* sounds like footsteps

in comp. vb.: *mv(·)mpa'-t'īŋwava-xa-i'* sounds like rolling; *ampa'-rīŋwαva-xa-i'* sounds like talking; *pitci'-t'īŋwava-xa-p'ī'γa'* made a noise as (he) arrived (450, 1); *A'pɔ'n·ai-t'īŋwava-xa-ŋki-xu-aŋA* as there was heard the noise of hoofs coming . . . he (476, 13); plur. *qa'-t'īŋwαva-xa-q·a-i'* sounds like many singing; with incor. obj. *nīw'a'-RA'tɔn'NI'-tīŋwava-x·A-p'ī'γa'* made a noise of shaking off snow from (his) feet (450, 1)

-TĪŋWIP·A- to push in:

ma-rīŋwip·a- to push in with the hand: *ma-rī'ŋwip·a-va-ni* shall push me in (410, 27)

TĪŃWIYAI-ŶA- to pant (probably *tĭŃwĭ-ya'i-* to die of haste): *tĭ'Ńwĭyai-χa(i)-yĭ-n-i'* pants (e. g. of a hard-run horse)

TĪŃWĪ-^s hurriedly:

tĭŃwĭ- . . . -*nia-* quickly: *tĭŃwĭ'-nia-* in a hurry (315, 5), *tĭ'Ńwĭ-ni'* *pay'ŃUPĭŷa'* hurriedly returned (319, 2), *tĭŃwĭ'-nia'^a* hurry! *tĭŃwĭ-ni(y)a-mĭ tĭ'qa'q'amu'* they are wont to eat quickly *tĭŃwĭ-* (. . . -*nia-*) as vb. pref.: *tĭŃwĭ-v^oaχ(a)i-Ńkai-n-i'* while quickly-journeying, while hurrying; *tĭ'Ńwĭ-Rĭqa-mi(y)α-ni* I am wont to eat quickly; *tĭ'Ńwĭ-na-vai-p'iŷai-n-i'aq'WA* was gathering them (inv. inan.) up quickly (396, 33); *tĭ'Ńwĭ-χa-yĭ-n-i'* sings fast, dim. *tĭ'Ńwĭ-χa-ts-gα-n-i'* is singing fast; *tĭ'Ńwĭ-manu-miα-n-i'* is wont to hurriedly-do, hurries along, dim. *tĭ'Ńwĭ-m-anu-mi-nts-kai-n-i'* while hurrying along (357, 1); *tŃwĭ-c-αmpĭia(i)-'yai'* haste-dies, is in a hurry, *tŃwĭ-c-αmpĭia-i'ai-χai-n-i'* like haste-dying, as though being in a hurry (420, 10), *nĭ' tĭŃwĭ-c-umpā(i)-'v(i)ai-yĭ* I am in a hurry

TĪŃWĪ'I- to fall off (probably *tĭ-* high + *wĭ'i-* to fall, q. v.): *tĭŃwĭ''i-vā-* will fall down (e. g. from a horse), *tĭŃwĭ''i-vā-ni* I shall fall off (456, 30)

TĪP'A-, TĪVI- to emerge (cf. *tup'a-*):

tĭp'a-q-i- mom. sing.: *tĭ'pa'-k-i-kā-ŃA* when he emerged
tĭvi-tcai-Ńu- mom. plur.: *tĭv^oi'-tcai-ŃU-q(w)a-mĭ* when they came out, emerged (422, 9)

TĪVA- wolf, powerful one (as mythological being):

tĭva-tsi- abs.: *tĭva'-ts*, *tĭv^oa'-ts* Wolf, powerful one (308, 1)
tĭva-tsi- in comp. n.: *tĭv^oa'tsu-navaŃu-Ńwĭ* wolf-brothers, Wolf and his brother (Coyote) (308, 1)

TĪVA-^o pine-nut: *tĭ'(u)φA* pine-nuts

tĭva-tsi- pine-nut: *tĭv^oα'-ts* pine-nut (said to be Shoshone; Song 200)
tĭva-p'i- piñon: *tĭv^oa'-p'i*, *tĭv^oα'-p'i* piñon, pine from which nuts are obtained
tĭva- in comp. n.: *tĭv^oa'-c-iap'ĭ* piñon sapling; *tĭv^oa'-q-aφĭ* piñon cone

TĪVAI-^o down, west (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

TĪVI-^o earth, ground, country:

tĭvi-p'i- abs.: *tĭv^oi'-p'i* earth, *tĭv^oi'-p'i* Earth (man's name)
-tĭvi-p'i- in comp. n.: *sivi-'i-nĭtĭv^oi-p'i-v^oa-ni* at the Sibit Paiute country . . . I (478, 6)
tĭvi-q-a-: *tĭv^oi'-k'A* dirty ground mixed with sticks clinging to a brush (woman's name)

- tivi-* in comp. n.: *tw^wi'-na^xqwteuts* earthworm
 incor.: *tī^vv^wi-k-īcara-q-ai-p-īγa'* (his) mouth was filled with earth
 (404, 20)
- TĪVĪ- to ask:
tivi-γu- to ask: *tw^wi'-γu-yī-a(·)γa-ni* he asks me, *tiv^wi'-γ^xU-pīγa'*
 asked; plur. *tw^wi'-γU-q(w)a-i'*, *tiv^wi'-γU-q(w)a-i'* several ask
na-rīvi-γu- recip.: *na-rī^vv^wi-γu-p-īγa'ai-mī* they 2 asked each other
 (472, 29); plur. *na-rī^vv^wi-γu-q(w)a-χa'* while asking one another
 (371, 2)
- tivi-tcu-* to ask for: *tiv^wi'-tcu-i'* begs, requests
 -*tivi-tcu-* in comp. vb.: *ampa'x-A-tiv^wtcu-i'* asks (one) to talk (for
 himself); *tīχwī'n-a-t-iv^wtcu-χwai't-γWA* go anda sk him (inv.) for
 a story (446, 25); *qitca'-rī'mα-t-iv^wtcu-q(w)ai-n-α-ni* blood-roast
 that I have asked for (468, 12); *cūi'-x-A'-tiv^wtcu-p-īγai(y)-aγA*
 asked him to get squaw-bush twigs (456, 22); *nanta'-x-A-tiv^wtcu-*
p-īγai(y)-aγA asked him to get "yant"
- TĪVĪ- very, really:
tivi-tsi- very; *tivi-tsi-n-ia-* greatly; *tivi-tsi-s-ampa-* really, of
 course, surely! (adv. and interj.; Gram., § § 60, 2, c; 61, 2)
tivi-c-u-, *tivi-c-ampa-* sure enough (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)
- TĪVIC-Ī'A- to pay (Sibit Paiute dialect): *tiv^wi'c-i'* to pay (454, 8),
tiv^wi'c-i'ε-tca-γa-ni he paid me
- TĪVIC-ĪRA'AI- to tell a lie: *tiv^wi'c-ira'ai'* tells a lie; plur. *tiv^wi'c-ira'ai-k-a-i'*
 (they) tell lies
tīt-ivic-ira'ai- iter.: *tī'tī'φ(w)Icīr'ai'* tells lies one after another
- TĪVITSIγA- to obey: *tiv^wi'tsiχa-tsa-aγa-raγWA* he obeyed us (incl.);
 plur. *tiv^wi'tsiχa-q-a-γA* several obey him; usit. *tiv^wi'tsiχa-m-i'*
 always obeys
- TĪVITCU'A- to learn how: *tiv^wi'tcu'a-i'* learns how to (do things)
 -*tivitcu'a-* in comp. vb.: *paχ(a)'in'ni-t-iv^wtcuα-p-īγa'* learned how to
 walk (464, 21)
- TĪVĪ-^s skin (owned), hide:
tivi-vi- abs.: *tiv^wi'-φū* hide owned, *tiv^wi'-v^wi-ni* hide which I own
tivi-vi-γai- to have a hide: *tiv^wi'-v^wi-xai-va-q-A* will have the hide
 (458, 23)
- TĪVĪ'- to head off (cf. *tivīn-aγa-*):
na-rivī'- recip.: with incor. obj. *qam-i'-n-a-riv^wi'-p-i'* game in which
 each tries to head off jack-rabbits away from the rest
- TĪVĪN'AγA- to lead away: *tivū'naxa(i)-yī-γWA*, *tivū'n-a-xa-i'-γWA*
 leads him (inv.) along, away

tiv̄in aγa-γw'ai- to lead away: *tiv̄i'naxa-xwa'^a* to lead away (362, 4)
tit'ip'in-aq-a- iter.: *tit'it'ip'unag-a-i'* leads away several times;
 plur. *tit'it'ip'unag-A-qa-i'* several lead away several times, *tit'it'ip-*
p'unag-A^x-qa-p'iyā' (they) led (them) off one by one (474, 8)

TIV̄IC·IRA- moth:

tiv̄ic·ira-tsi- abs.: *tw^oi'c'ura-ts-* moth

TİQ·A-^a to eat: *tī'qa'(i)-yī-ni* I eat, *tīqa'-i-i-ru'^aηA* is he eating?, *tī'qa'-p'iyā'ai-k-wA* "ate it (inv.)," enjoyed the sexual act (446, 33);
 impers. *tī'qa'-t-u'^a* some one eating; ptc. *tī'qa'-rī, tī'qa'-rī* eating,
 one who eats; usit. *tī'qa'-m·i-p'iyā'* always ate (448, 29); plur.
tī'qa'-q-a-va-nua-nīm(w)I we all (excl.) will eat, usit. *tī'qa'-q-a-mi'*
 (they) always eat (377, 9)

tīq-a-ηu- mom.: dim. *tī'qa'-ηu-nts-qα-ni* I am ready to eat

tīt'iq-a- inc., mom.: *tīt't'q·A* to start to eat, *tīt'ti'q·A-p'iyā'* ate (it) up
 (464, 1)

tīt'iq-a- iter.: *tīt't'q-a-i'* eats several times

tīq-a-γi- to come in order to eat: *tī'qa'-χi'* comes in order to eat

tīq-a-q-w'ai- to eat off: *tī'qa'-q-w'ci-vā-ni* I shall keep on eating

tīq-a-t'ui- caus.: *tī'qa'-t'ui-y'i-ηwA* makes him eat

tīq-a-t'ia- eating-place: *tī'qa'-t'ia* eating-place, plur. *tī'qa'-t'iriA*
 eating-places

na-rīq-a- refl.: *na(·)-rī'k·a-i'* (moon) eats (it)self (said when the
 moon is surrounded by a ring)

tī-nīq-a- to eat well: *tī-nī^xqa-i'* eats good stuff, eats a grand feast,
tī-nī^xqa-p'iyā' ate well (384, 1)

with incor. obj.: *wara-Rīq-a-i'* eats grass-seeds (see *wara-*); *paγi'u-*
rīq-a-i' eats fish; *qo'i'nu-ntīq-a-i'* eats corn; *qo'a'-t·i'q-a-i'* tobacco-
 eats, smokes, *qw'^a-t·i'q-a-q-w'ai'* keeps on smoking; *kwi'mv^urα-*
ntuk-a-mua-γa' while (they) were going in order to eat people up
 (370, 5); *navi'^a-t'iq-a-i'* eats tabooed game, boy eats first game
 he has killed contrary to taboo

-tīq-a- in comp. vb.: usit. *sa'^a-nīq-a(·)-m·u-p'iyā'* always ate (him)
 raw (462, 37)

tīq-a- in comp. vb.: *tī'qa'-q·ari-i'* eat-sits, keeps on eating, eats
 while sitting; *tī'qa'-c·ua-ηU-p'iyā'* finished eating, ate (it) up (394,
 36); *tī'qa'-m'maq·U* to be through eating; *tī'qa'-m·au'p·A* to be
 through eating, to stop eating, *tī'qa'-mau'p·u-tca-r'a-ηA* did he
 finish eating?, *tī'qa'-m·au'p·u-tsi'-q·wA* having finished eating it
 (inv.) (373, 7); *tī'qa'-m·paγa-i'* eat-talks, prays before eating, says
 grace; *tī'qa'-p'ini-n'ni'* looks around for something to eat;

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t'qa'-vuru-i walks back and forth eating, plur. *t'qa'-vuru-q(w)a-i*; *t'qa'-p-aγ(a)i* eats while traveling; *t'qa'-m-ia-i* several eat while traveling; *t'qa'-yuχwi* several eat while sitting; *t'qa'-avi* eats while lying, plur. *t'qa'-av-k-a-i*; *t'qa'-q-a-χa'* while eat-singing, eating while singing; *t'qa'-ηwini-i* eats while standing; *t'qa'-ηwaηwi* several eat while standing

TĪK·IA·-° shaded:

tik'ia-γai- to be shaded: ptc. *t'ki'a-χa-nti* shaded slope (of a mountain, where the sun does not reach and the snow stays long)

TĪYA- to beat out seeds: *tīγa'-i*, *tīχa'-i* beats out (seeds), harvests, collects (seeds)

with incor. n.: *wara'-rīγa-i* picks grass-seeds (see *wara-*)

tīγa-n-impī- seed-beating instrument: *tīγa-n-impī* seed-beater, *tīγa'-n-n-impī-mα-mi* with your seed-beater (398, 27), *tīγa'-n-impī-q-a-ma-mī* with their (plur.) seed-beater

TĪYA- to measure; to practice, to imitate: *tīγa'-i*, *tīχa'-i*, *tīχa'a-i* measures, imitates (an action)

tīγa-n'ni- cont.: *tīχa'-n-i* keeps measuring

-*tīγa-* in comp. v.: *wi'i-tīγa-i* practices dancing; *pō'v-tīγa-i* practices writing; *pō'YA-tīγa-i* practices running; *pī'pī't'a-nu-tīγa(a)-i* pretends to vomit, imitates vomiting; plur. *qu'qwi-tīγaA²-qa-na'* all shall practice shooting (402, 32); cont. *a(·)vi-tīγa-n-i-p-iγa'* tried to lie down, practiced lying down (354, 1); *qa'-tīγa-n-i* tries to sing, practices singing

TĪYA- to bring about (caus. of *tīγai-*, q. v.?): *tīγa'-i* brings about -*tīγa-* in comp. v.: *ya(a)'i-tīγa-i* causes to hunt, makes hunt; *t'qa'-tīχa-a-χa'* calling (people) to eat; *tin'a'A-tīγa-ri* causing hunting to take place, hunting leader; usit. *ki(y)a'-tīχa-m-i-p-iγa'* always commanded a round dance to take place (430, 11); *pA²qa'-xw'oi-tīχa-a-χa'* as (you) are talking of going to kill (him) (366, 3), *pA²qa'-xw'oi-tīχa-a-χai-ni* saying that (he) is going to kill me

tin'tīγa-ηqī- to bring about a contest with: *tin'tīγa-ηqī-pīγai(y)-aηA* caused (him) to engage in a contest with him (456, 16)

TĪYAI·°, TĪQA·η'WI- to happen, to take place:

tīγai- dur.: *tīγa'i-pīγa'* took place (384, 2), *tīγa'i-ḡ-U* when (it) appears (382, 7)

tītīγai- distr.: *tī'tīχa(a)i-ḡ-U* when (they) got (396, 7); mom.

tī'tīγai-ηU-pīγa' (they) came to be (438, 22)

tīγai-qai- res.: *tīγa'i-k'a'* to continue; in comp. vb. *tīγa'i²-k'ai-pa:1-pīγa'* (it) continued while (they) were journeying (321, 12)

- tīγai-q'w'ai-* to happen off: *tīγa'(i)I-kwai'i-go-n'* when (it) has started (Song 182)
- tīγai-γi-* to take place hither: *tA'cī'anti' tīγa'.i-χi-ηqU* when dawn (obj.) came (406, 34)
- tīγai-t'ui-* caus.: *tīγa'I-tui-yī-'q'WA* to bring it (inv.) about
- tīγai-* with incor. n.: mom. *so(·)n'c'aywa-riχai-ηU-pīγa'* (they) became the Dipper
- qatcu-t'īγai-* to become not: *qatcu'-t'īγai-yī-nI* I am giving out (386, 12), *qatcu'-t'īγai-'yī-a(·)mī* they (du.) are nearly tired out (394, 22); plur. *qatcu'-t'īγai-k'a-i'* (they) give out
- tīγa-n'ia-*, *-tōγo-n'ia-* in adverbs (Gram., § 60, 2, b)
- tīq'ay'wi-* mom.: with incor. n. *tūmp'w'i'-t'I'qay'wi-ntca-ηA* he turned into stone; *nuywī'-riqay'wI* to become a man; *ni'a'au-ntī'-qay'wI* to become a chief
- tīq'ay'wi-t'ui-q'w'ai-* to cause to become (mom.) off: *tī'qa'η'wI-tui-q'w'ai-p'īγa'* caused (them) to turn away
- tīq'ay'wi-* in comp. v.: *yni'-t'I'qay'wI* to become doing, to do so again (406, 5)
- TĪγAN'I-** to cut up meat: *tīγa'nz-pīγa'ai-ηWA* (he) butchered her (body) (312, 11); in comp. v. *tīγa'n-i-ma'q'u-ts-ayA* after finishing butchering her (458, 32)
- in comp. n.: *tīγa'n-i-ηwūits* butchering knife (for deer); cow-puncher's pocket knife
- TĪγI-**
- cu-a-rīγi-* to miss: *nī' cu(w)a'-riγi-ηWA* I commence to miss him (inv.); plur. *cu(w)a'-riγi-k'A-pīγa'ai-ηWA* (they) commenced to miss him (inv.) (349, 9)
- cu-a-rīγi-q'u-* inc.: *nī' cu(w)a'-riγi-k'u-ηWA* I commence to miss him (inv.)
- TĪγIA-^s** deer: *tīγi'A* deer, obj. *tīγi'a-i'* (310, 6); plur. *tīγi'a-ηwī*
- tīγia-* in comp. n.: *tīγi'a-vi'* deer-mother, doe; *tīγi'a-ru(w)α-ts ayA* the little deer (428, 3); *tīγi'a-xani-φī* deer-tepee, tepee with deer-hide cover; *tīγi'a-χunaφī* deer sack; *tīγi'a-cam'αp'i* deer-cover, deer-robe; *tīγi'a-naap'u-ηwī* deer old-man; *tī'ia-RIQUAφI* deer-meat; *tīγi'a-vūφī* deer-hide
- tīγia-vī-*, *tīa-vī-* deer-hide: *tīγi'a-φī* tanned deer-hide; in comp. n. *tīa'vī-ra'* deerskin shirt; *tīγi'avu-ru-σ^wa'au'* will make a deer-hide
- pa-rīia-* water-deer, elk (q. v.)
- tī-^s* game (q. v.)

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TĪȜĪ- (TĪȜI-) hunger:

incor.: *tīȜī'(i)-ya'ai'*, *tīȜī'(i)-ya'ai'* hunger-dies, is hungry, *tȜī(·)-ya'i-yī-ni* I am hungry, *tīȜī'(i)-ya'ai-p'īȜa'* was hungry (474, 28); plur. *tīȜī'i-tcup'i'* (they) are all hungry; *tīȜī'-p'īn-i-n'ni-a-ro'a* are you looking for something to eat?, *tīȜī'-p'īn-i-k'ari-xai-m'ī'* while sitting looking for something to eat (436, 2)

TĪȜĪVĪ-^s friend: *tīȜī'v'ī-ni* my friend, *tīȜī'vī-rami* you and I who are friends

tīȜīvī-tsi- dim.: plur. *tīȜī'vu-tsi-ηwū-nua-ni* my friends (373, 5)

tī-tīȜīvī-vi- distr. abs.: *tī'tī'χwī-φi* anyone's friends

na-rīȜīvī-ηwī- du. recip.: *na-rī'χwū-ηwī*, *na(·)-rī'χīv'ī-ηwī* two friends to each other; distr. recip. *nana'-rīȜīv'ū-ηwī*, *nana'-rīχw'ī-ηwī* friends to one another

incor.: *tīȜī'v'ī-tca'ai'* friend-grasps, grasps (his) hand as friendly greeting

TĪȜĪCĪ- friend (song form; cf. *tīȜīvī-*): *tīȜī'c-i-n* am friend of mine (Song 178)

TĪȜWĪN·A- to tell a story:

tīȜwī'n-a-ηqī- to tell a story to: *tīȜwī'n-a-ηqī-r'ua-ηa-'mi* did he tell you a story? (446, 29)

in comp. vb.: *tīχwī'n-a-t'īv'ūtcu-χwai'ī-ηWA* go and ask him (inv.) for a story (446, 25), *tīχwī'n-a-t'īv'ūtcU-pīχai'ī-ηWA* asked her (inv.) to tell a story (446, 24)

tīȜwī'n-a-pī- what is told: *tīχwī'n-a-pī* story

TĪȜWĪN·AN·AȜWA- possessed of great power: *nī' tūχwī'n-anāηWA* I have great power, am great, *tīȜwī'n-anqwa-i'* (obj.) having great power (362, 10)

TĪC·A-^s rope:

tīc·a-vī- abs.: *tī'ca'-φī* rope, *tī'ca'-vī* ropes (obj.) (474, 10)

-tīc·a-vī- in comp. n.: *wī'ī-t·ī'caφī* milkweed rope

TĪC·IVA- floating dust: *tī'c·iφA* dust floating about in the air, *tī·c·i·vai a·ro·x·WA* to the dust in the air (Song 118)

TĪC·U'AI- (generally with neg. suf.) to pay attention: *tU'cu'ai'* minds, *tī'cu'ai-n·q(·)'a* to pay no attention

with pron. pref. (Gram., § 18, 2, c; § 50, 4, 29): *qatcu'aiη nī-ru'c·u'ai-n·q(·)'a* he pays no attention to me, *qatcu nī-ru'c·uai-n·u(y)-a'ap·A* do not mind me, *āηa'-Rīcu'ai-n·q(·)'a* to pay no attention to him, *qa'tc ηȜwa'-RUCudi-m'ua-va-ηwq'* shall not mind him (inv.) as (you) go along (454, 31); plur. *qa'tc am·u'-RUCu'ai-k·a-n·i'-p'īa'a* (they) paid no attention to them (462, 28); in

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comp. vb. *aŋa'-Rīcu'ai-avi-ŋwa'a* to lie (sing.) and pay no attention to him, *aŋa'-Rīcu'ai-k-wɔ(a)v-p-i'a'a* (they) lay down without paying any attention to him (436, 7)

TĪ'RA-^s desert, open expanse; bare: *tī'ra-va'* out in the open (388, 14), *tī'ra-va-ntux-wA* to the ground (404, 6)

tīra-vi- abs.: *tī'ra-φI*, *tīra'-φI* desert, prairie, plain

tīra- in comp. n.: *tī'ra(i)-yua-xI* through the open plain (418, 19);

tī'ra-va-n'ɔaγanti plain valley surrounded by mountains; *tī'ra-*

ŋwmtsi'i-ts desert-bird, horned lark; *tī'ra(i)-yoχovwi-ts* desert-

coyote, coyote; *tī'RA'-cin'av-χai-va-nti* destined to be a desert-

dog, coyote (464, 17); *tī'ra-γava-ŋwi-nu* desert horses (Song 174)

tīra- bare: *tīra'-nuŋwi* desert-person, person without home or clothes;

tī'ra-uq-wi-vi-ni my bare-arrow, my unfeathered arrow, *tī'ra-*

uq-wi-vi-α-φi his own unfeathered arrow (obj.) (400, 23)

-*tīra-* in comp. n.: *pa-rī'ira-va'* water-desert-at, out in the rain (389, 2)

TĪRAŋWANTCĪ- to step:

in comp. vb.: *tīra'ŋwantci-p-aγ(t)u-mpa'* shall step as (you) go along (448, 18)

TĪRAVI- to throw (cf. *tavi-*): *navi'mituγwa t-iraφI* to throw in back of oneself

TĪRAYUA-^o middle, center: *tira'χɔa-va-nti* in the middle, *tɔ'tsi'vu tiraxɔa-va-nti* in the middle of the head, *tīra'xua-va-'mū* in the midst of them (448, 14)

tɔγɔi-t-iraγua- the very middle: *tɔγɔ'-t-iraxɔa-va-nti* right in the

center, *tɔχɔ'i-t-iraxɔa-va-'q-wA* right at its (inv.) middle (458, 3),

tɔγɔ'-t-irax(w)-ɔa-va-ntuxwa-qA right in the middle of it (360, 8)

-*tiraγua-* in comp. n. (Gram., § 50, 4, 28): *qanu-ntcira'χɔa-va-nti* in the middle of the house; *niŋwi'-rīraxuɔ-p-a'* right among the people

tīraγua-p-i- abs.: *tira'χwa-p-i'* it is between, the center (refers to position of the gambling bones in the hand game, the two unmarked bones falling between the two marked ones)

TĪRA'SI- potatoes (< Eng. *taters*): *tī'ra-sI* potatoes

tīra-s-i-n'ni- pos.: *tī'ra-s-i-n'i-ni* my potatoes

TĪRAC'ĪQ-WA- to come to a halt: *tīra'c'ik-wA*, *tira'c'iq-wA* to come to a

halt, to stop walking (410, 1), *tīra'c'iqwa-'a*, *tira'c'kwa-'a* stop!

tīra'c'iqwa-tca-ni I came to a standstill, *tīra'c'qwa-ts* having

come to a standstill (410, 1), *tira'c'kwɔ-p-i'γai-c-U* stopped again

(370, 3); plur. *tira'c'qwa-qA* several stop

tī'tīrac'iq-wa- iter.: *tī'tīRACiq-wa-i'* stops several times

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SAPIR

-TĪRĪN'A-^s butt (cf. *tīn'a-*):

in comp. n.: *ɔγɔ-ntirī'na-va'* fir-butt-spring (place name); *yiv^wi-ndi'rana-γai-p'i* long-leaved pine stump that used to be (Song 63)

TĪTSAŋ'WA- to take away from: *tī⁽ⁱ⁾tca'ηwa* to take away from *na-rītsaŋ'wa-* recip.: *na-rī'tsaŋ'wa-p'iγai(y)-aŋ'a-mī* they 2 tried to jerk her away from each other (366, 11); plur. *na-rī'tsaŋ'wa-q'a(i)-yī-aŋA* (they) try to jerk her away from one another with incor. obj.: *nī-mpi'ηwa-rut-saŋwa-p-i-ηwa-xa.i'* has as (his) own somebody else's wife whom (he) has taken away (436, 8)

-TĪTSI-N'A- to join together:

na-rītsi-n'a- recip.: *na-rī'tsi-n'a-i'* joins two things together, *na-rī'tsi-n'a-q'ai-na* joined together, cane-joint

-TĪYA- middle, between (only with postpos.)

na-rīya- recip.: *na-rī'iyava-va-'mī* between them 2 (428, 8), *na^(s)-rī⁽ⁱ⁾ya-va-nīmī* between us (excl.); *tana'c'ixa(i)ya-ηA na-rī'ya-vantux:WA* to between his hoofs (404, 11)

-*n'a-rīya-*, distr. *-nan'a-rīya-* in comp. n. (Gram., § 50, 4, 21): *-n'a-rīya-va-* between, *-nan'a-rīya-va-* among (Gram., § 50, 4, 38); *-n'a-rīya-p'a-* between (Gram., § 50, 4, 38); *-n'a-rīya-γi-* in between (Gram., § 50, 4, 5); *-n'a-rīya-na-* between on (Gram., § 50, 4, 21); *-n'a-rīya-va-ntuγwa-* to between (Gram., § 50, 4, 38)

Tɔ^o with the fist (instr. pref.; cf. *tɔn'a-* to punch): Gram., § 21, 7Tɔ'ɔ-^o,ⁿ hole:

tɔ'ɔ-p'i- abs.: *tɔ'ɔ'-p'i* hole, orifice

-*tɔ'ɔ-mpi-* in comp. n.: *mov^wi'-t'ɔ-mpi* nose-hole, nostril

-Tɔ'ɔ-ⁿ:

pi-t'ɔ'ɔ-mpi- rear-fat (?): *pi'-tɔ'ɔ-mpi* thick fat over hips next to skin

-Tɔ'AI-:

taja-rɔ'ai- to kneel: in comp. vb. *taŋ'a'-rɔai-xari(-)i'* is kneeling; *taja'-rɔai-maŋwaφA-p'iγa'* crawled on (his) knees (458, 24)

Tɔ'AγA'- to watch (only compounded with verbs of sitting):

tɔ'aγa- in comp. vb.: *tɔɔ(·)'aγax-qarī-p'iγa'ai-mī* they 2 sat watching (402, 13); *tɔɔ(·)'axa(i)-yuχwi'* several sit watching

-TɔARɔ-ⁿ to hang loose:

ma-rɔarɔ- in comp. vb.: caus. *ma(·)'-rɔarɔ-mpA'tca'ai-t'ui'* causes to nearly hang, causes to be attached loosely

ma-rɔarɔ-mpo-t'ui- to cause to hang loose: pas. plur. *ma(·)'-rɔarɔ-mpu-t'ui-t'ii-k'A-p'iγa'* (they) were caused to hang loose

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(after being gnawed) (406, 28); pas. *ma(·)ʼ-ɾɔarɔ-mpv-tʼi-iʼ* is almost hanging as though ready to fall

Tʷɔɪ-^s bulrush:

tʷɔi-vi- abs.: *tʷɔʼi-φi* bulrush, obj. *tʷɔʼi-viʼ* (396, 25)

TʷIA-ⁿ gravel:

tʷia-mpī- abs.: *tʷiaʼ-mpī* gravel, rocks big and small

tʷia- in comp. n.: *tʷi-ɔʼip·I* (= *tʷia-* + *ɔʼi-p·I* canyon) gravel-canyon, creek running through a rocky bed, San Juan river; *tʷiʼɔʼip·i-tɕ-wī* gravel-canyon people, Paiute Indians of San Juan river, Arizona (band living in Navaho country)

TʷM·I-ⁿ acorn (?):

tʷm-i-ntsi-: *tʷ(·)mʼ-nts* Acorn (?) (man's name) (cf. Ute *tʷmʼ-mp*, acorn, *tʷmʼ-nts* man's name)

TʷMɔ-^s winter: *tʷmɔ*, *tʷmʷA* winter, year

tʷmɔ-ʼui- to turn winter: ptc. *tʷmɔʼ-rʼui-ntī* commencing winter
-*tʷmɔ-* in comp. n.: *cvʼi-tɔ(·)mu-mʷA* at one winter, for one year;
waʼ-tɔma-mʷA at two winters, for two years

-TʷMPAT·CA-^s swelling (?):

ta-tʷmpat·ca- foot-swelling (?), ankle: *tʷAʼ-tʷmpʷAʼtca-mʷa-ŋqo-amī* on their ankles (434, 30)

ta-tʷmpat·ca-vi- abs.: *tʷAʼ-tʷmpʷAʼtca-φI*, *tʷAʼ-tʷmpīʷtca-φI* ankle

TʷMPĪNʼNA- to double up one's legs: *tʷ(·)mpuʼnʼnaʼ* to double up one's legs, *tʷ(ʷ)mpīʼnʼa-p·iʷaʼ* doubled up (his) legs (that were stretched out) (334, 12)

TʷMPʷɔʷ·I-^s feathers (?):

tʷmpʷɔʷ-i-vi- abs.: *tʷmpʷɔʷ(ɔ)i-φi* "feathers (?)," pubic hair, copulation (myth-word; sexual euphemism)

TʷN·A-^s, **TʷNʼNA-** (mom.) to strike, to hit: *tʷnʷA* to strike, to hit, *tʷnqʷ-iʼ* stabs, *tʷnaʼ-va·n·ia-ŋa-ŋA* he will punch him; pas. *tʷnaʼ-tʷiʼ-tɕ-nI* I have been hit

tʷntʷnʷna- iter.: *tʷntʷnʷna-iʼ* stabs several times; plur. *tʷntʷnʷnʷA-qa-iʼ* several stab

tʷna-ŋi- to come to hit: *tʷnaʼ-xi-yi-ŋA* he comes to punch

with instr. pref.: *mu-ɾɔʷnʷA* to strike with one's nose; *pɪʼ-tʷnʷA* to push with one's buttocks

with incor. instr. n.: *moʷʷiʼ-tʷnʷA* to strike with one's nose; *ʷaʼ-tʷnʷnʷA* to hook with the horns, *ʷaʼ-tʷnʷa-p·iʷaʼ* struck at with (his) horns (430, 28); *wiʼ-tʷnʷa-p·iʷaʼ* stabbed with a knife (430, 1); *tʷiŋiʼ-tʷmɔ* to stab with a stick; *siŋiʼ-tʷnʷA* to pierce, hit with a stick

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SAPIR

tən-a- in comp. vb.: *tənā'-va(i)yī-i'* punch-returns, has been punching
na-rən'na-ηqī- (recip.) to have a fist-fight with: *nī'ayA na-rō'n'na-*
ηqī-i' I have a fist-fight with him; plur. *na(·)-ru'n'na-ηqī-q-a-ηA*
 all have a fist-fight with him (446, 18); distr. *nī'ntca-ηA nana'-*
rən'na-ηqī I just had a fist-fight with him

TÖN·Ö-^s greasewood: *tō'nō* greasewood

tən·ö- in comp. n.: *tənō'-va-ts·* greasewood spring (place name)

-TÖN'NI-, -TÖN'NÖI- to shake:

ta- off the feet: *tā'-tō'n'no.i'* shakes (dust, snow) from the feet;
 with incor. obj. *nīv'a'-RA'-tən'NI'-tī'-a-ηWA* his (inv.) place (obj.)
 of shaking off snow from the feet, in comp. vb. *nīv'a'-RA'-*
tən'NI'-tīηwaaxA-pīγa' made a noise of shaking off snow from
 the feet (450, 1)

wī-t·ən'ni-, *wī-t·n'no.i-* to shake out: *wI'-tō'n'v-i-ayA* shakes
 them (inan.) out, *wI'-tō'n'I^z-pīγa'ai-k·WA* shook them (inan. inv.)
 out (326, 12); *wI'-tō'n'no.i'* shakes (e. g. a blanket); distr. *wīwī'-*
t·n'i^z-k·WA shakes them (inan. inv.) out

na-ηwī-t·ən'no.i- refl.: iter. *nana'-ηwī-t·n·v-i-ē'a-mi* while you shake
 yourself

TÖJQWA- (bow) snaps: *təηqwa'* to snap (sing., e. g. a bow), *təηqwa'-*
va·n·i' (it) will snap

TÖJWAQ·I- to shoot:

təηwaq·i-ηu- mom.: *təηwa'q·i-ηu-mpa'* will shoot (at them)

TÖP·A-, TÖP·I-, TÖVI- to come loose (intr.), to pull out (tr.):

töp·a-q·i- one standing object comes loose (mom.): *tō'pa'-q·I* one
 (tooth, tree, standing object that has roots) comes out, comes
 loose

tōvi-tcai- several come loose: *tōv'-tcai'* several come loose, (feathers)
 come out

tōtöp·i-n'na- (*tut·up·i-n'na-*) to pull out one (mom.): *tō'tō'p·i-n'NA*,
tō'tō'p·i-n'NA, *tō'tō'p·i-n'NA* to pull out one, to pluck out one
 (feather), *tō'tō'p·i-na-p·iγa'*, *tū'tū'p·i-n'a-p·iγa'* pulled out one (of
 her arms), pulled (it) out (of the ground) (365, 3; 404, 3)

tōtōvi-tca- to pull out several: *tō'tō'v-tca-i'*, *tō'tō'v-tca-i'*, *tō'tō'v-*
tca-i' pulls out several, plucks out (feathers)

TÖP·AQ·A-, TÖP·A·A- to patch:

töp·a'a- to patch: *tō'pa''a-i'* patches; *tō'pa''a-ts·* patcher (personal
 name)

tōtöp·aq·a-ηqī- to patch several for: *tō'tō'p·A'qa-ηqī-p·iγai(y)-*
aq·a-ηA (she) patched them (inan.) for him (394, 14)

TƏVI'-, -TƏP'I'- short:

təvi'-p-i- abs.: *təvi'-p-i* short; in comp. n. *tə(·)u''p-i-atei* short-bow, pistol (term used by Sibit Paiutes)

-təp-i'-tsi- in comp. n.: *w'a'-p-i'-təp'i'-ts-* penis-rear-short, short penised (336, 10)

təvi'i-tsi- for a short distance (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

TƏQ'WA'- to patch: *tə'qwa'a-i'* patches (one)

tətəq'wa'- to patch several: *tə'tə'q'wa'a-i'* patches (several), *tə'q'wa'-p-ï'ya'* (she) patched (his moccasins) (394, 38), *tə'tə'q'wa'-p-ï'yai-aq'A* patched it together (404, 22), *tə'tə'q'wa'a-va-n:ia-A^xqa-ni* I shall patch them (inan.)

tətəq'wa'-ηqi- to patch: *tə'tə'q'waa-ηqi* to patch (them) (394, 11)

TƏYI- just, right (adv. pref.):

in v.: *təy(ə)'i-t-i'qa-i'* is right in eating, is about half through eating; *təyə'-mUqunta-ηqw'ai-p-ï'ya'* went on straight ahead (394, 16), *təy(ə)'i-mU'quntA* straight ahead, ptc. *päi'-ntəy(ə)'i-mU'quntA-rï* perfectly straight; ptc. obj. *təy(ə)'i-q'waci-rï* just ripe (394, 7); ptc. *təy(ə)'i-p'a'a-ni* just high enough

in num.: *təyə'-m·A'cüηwi-YU* just-ten, ten (Gram., § 59, 1); *cu(w)a'-rəyə-mA'cüηwi-YU* nearly-ten, nine

in n.: *təy(ə)'i-t-ava-i'* (obj.) midday; *təy(ə)'i-t-uχwa-nU* midnight; *təy(ə)'i-ηqwiyu-mpa-ηqu-ni* right in the center of my head (398, 26); *təy(ə)'i-mU²taq'a-η'wï-ηqu-ni* right on my forehead; *təyə'-t-iraxəa-va-ni* (being) right in the center

with pron. and post.: *təy^wi'-aηa-ruq'wA* right under him (404, 9); *təy(ə)'y-aηa-vai-t-ï-m^wi-n·i'* (being) equal to him; *təy(ə)'y-am-ï-vai-t-ï-m^wi-n·i'* equal to them; *təyə'-n·vï-v^wai'-tï-m^wi-n·i'* equal to me in strength (422, 26); *təyə'-n·v-op'a' tï'qa'rï* just-me-like eating, one equal to me in eating; *təy(ə)'i'-m·a(·)-va'ana* right above that (388, 5); *təy(ə)'i-a-ruq'wa-x·i* right under it; *təy(ə)'i-a-vaηwi-tï'* being (obj.) right in it; *təy(ə)'i-u-v^wa'a-x·i* right over it (inv.)

TƏYƏ-^s grandfather: *təχə'-ni*, *tə(·)yə'-ni* my grandfather (paternal or maternal); *təyə'-ni* "my grandfather," stick used in scoring in cup-and-ball game

təyə-tsi- dim.: *təχə'-tsu-ni*, *tə(·)yə'-tsu-ni* my (male's) grandchild (male or female); plur. *təyə'-tsu-ηwï-ni* my dear grandfathers (476, 17)

təyə-vi- abs.: *təyə'-φi* "grandfather," stick used in scoring in cup-and-ball game

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SAPIR

-TŌYŌ-ⁿ:

pa'a-t-ŏyŏ- long (cf. *pa'a-n* high): ptc. *pa'a'-t-ŏyŏ-nt 'uraro''a* it is long (446, 21)

TŌYŌA-^s rattlesnake:

tŏyŏa-vi- abs.: *tŏyŏ'a-φI, tŏxŏ'α-φI* rattlesnake (*Crotalus atrox*); plur. *tŏyŏ'a-vi-ηwī* rattlesnakes

-tŏyŏa-vi- in comp. n.: *pa-rŏ'xŏaφI, pa(·)-rŏ'xŏαφI* water-snake

tŏyŏa- in comp. n.: *tŏxŏ'a-ruA-tsu-ηw αmī* the rattlesnake-children (448, 2)

TŌYŌ-QŪ- to run (mom.): *nī' tŏyŏ'q'(w)I* I run, *tŏyŏ'q'(w)I* to run off, to start to run, *tŏyŏ'q'(w)ī-va^a-rŏ'ŏ-nI* shall I run away?

tŏt-ŏyŏq-i-, tŏrŏyŏq(w)ī- iter.: *tŏ'tŏ'x-q(w)u'* runs often; *tŏrŏ'x-q(w)ī'* runs several times

tŏyŏq-i-tūi- caus.: *tŏyŏ'q'(w)I-tūi-ηwA* to cause him (inv.) to run

tŏyŏq-i-ηu- inc.: *tŏyŏ'q'(w)u-ηu-i'* starts to run, gets ready to run

tŏyŏq-i-q-w'ai- to run off: *tŏyŏ'q'(w)I-qwa'ai-yī-ahA* he runs off, *tŏyŏ'-q-wŏi-vā'* shall run away

tī-ntŏyŏq-i- to run hard: *tī-ntŏyŏq(w)I-pīγa', tī'-ntŏq^z(w)I-pīγa'* ran away hard, was on a dead run (396, 10; 328, 12)

TŌYŌTSI-A- to cover a standing object: *tŏyŏ'tsi-ā-i'* covers something on top, covers something that stands

tŏyŏtsi-a-tūi- caus.: *nī' tŏ'tsi'anI tŏyŏ'tsi-ā-tūi'* I cover my head (with a handkerchief, e. g., not a hat), *tŏyŏ'tsi-a-t-u-k'ai-k'a'* (he) had evidently been having (it) to cover (a cactus) (452, 15)

-TŌYWA- to order loudly:

in comp. vb.: *ampa'-rŏywα'-pīγa(a)i-c-U* commanded out long again (430, 13), *ampa'-rŏxŏa-i'* (stands up on a height and) yells out orders

TŌYWA-^s purple:

tŏywa-γa- to be purple: ptc. *tŏ'χwa^a-γa-rī* purple

tŏywa- in comp. vb.: *tŏ'χwa^a-χwεA* to flash purple (446, 27)

TŌC-A-^{g,s} (TUC-A-) white: *tŏ'sA* white (personal name)

tŏc-a-γa- to be white: ptc. *tŏ'ca'-χα-rī* white

tŏc-a^g in comp. n.: *tŏ'ca'-q-anI* white house; *tŏ'ca(·)'-ŏvan'nanqA* white goose; *tŏ'ca'-q-aiφA* white-mountain, White Cliffs (place name), *tŏ'ca'-q-aiwa-χα-ntī* (country) having a white mountain; *tŏ'ca'(i)-yua-γai-pīγai-n-i'* (it) seemed like a plain dotted with white (474, 4); *tŏ'ca'-p-a(i)ya-mpa-ts', t'hw'-p-aiα-mpa-tc'* white-breasted, gull; name of horse (361, 6), obj. *thw'-p-a(i)ya-mpa-tsi aηA* (360, 13); *tŏ'ca'-q-wi-i-ts'* white-left-handed (personal name);

tɔ'ca'-q-ava-tc a ɣa: the white-horsed, name of Ute chief (Song 202); *tɔha'-t-ümpu 'ai'* the white stone (obj.) (402, 32); *tɔ'sa'-p-A'qɔ-rɔ-mputs*: white-faced, bald-faced (not in ordinary use; Song 75), *tɔ'sa-mɔ'p-aqɔ-rɔ-mputs* white-faced (Song 75); dim. *tɔ'sa-q-ariri-ni'ɣwi-ntsi-tsi-gai'* be a white-peaked-person (Song 115); *tɔca'-q-wiaɣanfi-m-a-matsi* white-grizzly-bear-woman (Song 158); *tɔ'ca'-q-U'tcu-mpuɣqu-ɣwi'* white cattle (Song 161)
tɔc-a-^o in comp. vb.: ptc. *tɔ'ca'-c-ia-q-a-rī* white-pink, very light pink; *tɔ's-A^z-qari-gi-na-ni* (he) is coming to sit down white (Song 194)

-tuc-a- in comp. n.: *pa-ru'c-A* water-white, Virgin river

TɔT'CA-ŋqī-'A- to have a pointed object stuck at the top: *tɔ'tca'-ŋqī-'a-i'* causes (arrow or other point) to stick to something, has stuck on his head

tɔt-ca-ŋqī-'a-q-ai- res.: *tɔ'tca'-ŋqī-a-q-ai-p-ī'ɣa'* (arrow) was stuck to (it) at the head; distr. *tɔ'tɔ't-ca-ŋqī-a-q-ai-pī'ɣa'* each had one on (its) point (452, 17)

TɔT'SI-^s head: *tɔ'ts-* head

tɔt-si-vi- abs.: *tɔ'tsi'-φI* head; distr. *tɔ'tɔ'tsi-φI* heads

tɔt-si-ɣai- to have a head: *tɔ'tsi'-ɣai-va-n-ia-ni* I shall have a head

-tɔt-si- in comp. n.: *qari'n-ümpɔ-rɔtsi-d'* saddle-head, saddle horn; *pī'ka'-rɔ(°)ts*: sore-headed; *moo'-ntɔ'tsi-va-ts*: humming bird-head spring (place name)

tɔt-si- in comp. n.: *tɔ'tsi'-vüa-φI* head-hair; *tɔ'tsi'-ɣwiyu-ni* center, crown of my head

tɔt-si-a-: *tɔ'tsi'-a-ɣai-ni*, *tɔ'tsi'-a-ɣei-ni* head-having, name of old Kaibab Paiute woman (Song 140, Song 204); *tɔ'tsi'-a-ts*: dit. (shortened form of name)

TɔYA-^s mountain (used only in songs; apparently borrowed from Shoshone):

tɔya-vi- abs.: *tɔya'-φI* mountain (Song 154, Song 200)

tɔya- in comp. n.: *tu'ya-niɣwi* mountain-person (Song 154)

TO-^o black:

to'-q-a- to be black: ptc. *to'-q(w)a-rī* black

to'-q-a-ɣu- to become black: *to'-q(w)a-ɣU* to become black; plur.

to'-q(w)A-qa-ɣU all become black

to-t'u'a-ɣu- to turn black: *tv'-t-uα-ɣU-pī'ɣa'* turned black (446, 1)

to- in comp. n.: *to'-niɣwi* black person; *tv'-marik-a-ts*: black-American, negro, plur. *tv'-marik-a-tsi-ɣwi* negroes; *to'-niɣi* black-nigger, negro (Song 161); dim. *to-sari'-m-a-m'atsi-tsi-gai'* when

(she) is a little black dog-woman (Song 181); *tv'-sari:ts* black dog; *to'-q-ava'* black horse; *to'-p-uyqu-χ(w)ai-va-nti'* destined to have a black horse (462, 21); *to'-²əvan'nanqA* black goose; *to'-q(w)ani* black house; *tv'-əra'-φi* black pole; *tv'-²uywa-p-²ui-k-a-nti'* black-rain-cloud-having, black-clouded, black clouds (388, 5); *to'-p-²ui'*, *to'-p-²ui-φi*, *tv'-p-²u(w)φi* black-seed (see *pu'i-vi-* seed); *to'-c-iu-φ(w)l* black-squaw-bush (see *cü-* squaw-bush); *tv'-p-a-χar-i-ri* black water-sitting, black lake (place name)

to- in comp. vb.: ptc. *to'-p-a-n-əa-γa-nt arī* the being-black-hollowed (396, 24); ptc. *to'-²p-ə'tən'it-k-α-nti-n-i'* being like a black spherical thing (460, 21); *tv'-m'unuqwa-p-²i-γai-n-i'* became like black and round (402, 38), ptc. *tv'-m'unuq-wi-tci* black and round; ptc. *tv'-c-aγwa-γa-rī* being black-blue, dark blue; *tv'-c-ia-q-a-rī* being black-pink, brown

to'-q-a-rī- in comp. n.: *to'-q(w)a-ri-nv'q(w)ι-nti* black-stream (because of many black rocks in its canyon), Ashe creek

with incor. n.: *paγina-tv'-p-aya-montsi'montsi'montsi'n* cloud-black-flank-mountains, mountains whose flanks are black with clouds (Song 76)

TUA-^o child, son; to give birth to:

tua-t-si- (dim.) son: *tu(w)a'-ts* son; plur. *tu(w)α'-t-si-ηwi-c'-u-ηWA* only her (inv.) sons (308, 11)

tua-t-si-γai- to have a son: *tu(w)a'-t-si-χai'-p-i-γa'* had a son (462, 7), *tu(w)a'-t-si-χai'-p-i-γa'-ai-mi* they 2 had a son (448, 23)

-tua-t-si- child, young of: *na(·)mu'-ru(w)a-t-si-ni*, *-ru(w)a-t-ηi* my first-born son; *qam-i'-ru(w)a-t-s* jack-rabbit son, little jack-rabbit; *t-i-γi'a-ru(w)α-t-s aηA* the deer-child, fawn (428, 3); *na(·)xa'-ru(w)a-t-s aηA* the young mountain-sheep (426, 25); plur. *təχə'a-ruA-t-si-ηw αmi* the rattlesnake children (448, 2); *sari'-i-tcu(w)a-t-s* little dog; *i-yə'vi-tcua-t-c aηA* the mourning-dove son (402, 1), plur. *yə'vi-tcua-t-si-ηw αmi* the little doves (402, 14); *pi-χi'-tcu(w)a-t-s* little pig

-tua-t-si- small: *n-ηwi'-ru(w)a-t-s ta(·)vi'n-imp-i-rua-t-s* axe-son, iron tomahawk; *t-ümp-wi'(y)u-ruα-t-s* gun-son, pistol; *qan-i-ntcua-t-s* house-son, little house; *qa'i-pa-ro(w)a-t-s* mountain-son, Kaiparowitz Peak

tua- to give birth to: *tu(w)a'(i)-yi* gives birth to (a child); plur. *tu(w)a'-q-a-i'* several give birth; in comp. vb. *tu(w)a'-m-ia-p-i-γa'* (each) gave birth to a child while on (their) way (438, 13)

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tut'u'a- iter.: *tu'tu'a-i'* gives birth several times, one after another
tua- in comp. n.: *to(w)a'-q'anl* parturition hut

nä-ntua-yqî- to give birth to a human being, child: *nä-ntu'a-yqî-i'*,
nu-ntua'-yqî-i' gives birth to a child, *nä-ntu'a-yqî-va-n'a-ŋA* she
will give birth to a child; mom. *nä-ntu'a-yqî-ŋu-ts'* having given
birth to a child (375, 7)

-RUA-(RU'A-N'IA-), -NTCUA-, -NTUA- (mod. enc.) like (Gram., § 19, 2, g)
-RU'A-, -TCU'A-, -NTCU'A- inter. enc. (Gram., § 19, 2, f)

TO'AI- to refuse a suitor: usit. ptc. *tu'u' ai-m'i-nli* always rejecting
(suits)

-TUARU- to jump after (?):

ma-ruaru- to jump reaching for: *ma(·)-ru'aru-p'iyā'* jumped reach-
ing for (him) (312, 9)

-TU'I- (perhaps really suffix *-tu'i-*; Gram., § 26, 1, g):

cī-t'u'i- to be cold weather (see *cī-θ*)

ta-ro'i- to be hot weather: *ta(·)-ro'i'* (it) is hot weather

TU'UM'A- to take several objects: *nä'ag'A tu'u'mA* I take them (inan.),
tu'u'mA-p'iyā' picked up (many), *tu'u'mA-p'iyā'i-k-wA* picked
them (inan. inv.) up (315, 5), *tu'u'm-α-ts'* having taken up (bow
and arrows) (389, 4)

tut'u'um'a- iter.: *tu'tv''ma-yiaqA* takes them (inan.) several
times

tu'um-a-q-w'ai- to go and take: *tu'u'mA^x-qwai'-p'iyā'* went and took
(402, 18)

with incor. obj.: *pa(·)-ru''umA* to take water

-TU'UM-I- to peel off:

ma-ru'um'i-ŋu- to peel off with the hand (mom.): *ma(·^a)-ru''umi-
ŋ^xU-p'iyā'i-k-wA*, *ma(·^a)-ru''um'i-* pulled it (inv.) off of (arrow
sticks) (315, 6)

TO'M'MU- to make a big noise:

to'm'mu-γa- dur.: *tu'm'mu-χa(i)-yī-ni'* sounds like a heavy object
(e. g. of wood, rock) moving or being hit

to'm'mu-ŋu- mom.: *to'n'mv(·)-ŋ-u-ni'*, *tu'mv(·)-ŋ-u'-ni'* to make
a noise, to sound like a heavy body falling (390, 8; 426, 18)

-TUN'NA- to brace up:

tši-t'un'na- with a stick: *tš-tu'n'na-i'* braces (house, tree) with a
pole, stick

TU'UN'NIQ'A- to dance the scalp dance:

tu'un'niq-a-p'i- pas. ptc.: *tu'un'NI^xqap'i* scalp dance, war dance
in comp. n.: *tu'u'n'NI^xqa-uv^{ia}φI* scalp-dance song

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- TUN·U- to drill a hole: *tun·v(·)ʻ-iʻ* drills a hole, twirls
qu-t·un·u- to drill for fire: *quʻ-tuʻn·u-ḷiʻ* drills for fire
- TON·OI-^o canyon, "gutter" (cf. *oi-^o*, *-n·oi-^o*):
ton·oi-p-i- abs.: *ton·oi-p-i* "wash," "gutter"
-ton·oi-p-i- in comp. n.: *tümp^wlʻ-t·on·oi-p-i* rock-wash, gulch cutting through rocks; *pa(·)ḡaʻ-ntunoi-p-i* cane-wash, canyon in which cane grows
- TUN·OḠWI-^s grass (sp.):
tun·oḡwi-vi- abs.: *tunoʻḡwi-ḡi* grass bunched together to a considerable height, growing on sand hills
- TÖN·ÖQ·I-^s, TUN·UQ·I-^s a hill rises: ptc. *tön·öqʻ(w)l-tciʻ*, *tun·uqʻ(w)l-tciʻ* knoll, swell in the ground
 in comp. n.: ptc. *öḡöʻ-ntön·öq(w)l-tciʻ* (obj.) little island overgrown with firs (468, 2); *öḡöʻ-ntunuuq(w)l-piḡaʻ* there was a fir-knoll (474, 5)
- TUNḠO·N·U·Q·I-: *tunḡvʻn·u-q(w)l* name of Paiute Indian (Song 179)
- TUNḠUT·ʻO- to become numb:
tunḡutʻo-ḡu- mom.: *tunḡutʻv-ḡu-yi-aḡA* he gets numb, powerless
tuntuq·unto-ḡu- distr.: *tuntuqʻuntö-ḡu-p·iḡai-n-iʻ* felt as though heavy lumps were all over (his) body (416, 35)
- TOḡWAI- to pick up a cast-off object: *tvʻḡwai-iʻ* picks up something that someone else has rejected, thrown away
 with incor. obj.: pas. ptc. *piḡwaʻ-rv·ḡwai-p·i-ni* my picked-up wife, my wife formerly another's and rejected by him (363, 7)
- TUP·A-, TUV·A- to pull out (intr.), to emerge:
tup·a-q-i- sing. mom.: *tvʻpaʻ-q-iʻ* to pull out (intr.), *tvʻpaʻ-q·U-p·iḡaʻ*, *tvʻp^waʻ-q·l-p·iḡaʻ* pulled out, emerged (416, 28; 422, 31)
tup·a-q-i-q-i- to come right through: *tvʻpaʻ-q·l-k·l-p·iḡai-co-ʻmü* they 2 came right through again (474, 19)
tup·a-q-i-t·ui- caus.: *tvʻpaʻ-q·U-tuiʻ* pulls out (tr.)
tuv·a-ḡi-tcai-ḡu- plur. mom.: *tuv^waʻ-x(a)i-tcai-ḡU* several pull out (intr.), *tuv^waʻ-x(a)i-tcai-ḡu-q·U* as (they) were pulling out (intr.) (418, 29)
- TUP·Aʻ-, -TUP·I- (makes plur. of vb. in *-yaʻai-*, q. v.):
-tup·aʻ-: *naḡaʻ-ntuʻpa·A-p·iḡaʻ* (they) got angry (438, 4)
-tup·i-: *tüḡiʻi-tcup·iʻ* (they) are all hungry; *ta(·)ḡv(·)ʻi-tcup·iʻ* (they) are all thirsty, *ta(·)ḡv(·)ʻi-tcup·iʻ-p·iḡaʻ* (they) were all thirsty (400, 35)
- TUP·I- to be used up: *tvʻp^wiʻ-yi-aq·A* it is about gone (a little is still left), *tvʻpiʻ-x·U-cu-amü* when they were used up (387, 1)

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- tup'i-q-wi-* to be used up: *tu'p^wi'-k-wi-yi-aqA* it is about gone, *tu'p^wi'-k-wi-tca-qA* it has been used up, is all gone
- tup'i-q-wi-t'ui-* caus.: *nä' tu'p^wi'-k-wi-tui-q-wA* I use them (inan. inv.) up
- tup'i-q-u-* mom.: *tu'p^wi'-k-U-pi'ya'* (arrows) were gone, used up (313, 9)
- with adv. pref.: *cu(w)a'-RU^wi-k-U-pi'ya'* (berries) were nearly all gone (394, 18)
- tup'i-q-u-* in comp. vb.: *na'a'i-t-U'p^wi-k-U-q(w)a'* (it) has burned up
- TO-P-I- counter in hand game (?): *tu'p'(w)i, tu'p'(w)I* counter in hand game (?); man's name, voc. *tu'p'(w)i', tu'p'i', tu'p'i'-n'*
- TUP-UN'NI-^s, TUVUN'NI-^s to wake up (intr.):
- tup'un'ni-* mom.: *tu'pu'n'ni* to wake up (at once), *tu'pu'n'i-'i* you wake up!
- tuvun'ni-* dur.: *tuw'u'n'ni* is waking up; with adv. pref. *ɔ(·)wɔ'-t-win-ni-χa'* when just waking up (438, 10)
- TUVI-:
- aɔɔ-ruvi-* to lick (see *aɔɔ-n*): *axɔ'-rɔw^wi'* licks; plur. *axɔ'-rɔw^wi-k-a-xu-q-wa-'mi, axɔ'-ruw^wi-* while they were licking it (inv.) (460, 11)
- TUVIN'A-:
- wi-t'uvin'a-γi-* wind passes quickly (?): *wi'-to'vna-xI* wind going quickly (through a tree) (?) (Song 139)
- TUVIYUYU'- avocet (contains *tivi-*?):
- tuviyuyu'-tsi-* abs.: *tuw^wi'yuyu'u-ts* avocet
- TUQ-U-^o wildcat:
- tuq-u-tsi-* abs.: *tu^xqu'-ts* wildcat
- tuq-u-p'itsi-* abs.: *tu^xqu'-p'its, tu^xqu'-p-uts* wildcat (466, 11)
- tuq-u-m'um-u-tsi-* panther: *tu'qu'-mumu-ts, tu'qu'-m'um-u-ts aɣA* panther (432, 17), *tu^xqu'-m'um-u-tsi-χain'i'* panther indeed (466, 22)
- tuq-u-p'i-* panther-skin: *tu'qu'-p'i* panther-skin; *tu'qu'-p'i-γai-ni* I have a panther-skin
- tuq-u-* in comp. n.: *tu'qu'-q-aitecx-U* hat of wildcat skin; *tu'qu'-m'uru-i-χai-γu-mpa-n-α-ni* what I shall get to possess as a panther-skin blanket
- TUQ-UA-^s meat:
- tuq-ua-vi-* abs.: *tu^xqu'a-φI, ti'qo'a-φI* meat, obj. *tu'qo'a-vi'* (430, 10) incor.: *tu^xqu'a-xan-'i-ni-'i'* hangs around waiting for (some one to give) meat

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SAPIR

- TUQ-WA- to be deep: *tu'qwa'-i'* (it) is deep
 -TUQ-WA-^o under (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 31); ptc. *-tuq-wa-t-i-* being under
-tuq-wa-γi- moving under, ptc. *-tuq-wa-γi-t-i-*; *-tuq-wa-γi-yu-* acting while moving under; *-tuq-wai-p-a-* under side of
-tuq-wa-nanqwa- climbing
-tuq-wa-t-uγwa- towards under
-tuq-wa-yu- acting under
- TUγWA-ⁿ to, toward, to give to (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 30)
 ptc.: *-tuγwa-nti-*; *-tuγwa-nti-m-a-yu-* from —wards
- TO'Q-WI-, TO'Q-WA- to stretch:
to'q-wi- intr.: *to'q-wi-yi-aq'a* it stretches
ma-ro'q-wa- to stretch with the hand: *ma(·)-ru'x:uqwa(i)-'yi-q-wa*,
ma(·)-ro'xqwa(i)-y'i-q-wa stretches it (inv.)
ma-ro'q-wa-ηqī- to stretch a person, thing: *ma(·)-ru'x:uqwa-ηqī-aηa*
 stretches him, *ma(·)-ru'x:qwa-ηqī-p'īγai(y)-aq'a-mī* they stretched (what was left of) it (408, 11)
tsi-t'o'q-wa- to stretch with a stick; *ts-to'xqwa-i'* stretches with the end of a stick
na-ro'q-wa- refl.: *nī' na-ro'xqwa-i'* I stretch myself (once); iter. *nī' nana-ro'q-wa-i'* I stretch myself several times; iter. comp. vb. *nana-ro'q-wa-pax:i-pīγa'* stretched (him)self several times as (he) went along (408, 1)
- TO'Q-WA- to wager (a stake): *nī' to'q-wa'-yi-q-wa* I am betting it (inv.),
to'q-wa-p'īγa' bet (his coyote and his wife for stakes) (418, 13)
na-ro'q-wa- refl.: *nī' na(·)-ro''q-wa-va'* I shall bet myself, offer myself as stake (416, 15)
to'q-wa-ηqī- to bet against: *to''q-wa-ηqī-y'i-ηwa* bets against him (inv.)
- TUQ-WI- shame:
 incor.: *tu'qwi'-'ai-p'īγa'* shame-died, was ashamed (see *-ya'ai-*, *-y'ai-*) (310, 8); *tu'xqwi'-'ai-ηqī-i'* is ashamed of (him)
- TUγU-ⁿ to be clear weather (probably identical with *tuγu-*ⁿ sky):
tuγu-ntu'i-ηu- to turn clear weather: *tu(·)γu'-ntu'i-ηu-q-u-'q-wa-χa'* 'ai' would that it (inv.) might clear up!
- TUγU-ⁿ upper air, sky (cf. *tī-*): *tuγu'-ntux-wa* up-toward, up into the air (378, 11)
tuγu-mpa- sky: *tuγu'-mpa* upper air, sky (not used alone); *tuγu'mpanax:i* sky-in, in the sky
tuγu-mpaya-, *tuγu-mpaya-vi-* sky-breast, sky-expanse: *tuγu'-mpa(i)ya-φi* whole sky; *tuγu'-mpa(i)ya-ruq-wa* under the sky

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- tuγu-mpa-* in comp. n.: *tuγu'mpa-pa(i)ya^a-va^antux^{WA}* sky-breast-toward, along under the sky (373, 1), *tuγumpa-pa(i)ya'-m'a(i)YU* from under the sky (378, 7); *toγu'mpa-yoa-χ^a-nti* being sky-plain, level sky (Song 157); *toγu'mpa-yiruw^wi'-xariri* sky-pine-knoll, pine-covered knoll in the sky (Song 157)
- tuγu-η'wi-* to sky-fall: *tuγu'-η'wu-p'iγa'* fell down (as though from the sky) (377, 3), *tuγu'-wi-na-q^A* what fell from the sky . . . it (378, 8); plur. *tuγu'(u)-ηwi'ⁱ-k'a-q-a-i'* (they) fell down from the sky one after another
- TUγO- to put food away in a cache: *tuγv'-i'*, *tuγ(w)v'-i'* caches (food)
- tuγo-t'ia-* caching place, cache: *tuγ(w)u'-tiA* cache, *tuγ(w)u'-tiα-ni* my cache, where I cache (food)
- tuγo-in'ni-* cached (food) belonging to: *tuγ(w)v'-in'ni-ni* my cached things
- tuγo-p'ri-* cached: *tuγv'-pⁱ* cached
- (*tu*)γo- in comp. ptc.: pas. ptc. *ya'p'u-γu'-pi-A* (obj.) dried (deer-meat) cached away
- TUγWA-^a to be dark, to be night:
- tuγwa-* night: *tuγwa'-va-tcuq^{WA}* night-at-under, during the night, *tu(·)χwa'-va(i)YU* during the night (384, 10)
- tuγwa-* in comp. n.: *tuγwa'-RA'ciaφi* night-ant, big black ant
- tuγwa-r'ui-* to turn dark: ptc. *tuγwa'-r^wi-nti* turning dark, at night; mom. *tuγwa'-r'i-ηU-piγa'* (it) got dark (332, 5); *tuγwa'-r'ui-ηqw'ai-g^U* when (it) turned dark off, commenced to get dark (474, 6)
- tuγwa-n'u-* night: *tu^xwa'-nU* night
- tuγwa-n'u-* in comp. n.: *tγ(ə)'i-t-uγwanU* middle of the night; *cu(w)a'-rəχ(wə)i-t-uγwan^u-m'a-ntux^{WA}* up to nearly in the middle of the night (428, 2); *cv'ⁱ-t-uγwanU* one night, *cv'-t-uχwanu-mA* one-night-at, for one night, *cv'ⁱ-t-əγwanu-ma-cU* for just one night (410, 34); *pa'iyε-t-uγwan^u-mA* for three nights, in three nights; *man'i'χu-yu-t-uχwan^q'* for five nights (and days); *ci'a'p'ia-ruγwanU* up to midnight: *tA'ci'A'-tuγwanU* from midnight to dawn
- TO'γWA-ⁿ to fight: ptc. *ni' to'γwα-nti* I am a fighter; plur. *to'γw^a-nti-mi*, *too'γw^a-nti-mi* fighters, Havasupai Indians
- with incor. n.: *pa-ro'^oγwa-nU*, *pa(·)-ro'^uχwα-nti* water-fighter, water that fights, Parowan lake
- TUγWA-, TUγWI- fire goes out; *tuγwa-* to put out the fire:
tuγwa- fire goes out (mom.): *tv(·)γwa''-piγa'* fire went out (388, 11)

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SAPIR

- tuγwi*- fire goes out (dur.): *tv(·)γwi'* (one fire) goes out
tuγwi-navitci- several fires go out: *tv(·)γwi'-navitci'* fires go out,
tv(·)γwi'-navitci-pi'γα' fires went out (383, 2)
tuγwa-t'ui- to cause a fire to go out (mom.): *tv(·)γwa'-t'ui'* puts
 out a fire
tut'uγwi-t'ui- distr. caus.: *t'v'tu'x-wi-t'ui'* puts out fires
tuγwa- to put out a fire: *tuγwa-z'q'A* put it out!, *tuγwa'-ya-q'A* you
 2 put it out!
- TUC'U- to grind seeds on the metate: *t'v'cu'-p'i'γα'* was grinding (seeds)
 (404, 39); usit. *t'v'cu'-m'IA* is always grinding
 with adv. pref.: *pi'ηqa'-RUCu-p'i'γα'* kept on grinding (406, 31)
- TUC'Uŋ'WI- to constrain, to work one's will: *t'v'cu'ηw'i'i'* makes do,
 causes, compels, *t'v'cu'η'wi-yi-ηa-ni* he causes me to be as he
 wishes
 with incor. n.: *ta(·)γv(·'u)-t'v'cu'η'wi-yi-ηa-ni* he makes me thirsty
 (by intent, by exercising supernatural power); *U'-tu'c'uyw'i'i-ηWA*
 to cause him (inv.) to go to sleep, *U'-tu'c'uyw'i'i-p'i'γα'* caused to
 go to sleep (416, 27), *U'-tu'c'uyw'i'i-p'i'γai-ηA* made him go to
 sleep (354, 2)
- in comp. vb.: *ya'a'i-t'v'cu'η'wi-yi-ηa-ni* he exercises power on me
 so as to make me die; *qa'-t'v'cu'ηw'i'i-ηWA* to make him (inv.)
 sing
- TUT'UγUA-^s supernatural helper, manitou:
tut'uγua-vi- abs.: *t'v'tu'χua-φi* supernatural helper, guardian spirit
- TO-RI-ⁿ: *to-ri'-mba-ntsin* ?- little-spring (Song 194)
- TURU', TURU'I- (?) to whirl:
 in comp. n.: *turu'-n'näxri* whirlwind
tši-t'uru'i- to turn around with a stick(?): with incor. obj. *qa(·)nu'-*
nts-turu'(w)i-niimp'i house-pole-revolving-instrument (?), flap
 poles of a tepee
- TUTCUA- to make a sign: *tuteu'(w)a-i'* makes a sign, sets a landmark
tut'utcu- distr.: pas. ptc. *t'v'tu'tcu(w)α-p'i* sign made (by them)
 (396, 7)

TC (TS)

TCA-^o instr. pref.: Gram., § 21, 15

-TCA-, -NTCA- temp. enc. (Gram., § 19, 1, a)

TCA-^s wrinkled:

tca- in comp. vb.: *tca'-a-χw'i'ɔq'i'-k'a'* to be wrinkled-hollow, to be
 wrinkled in a rounded depression (450, 28)

tca- in comp. n.: *tca'-χu(w)a-χai-ni* I have a wrinkled face; *tca'-*
m.'ɔɔ(w)a' to have wrinkled hands

SOUTHERN PAIUTE DICTIONARY

697

-TCA- to put out (one's hands):

ma-ntca- to put out one's hands: *ma-ntca'-i'* puts out (his) hands

ma-ntca-q'ai- res.: *ma-ntca'A^z-qa'* to hold out one's hands

ma-ntca-ŋq̄i- to reach for: *ma-ntca'-ŋq̄i-p'ïγai(y)-aq'A* reached for it (394, 27)

with incor. obj.: *pa'-m-a-ntcaA^z-qai-n-a-φī*, *paï'* his own blood-hand-held out, his own bloody hands (460, 11)

ma-ntca- in comp. vb.: *ma(·)-ntca'x-qari-i'* sits with arms spread out; *ma(·)-ntca'y-wun-i'* stands with arms spread out

tsi-t-sa-q'ai- to hold out a long object (res.): *ni' ts-tsa'-qa'* I hold (it) out, *ts-tsa'-qa.i'* while holding out (arrows) (438, 24)

TCA'I- to catch: *tca(·)'AI* to catch, *tca'a'i-va-n-ia-ni* I shall catch; pas. *tca'a'i-ł-u'-qa'* (he) has been caught

tca'i-q'ai- res.: *tca'a'i-k'a'* to hold in the hand, *tca'a'i-k̄-ai'-y-q-wA* (she) is holding it (inv.) (396, 17)

tcatca'i- distr.: *tcatca'i'-p'ïγai-am̄i* they took hold of (373, 1)

-tca'i-q'ai- with instr. pref.: *q̄i'-tca'ı-k'a'* to hold by one's teeth; *tA'-tca'ı-k'a'* to hold in one's feet; *mu-ntca'ai-k'a'* to hold with one's nose

ma-t-ca'i-ŋq̄i- to reach for with the hand: *MA'-tca'i'a-ŋq̄i-q-a^zŋA* as he reached for (it) (394, 28), *MA'-tca'i'α-ŋq̄i-p'ïγa'ai-k-wA* (he) reached for it (inv.) (313, 4); plur. *MA'-tca'i'a-ŋq̄i-q-a^zq'A* several reach for it

-tca'i- with incor. n.: *'a'-t-ca'^a* to catch on one's horns; *t̄iγ̄i'v^{wi}-tca'ai'* friend-grasps, grasps (his) hand as a mark of friendship, in comp. vb. *t̄iγ̄i'v^{wi}-tca'a'i-ŋw̄in̄i-ntsi'-va'* about to stand grasping hands in friendship (Song 202)

with adv. pref.: *a'-tca'AI* to catch quietly; *a'-tca'ai-k'a'* to hold quietly, to keep (something) quiet

TCAIK·A·C·I- jackass (< Eng. *jackass*):

tcaik·a·c·i-tsi- abs.: *tca'ik·a·c·i-ts·* jackass, donkey

-TCAM·I- (enc. pers. pron.) form of *-ram·i-* (q. v.)

-TCAM·UQ·U- tied around (?):

pi-t·cam·uq·u- tied around at the buttocks (?), belt: *pi-tca'm·uq·U* buckskin belt

TCA'MAVI-^o yucca-like plant:

tca'mavi-p̄i- abs.: *tca'ma'v-p̄i*, *tca'ma'v-p̄i* yucca-like plant (*Hesperoyucca Whipplei*?) whose stalk is roasted for food and root is used for food

tca'mavi- in comp. n.: *tca'ma'v-²u(w)ıp·I* stalk of yucca (sp.)

-TCAN'IK·WA- to pull away:

qī-t'can'ik-wa- to pull away with the teeth: *qī-tca'nikwa-i'* jerks back, pulls away with the teeth

TCANJA'- lizard (sp.): *tca(·)ŋa'* lizard (sp.; one foot long and of rough appearance; *Sceloporus?*)

TCANJ- to stop rolling: *nī' tca'ŋI* I stop (when rolling down a slope)

-TSAŊKI'A- to carry (on a pole):

tsi-t-saŋki'a-m'mia- to carry along on a pole: *ts-tsa'ŋki'a-m'miq-i'* carries on a pole; plur. *ts-tsa'ŋki'a-q'a(·)-m'miā-i'* several carry on poles, *ts-tsaŋki'a-q'a'-m'mia-xa'* while (they) carry (them) along on poles (476, 8)

tsi-t-saŋki'a-q'ai- res.: *ts-tsa'ŋki'a-q'a'* to hold on a pole

-TCAŊWA- (enc. pers. pron.) form of *-raŋwa-* (q. v.)

-TCAŊ'WA- powder (cf. *qu-t-ca-p'i-* ashes?):

qu-t-caŋ'wa- fire-powder, gunpowder: *qu'tca'ŋ'WA* gunpowder, *qu'tca-ŋ'wα-ni* my powder

-TSAŊWIN·A- to throw down in a pile:

ma-ntsawin-a- to throw down in a pile: *ma(·)-ntsa'ŋwina-p'īya'*, *ma-ntsa'ŋwina-p'īya'* threw down (sticks) in a pile, threw along with (her) hands, threw (lice) with her hands (315, 4; 416, 34; 452, 5)

a'χa-m'a-ntsawin-a- to throw objects in a place of hiding: *a'χa-ma-ntsawina-p'īya'* threw away in a hiding-place (438, 26); distr. plur. *a'χa-mama-ntcaŋwin'NA^z-qa-p'īya'* (they) threw away (their bows and arrows) in order to hide (them) (438, 27)

TCANJWĪQ·A·-, TCANJWĪK·I- to die off, to disappear (= *tca-ŋwīq-a-*; *-ŋwīq-a-*, *-ŋwīk-i-* < Shoshonean **mek'a-*, **mek-i-* to die?):

tcaŋwīq-a- mom.: *tca(·)ŋwī'k'a'* to disappear, *tcaŋwī'k'a-tsa-ŋWA* he (inv.) disappeared, *tca(·)ŋwī'k'a-a-va-ntī* destined to disappear, *tca'ŋwīq-a-p'īya'* (he) disappeared (456, 9)

tcaŋwīk-i- dur.: *tcawu'k-i'* dies off, disappears (e. g. steam); usit. *tca'ŋwīk-i-nīm-p'īya'* (they) used to disappear

tcaŋwīk-i-q-w'ai- to die off: *tcawu'k-z-qa'ι-χa'* that (they) die off (345, 6)

-TCAVAI- to wave (*-tca-* to put out one's hand + *-pai-* to call?):

ma-ntcavai- to wave one's hand: *ma-ntca'vai'*, *ma(·)-ntca'va-i'* waves the hand

TCAQ·AI- younger brother:

tcaq'ai-tsi- dim.: *tca^zqa'i-tsi-ni*, *tca^zqa'i-tci-ni* my younger brother, *tca^zqa'i-tsi-aŋA* his younger brother (472, 35)

na-ntcaq'ai-tsi-ŋwī- recip.: *na-ntca'q'ai-tsi-ŋwī* two brothers

- TCAQ·AP·I- to make a click-like sound: *tcA²qa'p-i'* makes a click-like sound (e. g. alveolar click, approximately *ts*, or further back, approximately *k*) in urging on a horse
 -*tcAQ·ap·i-* in comp. n.: *paγa'-ntcA²qap·i* blackbird (which makes a similar sound)
- TCAQ·I- to stop rolling: *tea'q-i'* (wagon, anything rolling) stops, gets stuck, *tcA²qī'-yī-aq·A* it stops (rolling), *tcA²q(ī)'i-p·iγa'* (shell) stopped, got stuck (331, 7)
- TCAQ·IVU'·I-^s testicles: *tcA²qu'v'u-ni*, *tcA²q(ε)'iv'ui-ni* my testicles
tcAQ·ivu'i-vi- abs.: *tcA²q(ε)'iv'ui-φI*, *tcA²qī'v'ui-φI* testicles
 -TCAQ·iηWA- (see *pa-tcaq·iηwa-* to water)
- TCAQ·U- to pound meat with a small rock: *tcA²qo'-i'* pounds dried meat with a small rock till it shreds
- TCAQ·UARU-ⁿ wild-goose:
 in comp. n.: *tcA²qo'aru-mpa·ts*, *tcA²qo(·)'aru-mpa·tc'* wild-geese spring (place name)
- TCA'Q·UI-^s forearm:
ma-ntca'q'ui-vi- abs.: *ma-ntca'q'oi-φI* flesh from elbow to wrist
- TCA·γA- to scrape (a hide):
tea·γa-²nīmpī- scraping instrument: *tea'χα-²nīmpī* scraper (formerly of deer scapula, now of wood with an iron blade) for removing fat and blood-vessels from a hide
- TCA·γI·P·A- near (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)
- TCA·γU-: *tea'χu-ts'* personal name
- TCAQ·WA-, -TCAQ·WI- (see *pa-tcaq·wa-*, *pa-tcaq·wi-*)
- TCA'Q·WI- to touch an arrow in the walking arrow game:
wī-t·ca'q·wi- to touch an arrow: *wI'-tea''a·q·wI* to touch an arrow shot off by the other side with one's own arrow
nan·a-tca'q·wi- distr. recip.: *na'-tcA'qwi'i* to play the walking arrow game
- TCAQ·WIYUI- to rinse a soaked hide: *tcA²qwi'yui'* rinses a soaked hide thrown over a stake by twisting with a stick
tcAQ·wiyui-nīmpī- rinsing-instrument: *tcA²qwi'yui-nīmpī* stick used for rinsing a soaked hide
- TCA·γWI- to dry in the sun: *tea(·)χwi'* dries in the sun
 in comp. vb.: *tea(·)γwi'-k·ra-i'* puts out to dry in the sun
- TCA·C·I-^s to menstruate:
tea·c·i-γa'a- to have menstrual courses: *tea'c·i-χα'a-i'* has menstrual courses
tea·c·i- in comp. n.: *tea'c·i-χani* menstrual hut

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SAPIR

- TCA·RU'I- to wave, to shake: *tca'ru'i'* waves (hands) in the air
tɔ-t-ca'ru'i' to shake a fist: *tɔ-tca'ru'i'* shakes a fist (at)
mu-ntca'ru'i' to move about the nose: *mu-ntca'ru'i'* holds up the nose in the air
- TSI-^o with the point of a long object, stick (instr. pref.): Gram., § 21, 9
 -TSI'A- to roast (on a spit):
qu-t-si'a- to roast on a spit over a fire (cf. *qu-t-sik-i'?*): *qu'-tsi'a-i'* roasts on a spit
- TSI'A-MPI-^s wild-rose berry: *tsi'a'-mpi* wild-rose berry
tsi'a'-mpi-vi- wild-rose bush: *tsi'a'mpi-phi* wild-rose bush, *tsi'a'mpi-vi-anA* wild-rose bush . . . him (452, 20)
tsi'a'-mpi- in comp. n.: *tsi'a'mpi-va-ts-* wild-rose spring, Yellowjacket spring; *tsi'a'mpi-yua-t-u-p-i'ya'ai-mi* they 2 caused a wild-rose-bush plain to be (452, 19)
- TSI'ANTAM·UA- man's brother-in-law: *tsi'e'ntan-o(w)a-ni* my wife's brother, my (man's) sister's husband (?)
- TSIM·AYAY-^s Chemehuevi (probably borrowed term): *tsimɔa'(i)yε-φ* Chemehuevi
- TSIN'NA-^s to make a joint:
na-ntsin'na- to haft with each other: *na-ntsin'na-i'* makes a joint, hafts, *na-ntsin'NA^z-qai-n-α-ni* my joint
na-ntsin'na-ηqi- to join two objects together: *na-ntsin'na-ηqi-αqA* to joint them (inan.) together
 with incor. obj.: *taja'-tsi'na-phi* knee-joiner, bone from knee to foot
- TCIŋKA-^s rough:
tcIŋka-γa- to be rough: ptc. *tcIŋka'-xa-ni* rough
tcIŋka-r'ua-ηu- to become rough: *tcIŋka'-r'ua-ηU* to get rough
- TSIŋKUIŋQU'-ⁿ to be destroyed, laid bare:
 with adv. pref.: *pa'-tsIŋqoŋqo'^o* entirely destroyed (as of a wheat-field trampled down by people) (Song 76)
 with incor. n.: *qa'iva-tsiŋkoŋqu-η'qum'ua'va* when the mountain has been deprived of trees (Song 76)
- TSIP-I-ⁿ to appear, to come out; to ride: *ts·pi'-yi-anA* he is coming out
tsipri-ηu- mom.: *ts·pi'-ηU* to be just out, *ts·pi'-ηU-pi'ya'* came out (from a cave) (319, 13); *ts·pi'-ηu-anA* get on him (horse), *ts·pi'-ηU-q(w)a anA vantux:WA* to have gotten on him, to be on him; usit. ptc. *ts·pi'-ηu-m-i-nti'* (obj.) going out one by one (from inside) (444, 22)
tsipri-q'u- to ride: *ts·pi'-k-uu-ηWA* to ride him (inv.) while bucking, *ts·pi'-k-u-ni* ride me!

tsip-i-n'ni- to ride about: *ts·pi'-n'·i'* is riding around

tsip-i-q'w'ai- to come out away: mom. *ts·pi'-k'w'ai-ηU-p'īγa'ai-mū*

they 2 went right through beyond (476, 3)

tsit-sip-i- iter.: *ts'tsi'p'i'* keeps coming out

tsit-sip-i'ηwa-ηU- distr. mom.: *ts'tsi'p'·u-ηwa-ηU* many come out

tsip-i- in comp. vb.: *ts·pi'-m aupa* to stop riding: *ts·pi'-mpa(i)yu-k'ai(y)-aηa-ni* I have been riding him

with incor. n.: *pa'-ts·pi-k'ai-nA* water-coming out, water-bubbling, Moccasin spring

-TCIVA-: *mumpα'-tciva-ts·* shinny-ball (cf. *mumpa-* to roll)

-TSIVI-^s to dart out (only with incor. obj.): *a'χo-tsiu-xU* while darting out (his) tongue (400, 16)

-TSIVİ-^s, -TSI-'A- bone from elbow (knee) to wrist (foot):

ma-ntsi-vi- bone of foreleg: *ma-ntsi'φi* hair-scraper of bone of deer's foreleg

ma-ntsi-vi-vi-, *ma-ntsi-'a-* abs.: *ma-ntsi'vi-φI*, *ma-ntsi-'a'* bone from elbow to wrist

TSIK·AN'NA- to appear, to come to view: *ts·qa'n'na'* to come to view, to suddenly appear, *ts·ka'n'a-tsi-m·i* having appeared . . . they 2 (474, 18)

-TSIK-I- to build (a fire), to burn:

qu-t-sik-i-: *qu'-tsi'k'i-yi-ni* I build a fire, *qu'-tsi'k'i-va-'mū* will burn them (inv.) (430, 4), *qu'-tsi'k'i-k'ai-nA* (fire) built (by one);

plur. *qu'-tsi'k'i-k'a-p'īγa'* (they) built a fire (387, 10), mom.

qu'-tsi'k'x-k'a-ηU-mū-tsi-ni after (they) had all burned me (462, 16)

with incor. n.: *sana'-qu'tsik-i-ts·* gum-burner (man's name)

TCIK·IN·A-^s chicken (< Eng. *chicken*):

tcik'in'a-ntsi- abs.: *tcik'ina-nts·*, *tsi'kina-nts·* chicken

in comp. n.: *tcik'ina-γuma* chicken-male, rooster; *tcik'ua-v'* chicken-mother, hen

TSIγAηWA- to stand in a row:

tsiγaηwa-q'ai- res.: *tsiγa'ηWA-qa'* to stand in a row (Song 75)

tsiγaηwa-m'mi-q-u- to stand up in a row: *tsiγa'ηwa''ha-m'e-i-k·u* (they) stand up in a row (Song 75)

TSIγI-^s stick:

incor.: *tsiγi'-t·nə* to stab with a stick

-TSITSAI-^s to appear here and there:

with incor. n.: *v^xqu'mpu-tsutsai'* dust appears in several places;

v^xqu'mpu-tcutcai-xw'ai-p'īγa' went up in dust (456, 19), mom.

v^xqu'mpu-tsutsa.i-xw'ai-ηU-ηqu' would turn into dust (364, 11)

-TCITCU-γI- to grind:

with instr. pref.: *qī'-tcu'tcu-χ(w)u'* grinds, gnashes the teeth

TCİQ-I- to be mixed with: *tcī'qu'* is mixed up

tcīq-i-t-ūi- caus.: *nī' tcī'qu'-t-ūi-yī-aq-A* I mix them (inan.) up

with incor. pron.: *qīm'a'-ntcik-va-ηwa'^a* shall not be other-mixed, mixed up with others' (434, 25)

TSİ-Q-U-ŋ'WA- to scratch (the head):

na-ntsī'q-u-η'wa- refl.: *na-ηtsī'x-qu-η'^a-pī'γα'* scratched (his head) (375, 6)

tsī-q-u-η'wa-n'impī- head-scratching instrument: *tsī'q-u'-wa-numpī* head-scratcher; *tsī'q-u-η'wa-numpu-ru-pī'γα'* made a head-scratcher (375, 5)

with incor. obj.: *tō'tsī'-tsīq-u'-wa-i'* pokes into the head with a head-scratcher

TCİ'γA-^s duck: *tcī'x-A* duck; plur. *tcī'γα'-mū* ducks

tcī'γα-γai- to be a duck: *nī' tcī'χα'-χα'* I am a duck

tcī'γα-in'ni-γai- to have a duck: *nī' tcī'χα'-'vni-χα'* I have a duck

-*tcī'γα-* in comp. n.: *o'-tcī'x-A* large duck (sp.), mallard duck (?); *maa'-tcī'x-A* brush-duck, duck living in swamps overgrown with bulrushes

TCİ'γ'Ū-^s "bee-bird":

tcī'γ'ū-vi- abs.: *tcī'γ'ū-φI*, *tcī'χ'ū-φI* "bee-bird" (so called locally; *Tyrannus* ?); plur. *tcī'γ'ū-v-ηwī*

TCō-^o head:

instr. pref.: Gram., § 21, 8

as n. pref.: *tcō^o-p'k-i-a-r'ō-ni* my brains (obj.)? (373, 9)

TSōAVİ-^s shoulder: *tsōa'φī* shoulder

tsōavi-vi- abs.: *tsōa'vu-φI* shoulder

TCōI-ⁿ bead: *tcō'i'*, *tcō(·)'i'* bead (used for any purpose), beads, *tcō'i-ni* my beads (Song 140)

in comp. n.: *tcō'i-ηqa(·)x-I* beaded necklace

TCō'ŊKI-^s bluejay (sp.): *tcō'ō'ŋkē^z*, *tcō'ō'ŋkē^z* Arizona jay (long-tailed and uncrested; *Cyanocitta woodhousei*) (386, 1), obj. *tcō'ŋki aηA* the bluejay (386, 6); plur. *tcō'ō'ŋki-ηwī* bluejays

tcō'ŋki-γai- to be a bluejay: fut. ptc. *tcō'ō'ŋki-χai-va-ntī* destined to be a bluejay (386, 9)

-TCō'γU-: in comp. n. *tūmp^wl'-t-cōx-U* rock-?; small weed with round, wide leaves that are cooked and said to taste like dandelions

-TCō'γW'AI- to chew:

with instr. pref.: *qī'-tcō'χw'a.i'* chews

-TCO- to squeeze:

with instr. pref.: *ma-ntcv'-i'* squeezes (something) with the hand;
tA'-tcv'-i' squeezes with the feet; *qi'-tcv'-i'* squeezes between
 the teeth

-TCU'A- inter. enc. (see *-ru'a-*)

-TCUM'MA-, -TCUM'MI- to close (one's eyes) (see *u-^o*)

-TCUN'NA-^s to scratch around:

with instr. pref.: *tA'-tcv'n'na-xa'* while scratching around with the
 claws (464, 18); plur. *tA'-tcv'n'NA^x-qa-i'* several scratch around

-TCUN'UP'A-ηQĪ- to shut (a sack):

with instr. pref.: *ma-ntcu'nUPa-ηqī* to shut (a sack), *ma(·)-ntcu'nU-*
pa-ηqī-p'īγa'ai-k-wA (he) shut it (inv.) (357, 13)

TCUŋU-^o pipe:

in comp. n.: *tcuŋu'-p'aγī'* pipe-fish, sucker

-TCUQ'U-: in comp. n. *pa(·)-tcu'q'U* water-?, beaver; plur. *pa(·)-*
tcu'q'u-ηwī beavers

-TCUQ'WI-, -TCUγWI- to crush:

ma-ntcuq'wi-n'na- (mom.), *ma-ntcuγwi-n'a-* (dur.) to crush with
 the hand: *ma-ntcu'q'wi-n'NA* to crush (all at once), *ma-ntcu'q'wi-*
n'na-va' will crush with the hand; *ma-ntcu'γwi-na-i'* crushes

pi-t-cuq'wi-n'na- (mom.) to crush with the buttocks: *pi'-tcu'q'wi-*
n'NA to crush with the buttocks, by sitting on

-TCUγWA-ηQĪ- to fasten on (cf. *tcuγwi-*, *tcuγwa-* to approach?):
 with instr. pref.: *ma-ntcu'χwa-ηqī-p'īγa'* fastened on, let stick
 (420, 28)

TCUγWI-, TCUγWA- to approach:

tcuγwi- dur.: *tcuχwī'-va-n-ia-rami* will approach us 2 (incl.); plur.
tcuχwī'-k'a-va-n-ia-rami (they) will approach us 2 (incl.)

tcuγwa- mom.: with adv. pref. *'a'-^a-tcuγwa'-p'īγai-n-ia-mī* gradually
 approached them, it seemed (452, 25)

U (o)

U-^o round object (see *o-^o*)

U-, ^uU- that (inv.) (dem. stem; Gram., § 43)

u-n-i-, ^u*u-n-i-* in that (inv.) way; to do in that (inv.) manner
 (Gram., § 43, 3; § 26, 2, b)

U-^o closed eyes, sleep (only in comp. vb.):

u-t-uc-uy'wi- to cause to go to sleep: *U'-tu'c-uyw'ī-t-ηwA* to make
 him (inv.) go to sleep, *U'-tu'c-uyw'ī-t-p'īγa'* caused to go to sleep
 (416, 27), *U'-tu'c-uyw'ī-t-p'īγai-aŋA* made him go to sleep (354, 2)

- u-tcum'ma-* (mom.), *u-tcum'mi-* (dur.) to close one's eyes: *U'-tcu' m'ma'* to close one's eyes; plur. *U'-tcu'm'MI'-ka-m'upa'* (usit.-(ye) will always close (your) eyes, *U'-tcu'm'MI'-ka-m'ua-va'* (ye) will have (your) eyes closed as (ye) dance (430, 12); res. *U'-tcu'm'I'-ka-ni* my eyes are closed, *U'-tcu'm'I'-ka.i'* while having (his) eyes closed (452, 12); in comp. vb. *U'-tcu'm'I'-q-wa-va'* several shall lie with eyes closed (460, 25)
- o'* so, then, really (adv.; Gram., § 60, 3)
- o-^s*, *U-^s* arrow: *o'* arrow
o-tsi- dim.: *v'-ts-* little arrow (438, 24); usit. ptc. *o'-tsi-xai-va-tci'* being wont to have a little arrow
o-γai- to have an arrow: *v'-χ(w)ai-ni* I have an arrow
-o-, *-u-* in comp. n.: *uq-wi-o-* arrow (q. v.); *pa(·)χa'-o(·)'* cane arrow; *tūmp^w(y)-u-a-ηA* (obj.) his stone-arrow, iron-arrow, gun (406, 30)
- u-* in comp. n.: *u-χu'nA* arrow-sack, quiver
u-ru- to arrow-make, to feather an arrow: *u-ru'-i'* feathers an arrow; *u-ru'-q(w)an-ti'* having been arrow-feathered, feathered arrow; mom. *u-ru'-q-U-pi'γa'* (he) feathered arrows (316, 12)
- o-:* in comp. n. *o'-tci-xA* large duck (sp.), mallard duck (?)
- o-* to break wind: *o'-tsa-ηWA* he (inv.) has broken wind (412, 4)
o-pi- pas. ptc.: *o'-p-u-ni* my discharge of wind
- UA'MI-* in front of (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 32)
- UA'AYI-* bullet (cf. *u-* arrow?): *o(w)a''a(i)yī* bullet, *o(w)a''a(i)yī-ni* my bullets, obj. *u(w)a''a(i)yε-(i)Y* (472, 32)
- UI-^o* canyon, gully:
ui-p-i- abs.: *oi'-p-I*, *o'(w)i-p-I* canyon without water
ui-p-i-ntcu- to make a canyon: *o(w)i'-p-i-ntcu-mpa''nu'* will make a canyon
ui-ηwa- canyon: ptc. *u(w)i'-ηwa-γa-ni'* (obj.) canyon (320, 1), *wi'-ηwa-xa-ni-mpaηwI-ti'* (obj.) into a canyon (454, 15)
-ni-(p-i-) in comp. n.: *pa(·)'-oi-p-I*, *pa-o'i-p-I* water-canyon, canyon through which a creek flows, *pa-o'(w)i'-pa-ntuxWA* down to a creek-canyon (476, 11); *qana'rī-^{o(w)}i-p-I* willow-canyon, Kanab creek; *pa(·)γa'-^ooi-p-I* great-water-canyon, Colorado river canyon; *pari'ya-oi-p-I* sand-wash, *pari'γ^o-o(w)i-pa-ηwt uxWA* going through a sand-wash; *pari's ηwa-oi-p-I* sand-gravel canyon; *mua(·)'^ooi-p-i-mpa ηwt uxWA* into a bush-canyon, into acanyon full of brush (Song 17); *tai-^oi-p-I* rocky-canyon, San Juan river (see *toi-a-*)

- ui-ηwa*-(*γα-nī-*) in comp. n.: *pi'yavai-'o'i-ηwa-ro'γ^wa* through a drowsy-canyon (Song 145); *qana'-ui-ηwa-γα-nti-mpanηwituxwA* through a willow-canyon, canyon fringed with willows (402, 29)
- ui-t'ia*- canyon-place: *oi'-t'ī'* "end of canyon" (30 to 40 miles northwest of St. George)
- ui-q-a*- water flows down a gully: with incor. n. *pa-o'I'-ka-m-i-mpa'* water shall always flow down a steep mountain side (Song 185), *nīva'-va-ui'-ka-m-i-mpa'* snow shall always flow melting down a gully (Song 185)
- UI-T·U·γWA- moving in front of, before (of time) (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 32)
- UI-P·I- stalk:
in comp. n.: *nanta'-²u(w)ιp·I* yant-stalk (see *nanta-*); *tca'ma'vi-²u(w)ιp·I* stalk of yucca (sp.) (see *tca'mavi-*)
- OIT·A·VĪ- any longer (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)
- O·MA·I' yes! all right! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)
- UM^wARO'A- they are (vis.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)
- UM^wĪ-, UM·U·C·U-, ^uUM^wĪ- they, those (an. inv.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)
um^wia-(c-u-), ^u*um^wia-* them, those (obj.; *ibid.*)
um-ī- they, them (an. inv. plur.; subj., obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 5)
- UMPAI(A)-, *umpaia-c-ampa-* I don't care if, no matter (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)
- U'UMP^wIC·A-, *ump^wic·a-c-ampa-* only for fun (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, d)
- UMURU'A- they are (inv.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)
- UMUYA· interj. of great fear (Gram., § 61, 1)
- UN·A·ⁿ (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 33); only compounded:
-un·a-ηqwap·a- outside of, back behind
-un·a-ntuγwa- opposite to
- O·N·A·P·Ī- behind (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 34)
- U'NAI- to scratch (cf. *-uη'wai-*)
with instr. pref.: *tq'-'u'na-i'* scratches; *tq'-'u'na-i'* scratches with the foot
- UN·IVITCĪ- to attack (= *un-i-* to do + *pitcī-* to arrive? cf. *pitcī-ηqī-* to contend with): *nī' unī'vitcī-'yī-mi* I attack you; pas. *unī'vitcī-t'ī-γa'* when about to be attacked (319, 4)
- UNTUQ·U·^s strip of back muscle: *untu'q'·u-ηwA* his (inv.) back flesh (310, 13), obj. *untu'q'·u-a'·a-ηwA* his (inv.) back flesh (310, 11)
untuq·u-vi- abs.: *untu'q·u-φI* muscles along two sides of the spinal column, obj. *untu'q·u-v'* (310, 12)

UNTSIŶI-^s nape: *untsi'x-1* nape

untsiŶi-vi- abs.: *untsi'xi-phi* nape

UN·UA- to thunder: *ʔ(·)nv(·)'a-i'* (it) thunders, *ʔ(·)nv(·)'a(i)-y'i-q·WA* it (inv.) thunders

UŶURU'Λ- he is (inv.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)

UŶWA-^s to rain, to storm: *uŶwa'-i'* (it) rains, *uŶwa'(i)-'yu-q·WA* it (inv.) rains, *uŶwa'-va n·ʔ'* (it) will rain, *uŶwa'(u)-x·U* when (it) rains; ptc. *uŶwa'-ri* rain

uŶwa-Ŷu- mom.: *uŶwa'-Ŷu-mpa'n·i'a-q·WA* it (inv.) is going to rain (388, 6), *uŶwa'-Ŷu-q·u-'q·wa-xa' 'vai'* would that it (inv.) might rain!, *uŶwa'-ŶU-Ŷ(w)a(·)-Ŷ'wa-ni* if it (inv.) rains . . . I

uŶwa-t·ui- caus.: plur. mom. *uŶwa'-t·i-k'a-Ŷu-p·i'Ŷu'* (they) caused (it) to rain (382, 12)

uŶwa-p·ui- to cloud up: *uŶwa'-p·ui-yi-aq·A* it is clouding up; pas. ptc. *uŶwa'-p·ui-p·1* clouded-up, clouds

with incor. n.: *niva(·)-'uŶwa(i)-'yu-q·WA* it (inv.) snow-storms, it is snowing, *niva(·)-'uŶwa-va n·i'a-q·WA* it (inv.) will snow, caus. plur. *nivwa(·)-'uŶwa-t·ui-k'a(·^a)-va^a-raŶWA* let us (incl.) cause snow to fall (330, 7); *pa(a)'u-'uŶwa(i)-'yu-q·WA* it (inv.) hails

UŶWA-(C·U-), ^uUŶWA- he, that one (an. inv.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)

uŶwaia-(c·u-), ^u*uŶwaia-* him, that one (obj.; ibid.)

uŶwa-, ^u*uŶwa-* he, him (an. inv. sing.; subj., obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 4)

uŶwa- they, them (an. inv. plur.; subj., obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 5) = *um·i-* (q. v.)

uŶwaia- him (an. inv. sing.; obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 4)

UŶWAI- to hang:

uŶwai- tr.: *uŶwa'i·i'* hangs, *uŶwa'i-yi-aq·A* hangs it, *uŶwa'i-pi'Ŷa'* (he) hung (it) up (312, 12); plur. *uŶwa'i'z-k'a(i)-'yi-q·WA* (they) hang them (inan. inv.)

uŶwai-q·ai- res.: *uŶwa'i-k'a'* (a thing, person) hangs, *uŶwa'i'z-k'ai-yi-aq·A* it hangs

u'Ŷwai- distr. tr.: *u'u'Ŷwai-'yi-q·WA* hangs them (inan. inv.) all

u'Ŷwai-q·ai- distr. res.: *u'u'Ŷwai-k'a'*, *u'u'wa.i-k'a'* several (things, persons) are hanging

na-uŶwai- refl.: *na(·)-'u'Ŷwai'*, *na(·)-u'Ŷwai'* hangs (him)self, *na(·)-'u'Ŷwa.i-xwa'ai-'i'* you go and hang yourself!, *na(·)-'uŶwa.i-xwa'ai-c·U* to go and hang oneself again (314, 11)

-uŶwai- with instr. pref.: *ta(·)-u'Ŷwa.i'*, *ta-'u'Ŷwai'* hangs with feet in the air; *qi-u'Ŷwai'* hangs by the teeth

- ta-unḡwai-q'ai-* to hang by the feet: *ta(·)-uwa'ɪʔ-kai-χwa'a*, *tq-a'wa'i-* go and hang by the feet (314, 6)
- Uḡ'WAI- to scratch (cf. *-u'nai-*):
with instr. pref.: *tq'-u'wa.i'* scratches with the hand; *tq(·)'-u'wa.i'* scratches with the foot (like a dog)
- UḡWARA- to catch (?):
with incor. n.: *witsi''-u'wara-ts*, *witsi''-unḡwara-ts aḡA* bird-catcher (?), bird-hawk, Mexican goshawk (?) (362, 7)
- UḡWARO'A- he is (vis.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)
- UP'A- to untie: *U'pa'(i)-'yu-q-wA* unties it (inv.); plur. *U'pa'-q-a(i)-'yü-q-wA* several untie it (inv.)
up-a-ḡu- mom.: *U'pa'-ḡU-p'ĩḡa'* (he) untied (332, 4); *U'pa'-ḡu-mi'(y)a-q-U* to untie while moving along (mom.), to untie several times
up-a-n'ni- cont.: *U'pa'-n'ni'* is untying
u'up-a- iter.: *u'u'p-a-i'* unties several times
- UP'A-^{n,σ} through, by, in . . . direction, in . . . manner (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 35)
-up'a-q-u- (obj.); *-up'a-* . . . *n'ia-* (to act) like; *-up'a-* . . . *c-u-* in the same way, direction as; *-up'a-t-i-* (ptc.) being through, among, around
-up'a-ntuḡwa- together with; *-up'a-t-uḡwa-* moving through, along, by means of
- o'OP-I-^s red berry (sp.): *o'o'p(w)I* red berry growing on a little bush (like greasewood)
-o'op-i- in comp. n.: *pa'a-u'op(w)I* water-redberry, buffalo berry
-o'op-i-vi- red-berry bush: in comp. n. *pa'a-u'op(w)u-phi* buffalo-berry bush
- UVA- then, now (adv.; Gram., § 60, 3)
- UVA-^s soup, broth:
uva-vi- abs.: *uv'a'-phi* soup, broth of boiled deer-meat and fat
incor.: *ov'a'-c'a'a-i'* boils meat; in comp. pas. ptc. *qamvz'(u)v'a'-c'a-p-I* jack-rabbit-broth-boiled, boiled jack-rabbit
- o·VA', o·VA' yes! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)
- UVA'A- to have the diarrhoea: *uv'a''a(i)-yü-nI* I have the diarrhoea
- UVAI' and, then, as to (adv.; Gram., § 60, 3)
- UVAIYAUQ·U- then, thereupon (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a)
- UVAḡU'U-^s cactus (sp.):
uvaḡu'u-vi- abs.: *uv'a'xo'c-phi*, *ova'xo'o-phi* very small cactus, growing 3 or 4 to a clump

UVIA-^s, UVI-^o song:

uvia-vi- abs.: *uv^wi'(y)a-φi* song

-uvia- in comp. n.: *tiv^wi'ts at-i-uv^wi'a-ia(u)-φi* (obj.) his own very good song (346, 8)

-uvia-vi-, *-uvia-vi-* in comp. n.: *ya(·)γa'-uv^wia-φi* cry-song, song sung in a mourning ceremony; *ʌ'si'(y)-uv^wia-φi* roan-song (a type of mourning song); *wtsi'^w-uv^wia-φi* bird-song (a second type of mourning song); *cina'-uv^wia-φi* coyote-song (a third type of mourning song); *na(·)χα'-uv^wia-φi* mountain-sheep song (a fourth type of mourning song); *ta(·)χu'-v^wia-φi* sun-dance song; *na-ia'ηvi-uv^wia-φi* hand-gaine song, bone-gambling song; *pu'^w-uv^wia-φi* supernatural-power song, medicine-man's song; *tu'u'n'-N^wqa-uv^wia-φi* scalp-dance song; *ma(u)ma'-q·o'·mi-uv^wia-vi'* (obj.) of the bear-dance song (350, 13); *tanti'^wai-uv^wia-φi* far-west songs, Mohave songs

-uvia-γa-nti- song-having, singer (in comp. n.): *tanti'^wai-uvia-γa-nti* far-west singer; *saηwa'-wia-γa-nti-m am'atsi* sage-brush-singer-woman (Song 172)

uvi-tu- to song-make, to sing a song: *uv^wi'-t-u-i'* sings a dance-song, *uv^wi'-t-u'-p'i'γa'* sang a (bear-dance) song (350, 10), *ov^wi'-t-u'-p'i'γa(a)i-c·v*, *o'φ(w)ι-tu-p'i'γa(a)i-c·v* sang a song again (430, 21); plur. *uv^wi'-t-u'-q(w)a-p'i'γa'* (they) sang songs (346, 2); *uv^wi'-t-u'-mia-i'* sings along; with incor. obj. *ma(·)m'a'q·o'·mi-uφ(w)ι-tu-i'* sings bear-dance songs (472, 20), *ma(·)m'a'q·o'·mi-uφ(w)ι-tu-ηq'i-va-ηumi* will sing a bear-dance song for you (plur.) (472, 8)

UQ·UMPV- (UQ·UMPA-?) dust: *v^wqu'mpv*, *v^wqu'mpa* dust (Song 118) incor.: *v^wqu'mpa-riqan'wi* to become dust; *v^wqu'mpu-tcaq'a-i'* (it) goes off in dust; *v^wqu'mpu-tsutsai'* dust appears in several places, *v^wqu'mpu-tcicai-χw'ai-p'i'γa'* went up in dust, became leveled to dust (456, 19), mom. *v^wqu'mpu-tsutsa.i-χw'ai-ηu-ηqu'* would turn into dust (364, 11)

UQ·UVITCA- carrion beetle (?):

uq·uvitca-tsi- abs.: *v^wqu'v^witca-tci* black bug (sp.) which discharges an offensive odor when disturbed (410, 33)

uq·uvitca-tsi- in comp. n.: *v^wqu'v^witca-tsi-niηw'i-ntsi-ηw'i-ηwα'^a* together with Carrion-beetle people (438, 33)

UQ UC·I'XIA'- nock (cf. *u-* arrow, *-qus-i-s* ?): *v'qu'c·ixi'a'* nock

UQ WA- (QUQ WA-?) Mexican:

uq·wa-tsi- (*quq·wa-tsi-*?) abs.: plur. *v^wqwa'-tsi-ηw'i* (*qu^wqwa'-?*) Mexicans

UQ·WA-ⁿ spider:

uq·wa-mpi- abs.: *U^xqwa'-m_{pi}* big black spider, tarantula (?); plur.
U^xqwa'-m_{pi}-ŋwī

uq·wa-t·sa-tsi- spider (dim.): *U^xqwa'-t·sa-t·s* small spider

UQ·WA- it, that (inan. inv.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.;
Gram., § 39)

uq·waia- it, that (obj.; ibid.)

uq·waia- it (inan. inv.; obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 9)

UQ·WAIA- syntactic particle (Gram., § 60, 3)

UQ·WI-^s, UQ·WI-O-^s arrow (cf. o-^s):

uq·wio- arrow: *U^xqwi'(y)u'* (feathered) arrow, *U^xqwi'(y)uu'* arrows
(obj.) (316, 12), *U^xqwi'(y)u'u-ŋwA* his (inv.) arrows, *U^xqwi'(y)u-
α-φī* his own arrows (obj.) (313, 8), *U^xqwi'u-nu'* like an arrow (315,
10)

uq·wio-vi- somebody's arrow: *U^xqwi'o-φ(w)I* somebody's arrow

uq·wio-γai-p-ī- former arrow: *U^xqwi'v-χ(w)ai-p-ī* once an arrow,
discarded arrow

uq·wio-tsi- dim.: usit. ptc. *cv'q'uc U^xqwi'(y)u-tsi-γai-vä-tcī* one
who has always one little arrow (408, 23)

uq·wio-γai- to have an arrow: *U^xqwi'(y)v-χ(w)ai-ni* I have an
arrow

uq·wio-ru- to make an arrow: *U^xqwi'v-ru-i'* makes an arrow,
U^xqwi'u-ru-v^wa^unu' will make an arrow; *U^xqwi'(y)u-ru-ŋqu-p-īγa'*
made a bow and arrows for (464, 34)

-uq·wio- in comp. n.: *pa(·)χa'-U^xqwi(y)u'* cane arrow

uq·wio- incor.: *U^xqwi'(y)v-m·amaxa-ŋA* give him an arrow each
(400, 22)

-uq·wi-vī- in comp. n.: *tī'ra-uq·wi-vī-ni* my unfeathered arrow,
tī'ra-uq·wi-vī-α-φī his own unfeathered arrow (obj.) (400, 23)

UQ·WIYA- top: *U^xqwi'ya-z·q·A* the top of it

UγWI- to smell: *v(·)χwi'* smells (tr.)

uγwi-ŋu- mom.: *uχwi'-ŋU* to smell at a point of time

u'uq·wi- iter.: *u'u'q·wi'* smells several times, sniffs around

uγwi- in comp. vb.: *uχwi'-m·untcu·ru'i'* (dog.) holds up (his) nose
and scents

UγWI-^s grass:

uγwi-vī- abs.: *uγwi'-φī*, *oγwi'-φī*, *o(·)χwi'-φī*, *v(·)χwi'-φī* grass

uγwi-vī-tsi- dim.: *uγwi'-vī-t·s* little grass, *uχwi'-vu-tsi-ma-ŋA* with
a little grass-stalk . . . he (410, 21)

- uγwi-aγai-*, *uγwi-vī-aγai-* to have grass, to be grassy: *oχwi'-aχai-aq'A* it is grassy; *ava'an o(·)χwi'-vī-aχa'* to have much grass
-uγwi-vī- in comp. n.: *tuno'-χwi-φī* grass bunched together on sand hills
- o·C·I-^s* yucca fruit: *o'c·I*, *o'c·I* fruit of *yucca baccata*
o·c·i-vī- yucca plant: *o'c·i-φī* yucca plant
o·c·i- in comp. n.: *o'c·ca'ap·I* yucca mush
o·c·i-aγai- to be provided with yucca: *o'c·i-axa'* (country) has much yucca in (it)
- UC·U-* emphasizing particle (Gram., § 60, 3)
- UC·U·Q·I-* to whistle: *U'cu'q(w)ι'* whistles; plur. *U'cu'q(w)ι-k'a-i'* several whistle
uc·uq·i-ηqī- to whistle to: *U'cu'q(w)ι-ηqī-i'* whistles to (in order to call attention)
u'uc·uq·i- iter.: *u'c·Uq(w)ι'* whistles several times
 in comp. vb.: *U'cu'q(w)ι-χa-p·i'γa'* whistled and sang, whistled a tune (450, 15)
- 'URAI-ⁿ* toward, after (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 36); *-'urai-nū-* (ptc.) going toward
- URARO'A-* it is (vis.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)
- URU-(C·U-)*, *u'URī-* it, that (inan. inv.) (indep. pers. pron. and dem. pron., subj.; Gram., § 39)
urua-(c·u-), *u'urīa-* it, that (obj.; ibid.)
urī-, *uru-*, *'urī-* it (inan. inv.; subj., obj.) (post-nom. pron.; Gram., § 42, 8)
- URU-^s* arrow stick (cf. *u-* arrow, *u-ru-* to feather an arrow):
uru-vī- abs.: *uru'-φī* arrow stick
uru-vī-γa- to get arrow sticks: *uru'-vī-χa-p·i'γa'* (he) got arrow sticks (315, 3)
- URUA-C·U-* otherwise (adv.; Gram., § 60, 3)
- URU'A-* to be (inv.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)
- URU'A·-*, *-URU-ⁿ* carrying strap, string:
uru'a·- carrying strap: *uru'a'* strap used for carrying
-uru'a·- in comp. n.: *no'-uru'a'* strap used for carrying on one's back, tump-line; *qo(·)n·o'-uru'a'* cradle carrying-strap; *tūmpa-γap·u-ru'a'* mouth-entering strap, reins
-uru- in comp. n.: *o'tca'-uru* strap by which a burden basket (see *otca-*) is carried; *tamp'i'n'n-uru*, *tamp'i'n'-uru* moccasin string
-uru-mpī- in comp. n.: *qu'ca'^aru-mpī* rope, trousers string
- URURU'A-* it is (inv.) (Gram., § 56, 1 and 2)

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W

WA'- two (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2):

wa-mac-ïηwi- 20 (num.; Gram., § 59, 1)WA'A-^o cedar:*wa'a-p-ï-* abs.: *wa'a'-p-ï* cedar, *wa'a'-p-ï-mA* on a cedar (branch) (314, 7)*wa'a-p-ï-aγai-* to be provided with cedars: ptc. *wa'a'-p-ï-ara-nï'* cedar-having (obj.), cedar-grove (452, 24)*wa'a-* in comp. n., ptc.: *wa'a'-c-ïap-ï* cedar sapling; *wa'a'-p-a-ts-* cedar spring (400, 37); *w'a'-q-arï-rï* cedar-sitting, cedar knoll; *w'a'-q-arï-rï-mpa'* cedar-knoll spring, Yellowstone spring; *w'a'-q-äi-tcï* cedar-grove bend, semicircular cedar-grove*wa'a-mpi-* cedar-berry: *wa'a'(-)'-mpi'* (obj.) cedar-berries (383, 12); incor. *w'a'(-)'-mpi-m-u(w)ara-χi-φi* cedar-berry crusher, spermophile (?); *wa'a'(-)'-mpi-xUquq-wi-numpï* cedar-berry shooting-instrument, toy like a "bean-shooter"

'WAIA- it (see 'aia-)

WAIγA- to deliberate in council: *wa'ixā-i'* (they) have a council, *wa'ixā-piγa'*, *wa'ix-piγa'* (they) were talking together, (they) had a council (464, 11; 345, 4); *wa'ixā-n-a'a-mï* their talking together*waiγa-* in comp. vb.: *wa'ixā(i)-yuxwi-χu-cmï* while they were sitting and talking as in council (426, 24)with incor. n.: *na'u-ηwaiγā-pI* chief-deliberation, council of headmenWAIγIN'A'- wagon (< Eng. wagon): *wa'ixāna'* wagon, *wa'ixāna-ni* my wagonWA'AI- grass seed (sp.): *wa'(-)''AI* seeds of grass growing on sandy plainsin comp. n.: *wa'a'i-c-ï'apI* mush made of grass seedsWAÏ- to roast in the ashes: *wa'i-yï*, *wa'(-)''y-ï* roasts in the ashes, *wa'(-)''y-ï-ni* I roast, *wäi'-'ï* roast!, *wa'ï-v^oa-n-ia-A^zqa-ni* I shall roast itWAN'A-^s milkweed net: *wa'nA* milkweed net for catching rabbits*wan'a-ru-* to make a net: *wan'a'-RU* to make a milkweed netincor.: *wan'a'-ηwantci-χw'ai-p-ïγa'* went to set (his) net for snaring rabbits (466, 15)

W'AN'A·Q·WI- screech-owl:

w'an'a·q·wi-tsi- abs.: *w'a'na·q·wi-tsi-* screech-owl

- WANTSI-^s antelope: *wa'nts* antelope; plur. *wantsi'-ḡwī* antelopes
wantsi-tsi-, *wantsi-p'ītsi-* abs.: *wa'nts-t-*, *wantsi'-p'īts* antelope
wantsi-vuḡqu- antelope-pet, antelope owned (by one): *wantsi'-vuḡqo-aḡ aḡA* his antelope-pet (402, 39)
wantsi-ḡa- to be antelope-colored: ptc. *wantsi'-ḡa-nī* antelope-colored, light gray
- WA'ANĪ-^s to yell, to shout: *wa'a'ḡi'* yells; plur. *wa'a'ḡi-k̄a-i'* several shout; ptc. *wa'a'ḡi-ntcī* yeller
wa'aḡi-ḡu- mom.: *nī' wa'a'ḡi-ḡu* I yell out, *wa'a'ḡi-ḡo-'o* shout (once)!,
wa'a'ḡi-ḡu-p'īḡa' (he) yelled out (329, 8; 410, 3); plur. *taḡwa wa'a'ḡi-k̄a-ḡu* we (incl.) yell out; usit. *nī' wa'a'ḡi-ḡu-m'wī'* I shout every once in a while
wa'aḡi-ḡqī- to yell to: *nī' wa'a'ḡi-ḡqī-yī-a(·)ḡA* I shout to him;
 mom. *wa'a'ḡi-ḡqī-ḡu-aḡA* to yell for him
wa'aḡi-ḡai- to be a yeller: ptc. *wa'a'ḡi-ḡa-nī* one who always yells
wa'wa'aḡi- iter.: *wa'wa'a'ḡi'*, *wa'wa'aḡi'* yells several times
wa'aḡi-ḡw'ai- to go and yell: *wa'a'ḡi-ḡw'ai'* yells as (he) goes to (some place)
wa'aḡi-q'w'ai- to yell going past: mom. *wa'a'ḡi-qwa'ai-ḡu* to call out going past
wa'aḡi- in comp. vb.: *wa'a'ḡi-pax-i-p'īḡa'* shouted as (he) went along (371, 7)
na-ḡwa'aḡi-ḡqī- (recip.) to shout at each other: plur. *na-ḡwa(·)'aḡi-ḡqī-qa-i'* (they) shout at one another
 with adv. pref.: *p'īḡa'-ḡwa'aḡi-i'* keeps shouting; *tī'-ḡwa'aḡi-i'* gives a good shout; ptc. *a't-i-wa'aḡi-ntcī* good shouter
- WA'ANḡWAC-ḡḡWI- eight (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2)
- WAḡWI- to stand (plur.): *ta'ḡwa wa(·)ḡwī'* we (incl.) stand
wawaḡwi- inc.: *wawa'ḡwi* several stand up
waḡwi-t'wī- caus.: plur. *wa(·)ḡwī-t'wī-k̄-a-i'* (they) cause (them) to stand up (472, 11); inc. *wa'(a^u)ḡwī-t'wī-p'īḡa'* caused (them) to stand (448, 34)
-waḡwi- in comp. vb.: *qa'-ḡwaḡwi'* several stand and sing
- WAVĪN'I- to get ready to shoot (an arrow): *wa(·)vu'n'i'-p'īḡa'* got ready to shoot, held (the bow) in position for a shot (476, 13),
wa(·^a)vī'n'ī^z-p'īḡaāi-nī they 2 got ready to shoot, pulled the bow-string (408, 10)
wawavīn'i- distr.: plur. mom. *wawa'vūnī-k̄-a-ḡu* several get ready to shoot off arrows
- WAQ-I- hither (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, b)

WAŶI- several enter:

wawaŶi- distr.: *wawa'x'i-püŶa'* (they) all dived in, entered (while racing)

tsi-ŶwaŶi- to stick several in: *tsi-Ŷwa'x'i-* sticks several in

tsitsi-ŶwaŶi- several keep sticking in (iter. intr.): *tsi'tsi-ŶwaŶ(a)^ai-p'ŶŶai-n'i'* (they) all went in as though stuck (422, 29); usit. *tsitsi-ŶwaŶ(a)^ai-mi-püŶai-n'i'* (they) all kept going in as though stuck (408, 19)

tsi-ŶwaŶi-q'ai- several are stuck in (res.): *tsi-Ŷwa'x'i-k'ai-yü-amü* they are stuck in

WAŶO- frog (said to imitate the frog's croak: *wa'Ŷo^o* *wa'Ŷo^o*)

waŶo-tsi- abs.: *wa'Ŷo^o-ts-* frog

WAC'I-T'U'A- object is hot (with *-tu'a-* cf. *ta-ru'a-?*): *wa'c'i't'u'a-i'* (an object) is hot

WARA-^s grass seed (sp.), pigweed seed (?): *wa'RA* grass seeds roasted for food (probably pigweed)

wara- in comp. n.: *wara'-c'Ŷ'ap-i* mush made out of pigweed seeds

incor.: *wara'-riŶa-i'* picks grass seeds (with a beater); *wara'-Riqa-i'* eats grass seeds; *wara'-x'ani-^v-Ŷwa'^a* to go to ask for grass seeds (308, 4), *wara'-x'ani-^v-Ŷwa'ai-x'a'* while going to ask for grass seeds (308, 9)

WARAIŶI- to walk (song form): *wa'rai-x'i-na* walking (Song 112)

WARIŶI- to be in need of: *war'i'x-i-qwai-y'Ŷ-q'WA* is in need of it (inv.); neg. ptc. *qatc'u war'i'Ŷi-Ŷwai-t'Ŷ* not being in need, plur. *war'i'Ŷi-Ŷwai-t'Ŷ-mü* (several) not being in need of (384, 7)

-WARU'A-Q'AI- to be willing, ready (res.): with adv. pref. *'i'ⁱ-Ŷwaru'^{az}-qa-ntu-n'i'* (ptc.) who is always willing, ready (400, 1)

WAT'SI'-: *WA'tsi'ⁱ* (personal name)

WA'ATSI- watch (< Eng. *watch*): *wa'ats-* watch, *wa'atsi-ni* my watch

WA'ATCI-ŶI- to whoop (cf. *wa'ani-*): plur. *wa'a'tci-Ŷi-k'a(i)-yü- α mü* they are whooping

wa'atci-Ŷi-Ŷu- mom.: *wa'a'tci-Ŷi-ŶU-püŶa'*, *w'a'tci-Ŷi-ŶU-püŶa'* whooped (385, 10; 474, 18)

wa'wa'atci-Ŷi- iter.: *wa'wa'^otcu-x'i'* whoops several times

WATCĪ- to put, to set (one object): *watcĪ'* puts, *watcĪ'-yü- α ŶA* puts him, *watcĪ'-p'ŶŶa'* put (one object) down, *wa(·)tcĪ'-p'ŶŶa'ai-k'WA* put it (inv.), set it down (464, 22)

watcĪ-Ŷu- mom. *watcĪ'-ŶU* to put (in); plur. *watcĪ'-q-a-ŶU* several put (in)

watcĪ-m'wia- to put while moving: *wa(·)tcĪ'-m'wia-p'ŶŶa'* (he) put as (he) went along (404, 4)

watci-k-i- to put hither: *watci'-k-i-χai-ni* having put me away and come off

wawatei- distr.: *wawa'tei'* (they) put (472, 13)

with incor. obj.: *wan'a'-ηwantci-χw'ai-p'üγa'* went to set (his) net (for snaring rabbits) (466, 20); *qa(·)ni'-vu-ηwantci'* puts up a tepee
'*a-γa-wa(n)tei-* to put in a place of hiding (q. v.)

WAT·CĪ- to catch up with:

wat·cī-ηu- mom.: *ni' wA'tei'-ηu(w)-aηA* I caught up with him, *wA'tei'-ηU-p'üγa'ai-mi* caught up with them (inv.), *wA'tcu'-ηU-p'üγa'ai-ηWA* caught up with her (inv.) (354, 13)

with adv. pref.: *cu(w)a'-ηWA'tei-p'üγa'ai-mi* nearly caught up with them (inv.) (322, 10); mom. *a'-ηWA'tsu-η'u-mi* to gradually catch up with them (inv.)

WAT·CĪηWI- four (num.; Gram., § 59, 1 and 2):

wat·cīηwi-mac'īηwi- 40 (num.; Gram., § 59, 1)

WA'AU-ŸI- to bark: *wa'a'u-x(w)u'* barks (said of dog, coyote, wolf), fut. ptc. *wa'a'u-x(wa)i-vä-nti* destined to bark

wa'au-γi-qu- inc.: *w'a'u-x(w)I^z-ku-p'üγa'* commenced to bark (464, 19)

WAWA-^s arrow-foreshaft:

wawa-vi- abs.: *wawa'-φi* wooden shaft fitted into cane arrow-shaft, *wawa'-vi-ni* my wooden foreshaft

incor.: *wawa(·)'-s·vā-ts·* having whittled a foreshaft to a cane arrow (458, 18)

wawa'ya-vi- foreshaft: *wawa'(i)'-ya-φi* foreshaft

WAYA- to hang, to flow out: *waya'-p'üγa'* hung, (blood) flowed out (454, 24)

WI-^o instr. pref. (see *wi-^o*): Gram., § 21, 10

WI- awl: *wi'* awl

-*wi-* in comp. n.: *a'-ηwi'*, *a'-ηwi'* bone awl, awl made of horn; *vü'-ηwi'* wooden awl; *tümp^vi'-ηwi'* stone awl

WIA-^s mud:

wia-vi- abs.: *wia'-φi* mud, *wia'-vi-ni* my mud, *wia'-vu-m^va-nti'* out of (obj.) mud (396, 35)

-*wia-vi-* in comp. n.: *pa-ηwi(·)'a-vu-m^vα-nti'* some of (obj.) the water-mud, mud lying at the bottom of the water (420, 27)

wia- incor.: recip. *wiε'-n-a-χuqwi'* shoot mud at each other, there is a mud-battle; *wia'-m-a-v^oɔ^ztəq WA-qai-na-v o'mA* his-own-mud-rounded therewith, with the mud-ball that he had made (398, 1)

WIA-MPI-^s berry (sp.): *wia'-mpi* red berry of bush with holly-like leaves

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wia-mpi-vi- berry-bush: *wia'-mpu-vi'* bush (sp.) with holly-like leaves (obj.) (394, 6)

wia-mpi- in comp. n.: *wi(y)α'-mpu-χariri'* red-berry knoll (obj.) (Song 188)

-WI'AT·A·^s ankle:

ta-ηwi'at-a-vi- abs.: *ta-ηwe'at-a-φi* ankle

WII-^o (WI-^o), wii- knife (cf. *wi-* awl?):

wii-tsi- abs.: *wii'-ts* knife

-*wii-*, *wii-tsi-* in comp. n.: *tümp^wt'-ηwi-ts* stone knife; *tiv'a'n-t-ηwü-ts* butchering knife (for deer), cow-puncher's pocket-knife; *paγa'-ηwi-i-tsi-ηwi* cane-knife-people, Navaho Indians

-*wii-* incor.: *wu(·)'-p·U'caγa.i'* looking for a knife (458, 17), *wi'-p·U'caχai-va'* shall look for a knife (458, 8); *wii'-t·on·p·iγa'* (he) stabbed with a knife (430, 1); *wii'-ηwA'-paq·i-n'NA* to rip open with a knife

wii- in comp. n.: *wi'·i-η'wünap·i* knife arrow-head, (sharp) arrow-head

WINOM'MI-, WIYUM'MI- to rear, to throw up one's buttocks: *wi(·)nə'-m'mi'*, *wi(·)'yum'mi'* (Ute) throws up (his) buttocks (in copulating)

wiyum'mu-q-i-ηqi- to cause one to rear: *wi(·)yu'm'MU^x-q(w)i-ηqi-i'* lashes (a horse with a rope) on the buttocks so as to cause (him) to rear

WIQ·U·ⁿ buzzard:

wiq·u-mpitsi- abs.: *wi^xqu'-mpits* buzzard

WIγIVİ-^s eagle tail-feather:

wiγivü-vi- abs.: *wiχi'vü-φi* eagle tail-feather

WIS·IK·I- whiskey (< Eng. *whiskey*): *we's·ik·i·i* whiskey (Song 150)

WIC·I- caterpillar:

wic·i-tsi- abs.: *wi'ci'-ts* caterpillar

WIT·UVUA- to cover (a part of the body): *wi'tu'v^wua-i'* covers over (part of himself)

wit·uvua-q·ai- res.: *wi'tu'v^wua-q·ai-va'* shall have (your eyes) covered (320, 6)

with incor. obj.: *pu't'-ηwIT'uv^wəa-i'* covers (his) eyes; *tə'tsü'-ηwIT'uv^wəa-i'* covers (his) head

WITCA-^s calf of the leg: *witca* calf of the leg

witca-vi- abs.: *witca'-φi* calf of the leg

witca-vi-: *witca'-φi* calf of the leg (name of medicine-man)

witca- in comp. n.: *witca'-χuc·A* (buckskin) leggings; *ina'p·u-witca-χuc·U* leggings of *ina'p·i*-bark (see *in·a-^o*)

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WIT·CA-^o bee:*wit-ca-wi-* abs.: *wi'tca'-phi* beeWIT·CA- to wrap around, to tie: *wi'tca'-i'* ties*wit-ca-p-i-* pas. ptc.: *wi'tca'-p-i'* tied around, band, ribbon*-wit-ca-p-i-* in comp. n.: *sa'p'i'-η'wi'tca-p-i'* belly-wrap, cinch;
qa'itcɔγ(w)ɔ-η'wi'tca-p-i' hat-bandWIT·SI- great-grandmother, woman's great-grandchild: *wi'tsu'-ni* my
great-grandmother, my great-grandfather's sister*wit-si-t-si-* dim.: *wi'tsi'-t-ηi* my (woman's) great-grandchild, my
(woman's) brother's great-grandchild, *wi'tsu'-tsi-a-phi* her own
great-grandson (obj.) (396, 13)

WITSI'- bird:

witsi'-tsi- abs.: *witsi''-ts-*, *witsi''-ts-* bird, *witsi''-tsi-α-tca-ηA* he
(shot) the bird (obj.); plur. *witsi''-tsi-ηwi* birds*-witsi'-tsi-* in comp. n.: *ɔa'-ηwitsi'u-ts-* yellow-bird, warbler (?);
caγwa'-η'witsi'u-ts- bluebird; *ti'ra-η'witsi'u-ts-* desert-bird, horned
lark*witsi'-* in comp. n.: *witsi''-uwarats-*, *witsi''-uηwarats aηA* bird-
catcher, bird-hawk, Mexican goshawk (?) (362, 7); *witsi''-
uɔ'ia-phi* bird-song (a type of mourning song)WIT·CUN·A'A- "wild potatoe": *wi'tcu'na'A* "wild potatoe"wi-^o with the length of a long object, stick (instr. pref.): Gram., § 21,
10wi-^o to be long ago (?):*wi-t-i-c-u-* (ptc.) long ago (adv.; Gram., § 60, 2, a): *wi'-t-u-c-u*
long ago (308, 7; 345, 2)wi'i- to fall, to drop: *wi'i* to fall, *wi'i'-va-n-i'* will fall out, will be born*wi'i-q-u-* inc.: *wi'i'-k-u*, *wi'i'-q-u* to start to fall, to drop down,
wi'i'-k-u-p'iγa', *wi'i'-k-u-p'iγa'* fell out, dropped down (375, 2;
313, 5), *wi'i'(i)-k-u-v'a'* will fall (456, 32)with adv. pref.: *ti-ηwi'i'-vā-ni* I shall fall off (456, 30); *a'-ηwi'i'-k-u*
to fall quietly and graduallywith incor. n.: *tuxu'-η'wi-p'iγa'* sky-fell, fell down as though from
the sky (402, 5)*-wi'i-ηqi-* (with instr. pref.) to cause one to fall: *ma(·)-ηwi'i'-ηqi*
to knock down with the hand; *ta(·)-ηwi'i'-ηqi* to knock down with
a rock; *tsi-ηwi'i'-ηqi* to knock down with a stick*-wi'i-t'ui-* (with instr. pref.) to cause to fall: in comp. vb. *tɔ-ηwɔ'-
t'ui-ηqwi-p'a-ηWA* to hit him (inv.) by causing to fall with the
fist, to knock him (inv.) down with the fist

- wĩ'i- to dance (identical with wĩ'i- to fall?): wĩ'i'-i', wĩ'i'-rĩ dances
 wĩwĩ'i- iter.: wĩwĩ'i'-i' dances repeatedly
- wĩ'i-m'ia- to dance along wĩ'i'-m'ia-p'ĩγa' danced back and forth
 (350, 11); usit. w'ł-m'ia-m'ia-a-mĩ they 2 keep dancing along
- wĩ'i-m'ia-qu- to commence to dance along: w'ł-m'ia-qu to
 commence to dance; usit. w'ł-m'ia-qu-m'łα-mĩ they 2 com-
 menced to dance along at intervals (472, 17)
- wĩ'i-vi- ag.: wu'ł-φI dancer
- wĩ'i-p-i- act of dancing: wu'ł-p-I dancing
- with adv. pref.: plur. pĩm'ł-ηwĩ'i-k'a-i' (they) dance back and
 forth (472, 15)
- wĩ'i- in comp. vb.: wĩ'i'-vuru-i' dances around, from place to place;
 wĩ'i'-t'ĩγa-i' practices dancing; distr. neg. qatcU wĩ'i'-p-v-tcu-
 tcuxwa-ηwa^a (they) did not know how to dance (472, 17)
- wĩ'A-^o penis: wĩ'A penis
- wĩ'a-p-i- abs.: wĩ'α'-p-I penis
- wĩ'a-q-ai- to have a penis: wĩ'a'-q-a' to have a penis
- wĩ'a- in comp. n.: wĩ'a'-m-ɔ'caA man's pubic hair; w'a'-p-I'tɔp'i-ts'
 penis-short, short-penis (336, 10)
- incor.: pas. ptc. plur. wĩ'a'-q-avaq-I-pĩ-ηwĩ penis-broken, with a
 broken penis; w'a'-n'NU²q(w)ɔ'MI bent-penis (personal name)
- wĩ'i-^s milkweed:
- wĩ'i-vĩ- abs.: wĩ'i'-φĩ milkweed
- wĩ'i- in comp. n.: wĩ'i'-t-I'caφĩ milkweed rope
- wĩ'IA-^s song sparrow:
- wĩ'ia-tsi- abs.: wĩ'i'α-ts', wĩ'ł'a-ts', w'ł'a-ts' song sparrow (*Spizella*);
 plur. wĩ'i'a-tsi-ηw amĩ the song sparrows (404, 34)
- na-ηwĩ'ia-ru- to turn oneself into a song sparrow: plur. mom.
 na-ηwĩ'ia-NU-q(w)ηu-mpa' (let us) all turn (our)selves into
 song sparrows (404, 31)
- wĩ'NA-^o arrow-head:
- wĩ'na-p-i- abs.: wĩ'na'-p-I arrow-head
- wĩ'na-p-i- in comp. n.: wĩ'i-η'wĩna-p-I knife-arrow-head, cutting
 arrow-head
- wĩN·AI- to throw down: wũna'i-yĩ-aηA throws him down, wĩn'a'i-nI
 throw me!, nĩ' wĩna'i'i-ηwA I throw him (inv.) down, wĩ(i)na'i-
 pĩγa'ai-ηwA (he) threw her (inv.) down (335, 12), wĩna'i(i)-k-U
 while (he) threw (it) down (460, 28); plur. wĩna'ł-k'a-³q-wA (they)
 throw them (inan. inv.) down
- wĩwĩ'nai- distr.: wĩwĩ'nai-p'ĩγai(y)-aηA (they) threw him (424,
 21)

w̄w̄in'nai- iter.: *w̄w̄i'w̄'nai-yi-qWA* throws it (inv.) down one time after another

w̄in'ai-q-i- to throw and come: *w̄ina'ɪʔ-kɪ-ʔηWA* threw him (inv.) down and came away (448, 11)

w̄in'ai-ηq̄i- to throw for: *w̄ina'i-ηq̄i* throw for (me)! (460, 23)

nai-a-ηw̄in'ai- (distr. recip.) to throw one another down, to wrestle: *nana'-η'w̄inai'* (they) throw one another, wrestle; indir. *n̄i' nana'-ηw̄inai-ηq̄i-ȳi-aηA* I wrestle with him

tsi-ηw̄in'ai- to throw down with a stick: *tsi-ηw̄i'n'ai-va-ηA* will throw him in, *tsi-ηw̄i'n'ai-va-mi* will throw you with a stick (420, 14)

W̄INAIHWAR'UA- to fall dead (cf. *w̄in'ai-* to throw down?): *w̄ina'i-ηwar'uα-p-īγa'* (he) fell dead (408, 8); plur. *w̄ina'ihwar'uα-qA* several fall dead

W̄INI- to penetrate, to go in: (cf. *'niγi-ʔ*)

w̄ini-q-u- mom.: *w̄inu'-k-U-p̄iγa'* (seed beater) went in (406, 7), *w̄inu'-k-U-q(w)ai-nA* where (an arrow) had gone in (406, 7)

W̄IN-ī-ʔ to stand (sing.): *w̄in̄i'-i'*, *w̄yn̄i'-i'* stands

w̄iw̄in-ī- mom., inc.: *w̄iw̄in̄i'*, *w̄iw̄inu'* to start to stand, to stand up, *n̄i' w̄w̄a(·)'n' w̄iw̄inu'* I step on it; plur. *w̄iw̄in̄i'-qA* to stand up (plur.)

w̄iw̄in̄i-n̄i-q-u- iter. inc.: *w̄iw̄in̄i'ɪʔ-qu-p-īγa'* (he) stood stamping (374, 6), *w̄iw̄i'N̄iʔ-qu-i'* stands several times

w̄in-ī-t̄u- caus.: *w̄in̄i'-t̄u-p-īγa'* caused to stand (456, 17)

w̄in-ī-γw̄ai- to stand and go: *w̄in̄i'-χw̄ai-p-īγa'* was stationed as (he) moved (418, 30)

w̄in-ī-m'wia- to stand while moving: *w̄i(i)n̄i'-m'ya-p-īγa'* stood traveling (ahead of them) (328, 13), *w̄in̄i'-m'wia-xa'* as (he) stood moving along (428, 8)

w̄in-ī- in comp. vb.: *w̄in̄i'-m'ia-p-īγa'* stood as (they) traveled; *w̄in̄i'-χari-χw̄ai-p-īγa'ai-m̄i* they 2 went to stand-sit, to be stationed (at certain positions) (432, 19)

with adv. pref.: *a'-ηw̄in̄i'* stands quiet

with incor. n.: in comp. vb. *paγ̄i'n-a-ηw̄in̄i-pa'γ(ε)u-ɪi* cloud-stand-walks, a cloud stands up and walks (Song 119)

-w̄in-ī- in comp. vb.: *ti'qa'-ηw̄in̄i-i'* eats while standing; *ivi'-ηw̄in̄i-i'* stands and drinks; *ampa'χa-ηw̄in̄i-i'* stands and talks; *ku'ηq̄i-ηw̄in̄i-i'* stands and laughs; *qa'-ηw̄in̄i-i'* stands and sings; *quʔqwi'-ηw̄in̄i-i'* stands and shoots; *naηqa't-sa-ηw̄in̄i-p-īγa'* stood and listened; *ma(·)-ntcq'(u)-w̄yn̄i-i'* stands with arms spread out;

na(·)χa'('u)-ηwññi-χai(y)-aq'a-mü while they stood with blankets on (452, 10); *pññi'-ηwññi-p'ïγa'ai-ηwA* stood watching for her (inv.) (353, 14), *pññi'-ηwññi-χa'ai-ηwA* while (he) stood looking at him (inv.) (466, 35), *pññi'-ηwññi-φ-n-uq(w)ι-χw'ai-va'a-ηwA* shall go to stand around looking for him (inv.) (476, 9)

WĪQ·AM'MI- to put a cover over, to cover: *wī'qa'm'mi* to cover (something that lies), *wī'qa'm'ι'* covers (with something), *wī'qa'm'ι(y)-aq'A* cover it!

wīq'am'mi-ηu- mom.: *wī'qa'm'mi-ηu-ntca-ηa-ni* I covered him
wīq'am'mi-q'ai- res.: *wī'qa'm'mi-k'ai-p'ïγa'* (they) covered (388, 10)
na-ηwīq'am'mi- refl.: *na-ηwī'q'a'm'i-ni-p'ïγa'* covered (him)self
 with incor. obj.: *nampa'-ηwī'qam'ι'* covers the feet; *mō'ō'-ηwī'qam'ι'* covers the hands; *pū'ι'-ηwī'qam'ι-nimpi* eye-covering-instrument, blinders (for a horse)

WĪQ·ON·UI-^φ round, circular:

wīq'on'ui-q'ai- to be circular: ptc. *wī'qō'n'oi-q-α-nñi* circle-round; with adv. pref. *pa'-ηwī'qō'n'oi-q-α-nñi* perfectly round

WĪQ·WINTA- to wrap around, to coil (cf. *wīq'on'ui-* circular):
wī'qw'nta(i)-yñ-ni I wrap (it) around

wīq'winta-ηqñ- to coil around one: *wī'qw'nta-ηqñ-p'ïγai(y)-aηA* coiled around her, wrapped (him)self about her (446, 33)

wīq'winta-q'ai- res.: *wī'qw'nta'-qa aō'ayt'ux-wA* to be wrapped around it

with incor. obj.: *ta(·)mū'-η'wī'qw'nta-i'* wraps sinew around

WĪΓA·-^s top edge, bank: *wīχa'-m'a-q'A* at its bank (458, 4), *pampñ'n'ι'wιχa'α-va-nñi'* on the edge (obj.) of the bucket (365, 12)

wīγa-vi- abs.: *wīxa'α-φi*, *wιχa'α-φi* bank, edge of a precipice, summit; position in the hand-game in which the two marked bones are held in the centre

WĪΓĪ-ⁿ vulva: *wī'x'i* vulva

wīγī-mpi- abs.: *wīχī'-mpi* vulva

wīwīγi- distr.: *wīwī'xī'* vulvas (obj.) (462, 11)

wīγī-ηqai- to have a vulva: *wīγī'-ηqai-p'ïγa'* (she) had a vulva (462, 12), *wīγī'-ηka'* to have a vulva

wīγī- in comp. n.: *wīγō'-ōpaq'i-nA* vulva-hole, vagina

-wīγi- in comp. n.: *qu'tcu'-nta-n-as'ιγa-ηwix'i* buffalo-hoof-cleft-vulva, (girl) who has a vulva cleft like a buffalo-hoof

WĪC·ARA-ⁿ bush cactus:

wīc'ara-mpñ- abs.: *wī'cē'ra-mpñ*, *wī'ca'ra-mpñ* large, yellow-flowered, bush cactus, *wī'cē'ra-mpñ-a-xain'ι'* bush cactus (obj.) indeed (452, 15)

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SAPIR

wĪC·IA-^s, wĪC·IA-^s feather: *wI'ci'(y)a-nI* my feather, *wI'ci'a-ia-ŋA* his feathers (obj.)

wĪc'ia-wi- abs.: *wĪ'ci'a-φI*, *wI'ci'(y)a-φI* feather, obj. (^z)*wI'ci'a-wi'* feather (315, 10)

wĪc'ia-γai- to be a feather: *wĪ'ci'a-χai-k'ai-n-a-ŋA* what had been his feathers (468, 29)

wĪc'ia-γai- to have feathers: *wĪ'ci'a-xa'* to have feathers; distr. ptc. plur. *wĪw'c'ya-χα-nti-mi* those with feathers (379, 6)

wĪc'ia- in comp. n.: *wI'ci'(y)a-γaitcɔxv* feather-hat; *wI'ci'(y)a-rɔts* feather-head; *wI'ci'(y)a'-atci* feather-bow; *wI'ci'(y)a-mɔ'ɔ* feather-hand

wĪc'ia-, *wĪc'ia-* incor.: *wĪ'ci'a-swa(i)-yĪ* scrapes a quill smooth; distr. *wĪ'ci'a-mamax:A-pĪγai(y)-aŋA* (they) each gave him feathers (371, 12)

wĪC·ĪYINTA-^o to have the eyes half-closed: *wĪ'ci'xinta-i'* has the eyes only half-closed

wĪwĪc'Īyinta- iter.: *wu'c'xinta-i'* repeatedly half-closes the eyes in comp. vb.: *wĪ'cĪ'γinta-p'Īn-i-n'ni'* looks out of half-closed eyelids; *wĪ'cĪ'γinta-p'Īn-m'nia-p'Īγa'* peeped out of nearly closed eyelids as (he) moved along (430, 26); *wĪ'ci'xinta-p'un-i-avi-p'Īγa'* lay with eyes only partly closed (460, 26)

wĪT·UQ·U- to protect against the wind (?):

in comp. pas. ptc.: *wI'tu'qɔ-nɔvi-p'Ī*, *wI'tɔ'qɔ-nɔvi-p'Ī* wind-protecting cover (?), windbreak used to sleep in when traveling

wĪT·CA- roadrunner: *wĪ'tca* roadrunner, *wI'tca'-i(y) aŋA* roadrunner (obj.) (387, 6); plur. *wĪ'tca'-mĪ*, *wĪ'tca'-ŋwĪ* roadrunners

wĪTCA'YA- to make a pretended movement: *nĪ' wĪ'tca'yα-i'* I go through the motion (of hitting, e. g.)

wĪwĪtca'ya-ŋqĪ- to make a feint toward (mom.): *wĪwĪ'tca'yα-ŋqĪ-xai(y)-aŋA* while making a feint (of hitting) him (398, 29)

-w'ĪTcĪ-γI- to tap in time (cf. *wĪ'i-* to dance):

ta- with the foot: *ta-ŋ'wĪ'tci-γI'* keeps time (to music) by tapping with the foot

wĪYĪ-: *wĪyĪ'-ts*, *wĪyĪ'-ts* female personal name

Y

-YA- du.-plur. imp. enc. (Gram., § 19, 2, p)

-Y'A- quot. enc. (Gram., § 19, 2, m)

YA- to carry one object:

ya-γw'ai- to go to get: *ya'-xw'ai'* (one) goes to fetch (one object),

ya'-χw'ai-va' (he) will go to get (it), *ya'-xw'ai-'ηwA* to go and fetch him (inv.) (448, 5)

ya'-q-w'ai- to carry off: *ya'-q-wai'* carries away (one thing), *ya'-q-wai-p'iyai'ai-k-wA* (he) brought it (inv.) off (464, 32)

ya'-γi- to come to fetch: *ya'-xi(y)-aqA* come take it away!, *ya'-χi-vā-A²qa²ηA* he will come to get it

ya'-q-i- to carry hither: *ya'-q-i(y)-aqA* bring it back!

ya'-ηqī-q-i- to bring to: *ya'-ηqī-k²I* bring (it) to (me)! (312, 4); plur. *ya'-ηqī-qa-q-i-p'iyai'* (they) brought (it) to (him) (468, 24)

ya- in comp. vb.: *ya'-va(i)'yu-q-wA* to bring it (inv.) back, mom.

ya'-va(i)'yu-ηv-p'iyai'ai-k-wA (he) carried it (inv.) back (400, 30);

ya'-vanaxA-p'iyai' (they) brought home (408, 30); *ya'-m-ua-i'*

several go and fetch, *ya'-m-ua-va'a-q-wA* shall go to get it (inv.)

(380, 6; 380, 10); *ya'-p'itci-χw'ai-p'iyai'* arrived carrying (him)

(468, 3), *ya'-p'itci-χw'ai-p'iyai(y)-aqA* arrived carrying it (404, 24)

with incor. obj.: in comp. vb. *vu'-ya^a-va(i)'yu-p'iyai'* (he) brought back a stick (458, 31)

YAIⁿ to hunt: *ya(a)'i-'yu-ηwA* he (inv.) is out hunting, fut. ptc.

ya(a)'i-va-ntī destined to hunt (454, 31); plur. *ya(a)'i-k'a-i'*

(they) are out hunting; usit. *ya(a)'i-mi-p'iyai'* (394, 3), *ya(a)'i-*

nīm-p'iyai' (he) always hunted

ya-i-ηqw'ai- to go hunting: *ya(a)'i-ηqw'ci-va-n-ua-ni* I shall go hunting; usit. *ya(a)'i-ηqw'ai-nīm-p'iyai'* (he) went hunting always

(394, 2)

ya-i-ηqī-t-ua- to hunt along with others: *ya(a)'i-ηqī-tua-p'iyai'* was along hunting with the rest (446, 7)

ya-i- in comp. n.: *ya(a)'i-k'ava'* hunting horse

ya-i- in comp. vb.: *ya(a)'i-t'iyai-i'* causes to hunt, makes hunt

with incor. n.: *qwya'tsu-yaai'* hunts grizzly bears; plur. *qa(·)mī-*

yai-k'a(i)-yī-amī they hunt jack-rabbits, *qa(·)mī-yai-k'A-p'iyai'*

(they) hunted for jack-rabbits (377, 2)

YA'AI^s to die: *ya'A* to die, *ya'a'i-tca^aηA* he has died, he is dead,

ya'a'i-k'ai(y)-a(·)η 'iγir 'cāi' he did die, *ya'a'i-'i* die!, *ya'a'i-*

ya-qA you 2 die!, *ya'a'i-χv-n-i-χa' 'cāi'* would that I might die!;

plur. *ya'a'i-k'a* several die, *ya'a'i-k'a(i)-ya-qA* you (plur.) die!;

ya'a'i-vī-ηua^a he (inv.) must be dead, maybe he is dead

ya'ai-ηu- mom.: *ya'a'i-ηu(i)-yī-ayA* he is dying

yaya'i- distr.: plur. *ya'yai-k'a-i'* (people) die one after another

ya'ai-q-w'ai- to die off: *v^va'i-q-w'ai-vā'* let (him) die (321, 9)

- with adv. pref.: *na(·)m'í-^vai-p'íγa'* died first (452, 26); *a'^a-ya'ai'* gradually dies; *cu(w)a'(i)-^vya'p'íγa'* was nearly dead (402, 20) *-ya'ai-* in comp. vb.: iter. *pA'pa'q'a(i)-ya'ai-p'íγa'* groaned with pain several times (468, 26); *qwarava-ya'ai-* to cry from pain (q. v.) with incor. subj.: *m'^wa't:γγv-i'ai'* moon-dies, the moon wanes with incor. instr.: mom. *ní' vó'(i)-^vai-ηU* I bone-die, get lean *tuqwi-ya'ai-* to shame-die, to be ashamed (q. v.) *naŋa-y'ai-* to anger-die, to be angry (q. v.) *tíγi-ya'ai-* to hunger-die, to be hungry (q. v.) *taγu-ya'ai-* to thirst-die, to be thirsty (q. v.) *cípi-ya'ai-* to cold-die, to feel cold (q. v.) *tíŋwí-c ampí'a-y'ai-* to haste-die, to be in a hurry (q. v.)
- YAMPA- mocking bird: *ya'mpA* mocking bird (?); plur. *yampa'-ηwí*
yampa-tsi- dit.: *yampa'-ts* mocking bird (?)
- YANTA- (cf. *nanta-*?): in comp. n. *yantó'-v:A* carrying basket of open-work twined weave
- YA·NU- here I am! present! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 2)
- YAN·UN·Uŋ'QI- to swing, dangle:
 with instr. pref.: *ta-ya'nununqí'* has the feet dangling; *ma-ya'nununqí'* swings the arms about
- YANJA-ⁿ ground-hog:
yaŋa-mpítsi- abs.: *yq(·)a'-mpíts* ground-hog
- WI-^vYANQÍ-N'NA- to cut notches (*wi-* instr., with a knife?): *wí'ya'ηqí'-na-va-n'i'* will cut notches, *ym^wα'ntí'* *wí'ya'ηqí'-n'a-va'* out of that (you) will cut notches, make a rasp (348, 11), perf. ptc. *wí'ya'ηqí'-nA^x-qa-ntí'* having notches cut into (it); plur. *wí'α'ηqí'-n'A^x-qa-i'* (they) make rasps (472, 12)
wí'yanqí'-n'na-q'ai- res.: *wí'ya'ηqí'-nA^x-qai-ní* I have notches cut on myself
- YANWI- to carry: *ya(·)ηwí'* carries (e. g. a person in arms, a log on the shoulder), *ya(·)ηwí'-va'* shall carry (311, 2)
yaŋwi-ηu- mom.: *ya(·)ηwí'-ηU* to start to carry along
yaŋwi-q'ai- res.: *ní' ya(·)ηwí'-k'ai(y)-aq'A* I have it in my hand, hold it (while not walking)
yaŋwi-'q-u- inc.: *yaŋwí'-k-u-'q-wA* to start to carry it (inv.) away, to take it away
yaŋwi-γw'ai- to go carrying: *ya(·)ηwí'-χwa'ai-p'íγa'* (it) went carrying (331, 7)
yaŋwi-m'mia- to carry along: *yaŋwí'-m'mia-p'íγa'* (he) carried along (446, 10), *yaŋwí'-m'mia-xay-aq'A* as (he) was carrying it (385, 13)

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yaŋwi-m'i-q-u- to begin to carry along: *yaŋwi'-mMI^z-qu-aq^A*, *yaŋwi'-mMI^z-qu-aq^A* to take and carry it along (386, 1; 387, 3)

yaŋwi- in comp. vb.: *yaŋwi'-ŋwĩnu-xa'* while standing and holding (400, 24)

na-yaŋwi- refl. to "carry oneself," to have a hand-game: *na-ia'ŋwi'* has a hand-game, *nĩ'* *na-ia'ŋwi-va'n-ia-n a'ŋwa'* I shall have a hand-game with him; indir. plur. *na-ia'ŋwi-ŋqĩ-q-a-nĩmi* to play a hand-game with us (excl.) (383, 6), impers. plur. *na(i)-ya'ŋwi-ŋqĩ-t'ua-xa-va'* (we) will have a hand-game with them (indef.) (382, 5), *na-ia'ŋwi-ŋqĩ-t'ua-q^zA-pĩŋa'* (they) had a hand-game with them (indef.) (384, 2); *na-ia'ŋwi-p-I*, *na(i)-ya'ŋwi-p-I* hand-game, *na-ia'ŋwi-p ari'* the hand-game (384, 1); *ma(i)-ya'ŋwi-numpi* hand-game playing instrument, gambling bones used in the hand-game; in comp. n. *na-ia'ŋwi-uw^wiafi* hand-game song, gambling song for a hand-game

yaŋwĩ- to carry several: neg. *yaŋwĩ'i-(y)ap^A*, *yaŋwĩ'i-(y)ap^A* (do not) carry (them) (402, 15)

YAŋA- to cry: *yaŋa'-i'*, *yaŋa'-i'*, *ya(·)ŋa'-i'* cries, (horse) neighs, (owl) hoots

yaŋa-q'w'ai- to cry off: *taŋWA ya(·)ŋa'-q'w'ai'* we (incl.) cry

yaŋa-m'i-q-u- inc.: *ya(·)ŋa'-m-i-k-U* to start to cry

yayaŋa- inc.: *yaya'x^A* to begin crying, to burst into tears

ya'yaq^A- iter.: *ya(i)'ya'q^A-i'* cries several times

yaŋa-ŋqĩ-q'w'ai- to cry for: plur. *ya(·)ŋa'-ŋqĩ-q'wai-ŋ^zA(·)-va-(a)mĩ* let (us) cry for them (345, 8)

yaŋa-p-i- act of crying: *yaŋa'-p-i'*, *ya(·)ŋa'-p-i'* cry, mourning ceremony

yaŋa- in comp. n.: *ya(·)ŋa'-uw^wiafi* cry-song, song sung in mourning ceremony; *yaŋa'-p-u'ifi* cry-eye, tears (Song 63)

yaŋa- in comp. vb.: *yaŋa'-vuru-p-iŋa'* went about crying (460, 30);

yaŋa'-ŋari-tsi-ŋ^zA (dim.) is sitting and crying (Song 160)

-yaŋa-p-i- in comp. n.: *ĩw^wi'-yaŋa-p-I* too bad! (444, 5)

YAŋA- edge, end: *yaŋa'-ma-q^A* at the end of it; ptc. *yaŋa'^a-ma-nĩ'* being at the end, the end, *yaŋa'^a-ma-nĩ-a(·)-'q^zWA* at (obj.) its (inv.) end (320, 12)

-yaŋa-tsi- in comp. n.: *qa'iva-yaŋa-tsi*, *qaiva-ya'-tsi* mountain-edge (Song 109)

yaŋa-t'u'a- to end: *yaŋa(·)'-to'^a* (mountains, woods) end

YA^zC^A- several fly off: *ya'^c-pĩŋa'* (they) flew off (372, 11)

ya'^ca-ŋu- mom.: *ya'^ci-ŋU* several fly off from a position of rest, *ya'^ca-ŋu-p-iŋa'* (they) flew off (404, 33)

YARU- hoarse (cf. *saru-*):

yaru-tsi- abs.: *yaru'-ts'* hoarse (personal name)

YAUQ-WI-ⁿ, YAU γ WI- (dur.), YAUQ-WA- (mom.) to go in, (sun) sets;

YAUQ-WA- to push in:

yauq-wi- to go in (dur. sing.): *ya(·)'uq-wi'* (it) goes in (into the flesh), *ya'uq-wi-p'i γ a'* went in (while running) (329, 4)

yauq-wi- to set (of the sun): *ya'uq-wi'* (sun) sets; mom. dim. *ya'uq-wi- η u-ntsi-q-A* (it) is about to set; in comp. vb. *ya'uq-wi-p'i η -mua-i'* (it) is nearly setting; *ta(·)va'i'* *ya(a)'uq-wi-nA* sun's setting (380, 11)

yau γ wi-tcai- to go in (dur. plur.): *ya'u χ wi-tcai'* many go in; mom. *ya'u γ wi-tcai- η U* several go into

yauq-wa- to go in (mom.): *ya'uq-wa-p'i γ a'*, *ya'uq-wa-p'i γ a'* (it) went in, went down; plur. *ya'uq-wa-q-A-p'i γ a'* (they) went down

yayauq-wa'a- distr.: plur. mom. *yaya'U^zqwa'a-q-a- η U* several go into
-yauq-wi- η q \ddot{i} - to push in one object: with instr. pref. *ma-ya'U^zqwi- η q \ddot{i} -i'* pushes into

-yau γ wi-tca- to push in several objects: with instr. pref. *tsi'-a(·)'u γ wi-tca-p'i γ a'* (she) caused (them) to go in by pushing with a sharp end (450, 6) *tsi-'a'u χ wi-tca-i'* pushes many in with a point

-yauq-wa- to push in one object (with instr. pref.): *to-ya'U^zqwa-i'* pushes in with the fist, by punching; *tsi-'a'Uqwa-i'* pushes in with a point; *ma-ya'U^zqwa-i'*, *ma-ya'U^zqwa-i'* puts in, pushes in with the hand

-yauq-wi-, *-yauq-wa-* with incor. n.: *tava'(i)-yauq-wi'* sun sets, *tava'(i)-ya'uq-wi- η qU* when the sun was setting (416, 12), *tava'(i)-yauq-wi-n a(·)ru'q-witux-wA* sun-setting towards-under-it, to the west; *tava(i)-ya'uq-wa-q-A* when the sun was going down (468, 11)

YI'AQ-A-, YI'A γ I- to go in:

yi'uq-a- (sing.): *yi'a'q-a-p'i γ a'* (it) went in

yi'a γ i-tcai- (plur.): *yi'a' χ i-tcai- η U* several go into

YI'U- γ A- to move around: *yi'v(·)'- χ (w)a-i'* moves around

yi'u- γ a-n'ni- cont.: *y'u'-x(w)c-nu'ⁱ-nA* moving around (450, 25);

yu'- χ (w)a-nu-k'a' (bear) moved around (Song 158)

YII- doorway: *yii'* doorway, *yii'-va'* at the doorway (362, 11)

-yii- in comp. n.: *qam'-yii'* house-doorway

YI'I- γ I-, YI'I-Q-I- to swallow:

yi'i-q-i- (sing.): *yii'-k-I* to swallow, *nii' yii'-k-i-q-wA* I am swallowing it (inv.), *yii'-k-I-p'i γ a'ai- η wA* swallowed him (inv.) (374, 9)

yi'i- γ i-q-a- plur.: *yii'-x-I-ka-i'* several swallow

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- yīyī'i-q-i* iter.: *yīyī'i-k-i* swallows several times
yī'i-γi-n'impī- swallowing-instrument: *yū'i'-xī-n'impī* throat; in comp. n. *tī-yī'χi-n'impī* oesophagus (= *tī-yī'iγi-n'impī*- down-throat?)
- YĪN-Ī-^s** crown of the head:
yīn-i-vi- abs.: *yīn'i'-φi* crown of the head
yīn-i-vitsi-.: *yīn'i'-v'its* bald-headed (man's name)
yīn-i-γai- to have a crown of the head: ptc. *yīn'i'-χα-ntī* having a crown of the head (Song 193)
- YĪŋĪ-ⁿ** porcupine:
yīŋi-mpītsi- abs.: *yūŋi'-mpīts*, *yīŋi'-mpūts* porcupine (456, 24); plur. *yūŋi'-mpītsu-ŋwī* porcupines
yīŋi- in comp. n.: *yīŋi'-ŋqwas*:1 porcupine-tail
- YĪVAN-A-^a** autumn: *yīv'a'nA*, *yī^(u)v'α'nA* fall
yīvan-a-t-u'i- to turn autumn: ptc. *yī^(u)v'a'nA-tu-n'tī* fall
yīvan-a-ŋwai-ⁿ to hunt in the fall: in comp. vb. *yīv'a'na-ŋwai-mpayū-xa'* while (he) returns from the hunt in the fall; *yīv'a'na-ŋwai-mpan-aχa-χa'* as (they) were returning from the hunt in the fall (472, 4)
- YĪVI-ⁿ** long-leaved pine:
yīvi-mpī- abs.: *yīv'w'i'-mpī*, *yīv'w'i'-mpī*, *yūv'w'i'-mpī* long-leaved pine (*Pinus insignis*?)
yīvi-mpī-tsi- abs. anim.: *yīv'w'i'-mpu-ts* pine-man (name of medicine-man of Escalante band) (Song 182)
yīvi-n'tī- canyon-mouth with pines: *yīv'w'i'-n'tī* mouth of canyon bordered by long-leaved pines; *yūv'w'i'-n'tī-tsi-wī* pine-canyon-mouth-people, Uintah Utes
yīvi- in comp. n., ptc.: *yīv'w'i'-c-iap'i* long-leaved pine sapling; *yīv'w'i'-ndi'rana-γa'i'p'i* long-leaved pine stump that used to be (Song 63); *yīv'w'i'-mparīk* stream at which pines end, East Fork; *yīv'w'i'-n-unts*, *yīv'w'i'-munts* pine-mountain, Shinarump Cliffs (Song 185); *yīv'w'i'-ŋkarīnī*, *yīv'w'i'-ŋqarīnī*, *yūv'w'i'-ŋqarīnī* pine-peak, Mt. Trumbull; *yīv'w'i'-ntavac-pī* dried-up pine (obj.) (422, 30)
-yīvi-, *-yīvi-mpī*- in comp. n.: *pa(i)-yī'v'w'i'-mpī* water-pine, big long-leaved pine, obj. *pa'(i)-yīv'w'i'-mpī* (460, 8), *pa(i)-yī'φi'-sīa'p-u-tsi-mA* on a little pine-sapling growing by the water (458, 33); *aŋqa'-yīv'w'i'-mp-aγarux-wA* through a red-pine (Song 139)
-yīruvi- in comp. n.: *to-γu'mpa-yīruv'w'i'-xarīrī* sky-pine-knoll (Song 157)
- YĪ'U-^s**, **YU'U-^s** leg: *nīni yo'o* my leg, *yū'u'-ni*, *yū'u'-ni* my leg; *yī'u'-narīyaxī-aŋA* between his legs

- yí'u-vi-* abs.: *yí'u'-φI*, *yó'o'-φI* leg
yí'u-γai- to have a leg: *ní' yí'u'-χ(w)q'* I have a leg; distr. *yu(·)-yu'u-χ(w)ai-pí'γa'* (they) all had a leg (468, 14), neg. *qa'tcu yuyú'u(w)-ái-pí'a'* (they) had no legs (468, 15)
yí'u-γa- to get a leg: *yí'u'-χ(w)a(·^a)-yu-' q'ni* you get a leg thus, why don't you get a leg? (313, 6)
yí'u- incor.: *yu'ó'-x·qɔp·q(w)I* to break one's leg; *yu'ó'-RA^x-qɔp·i-n'NA* to break a leg by throwing, *yu'ó'-RA^x-qɔp·i-'na-q'ai-na-η aηA* the one whose leg had been broken (398, 9)
yí'u-ro-^s marrow (q. v.)
 YÍ'URO-^s marrow (cf. *yí'u-^s* leg): *yí'u'rv-ni* my marrow
yí'uro-vi- abs.: *yí'u'rv-φI*, *yí'u'rv-φí* marrow
 YOI-γA-ⁿ to flutter, to shake rapidly: *yó(ɔ)'i-χa-i'* (leaf) moves, (leaves) move, *yó'(ɔ)i-xA-pí'γa'* moved, fluttered, *yó(ɔ)'i-χa-mpa^anu'* (it) will move
 YÓ'ó-VINI', YOO-VINI' hail! hurrah! (interj.; Gram., § 61, 1)
 YÓγó-^s to have sexual intercourse: ptc. *yóγó'-ri* copulating; pas. *yóγó'-t'íi-yí-ni* I am copulated with
yóγó'-t'ui- caus.: *yóγó'-t-u'ⁱ* to cause to copulate
yóyóγó- mom.: *yóyó'xó'-vα-mi* I shall copulate with you; pas. *yóyó'x·ɔ-ti-(ⁱ)-tα-ni* I was copulated with; caus. *yóyó'x·ɔ-tu'ⁱ* to cause to copulate
yóγó-m'mia- to have sexual intercourse while moving: *yó(·)χó'-m'mia-pí'γa'ai-ηWA* kept copulating with her (inv.) (335, 13)
na-yóγó- recip.: perf. ptc. *na-yó'x·ɔ-q(w)a-ntí* one who copulated with incor. obj.: *kwi'tí'-i·yóγó-t'í'* anus-copulating-place, passive pederast
 YÓγó-VÍTSI-, YUYU-VÍTSI- coyote (< *yóγó-^s* to have sexual intercourse?): *yóγó'-v^wíts·*, *yóχó'-víts·*, *yóχó'-v^wíts·* coyote; plur. *yóχó'-vítsi-ηwí* coyotes
 -*yuyu-vítsi-* in comp. n.: *tí'ra(i)-yóχó-v^wíts·* desert-coyote, coyote
 -YU- acting, from (post.; Gram., § 50, 4, 49)
 YU- Ute (cf. *yu-t·a-*):
yu-tsi- abs.: plur. *yu'-tsi-ηwí'* Utes (obj.) (474, 15)
 YUU-^s fat, grease: *yoo'-ni* my (own) fat; *yu(w)u'-ma-ní-a'a-ηWA* from (obj.) her (inv.) juice; dim. *yu(w)u'-tsi-ma-ni-a'a-ηWA* from (obj.) her (inv.) little juice, grease (euphemistic for: her vagina, sexual intercourse with her) (357, 2)
yuu-vi- abs.: *yoo'-φ(w)I*, *yuu(·)'-φ(w)I* fat, grease
 -*yuu-'a-* fat belonging to: in comp. n. *tí'γi'a-yoo-'a* deer-fat

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yuu-γai- to have fat, to be fat (adj.): ptc. *yuu(·)ʹ-χ(w)a-nī* fat (adj.)

yuu-ruʹa- to get fat: *yuu(·)ʹ-ruʹ^a* to get fat, *yuu(·)ʹ-ruʹa-pʹiγaʹ* (he) got fat (322, 9)

YUA-^s (YUAI-^s) level, plain:

yua-vi- abs.: *yuaʹ-φi* desert

yua-γai- to be level: *yu(·)ʹa-xaʹ* to be level; ptc. *yuaʹ-χα-nī* being level, desert, obj. *yu(w)aʹ^a-χα-nī* plain country (402, 3), *yuaʹ^a-γα-nī-mpaʹ*, *yuaʹ^a-γα-nī-mpaʹ* on a plain, desert (434, 1; 454, 1)

yuyua-rʹua- to become level (distr.): *yu(·)yu(·)ʹa-rʹv-ηquʹ* (mountains) would become level

-yua-, *-yua-γα-nī-* in comp. n., ptc.: *tīʹra(i)-yua-xi* through the open plain (418, 19); *toγumpa-yoaʹ-χα-nī* sky-level, level sky (Song 157); *paʹi-yua-χα-nī* perfectly-level, level desert (with only sage-brush or no vegetation at all)

-yua-γai- in comp. vb.: *paīʹ-yua-xaʹ* to be smooth and level; *toʹcaʹ(i)-yua-γai-piγai-niʹ* (it) seemed like a plain dotted with white (474, 4)

yua- in comp. n.: plur. *yu(w)aʹ-sariʹ-tci-ηwi* dogs of the plain, coyotes (Song 174)

yuai-^s to be level: cont. *yoaʹi(i)-χwaʹai-niʹ* keeps going level, is level (Song 157)

-YUAI- (-YUA-?) to rub:

with instr. pref.: *ma(·)-yuʹ(w)a.iʹ* rubs with the hand; *ta-yuʹ(w)a.iʹ* rubs with the foot

YUA-Q-I- several fly down: *yu(w)aʹ-q-iʹ* several fly down, *yu(w)αʹ-k-i-piγaʹ* (geese) fell down, flew (371, 11)

YUʹA-^s, YUʹA-^s to carry several objects: *yuʹ(w)aʹ-iʹ*, *yuʹ^oa-iʹ* carries (several objects) away, carries (several objects) in one hand, *yvʹaʹ-pʹiγai-aqa(·)ʹmī* they 2 carried them (inan.), ptc. *yuʹ^oa-rī-aq aηA* he who had carried them (inan.) away (396, 37); pas. ptc. *yvʹ^oa-tiʹ-pi-a-ηumi* your (plur.) having been brought (obj.), (from which) you have all been brought (468, 32)

yuʹa-γwʹai- to go to bring: *yuʹ(w)aʹ-xwʹai-vāʹ* shall go to bring (them) (322, 4)

yuʹa-γi- to come to take: *yuʹ(w)aʹ-xi(y)-αmī* come to take them away (448, 26)

yuʹa-mʹmia- to carry along: *yu(·)ʹαʹ-mʹmia-vaʹ* (you plur.) will carry along (402, 10)

- yu'a-ŋqī-q'ai-* to hold for: impers. neg. *yu'α'-ŋqī-qai'-t'ua-va-ŋwa'* let not anyone hold (them inan.) for (me) (402, 24)
- pa-yu'a-* to carry water: *pa(i)-yu''A^x-qu'* brings water; indir. *pa(i)-ŋu'á-ŋqī-q-i-v'a-m''i-ni* (you) 2 will bring water for me (402, 2); *pa(i)-yu''a-q-wa'ai'* carries water away, goes off with water
- yu'a-* in comp. vb.: *u'u'(w)á'-va(i)yu-ŋ^xU-pī'γai'í-k-wA* (he) brought them (inan.) back (313, 8)
- YU'ARA- to be warm (weather): *yu'(w)á'ra-i'* (it) is warm weather
- YU'AVI-ⁿ fruit of opuntia: *yu'á'φi* fruit of low, vine-like cactus (probably *Opuntia missouriensis*)
- yu'aví-m-pī-* opuntia plant: *yu'á'v-i-m-pī* opuntia (?)
- YU'MI-^s warm (used only of water):
- yu'mi-γa-* to be warm: pte. *yu'mí'-γa-rī pa'* warm water
- YUM'MU- to move, to start (intr.); to poke, to nudge (tr.):
- yum'mu-γa-* dur. intr.: *qa'teU yu'mu'-x(w).i-pü'á^a* (he) did not move (466, 39)
- yum'mu-q-i-* mom. intr.: *yu'mu'-q(w)í-tca-ni* I started (as when startled); *qateU yu'mu'-q(w)í-pü'á^a* (he) did not start, did not budge (408, 5)
- yuyum'mu-q-i-* iter. intr.: *yuyu'm'MU^x-q(w)í'* starts, suddenly moves several times
- yum'mu-γi-* iter. tr. (with instr. pref.): *ma-yu'm'mu-χ(w)í'* pokes with the finger; *tsi-yu'm'mu-χ(w)í-yü-ni* is poking me (with a stick) (468, 6); *tsi-'í'm-u-χ(w)í-p'í'γai(y)-aŋA* kept poking him (466, 38); *ta-yu'm'mu-χ(w)í'* keeps poking with the foot (in urging on a horse, e. g.), *ta-yu'm'mu-χ(w)í-nuunpī* foot-poking-instrument, spurs
- yum'mu-q-i-ŋqī-* mom. tr. (with instr. pref.): *ma-yu'm'U^x-k(w)í-ŋqī'* to nudge with the finger; *tsi-'í'm'U^x-q(w)í-ŋqī'-aŋ.i* to poke him (once) with a stick; *wi-yu'm'MU^x-q(w)í-ŋqī'* to hit slightly on the edge (as with a willow switch); *ta-yu'm'MU^x-q(w)í-ŋqī'*, *ta(·)-yu'm'U^x-k(w)í-ŋqī'* to kick (once), to give a poke with the foot (as in urging on a horse)
- YUN'A- to put down several objects: *yu(·)na'-i'* puts several, *yu(·)na'-p'í'γa'*, *yu(·)n'a'-p'í'χa'* (he) put several down, gave (mush) (396, 36; 410, 9), *yu(·)na'-n'na-q-wə-φí* his own putting them (inan. inv.), where he had put them (396, 32); plur. *yuna'-q'A-p'í'γa'* (they) put (them)
- yuv'a-ŋu-* mom.: *yuv'a'-ŋU* to put (more than 2 objects); plur. *yuna'-q-a-ŋU* several put (more than 2 objects)

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yun'a'i- iter.: *yuna''ai-p'ïγα'*, *yuna''i-p'ïγα'* (he) put (them) down in several places (322, 8)

YUN'A-^s loose stones, gravel:

yun'a-vi- abs.: *yona'-φi* rocks lying around loose

yun'a- in comp. n.: dim. *yona'-xa-nu-ntsi-a-vi* his own gravel-house (obj.) (Song 160); *yona'-ra-vu-mputsi* gravel-cotton-tail-rabbit (Song 160)

YUN'IA-^s several fall: *yunu'A* several drop down, *yunu'a-xU* when (bullets) drop down (472, 32)

YUN'NI-^s, YUN'I-^s several run: *yu(·)ni'-i* several run, *yv(·)'n'ni-yi-αmī* they run

yun'ni-ηu- mom.: *yo'n'ni-ηU*, *yo(·)'n'ni-ηU* several run off, start off running; fut. ger. *yo'n'ni-ηu-mpa-ts-sampa* (they) being as though about to run off (412, 5)

yun'ni-m'mia- several run along: *yon'ni'-m'mia-i'* several run along, *yv(·)n'l'-m'mia(i)-yi-αmī* they keep running

yun'i- in comp. vb.: *yu(·)ni'-vuru-χ(w)a'* while (they) were running about (387, 9)

YUNTAQ'A-γI- (iter.) to keep changing color: *ta'ci'ηwi-yunta'q'a-γ(·)i'* like gravel (it) keeps changing color

YO'PIA- younger sister (cf. *pia-* female?): *yv'p'ia-ni*, *yv'p'ia-ni*, *yv'p'i(y)α-ni* my younger sister

na-yo'p'ia-ηwi- du. recip.: *na-yi'Upi(y)a-ηwi* two sisters

YUQ'U- fawn:

yuq'u-tsi- abs.: *YU^xqu'-ts* fawn; plur. *YU^xqu'-tsi-ηwa-A-campa* only fawns (obj.) (412, 19)

YUγWI-^s to sit (plur.): *ta'ηWA yv(·)χwi''* we (incl.) sit, *yuxwi'-yi-αmī* they are seated, *yuxwi'-χa(a)i-cU* (they) having sat (383, 2)

yuyuywi- inc.: *yuyux'WI*, *yv(·)yv(·)'xWI* several sit down (from a standing position)

with incor. n.: ptc. *pa(i)-yv('u)χwi-tci* waters-sitting, lakes, Three Lakes (place name)

-yuywi- in comp. vb.: *ti'qa'-yuxwi'* several eat while sitting; *ampa'-χa-yuxwi''* several sit and talk; *to(·)'axa(i)-yuxwi'* several sit watching; *wa'iχa(i)-yuxwi-χu-αmī* while they were seated and talking in council (426, 24); *a'γα-p'ïni-yuywi-p'ïγα'* (they) sat watching from a hidden position (474, 2); ptc. plur. *wuñi'-yuxwi-tci-mi* stand-sitting (plur.), those engaged in standing, stationed ones

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YU·T·A·- Ute: plur. *yu'ta-mi* Ute Indians*yu'ta-tsi-* abs.: *yu'ta-ts* Ute Indian*yu'ta-* in comp. n.: *yu'tq-niηwi-ηwi'* Ute people (obj.) (474, 12)YU·T·UI-^s to be warm: ptc. *yu'tui-tci* warm (water), obj. *yu'tui-tci'*
(375, 4)

YURAVA- to be overcome (always in neg.: to be very powerful): ptc.

plur. *ni' qatcu yura'va-ηwai'-ti-mi* I (am) not to be overcome in
any way, I (am) very powerful; plur. *ma(·)m'u'c'u qa yura'φA^z-*
qa-η'wai'-ti-mi they are very powerful

-' (mod. encl.) perhaps (Gram., § 19, 2, n)

-' (enc. pers. pron.) you (sing. subj.; Gram., § 40)

English Index to Sapir's *Southern Paiute Dictionary*

Wick R. Miller

Introduction

This index was prepared more than 25 years ago, when I was working on my *Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets* (Miller 1967). The index was prepared to facilitate the identification of cognates. It is not a complete index: items that I felt would not be useful for finding cognates, at least not by locating them in an English index (e.g., place names), were left out. In some cases, items were not entered under their exact English translations, but rather under headwords that would facilitate locating cognates, based on what I knew of Uto-Aztecan (in hindsight, I can see it was often what I thought I knew). Further, the reader should bear in mind that the glosses in the index are often incomplete; they should be used only for finding the entry in the Southern Paiute dictionary itself.

The reader will observe that the headwords in Sapir's *Dictionary* are transcribed in a systematic phonological notation, not used in the *Grammar*, but representing a partial phonemic analysis of Southern Paiute. Following these headwords, Sapir gave his subentries and examples in the phonetic transcription used in his *Grammar*. This Index uses a system based on Sapir's phonemic analysis; however, I have made some changes in Sapir's original transcription, as follows:

<i>Sapir's original</i>		<i>Index</i>
q	=	k
ts	=	c
tc	=	č
c	=	š
u, o	=	u
ɔ	=	o
ï	=	ɪ

Sapir wrote fronted [k] in a few cases; I doubt that these contrast with /k/, but they have been maintained as in the original. Sapir normally

wrote initial vowels; but, in some words, he placed a glottal stop before the vowel, for what was probably the same thing phonemically. Again, I kept the transcription as Sapir had it. The phonemic position of non-initial glottal stops (especially of glottalized consonants) is not clear; with no clear understanding of their analysis, I kept them as Sapir had them. Medial geminated obstruents were rewritten as /h/ plus the obstruent, while the medial spirantized forms were rewritten as single medial obstruents. Long vowels were rewritten as double vowels. Sapir also wrote double vowels, which were distinct from long vowels. Numic cognates show that, etymologically, these sequences arose from *VhV; thus I wrote them V(h)V — for example, ‘fat, grease’ *yu(h)u*^s (cf. Shoshoni *yuhu*).

acorn (?): *tomi*ⁿ

across, over: *-pa'aaki*^g (post.)

afraid, be frightened: *šiti'yaa-*, *šiti'i-*

after: *-`utai*ⁿ

all: *mano-*, *manu-* (quasi-num.); cf. ‘five’

almost, nearly: *hatihki-*

also, too; it seems, indeed, just: *-kainia*, *-a-kainia* (mod. encl.)

altogether: *paa-* (perhaps identical with *pai*ⁿ ‘entirely’, q.v.)

always: *iti-šampa-*, *tī-sampa*; (customarily) *natipia-* (adv.)

among, right in: *-`aka*^s (post.)

anger: *naŋa*ⁿ (occurs only compounded)

animal: *pa'a*^s; *piisi'apa-*; (young of animal) *-oa*^{g:n}; (domestic animal) *puŋku*^s

ankle: *-wi'ahta*^s, *taŋ'wi'ahta*^s

ant: *aŋaa*^s; (red a.) *tašia*^s

antelope: *wanci*^s

anus, buttocks: *k'wih*ⁿ

appear: (here and there) *-cicai*^s; (come to view) *cihka'naa-*; (seem, look like)

nayapa-, *naya'hpaa-* (probably contains refl. *na-*); (come out, ride) *cihpi*ⁿ;

(several a.) *mayana-* (*maya-ŋu*?)

approach: *cuk'wi-*, *cuk'waa-*

apron: *naŋ'wi-*

arm: *aŋapu*^s (*aŋapi*^s); *pita*^s; (forearm): *-ca'hkui*^s

armpit: *soot'oa*^s

around: *-oa-* (post.) (occurs only compounded)

arrive: *pici*^s; (pl.) *imi*^s

arrow: *uu*^s, *u*^s; *uhk'wi*^s, *uhk'wi-uu*^s; (a., bullet) *ua'ayı-* (cf. *u*?) ; (a. foreshaft)

wawa^s; (a.nock) *uhkušik'i'aa-* (cf. *u-*, *-kusi*^{s?}); (a. stick) *utu*^s (cf. *u-*, *u-tu-*

‘to feather an arrow’)

arrowhead: *wi'na*^g

- arrow game, to play: -tahcihk^{wi}-i-; paka'naina (cf. paka'ŋ^{wi} 'bowstring');
naa'ŋ^{wai}ca- (prob. with recipr. na-); (touch arrow in the walking arrow
game) -ca'hk^{wi}-
- ashes; light gray: kuhca-^g
- ask: tɪpi-
- aspen: šiya-^s
- assemble, several: -nuki-cai- (cf. nuhki- 'to stream'?); (gather) tahk^{wi}-i-(n)cumpa-,
tahko'-mahkai-; (intr.) k^{wi}cumpi-; (tr., intr.) šuuhpaa't'ui-,
šuuhpaa't'ua- (cf. uu- 'one'); (be assembled) šuuhpaa'kai- (cf. šuu- 'one');
(gather several objects, pack up) naapai-
- at: -pa-^s, -paa-ⁿ (post.); (resting on, at) -ma-ⁿŋ-ŋ^{wai}- (post.)
- attack: unipici- (uni- 'to do' + pici- 'to arrive'?; cf. pici-ŋki- 'to contend with')
- attention: (pay attention) tišu'ai- (generally with neg. suff.)
- aunt: pa(h)a
- avocet: tupiyuyu' (contains tɪpi- ?)
- away from: -ni-^g (post.) (occurs only compounded)
- awl: wii-
- baby: -sata-; ŋaa'-^g
- back: oaa-^s
- backbone: saya-^s
- backwards (adv. pref.): pii-^s (cf. piŋ^{wai}aa-^s 'foot of mountain')
- bad: ɪpi-^g
- badger: ma-ⁿ
- bag, sack: kuna-^s
- bare: tɪ'ta-^s; (to open, bare (?)) -šataa-
- barely: maanii-šampa-
- bark (dog): wa'au-ki-
- bark, outer covering, skin: asiaa-^s
- bark, cedar: muk^{wai}a-^g
- barter: natuu'ŋ^{wai}- (contains recipr. na-)
- base: (of cliff) kani'ka-; tunaa-^s
- basket: (burden b.) aiši-^s; (water jar) ohca-^s; (water jar, carrying b.) oša-;
(roasting basket-tray: tahk^{wi}ii'u-; (to take off a water jar) pani-
- bat: paac'a-^s
- be: (here I am!, present!) yaanu-; (to be visible): atu'a-; (he is (invisible))
uŋutu'a-; (they are (visible)) umatu'a-; (they are (invisible)) umutu'a-
- bead: coi-ⁿ
- bean: muutii-
- bear, grizzly: k^{wi}ia-^s; (bear, great (anim. plur.)) sonia-ŋ^{wi}-
- beat: (kill, b. sg., du. obj.) pahka-; (b. out seeds) tika-
- beaver: paunci-^s
- bee: wihca-^s; (bumblebee) si'imuuta-ⁿ; (yellowjacket) paŋ^{wai}uca-^s

- bee-bird: ciki`u-^s
 beetle, carrion (?): uhkupica-
 before, beforehand, in readiness: ii-^g (adv. pref.); (moving in front of, before (of time)) -ui-htuk^wa-
 behind: -uunaa-hpi-
 bend (intr.). to be bent: šoyaa-, šoi-; nohkomi-, nohko`mi
 bend over, to stoop and project one's buttocks: poni-, ponaa- (cf. ponia-`skunk`)
 berry: (sp.) wia-mpi-^s; (huckleberry) kunukui-^s; (wild-rose hip) ci`a-mpi-^s; (currant) poko-ⁿ; (serviceberry) tɪŋ^wa-ⁿ, tia-^s; (squawberry) `iši-; (red berry) u`uhpi-^s
 bet, to wager (a stake): tuu`k^wa-
 between, cleft, middle: natiya-^s (used generally with post.; na- prob. recipr.); -tiya- (only with postpos.)
 beyond: k^waia-ⁿ
 big: (main; identical with pia- `mother`?) pia-; (big, much, great) apa`-
 bird sp.: wici`-; tupiyuyu` (contains tipi- ?); ayaŋ^wita-
 bird sp. (blackbird which makes a clicking sound): paka-ⁿ
 bird sp. (crested mountain bluejay): okohca`yahki-^s; (bluejay sp.) co`iŋki-^s
 bird sp. (buzzard): wihku-ⁿ
 bird sp. (crow): ahta-^g
 bird sp. (duck): cika-^s
 bird sp. (eagle): k^wana-
 bird sp. (goose): cahkuatu-ⁿ; opa`nanjka-
 bird sp. (hawks): kiti`nanjka-; maipacayaa-; kišapi- (see kišapi- `wing`); munoohpaŋk^wi-
 bird sp. (hooting owl): mu(h)u-^g
 bird sp. (hummingbird): mu(h)u-ⁿ (cf. muua- `to hum`)
 bird sp. (magpie): mama`hk^wa`ya-^s
 bird sp. (meadowlark): iihtoo-
 bird sp. (mockingbird): yampa-
 bird sp. (mourning dove): iyopi-^s
 bird sp. (piñon jay): aaŋa-^s
 bird sp. (quail): kahkata-^g
 bird sp. (red-headed woodpecker): piihpu`ŋ^wa-^s
 bird sp. (roadrunner): wihca-
 bird sp. (ruffed grouse): ka(h)a-ⁿ
 bird sp. (sage hen): šicaa`a-^g
 bird sp. (screech owl): `wanaahk^wi-
 bird sp. (song sparrow): wi`ia-^s
 bite with the teeth, mouth: ki`i-, ki-^g
 black: tuu-^g
 blackbird which makes a clicking sound: paka-ⁿ

- bladder: puhk^{wi}-^s
blanket: k^{wiinoto}'-ⁿ (cf. nato'-ⁿ); (robe) mutu'i-^s
blood: pai-^g; (b. for roasting) kica-^s
blow (of wind): ma-^s
blue: sak^{wa}-^s
body: nuḡ^{wiaa}-^s (cf. nuḡ^{wi}- 'person')
boil: (tr., to make mush) sa'a-^g; (intr.): nuyo-ka-
bone: o(h)o-^s; (b. from elbow to wrist or knee to foot) -cipi-^s, -ci-'a-
both (animate): naḡ^{wa}'ai- (quasi-num.)
bottom: k^{wihtuaa}-; (base) tinaa-^s
bounce: -puhk^{wi}
bow: aci-^s
bowstring: paka'ḡ^{wi}- (cf. paka'naina- 'to play the arrow game')
boy: aihpa-; (young man) aipa-^g (cf. aipaya- 'companion')
braid: -sik^{wa}'a-
brace up: -tu'na-
brains: coh-pihki-^s, sohpihki-^s (cf. muh-pihki- 'snot')
branch: naḡka- (cf. naḡkapa- 'ear'); (branch, limb (distr.?) pahpaatanḡka-
break: (intr., tr.) kohpo, kopo, kohpi, kopi; (mom.) kapa-hki- (cf. kopo-hki-;
cf. kahpi-, kapi- 'to cut, break through'); (b. to pieces) putuhk^{wi}-; (crush)
puhtsi-; (reduce to small pieces) tahkiu-; (one object b.s off) mi'nahka-;
(several objects b. off) mimi'oi-; ((bow) snaps) toḡk^{wa}a-
break wind: uu-
breast (of female): pi(h)ici-^s
breathe: šua-^g
bridge: paišaka-^s
broth: upa-^s
brother, older: papi-
brother, younger: cahkai-
brother-in-law, man's: tantaḡ^{wapi}- (cf. taḡ^{wa}- 'man'); ci'antamuaa-
brown, reddish brown: onto-^g
bucket: pampini-
buffalo, cow: kuhcu-ⁿ
bug: (carrion beetle (?)) uhkupica-; (locust) kupi-
bullsnake: oko-n
burn: (intr.) na'ai-ⁿ; (b., build a fire) -cihki-; (b. brush) tapai-; (b. from cold)
-š'i-'nai- (š'i- 'cold' + na'ai- 'to burn')
burst (mom. intr.): pahta-hki-
bury: ti'ma- (same as ti'ma- 'to roast under ashes?')
butt: -titina-^s (cf. tina-)
butterfly: aiš'i-^s
buttocks, rear: pi-^g; backward (adv. pref.) pii-^s (cf. piḡ^{wa}a-^s 'foot of mountain');
(anus) k^{wihtu}-ⁿ; (rear, throw up one's buttocks) wino'mi-, wiyu'mi-; (stoop
and project buttocks) puu-

buzz: muua-

buzzard: wihku-ⁿ

by, through, in...direction, in...manner: -uhp'a-^{n,g}

cache (food): tukuu-

calf of leg: wica-^s

call: pai-; papaci- (inc. of paci- ?)

call upon: nia-

cane, staff: poto-

canyon, gully: ui-^g; ("gutter") tunui-^g; -nui-^g

cap: kaihcoko-^s

carry: yaŋ^wi-; (c. on one's back, pack) noo-^s; (c. on one's head) kutuna-; (c. one object) yaa-; (c. on a pole) -caŋki'a-; (c. several objects) yu'a-^s, yuu'a-^s; (c. in one's arms) iyona-^s

catch: ca'i; -uŋ^wata- (?)

caterpillar: wiši-

cause, to cause to be: ma'ŋ^wi-

cave: tŋkani-^s (tŋ-ŋkani- 'rock house'); aahpoo-tŋkani-

center: titakua-^g

centipede: pi'aku-

change, make into: maa-

chase, pursue: tŋna-^s; matŋna-^s

cheek: sopapu-^s; (upper) ahtakŋpŋ-^s

chest (upper part): pooi-^s

chew: -cok^wai-; (nibble at) -nipu-ki; (gnaw) -ticu-

chief: niaapi-ⁿ (cf. probably nia- 'to call upon'); -apihta-

child: piš'o-

child, son; give birth: tua-^g

chin: kanahko'-^{n,s}

chipmunk: tapa'a-; tapatŋk^wi-

clap hands: -pici-ki-

claw: ši'cu- (cf. -šiu- 'finger, toe')

clear (to be c. weather): tuku-ⁿ (prob. identical with tuku-ⁿ 'sky'); (?) papu-ⁿ (only in papum-pa 'clear water')

close (verb): tŋ^wa-

clothing: maa-^s, ma(h)a-^s (identical with 'thing'); nato'o-ⁿ (cf. natuu'a- 'to have on'); (put on, wear c.) nakaa-, naka- (na- prob. reflexive)

cloud up: -pui-

cloud, fog: pakina-^s

cold: ši-^g; (be cold) -pŋta- (with ši-^g); (freeze) tŋ'ašŋi-; (burn from c.) -šŋi-'nai-

color (to keep changing c.): yuntahka-ki (iter.)

come out: (emerge) tŋpa-, tŋpi- (cf. tŋpa-); miŋk^waa-; (dart out) -cipi-^s (only with incorp. obj.); (appear, ride out) cihpi-ⁿ

- constrain, work one's will: tušu'ŋ^{wi}-
 continually; piŋka^s (adv. pref.)
 copulate, to have sexual connection, mate: nai^s; yoko^s
 cooked, to be ripe, done: k^waši^s
 corn: kumia^x
 cotton-tail rabbit: tapu-
 cottonwood: soopi^g
 cough (verb): ohk^{wi}
 country: tipi^g
 cousin of opposite sex, niece: maŋ^{wi}'a-, maŋ^{wi}'i-
 cover: -ma'ni-; (put a c. over) wiŋka'mi-; (c. oneself, be c.ed up) muntunaa-,
 muntu'ni-; (c. a part of the body) wihtupua-; (c. a standing object)
 tokoci-'a-; (put bark over): nopi-
 cow: kuhcuⁿ
 coyote: šina-ŋ^{wa}-piⁿ (cf. šina'api- 'wolf, dog'); yoko-pi-ci-, yuku-pi-ci- (< yoko^s
 'to copulate' ?)
 crack: (split) -nasika^s (only as second member of compound); (long opening)
 siŋa^s
 cradle: kono-
 crawl, creep: maŋ^{wa}'apa^s (probably compounded with ma- 'hand')
 creak (of wood): kuhka-ka-
 crotch: pana'aa-; (between the legs) takapayaa-
 crow: ahta^g
 crush: -pic'a-; -cuhk^{wi}-, -cuk^{wi}-, puhtsi-
 cry: yaka-
 currant: pokoⁿ
 customarily: natipia (adv.)
 cut: (c. meat into thin slices for drying) iya-; (c. off, pry out) poo-; (c., drop
 sheer (?)) -sipapai^s; (c., break through) kahpi-, kapi- (cf. kapa-hki- 'to
 break'); (whittle) sipa-
 dance: (verb) wi'i- (identical with wi'i- 'to fall?'); (have a round-dance) kiya-;
 (bear-dance) mama'hkoo (cf. mama'u- 'woman'); (squaw-dance, round-
 dance) haniŋpaani-; (scalp-dance) tu'u'niŋka-; (sun-dance) taku-
 dark, be night: tuk^{wa}-^s
 daughter: paci-
 dawn (verb): tašiaⁿ
 day, sun, be day: tapa-
 deep: tuhk^{wa}-
 deer, game: ti^s; tikia^s; (fawn) yuhku-
 defecate: k^{wi}ica-
 descend: i'ahki-
 desert, open expanse; bare: ti'ta^s

- destroy, be destroyed, laid bare: ciŋkuŋku'-ⁿ
 diarrhea (to have): upa'a-
 die: ya'ai-^s; (d. off, disappear) caŋ^wihkaa-, caŋ^wihki- (= ca-ŋ^wihkaa-; -ŋ^wihkaa-,
 -ŋ^wihki)
 different, various: nanaaka- (red.); nanaš'uuhku-hpi- (red.); nani-
 differently, separately: na'aa-šū-
 dig: ota-
 direction: -ŋk^wa-^g; -naŋk^wa-^g
 distributed among, throughout: -nauhk^wa- (post.)
 divide: napaia-^s (contains recipr. na- ?); (ridge) maa-^s
 dizzy: aaŋ^waya-; aaŋ^waya-nia
 dodge: nakati-ŋki- (prob. < refl. na- + kati- 'to sit')
 dog: satii-^s; (d., wolf) šina-'api-^s
 doll: kiŋ^wa'a-^s
 doorway: y1(h)1-
 dove: iyopi-^s
 down: (d., west) t1pai-^g; (moving d.) -nahp'aŋ^wi-
 downward: pihcua'mi
 drag (dur.): pio-ka-
 dream (verb): nonoši-^s
 drill (verb): tunu-
 drink (verb): ipi-^s
 drop, fall: w1'i-
 drum (verb): po'noa-
 dry (verb): tapašu-; (d. in the sun) cak^wi-
 duck: cika-^s
 dusk, to be early evening: tašhpa-^s (prob. contains ta- 'sun'; cf. tašia-ⁿ 'to be
 dawn')
 dust: uhkumpu- (uhkumpa-?); (powder) -ca'ŋ^wa-; (floating d.) tušipa-
 dwell: kati-^s
- eagle: k^wana-
 ear: naŋkapa-^s (cf. naŋka- 'branch', 'to hear')
 ear-ornament: naŋka- (cf. naŋka- 'branch', 'to hear')
 early, just: ono-^g (adv. pref.); (e., far away) ipacia-
 earth, ground, country: t1pi-^g
 easy, be easy to do, overcome: piyaka-ŋki-
 eat: tihka-^s; (eat one's own tabooed kill) napi'a-^g (prob. contains refl. na-; only
 comp.)
 edge: kiŋ^waa-^s; (top edge, bank) w1kaa-^s; yakaa-
 effect: ma(h)anciŋ^wa-^s
 eight: wa'aŋ^waš1ŋ^wi-
 elbow-joint: kiihpi-^s

- elk: patiaa^s ('water-deer'; cf. pa^s 'water', tikia- 'deer')
- emerge, come out forcibly: miŋk^waa-; (pull out (intr.), emerge) tuhpa-, tupa-
end: yakaa-; (top e.) kacoaa^s
- enter: ika-; (go in, sun sets) yauhk^wiⁿ-, yauk^wi- (dur.), yauhk^waa- (mom.), (push
in) yauhk^wa-; (go in, several e.) waki-; (go in, penetrate) w^wni- (cf. 'niki- ?);
(go in) y^wahkaa-, y^waki-
- entirely: paiⁿ (prob. identical with paiⁿ 'smooth')
- extend, put out (one's hands): -caa-
- evening: tašihpa^s
- eye: pu^wi^s-; pi^g-, pu^g- (instr. pref.); (eye, eyeball (?)) puhtⁿ- ('eye-rock' pu-htⁿ?);
(one-eyed) oncoki^s-; (closed eyes, sleep) u^g (only in comp. vb.); (close e.s)
-cu^wmaa-, -cu^wmi-; (peep) soci-; (peep out) tacihk^waa-; (have half-closed)
wišikinta^g
- face: kopa^s (kupa^s); (chin) kanahko^{n.s}-; (upper cheek) ahtakipi^s-; (face (?))
-pahkootaⁿ (-hpa ... ?); (cheek) sopapu^s
- fall, drop: w^wi^w-; (object falls) ahcahki-; (several f.) yunia^s-; (f. off) tuŋ^wi^wi- (prob.
tu- 'height', w^wi^w- 'to fall'); (f. down (of animals)) tahcuuhpa-; (f. apart, hang
loosely apart) koi^wnaa-, koi^wni-; (hit, throw, strike (intr.), fall) kihpa-; (throw
down, fall dead) w^wi^wnaiŋ^wat^wua-
- fall, autumn: yipana^g
- far: (early, far away) ipacia-; (far, way) ipi- (ipa- ?); (far off, at a distance)
mio-; (far, at a distance from) -miu- (post.); (far away) taⁿ (adv. pref.)
- fasten, to fasten on: -cuk^waa-ŋki- (cf. cuk^wi-, cuk^waa- 'to approach?'); (hang,
be fastened) pahca^wi-, pahca^waa-
- fat, grease: yu(h)u^s-; (stomach fat) pooyiⁿ
- father: mua^s
- fawn: yuhku-
- fear (verb): iya^s-, yaa^s-, y^wi^w- (iter.); (apprehensive, warn): iyaanti-
- feather: wišia^s-, wišiaa^s-; (?) tomp^wohki^s-; (eagle tail-feather): wiŋipi^s
- feel: -ahki- (only compounded); (f. around in a dark place) -ŋ^wahki-; (test)
-kaa-; (f. around, pick at) -kucu^w-
- female: pia^s
- fence: k^wi^wa-
- fierce: nancui-
- fight (verb): tuuk^waⁿ-; (fist-fight) o(h)o-mpa-
- fill, be filled: puhca-
- find, discover: mai^g
- finger, toe: -šiu^s (cf. -š^wi^w- 'ten, count of fingers'; cf. šicu- 'fingernail')
- finish: -mau^whku- (cf. mau^whpa- 'to stop')
- fīr: akoⁿ-, okoⁿ
- fire: kuna^g-; (with f.) ku^g- (instr. pref.); (f. goes out) tuk^waa-, tuk^wi-; (burn,
build a fire) -cihki-

first: nami-^s

fish: -kiu-^s (only compounded with pa- 'water')

five: maniki- (cf. mano-, manu- 'all?')

fix, patch: tohk^waa⁻; tohpahka-, tohpa'a-

flash: k^wihca-^s

flat: tahkaa-^s; (level plain) yuaa-^s (yuai-^s)

flow: (f. out, hang) wayaa-; (run, stream) nuhki-ⁿ

flower, blossom: šit¹-^g

fly (insect): muuhpica-

fly (verb): nonci-^s; (several fly down) yua-hki-; (several fly off): yaaša-

fog: pakina-^s

following, imitating: -napasu- (post.)

fool, tease: šica¹ŋ^wai-

foot: nampa-^s; ta-^g; (put feet into) -kuci¹ni-ki- (cf. ci-¹niki¹?); (have one's feet extended) pohta-; (foot of mountain) piŋ^waa-^s (cf. pi-^g 'buttocks, rear', pii-^s 'backward')

footprint: naŋ^wa-^s

for (of time), resting on, at: -ma-ⁿ (post.)

forearm: -ca¹hkui-^s

forehead: muhtahka-^s

forget: našimā-

four: waciŋ^wi-

fox: tapaŋ^wai-ⁿ

friend: tikiŋi-^s; tikihci- (song-form)

frightened: šiti¹yaa-, šiti¹i-

frog: waakoo- (said to imitate the frog's croak); (f., toad) piŋpi¹noa-^s; pahk^wa¹na (cf. pahkaca 'horned toad')

from: (f., acting) -yu-

front, in front of: -ua¹mi-; (moving in front of, before (of time)) -ui-htuk^wa-

full (get, be): pono¹i-, pono¹aa-

fur, hide: pi(h)i-^s (cf. pi(h)iaa-^s 'hair')

game (animal), deer: ti-^s (prob. contracted from tikiā-); tikiā-^s (cf. tikiāni- 'to cut up meat')

gather, to assemble: tahk^wi-(n)cumpa-, tahko¹-ma¹hkai-; (intr.) k^wicumpi-; (tr., intr.) šuuŋpaat¹ui-, šuuŋpaat¹ua- (cf. šuu- 'one'); (be assembled) šuuŋpaakai- (cf. šuu- 'one'); (g. several objects, pack up) naapai-

giant: kuhtušu-

girl: na¹ai-ⁿ

give: -aka-; (give to) -tuk^wa-ⁿ

gnaw: -tiicu-

go: (several travel) poto- (cf. -putu- 'move from place to place'); (g. in, sun sets) yauhk^wi-ⁿ, yauk^wi- (dur.), yauhk^waa- (mom.); (push in) yauhk^wa-; (g.

- off, away) k^wau-; (g. down, descend) i^hahki-; (g. in, several enter) waki-; (g. in, penetrate) wiⁿi- (cf. ^h-niki- ?); (g. in) yi^hahkaa-, yi^haki-; (pl. travel, journey) mia-^s; (walk) paki-ⁿ
- good: (be g.) ^hayu-^s; ^hahtu-ⁿ (ptc. of ^hayu-)
- goose: cahkuatu-ⁿ; opa^hnaŋka-
- gopher: miyi-ⁿ
- gradually: aa-^s (adv. pref.)
- grandfather: toko-^s
- grandmother: kaku-
- grass: uk^{wi}-^s; (sp.) tunuk^{wi}-^s; (grass seed sp., pigweed seed?) wata-^s; (grass sp.) wa^hai-; (grass seed) k^waak^{wi}-
- grasshopper: aataŋka-^g
- gravel: siu-ⁿ (cf. ^h'gray'); toia-ⁿ; (loose stones) yuna-^s; (sandy g.) šuŋ^wa-ⁿ
- gray: kohca^h-; (light g., ashes) kuhca-^g; (light g.) siu-ⁿ (^h'pebble-colored'?, cf. ^h'gravel'); (roan-colored, dark g.) asi-^s
- graze, miss: -pihtu^hki-
- great: apa^h-
- great-grandfather: kunu-
- great-grandmother; woman's great-grandchild: wi^hci-
- green: sak^wa-^s
- grind: -cicu-ki-; (g. seeds on metate) tušu-; (g. up) kaayu-
- grizzly bear: k^wia-^s
- groan: (with twinge of pain) -pihtuu^hmi-
- ground: tupi-^g
- groundhog: yaŋa-ⁿ
- grouse: ka(h)a-ⁿ
- grow: nana- (cf. ^h'old man')
- growl, roar: otoŋ^{wi}-^s
- hail: pau-ⁿ
- hair: paiki-^s; pi(h)iaa-^s (cf. pi(h)i- ^h'hide, fur'); (h. ?) ši(h)ipu-^s; (beard) monco-^s; (mustache) mošoi-^s; (whiskers) muncu-^g; (pubic) mošoa-; (cut in the h.) kita-; (pull out h.) opa-; (h. comes out) opi-, opaa-
- halt: titašihk^wa-
- hand: mo^ho-^s; ma-^sg; (masturbator) mapaca- (prob. contains ma- ^h'hand'); (with the fist) to-^g (cf. tona ^h'punch'); (jerk back the h.) mapa-
- hand game: (counter in h. ?) tuu^hpi-
- hang: uŋ^wai-; (h., flow out) wayaa-; (h., be fastened) pahca^hi-, pahca^haa-; (h. loose) -toato-ⁿ; (h. on, down) pitu^hti-^g; (h. onto) pinti-
- happen: (h., bring about) tika- (caus. of tika^hi-?); (h., take place) tika^hi-^s, tihka-^hŋ^{wi}-
- happy: (be h., glad) šuai-
- hard: (sore) pihka-^s; (stiffen) tahk^waia-

hat, cap: kaihcoko-^s

have on: natuu'a- (na- prob. recipr.; -tuu'a- perhaps contains suffixed -'a') (cf. nato'o-ⁿ 'clothes')

hawk sp.: kiti'naŋka-; maipacayaa-; kišapi- (see kišapi- 'wing'); munoohpąk^{wi}-
head: co-^g; toci-^s; (crown of h.) yını-^s, k^{wi}'yu-ⁿ; (occiput) kataka-^s; (turn h. to
one side) sihki-na-; (run tossing h.) muk^{wi}ini- (used only in myths, com-
pounded with mu- ?); (h. off) -tųi'- (cf. tųinaka-)

headland: muhk^wa'ni-

hear: naŋka- (cf. 'ear')

heart: piyi-^g

heat, sun: ta-^s; (h. rocks) -muntiatu-

heel: tampi-^g

help: (call for h.) muhk^wika-^s

hide (of animal): (owned) tųi-^s; (h., fur) pi(h)ı-^s (cf. pi(h)ıaa-^s 'hair'); (deer h.)
o'o-ⁿ

hide (conceal): 'miši- (only with 'aaka-); (in hiding) 'aaka-^g (only compounded
with verb stems)

high: pa'a-ⁿ, pa'ani- (cf. 'long')

hill: (h. rises) tonohki-^s, tunuhki-^s; (be peaked, be a h.) k^{wi}icupa-^s

hit: (strike, mom.) tona-^s, to'na-; (h. by throwing) tapi-; (h., strike, throw, fall)
kihpa-; (tap in time) -'wici-ki- (cf. wi'i- 'dance')

hither: wahki-

hoarse: satu-; yatu-

hold: (h., seize) -'naaki-; (h. under arm) ihkihta-; (h. down) -k^wa'a-; (jump at
in order to h. down) -noatu-

hole: to'o-^{g,n}; (there is a h.) o-hpahki, o-paki (cf. pahki-, paki- 'tear'); (drill h.)
tunu-; (poke in a h.) -kut'u-

hollow, open valley: paa'noa-^s

Hopi Indian: muuhk^{wi}-

horn: 'aa-^g

horned toad: pahkaca-

horse (possessed), domestic animal: puŋku-^s

hot: (be h., warm) yuuhui-^s; (be h. (inanimate)) k^wahtıtuuci-, waši-htu'a- (with
-tu'a-, cf. ta-tu'a?); (of water) yu'mi-^s, ahtutuuci-^s (cf. k^wahtıtuuci-); (be h.
weather) tatu'i- (ta- 'sun, heat' (cf. ta-šıa-ⁿ); -tu'i-, cf. ši-htu'i- 'be cold
weather'); (heat rocks) -muntiatu-

house: kani-^s

huckleberry: kunukui-^s

hum, buzz: muua-

hummingbird: mu(h)u-ⁿ (cf. muua- 'to hum')

hunger: tiki- (tiki-)

hunt: tıaa-; -ŋ^wai-ⁿ; yai-ⁿ

hurry, hurriedly: tų^wı-^s

husband, male: kuma-

ice: pahka-^g

imitate: tika-

in: (in, on (of time)) -ŋ^{wi-g} (post.); (in, into) -naaki-^g (post.); (in, inside of) -paŋ^{wi-g} (post.); (among, right in) -'aka-^s (post.)

in vain: ı-^g (adv. pref.); (merely) napa-šu- (adv.)

indeed: -kainia, -a-kainia- (mod. encl.)

Indian, person: niŋ^{wi-} (cf. niŋ^{wi}iaa- 'body')

iron, stone: timpı-^g

jackrabbit: kami-^s

jay: (piñon jay): aaŋa-^s; (crested mountain bluejay) okohca'yahki-^s; (bluejay sp.) co'iŋki-^s

jerk back hand: mapa-

join together: -tici-'na-

joint, make a j.: -ci'na-^s

jump: (j., hop) ka'yo-; (j., bounce) -puhk^{wi-}; (j. after) -tuatu-; (j., hop off) sapıca-

just (adv.), also, too; it seems, indeed: -kainia, -a-kainia- (mod. encl.); (j., early) ono-^g (adv. pref.)

just (adj.): toki-; aŋa-šu

kick: taŋa-; taŋ^{wa-} (misheard for taŋa-?)

kidney: kani-ⁿ

kill: (k., beat sg., du. obj.) pahka-; (k. several, several go to sleep) ko'i-

kindling: (tinder) šoni-^s; (slow-match, tinder) kohco-^s

knee: taŋa-^s

knife: wi(h)i-^g (wii-^g), wii- (cf. wii- 'awl'); (flint k.) tasi-hpı-

knock: (k. down several) -patai-

know, understand: puhcucuk^{wa-}^s

land, light (from flying): tapi-^s

last, youngest: pina-^s

laugh: kia-

lead (verb): mui-ⁿ; (l. away) tıpinaka-

leaf: ma(h)apt-; naŋka-pı "bush-branch"

lean back and forward: 'ahpıhku-

learn how: tıpicu'a-

left (side): k^{wii-}^s

left over: (be l.o.) piyai-, piyaŋ^{wi-}; (place l.o.) -panti-

leg: yı'u-^s, yu'u-^s; (upper part) piŋkapı-^s; (calf) wıca-^s; (l. bone) tapaci-^s; (spread legs apart bow-legged fashion) pi'nataa-; (double up one's l.s) tompı'naa-

leggings: kuša, kuša-^s

length: (with the l. of a long object, stick) wı-^g

let go: šimia-^g
 lid (round lid (?), rim (?)): -kuši-^s
 lie: (sg. l. down) api-^s; (pl. l. down) k^wapi-; (l. on ground) kuu'ni-; (?) paŋ^wika-^s
 (cf. paŋ^wika-tukwa- 'lie on one's back')
 lie, tell lies: tipišita'ai-
 like, as though, perhaps: -nia- (mod. encl.)
 like: -tua- (tu'a-nia-), -ncua-, ntua- (mod. encl.)
 like (verb): 'ašintu'i-
 liver: niŋ^wi-ⁿ
 lizard: šiki-; (sp.) caŋaa-; (sp.) muk^wia-; (var.) pompoca-
 locust: (insect) kupi-; (tree) piyaihca-ⁿ
 log: aonko-^s
 long: pa'a-htoko-ⁿ (cf. pa'a-ⁿ 'high')
 long ago: (be l.a.) (?) wu-^g
 look: pini-; (look for, seek) kanii'-; -šakai-; (look like) nayapa-, naya'hpaa-
 (probably contains refl. na-)
 loop: kaki-
 loose: (come l., intr.) tohpa-; (pull out, tr.) tohpi-, topi-
 lost: (be l.) ma'anji-
 louse: po'a-^s
 lung: so(h)o-^s

magpie: mama'hk^wa'ya-^s
 make, create: tuŋka-; (make into) maa-
 male, husband: kuma-
 man: ta'ŋ^wa-; (old m.) na(h)a'hpi-, nana-hpi- (prob. < nana- 'to grow'); (young
 m.) aipa-^g (cf. aihpa- 'boy', aipaya- 'companion')
 mano, mealer: mu'a-
 many: (be m.) paiya- (paiyo-) (always neg. in form and with enclitic -šu-)
 mark: (decorate) ma'a-; (write) po'o-; (make straight lines) -poaatu'i-; (make
 wavy line) -k^wiyu-
 marrow: yi'utuu-^s (cf. yi'u-^s 'leg')
 meadowlark: iihtoo-
 measure: tika-
 meat: tuhkua-^s; (cut up m.) tikani- (cf. tikia- 'deer')
 medicine: pušuhk^wi-^s
 melt: sa'ai-
 menstruate: caaši-^s
 merely: napa-šu- (adv.)
 metal: pana-^g
 metate: mata-
 Mexican: uhk^wa- (kuhk^wa- ?)
 middle: (between) -tiya- (only with postpos.); (center) tutakua-^g

- milk: mui^{-s}
 milkweed: wi'i^{-s}
 miss: (barely graze) -pıhtıhki-
 mixed: (be m. with) cıhki-
 mockingbird: yampa-
 moon, month: mia^{-g}
 morning: iicu^{-g}
 mosquito: aŋi^{-s}
 moth: tıpišita-
 mother: pia^{-s} (cf. 'big')
 mountain: kaipa^{-s}; toya^{-s} (used only in songs; apparently borrowed from Shoshone); (m. range) tı'aŋ^{waa-s}; (flat-topped m.) munci-
 mouse: pu'ica^{-s}
 mouth: tumpa^{-s}; (take into one's m.) aki-; (crush in one's m.) muwata-ki- (= mup^wata- or muata- ?); (m. of canyon) -tumpa'yaa-
 move: (m., start (intr.), poke, nudge (tr.)) yu'mu-; (m., dur. intr.) ni'yuka-; (m. around) yi'u-ka-; (m. about) manai-; (m. from place to place) -putu- (only in comp. vb.; cf. poto- 'several go')
 moving through: -ki^{-g} (post.)
 much: apa'-
 mud: wia^{-s}; (m., moist earth) soko^{-s}
 muscle, strip of back muscle: untuhku^{-s}
 mush, to make: sa'a^{-g}
- nail, fingernail, claw: šicu- (cf. -šiu- 'finger, toe')
 name: niaa^{-s}; (call by n.) nia (cf. niaa- 'relation')
 narrow: (to n., ?) -kiki-
 navel: siku⁻ⁿ
 near: caki-hpa-
 nearly: šua^{-s} (adv. pref.); hatıhki-
 neck: kuta^{-s}; (n., nape) unciŋi^{-s}; (stick out one's n., head) kutucaa- (cf. kuhtuna-)
 necklace, loop: kaki-
 need: (be in n. of) watiki-
 negative, not: ka; kacu-; -šutu'u- (mod. encl.)
 nephew, maternal uncle: šına-
 net (of milkweed fiber): wana^{-s}
 new: aı^{-s}
 niece: maŋ^wi'a-, maŋ^wi'i-; (man's nephew, niece) ai-
 night: (be n., be dark) tuk^wa^{-s}
 north, coming down: panaŋk^wa- (adv.)
 nose: mu^{-s-g}; mupi^{-g}; (n., edge, end) yakaa-; (rub one's chin against) mutu'nu^{-s}
 notch: (notched) pontaa-; (cut notches) wi-yaŋku-na- (wi- instr., 'with a knife?')

now, then (adv.): ai-

numb: (become n.) tuŋkuht'uu-

numbers (?): -hkapai- (in comp. num.)

nurse (verb): ahtiki-

oak: (sp.) piaihcah-pi-; (scrub oak) k^wiya-^s

obey: tipicika-

old: ii-^g; (?) -šakoi-; (o. man) na(h)a'hpɪ-, nana-hpɪ- (prob. < nana- 'to grow');

(o. woman) -ma^ʔšak^woi- (cf. mama^ʔ-šak^woi-)

on, upon, resting above, about (post.): -pa'ana-; (of time) -ɪ^wi-^g

one, other: šuu-

onion (wild): kicašɪ-^s

open: (to o., bare (?)) -šataa-; (o. up, intr.) miu'naa-, miu'naa-

opposite, beyond: k^waia-ⁿ

order, order loudly: -tok^waa-

other: šuu-; (stranger) kɪma-^s; (o. of two) siŋk^wa-naŋk^wa-htɪ (ptc. of -naŋk^wa-
post.)

otherwise: utua-šu-

overcome: sahpik̄a-; (be o.) yutapa- (always in neg., = 'to be very powerful')

owl: (screech owl): ^ʔwanaahk^wi-; (hooting owl): mu(h)u-^g

pack: (carry on one's back) noo-^s; (gather several objects, p. up) naapai-

pain: k^watapa-

paint (verb): -koto-; impi-'na-

pant: tuŋ^wiyai-ka- (prob. tuŋwɪ-ya'i- 'to die of haste'); puhk^wiai-ŋkɪ-

pants, leggings, trousers: kuša, kušaa-^s

patch, fix: tohk^waa^ʔ-; tohpahka-, tohpa'a-

pay: tɪpišɪ'a- (Sibit Paiute dialect)

peak: (be peaked, be a hill) k^wicupa-^s

peel off: -tu^ʔumi-

penetrate: wi^ʔni-

penis: wi'a-^g

perhaps, like, as though: -nia- (mod. encl.)

person: ni-ⁿ; (Indian) niŋ^wɪ- (cf. niŋ^wiaa- 'body')

pet, domestic animal: puŋku-^s

pick at, feel around: -kucu^ʔ-

pick up a cast-off object: tuuŋ^wai-

pile: (make a p. of dirt) -pokoi-; (throw down in a p.) -caŋ^wina-

pine: (long-leaf pine) yɪpi-ⁿ

pine-cone: ka^ʔo-^s

pine-nut: tipa-^g

pipe: cuŋu-^g

pitch: (sap) pia-^s; (gum) sana-^g

- plant: (verb) ia-; (p., brush) ma(h)a^s, maa^s; (sp.) kaiši^s; (sp.) kuu'u-; (sp.) k^wananiⁿ; (sp.) sii'a-
- point: (p. with finger) -kuki-; (p. with stick, long object) ci^g
- point, hill spur: m^htuj^wa-
- poke: (in a hole) -kut'u-; yu'mu-; (stick, p. into a hole) -not'o-
- pole: otaa^s
- porcupine: yijⁱ-ⁿ
- potato, wild: wicuna'a-
- pound: (heart pounds) tapu^s; (p. with stone) tahpotu' - (prob. with instr. pref. ta- 'with a stone'); (p. meat with a small rock) cahku-
- power: (supernatural p.) pua^s; (great p.) natik^wiina-; (possessed of great p.) tik^wiinanaj^wa-
- practice, imitate, measure: tkaa-
- prairie dog: aya^g
- pregnant: noo'tua-
- pretend (to make a pretended movement): wica'ya-
- prophet: patuku^s
- protect: -katⁱ-; (p. against wind (?)): w^htuhku-
- pry: (cut off, pry out) poo-
- pull: (p. away) -canihk^wa-; (p. out (intr.), emerge) tuhpa-, tupa-; (p. out, tr.) -nuŋk^waa-, tohpi-, topi-
- purple: took^waa^s
- push, throw: -ŋwiša-, -ŋwiša-; (p. in) -t^hij^wihpa-; yauhk^wa-
- put: (p., set one obj.) wacⁱ-; (p. down several objects) yuna-; (p. away for future use) pika-; (p. into) -taŋi-
- quail: kahkata^g
- quietly, gradually: aa^s (adv. pref.)
- rabbit: (cotton-tail) tapu-; (jackrabbit) kamⁱ-^s
- race (verb): -naancikaa- (prob. contains recipr. na-)
- rain (verb): uj^wa^s
- raised (be in a r. position while resting on): impin'i-, impin'aa-
- rake out: k^witi-
- rat: kaa-
- rattlesnake: tanahki-, tokoa^s
- raw, unripe: saaⁿ
- reach, catch up with: wahcⁱ-
- ready: (be r.) -ini-; -watu'a-hkai-
- really: tⁱpi-
- rear: (r., buttocks) pi^g; (rear, throw up one's buttocks) wino'mi-, wiyu'mi-
- red: aŋka^s, aŋka^g; (r., pink, rosy) -šia^g; (r., reddish brown) onto^g
- reed, cane: pakaⁿ

- refuse a suitor: tuu'ai-
 relation: niaa- (identical with niaa- 'name'?; cf. also inia-)
 relative: pia-; iŋ^wa-; iniaa-^s (inia-a)
 remember, have in mind: cumai-
 remove, take off: -kui-; (take off water jar) pani-
 responsible: (be r.) maapi-
 resting on, at, for (of time): -ma-ⁿ (post.)
 resting on, at: ŋ^wa-ⁿ (post.) (cf. -ma-ⁿ)
 return: kooni-; (sg.) payi-^s; (several r.) panaka-^s
 revolve: k^winu`nu-
 rib: aŋ^wahta-ⁿ
 ride into sight: ciŋpi-ⁿ
 ridge (divide, depression in mountain r.): miaa-^s
 right, just: toki-
 right side: pi^ta-^s
 rinse a soaked hide: cahk^wiyui-
 ripe: (be r., done) k^waši-^s
 rise, get up: k^wıtı-; (sun r.) ma`ŋ^wiši-^g
 river, canyon, wash: -nui-^g (cf. ui-^g)
 road: (r., trail) poo-; (there is a r., small path) o`nohki-
 roadrunner: wi^hca-
 roast: (r. on a spit) -ci`a-; (r. in ashes) wai-; (r. under ashes) tı`ma-
 robe: mutu`i-^s
 rock: (stone) ta-^g (cf. tapi- 'to throw a stone'); (stone) tı-ⁿ (see tımpi-, tı-ŋkani-;
 (stone, iron) tımpi-^g; (ledge) itihki-; (end of camp-wall) tıntuakaa-^s (redupli-
 cated)
 roll (intr.): mumpa-^g
 rope: tiša-^s
 rose hip: ci`a-mpi-^s
 rough: ciŋka-^s
 round: (r. object) o-^g, u-^g; (revolve) k^winu`nu-; (be r.) `munuhk^wi-; (become r.)
 `munuhk^waa-; (be hollow and r.) ki`ohki-; (circular) wi^hkonui-^g; (circle
 around) taŋ^wıkatu-; (r., semicircular valley) apua-^s; (spherical) pohto-
 poohto-^g
 round up: niŋ^wiati`i-^s
 row (stand in a r.): ci^kkaŋ^wa-
 rub: -yuai- (-yuaa-?)
 run: pooya-; (mom.) toko-hki-; (several r.) yu`ni-^s, yuni-^s; (r. away) kahkatı-^s;
 (pl. r. away) minto`ni-^s; (gallop) ahpo`nai-, ku`ai-; (trot) mapooya-; (charge
 on horseback) ta`ŋ^wašu-; (r., stream, flow) nuhki-ⁿ
- sage hen: ši^caa`a-^g
 sagebrush: saŋ^wa-^s

- saliva: kihci-^s
 salt: oa-^s
 sand: ahta-^s, patı(ya); pato-ⁿ (cf. pa- 'water')
 sapling: šia-^g
 say: (s. something) naa-nia-, anampa-ka- (cf. 'sound'); (s., make a sound) ai-^s;
 (s. that, esp. after direct quotation) mai-, m^{wai}-
 scatter (intr.): mapıj^wanoi-; -putui-, -putu-ki-
 scorpion (?): siaa'moko-
 scrape a hide: caaka-
 scratch: -u'nai-, -u'ŋ^{wai}-; (s. around) -cu'na-^s; (s. the head) cuhku-ŋ^wa-
 see, look: pini-
 seed: pu'i-^s (identical with pu'i-^s 'eye?'); (s. of certain plant) paasi-; (sunflower
 s.) ahki-ⁿ; (grass sp., pigweed?) wata-^s; (grass sp.) wa'ai-; (grass s.) k^waak^wi-;
 (beat out s.) tika-
 seem, look like: nayapa-, naya'hpa- (probably contains refl. na-)
 sego: siko'o-
 separately, different: nani-; na'aa-šu-
 servant: takahpia-^s
 serviceberry: tıj^wa-ⁿ, tia-^s
 set: (one object) waci-; (sun sets) yauhk^wi-ⁿ, yauk^wi- (dur.), yauhk^waa- (mom.)
 shade: apa-^s; (s., shaded) tıhkıaa-^s
 shake: ninci-^s, -to'ni-, to'noi-, pantu-; (s. from side to side) -kuicipi-; (s. one's
 head) -montı-ki-; (flutter, s. rapidly) yoi-ka-ⁿ; (s., wave) caatu'i-
 shame: tuhk^wi-
 sheep (mountain sheep): naka-^s
 shinny: (play s.) -naua-; (s.-game ?) -'nuaa- (-nuj^waa- ?)
 shirt: taa'i-^s
 shoe, moccasin: pahca-
 shoot: toj^wahki-; (s. at) kuhk^wi-^g; (get ready to s. arrow) wapi'ni-; (play a game
 of shooting arrows at a root thrown spinning into the air) mai-ht'ui-
 (< mai- 'to find?')
 short: topi'-, -tohipi'-
 shoulder: coapi-^s, antıj^wiaapu-
 shout: wa'anji-^s
 shut a sack: -cunuhpa-ŋki-
 sick (be s.): nakami-
 side, proximity: ka'niķaa-
 sight (in sight of): -naŋ^wına'mi- (post.)
 sign (make a s.): tucua-
 signaling (?): aŋ^wai'-
 silent (be s.): haa'ini-
 sinew: tamu-^s
 sing: kaa-^s; (s. a song) upia-^s, upi-^g

- sister, older: paci-
 sister, younger: nami-; yuuhpia- (cf. pia- 'female?')
 sit: (s. down) so'o-hki-; (s. on one's haunches) kucu`ŋ^waa-; (sg. s., dwell) kati-^s;
 (pl. s.) yuk^wi-^s
 six: napai-
 skin: (s., bark) asiaa-^s; (rawhide) ahta-^g; (rabbit s.) tuŋk^wica`a-
 skunk: ponía-^s (cf. poni-, ponaa- 'to bend over, stoop and project one's
 buttocks')
 sky, upper air: tuku-ⁿ (cf. tu-)
 slap: (make soft slapping sound) -kihki-; (make wet, slappy sound)
 paanjk^wo-ka (cf. 'wet', 'water')
 sleep: (sg. s.) ahpíi-^s; (pl. s.) ahko`i-^s; (several go to s., kill several) ko`i-: (in
 one's s.) iht`ŋ^wa- (only in comp. vb.); (closed eyes, sleep) u-^g (only in comp.
 vb.)
 sleepy, drowsiness: piya-^s
 slip, slide: si`yu-^s; -šiu`-
 slope: (verb) ihtai-^s (?); (s., bottom surface, breast) payaa-^s, paya-
 small: mia`-^g; (s., young of animals) -oa-^g, -oa-ⁿ
 smell (verb): uk^wi-
 smoke: k^wii-^g (e.g., fire); (s. tobacco) tak^wa-^s
 smokehole: -šututui`noai-
 smooth: paí-ⁿ
 snake: (bull snake) oko-ⁿ; (rattlesnake) tokoa-^s; tanahki- (myth word)
 sneeze: a`ŋ^wiši-
 snore: osotoŋ^wi-
 snot: muh-pihki-^s (cf. coh-pihki- 'brains')
 snow: nipa-^s
 son, child; give birth: tua-^g
 son-in-law: muna-
 soon, after a while: pinanjk^wa- (adv.)
 sore: (be s.) pahka-; (hard) pihka-^s
 soul: mukua-^s
 sound: (make a s., say) ai-^s; (make a s., dur., intr.) tuŋ^wapa-ka-; (make big
 noise) tuu`mu-; (noun, s., noise) aamu-, ampa-^s, aampi-^s
 sound, clatter: potó-ka-
 sound, click: cahkahpi-
 sound like cork in a bottle: k^woto-ka-
 sound, crackle: kata-ka-
 sound like dripping water: piŋki-ka-
 sound like flowing water: sooa-
 sound of hard object drawn over row of teeth: kitíti-
 sound of heavy object dragged on level surface: nuutu-ka-
 sound, make metallic, rattling s.: kiiyu-ka-

- sound like noise made by punching: -kohkoi-, -kihku-
 sound, make pecking s.: paanta-ka-
 sound, peep: pu'ŋ^{wi}-
 sound like pierced paper: kihka-
 sound, rasping: nitu-, hauhk^wa-ka-
 sound, ripping: p'uuku-ka-
 sound, scrape, rustle: siika-ka-
 sound, soft slapping: -kihki-
 sound, tearing: ku-
 sound, thick and wet: kiic'o-ka-
 sound, patter: paata-ka-
 sound, pop: -pataa- (-hp...?)
 sound, make s. with rattle in mourning ceremony: saata-ka-
 sound, thud: poonto-ka-
 sound, wet, slappy: paanḡ^wo-ka- (cf. 'wet', 'water')
 sound of whirling down: šutut'u-
 sound of whirring wings: kuu-ka-
 soup, broth: upa-^s
 sparrow: wi'ia-^s
 spear: siḡi-^g
 spider: uhk^wa-ⁿ
 spill: oahku-; (s. water out of one's mouth) kuuhpaja-
 spin, whirl: tutu'-, tutu'i- (?); (revolve) k^winu'nu-
 spirit: (soul) mukua-^s; (evil s.) mi-^g
 spittle, saliva: kihci-^s
 splash: -šatokoi-; (s. in water) k^waca-
 split in two: -kaiyuḡ^{wi}-
 spoon: munco'aku-
 spotted (be s.): itki-, napuu'pi-^s
 spread: (s. out) -kota-; (s. out a blanket) sa'ma-
 spring (season): tama-
 spy (to watch): oa-^s
 squash, pumpkin: patanḡ^wata-ⁿ
 squawberry: 'iši-
 squeeze: -cuu-, -k^wipi-
 squirrel: sihku-^{s-g}; (s., spermophile ?) o'i-ci- (gopher, ground squirrel)
 stalk: ui-hpi-
 stamp the foot: -pi'ŋana-
 stand: (sg. s.) wini-^s; (pl. s.) waḡ^{wi}-; (several s.) nu'i-hkai- (res.; cf. nu'a-?);
 (limbless object is erect) -kut'upi-
 star: puuci-^s; (morning s.) kaḡa-
 start: (move, start (intr.), poke, nudge (tr.)) yu'mu-; (s. off for a race)
 poci'naa-, poci'ni-

- starved, be lean: o(h)o-y'ai- (prob. o'o-y'ai- 'to bone-die')
- steal: ɪŋka-
- step (verb): titaŋ^wanci-
- stick (noun): ciki-^g
- stick (verb): (s., poke into a hole) -not'o-; (s., be stuck in) -'niki-, -'nihki-
- stir mush: -k^wa'nu-
- stockings: -pa'a- (tah-pa'ah-pi 'stockings, socks')
- stomach, belly: sahpɪ-^s, sak^wiaa-^s; (on one's s.) 'oi'mi-
- stone: ta-^g (cf. tapi- 'to throw a stone'); tɪ-ⁿ (see tumpi-, tɪ-ŋkani-); (stone, iron) tumpi-^g; (loose stones, gravel) yuna-^s
- stop: kahpa-, kapi-, mau'hpa- (cf. mau'hku- 'finish'); (come to a halt) titašihk-^wa-; (s. rolling) cahki-, canji-
- straight (be s.): muhkunta-^s
- straighten out: pata-
- stranger, other: kima-^s
- strap, carrying strap: utu'aa-, -utu-ⁿ
- stream: (s. runs) nuhki-ⁿ
- stretch: tuuhk^wi-, tuuhk^wa-; (s. out one's hands, palm out, or feet soles out; only with instr. pref.) -'aihpaa-; (s. a hide) ihta-
- strike (mom.) tona-^s, to'na-; (by throwing) tapi-; (intr., s., fall) kihpa-
- string, carrying strap: utu'aa-, -utu-ⁿ
- strong: su-^s
- stuck (have a pointed object s. at the top): tohca-ŋki-'a-
- stump: tɪna-^s (cf. -titi'na-)
- stunned (be s.): tahpaši-
- suckle, nurse: ahtiki-
- summer: taca-^g
- sun: tapi- (apparently used only in certain forms); (s., heat) ta-^s; (s., day, be day) tapa-; (s. rises) ma'ŋ^wiši-^g; (s. sets) yauhk^wi-ⁿ, yauk^wi- (dur.), yauhk^waa- (mom.)
- sunflower seed: ahki-ⁿ
- supernatural helper, manitou: tuhtukua-^s
- swallow (verb): yɪ'ɪ-ki-, yɪ'ɪ-hki-
- sweat: pahkaa-^s
- swell, swelling (?): -tompaca-^s
- swing, dangle: -yanunu'ŋki-
- tail: k^wasi-^s
- take: (t. several objects) tu'uma-; (t. sg. object) k^wu-; (t. away from) tɪca'ŋ^wa-; (t. out) -kuhtu-na-
- tear (intr.): paka-, pahka-
- tease (verb): šica'ŋ^wai-
- tell, tell on: tunia-^s

- ten: -ma-šɨŋ^{wi}- (compounded of ma- and -šɨŋ^{wi}-) (num. element in 9, 10, and multiples of 10)
- ten (count of fingers): -šɨŋ^{wi}- (cf. -šɨu- 'finger')
- test, feel: -kaa-; (t. for depth) -makaa-
- testicles: cahkipuⁱ-^s
- that: (indef.) a-; (t. one, he) aŋa-(šu-); (indef., dem. pron.) ai-
- then: ai-
- they, those: amɨ-
- thing: ini^{aa}-; (identical with clothing) maa-^s, ma(h)a-^s
- think, deliberate in council: waiŋka-
- thirst: taku-^g
- thorn, spine: mana-^s
- though: (as t.) -nia- (mod. encl.)
- three: pai-
- throat: paŋ^{wi}-^s; (esophagus) tiyu-kɨ-nɨmpɨ- (see yɨⁱki- 'swallow'); (make sound of clearing one's t.) kaahkⁱ-
- through: -kɨ-^g (post.)
- throw (see also 'push', 'hit'): titapi- (cf. tapi-); (t. down) wɨnai-; (t. down, fall dead) wɨnaiŋ^wat^{ua}-; (t. about, scatter) -putui-, -putu-kɨ-; (t. down several) nu^a-
- thunder (verb): unua-
- tie: tahpica-; (be t.d around (?)) -camuhku-
- tinder: šoni-^s; (slow-match) košo-^s
- tired: ⁱhtaa-ⁿ; (be t., exhausted) kacu-; (t., tiringly) taampi-nia- (with ai-, 'to talk tiringly, to tire somebody')
- to, toward, to give to: -tuk^wa-ⁿ
- toad: (frog, t.) pɨmpɨ^{noa}-^s; pahk^wa^{na}; (horned toad) pahkaca
- tobacco: k^wo^a-^g
- together: (with each other, both (animate)) naŋ^wa^{ai}- (quasi-num.); (t. with) -ŋ^wa^{ai}- (post.)
- tongue: ako-ⁿ
- too, also: -kainia, -a-kainia- (mod. encl.)
- tooth: taŋ^wa-ⁿ
- top: uhk^wiya-, k^wiɨpuaa-; (t. end) kacoaa-^s; (outer end) puhk^wiya-
- touch: -pɨhki- (-hp...?); -aini- (only with instr. prefix), -niⁱ-^s (cf. ma^{niki}-?)
- toward: (after) -ⁱutai-ⁿ; (meeting) -pacaŋ^{wi}-^g (post.); (to, toward, to give to) -tuk^wa-ⁿ
- track: (footprints) naŋ^wa-^s; (look for a t.) nahk^woa- (na-^g prob. identical with na-ⁿ, q.v.)
- trade, barter: natuu^ŋw^a- (contains recipr. na-)
- tray: (roasting basket-tray) tahk^{wii}^u-
- tree: (dead t., dead log) aonko-^s
- tree (sapling): šia-^g

tree sp.: pak^wai'a-ⁿ
 tree (aspen): šiya-^s
 tree (cedar): wa'a-^g
 tree (cedar-like with fine bark): ma-^g
 tree (cottonwood): soopi-^g
 tree (fir): ako-ⁿ, oko-ⁿ
 tree (greasewood): tono-^s, mutuna-^s
 tree (locust): piyaihca-ⁿ
 tree (long-leaf pine): yipi-ⁿ
 tree (oak sp.): piaihcah-pi-
 tree (scrub oak): k^wiya-^s
 tree (willow): kana-^s
 trousers: kuša, kušaa-^s
 try: mahki'ŋ^wa-; (t. to) mušui-
 tump-line: utu'aa, -utu-ⁿ
 turn: (t. over, intr., several turn back) mi'niši-^g, mi'niši-^g; (t. over to a side)
 muntiši
 turtle: 'aya-^s (aya-^{s?})
 two: waa-

uncle: male's nephew, niece: ai-
 uncle, maternal; nephew, parallel cousin: šina-
 under: -tuhk^wa-^g (ptc. -tuhk^wa-hti- 'being under')
 understand: puhcucuk^wa-^s
 unfortunately, too bad: ihtua-nia-
 untie: uhpā-
 up: tu-ⁿ, tū-ⁿ; (coming up) ti-naŋk^wa-
 urinate: si'i-^s
 use, consume: šua-; (be u.d up) tuhpi-

vagina, vulva: wīki-ⁿ; šini-mpī (less coarse than preceding)
 valley: (mountain v.) paŋk^wi- (cf. 'hollow'); (round v. at foot of hill) k^wihto'ni-;
 (semicircular valley) apua-^s
 various: nanaaka- (red.); nanaš'uuhku-hpi- (red.); nani-
 vein: paahto'ŋ^wi-ⁿ
 very: šuu-^g (adv. pref.: prob. identical with suu- 'one'); (v., really) tipi-
 vomit (verb): pihpihta'ni-
 vulva: wīki-ⁿ; šini-mpī (less coarse than preceding)

wait: mancu'ai-; (wait for) oakaa-
 wake up (intr.): tuhpu'ni-^s, tupu'ni-^s
 walk: (w., go) paki-ⁿ; (song form) watai-ki-
 want, like: 'ašintu'i-

- warn: iyaanti-
- wash: patiki- (cf. pa- 'water'); (bathe) -pahki-
- watch: tooakaa- (only compounded with verbs of sitting); (spy) oa-^s: (wait for) oakaa-
- water: cahk^waa-, cahk^wi-; paa-^s (also in paunci-^s 'beaver'; pacahk^wi-, pacahk^waa, panoohkai 'wet'; pato-ⁿ 'gravel'; patiki- 'wash'; patua-^s 'elk'; pahk^wa`na- 'frog, toad'; pahkaca- 'horned toad'; -pahki- 'bathe'; pahkaa-^s 'sweat'; paaŋk^wo-ka- 'make a wet, slappy sound'; pani- 'take off water jar'; pampmi- 'bucket'; pau-ⁿ 'hail'; pahka-^g 'ice'; pai-^g 'blood'; pakina-^s 'cloud'); (put w. on) pacahki-ŋ^wa-, -cahkiŋ^wa-; (great w., Colorado River) pakaa-: (clear w.) papum-pa
- waterfall: sototoi-^s
- wave (verb): -capai- (-caa- 'to put out one's hand', -pai- 'to call?'); (shake, w.) caatu'i-
- wear: (put on, w. clothing) nakaa-, naka- (na- prob. reflexive)
- weasel: tapicii-
- weather: (clear w.) tuku-ⁿ (prob. identical with tuku-ⁿ 'sky'); (be hot w.) tatu'i- (ta- 'sun, heat', cf. ta-šia-ⁿ), -tu'i-; (be cold w.) ši-htu'i-
- west: tɪpai-^g
- wet: (make w., water) pacahki-ŋ^wa-; (be w.) panoohkai-; (be w., get w.) pacahk^wi-, pacahk^waa-; (w., semi-liquid mass) -pihki-^s (cf. muh-pihki- 'snot', coh-pihki- 'brains')
- what?: ania-
- when?: hanohko-
- where (to be w.?, to do what?): ai-
- whirl: tutu', tutu'i- (?)
- whistle (verb): ušu-hki-
- white: toša-^{g,s} (tuša-)
- who?: aŋa-
- wife, spouse: piŋ^wa-^s
- wiggle: k^wimpu-
- wildcat: tuhku-^g
- willing (be w., ready) (res.): -watu'a-hkai-
- win, beat: k^waa-
- wind: nia-^s
- wing: kišapi-^s (striking w.) kasapi-; cf. aŋapu-^s 'arm'
- winter, year: tomo-^s
- with: -ma-, -minañ^wa- (instr. post.); (together w., post.) -ma`ai-: (with each other, both (animate)) naŋ^wa`ai- (quasi-num.); (t. with) -ŋ^wa`ai- (post.)
- wolf: (w., dog) šma-`api-^s; (w.?) k^winuuta-; (w., powerful one, as myth. being) tɪpa-
- woman: (w., young w.) mama`u- (cf. 'cousin'); (old w.) -ma`šak^woi- (cf. mama`-šak^woi-)

wood: opi-^{n,s}; (pole) otaa-^s; (stick) ciki-^g; (cane, staff) poto-; (gather w.) kuhk^wa-^g
 (also uhk^wa-)
 woodpecker: (red-headed w.) piihpu`ŋ^wa-^s
 worm: nahk^wicu-
 wounded: iapi-^s
 wrap: (w. around?) -k^wocayai-; (w. around, tie) wihca-; (w. around, coil)
 wihk^winta- (cf. wihkonui- 'circular')
 wrinkled: caa-^s

year, winter: tomo-^s
 yell: paŋ^wai-; (whoop) wa`aci-ki-; (shout) wa`aŋi-^s
 yellow: oa-^g
 yellowjacket: paŋ^wuca-^s
 yes!: uupa. uupa`; (y!, all right!) uumaai
 yesterday: kiaŋ^wi-
 young of animal: -oa-^{g,n}
 youngest, last: pina-^s
 yucca-like plant: ca`mapi-^g
 yucca fruit: uuši-^s

Kaibab Paiute and Northern Ute Ethnographic Field Notes

Edited by Catherine S. Fowler and Robert C. Euler

The two works in this section contain the bulk of the ethnographic notes made by Edward Sapir in conjunction with his Southern Paiute and Ute linguistic work in 1909 and 1910. In August and September, 1909, Sapir – then newly appointed Instructor in Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania – conducted linguistic field work among the Ute of Utah under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania Museum. In the company of graduate student J. Alden Mason, he visited the Uintah-Ouray Reservation, where he worked for a short time on Uncompahgre Ute at Fort Duchesne; he then went on to Whiterocks, where he worked on the Uintah dialect. While at Whiterocks, his principal consultant was Charlie Mack, from whom he recorded seven Uintah tales (published in Sapir 1930e, this volume). Upon his return, Sapir published a brief note on some phonetic and grammatical aspects of Ute (Sapir 1910c).

In January, 1910, Sapir went to Carlisle Indian School, south of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to look for a Ute speaker among the students. There he met Tony Tillohash, a young speaker of Kaibab Southern Paiute, which Sapir suspected to be linguistically close to Ute. Tillohash had been at Carlisle for about five years and was just finishing his course of study. With the help of the school superintendent and the director of the University Museum, Sapir arranged for Tillohash to come to Philadelphia. From February through May, 1910, Tillohash worked as a janitorial assistant at the museum as well as with Sapir. He served as consultant for a seminar on American Indian languages which Sapir was offering, and in which Mason was a student (Mason to Euler, May 22, 1956). Through the intensive work during this four-month period, Sapir was able to record sufficient data from Tillohash for a full treatment of Kaibab Southern Paiute, including a grammar, texts, and a dictionary (Sapir 1930d, 1930e, 1931k, this volume). He also produced a 106-page manuscript of notes on Kaibab ethnography, and recorded the texts and music of some 200 Southern Paiute songs. These data, which far eclipsed those he had obtained on Ute, would be used by Sapir in additional works in historical,

comparative, and theoretical linguistics (Sapir 1913f, 1933c: see the introduction to this volume), and in the preliminary description of Southern Paiute musical forms (Sapir 1910d). The friendship that developed among Tillohash, Sapir, and Mason was genuine and rewarding.

Following the work in Philadelphia, Tillohash returned home to Kaibab, Arizona, and after a few years moved to the Shivwits Southern Paiute Reservation in southwestern Utah, where he married and spent most of the rest of his life. He and his wife Bessie raised a large family; Tillohash worked primarily as a ranch hand. He served as Shivwits tribal chairman for many years, from the mid-1930s until the 1960s. He retained an active intellectual interest in his culture, serving as an interpreter for ethnographers including Isabel Kelly, Philip Drucker, and Omer Stewart during the 1930s and 1940s, and as an ethnographic consultant for Robert Euler in the 1950s and for Catherine Fowler in the 1960s (Fowler and Fowler 1986).

The ethnographic manuscripts edited for this publication have rather complex histories. As noted above, the Kaibab manuscript is essentially a single document, undoubtedly written over the four-month period of the Tillohash-Sapir collaboration. Since the notes were made at least in part during linguistic elicitation, the original manuscript follows no particular or logical order. Rather, it covers each isolated topic in one or several paragraphs of notes, separated from the next topic or set by a panned line; occasionally, as with the Kaibab names for springs, the material is from a specific elicitation. At some unknown date, probably before 1930, Sapir had a typescript made from this manuscript, to which he added a few miscellaneous ethnographic notes gleaned from his Kaibab linguistic notebooks. Then, perhaps in preparation for publication, Sapir cut up a copy of the typescript and clipped together the sections related to each topic, giving each a tentative title.

The Ute manuscript has a slightly different but related history. During his 1909 field trip to Ute country, Sapir kept his linguistic and ethnographic notes in the same notebooks. As the purpose of his trip was primarily linguistic, much of what he obtained of ethnographic significance was written as brief comments or marginal notes to lexical or textual material. While transcribing texts, Sapir wrote on the right-hand sheets of his notebooks only, using the left-hand sheets for footnotes and other comments. It is thus on the left-hand pages that most of the Ute ethnographic notes appear. (Exceptions to this are longer sections, such as Sapir's and Mason's direct observations of facial painting designs at dances, notes on tipi construction, and a few other topics.) Thus, even more than in the case of the

Kaibab notes, the Ute notes follow no plan of elicitation and are unsystematic and incomplete. Again, at a later date Sapir had a typescript made from these notes, apparently instructing the typist to excerpt any comment lined to the side in the notebooks, in the order in which they appeared. Sapir then cut up a copy of this typescript, arranged the sections by topic, titled each section, and clipped the notes together. Sometimes sections are attributed to specific consultants (Charlie Mack or John Duncan, Uintah; Herbert Ariv, Uncompahgre); sometimes not.

Apparently, not long before Sapir's death,¹ he gave these various Southern Paiute and Ute ethnographic manuscripts (as well as other unpublished manuscripts with ethnographic content) to Leslie Spier in the hope that they would someday be published. Toward that end, Spier gave a copy of the Ute typescript (along with some photographs by Sapir and Mason) to Anne Cooke Smith, who had written her master's thesis on Northern Ute material culture (Cooke 1937) and was in the process of editing the thesis for general publication. Before giving the material to Spier, Sapir apparently had also given a copy of the cut-up version of the Kaibab notes to Isabel Kelly, a graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley, who during 1932 and 1933 did intensive field work among all the Southern Paiute groups under the direction of Alfred L. Kroeber. Kelly employed Tony Tillohash as an interpreter for her work among the Shivwits Southern Paiute. For some reason, Sapir recalled the copy in Kelly's possession, with the promise that she could have it again when she began to write up her data for publication (Spier to Euler, May 22, 1956; Spier to Euler, June 26, 1956; Spier to Jean Sapir, April 26, 1939). This version apparently came into the hands of David Mandelbaum at the University of California, Berkeley, during his work of compiling selected published and unpublished works of Sapir for publication (Mandelbaum 1949).

In 1956, Robert Euler was at the University of California, Berkeley, working on Southern Paiute ethnohistory in preparation for hearings before the Indian Claims Commission. He saw the manuscript in Mandelbaum's possession and was directed by Mandelbaum to Leslie Spier for further information. Euler obtained copies of the cut-up versions of

1. In a letter to Jean Sapir, dated April 26, 1939, Spier outlines the manuscripts of Sapir's then in Spier's possession. This letter, following within two months of Sapir's death, seems to indicate that these materials were transferred before his death by Sapir himself, rather than afterward by his widow. The same supposition is made with reference to the materials given to Herzog (see below).

the Kaibab and Ute typescripts, as well as the loan of the original handwritten Kaibab manuscript, from Spier. Euler relocated Tony Tillohash, then an alert man in his seventies, still living on the Shivwits Reservation. Together they went over the content of Sapir's notes in great detail, without Tillohash's knowing that Euler had the notes in his possession. This proved to be a rare opportunity to test the reliability of an informant through time. An analysis of Tillohash's statements in 1956 (and again in 1959) revealed that, in 92 percent of the responses, he gave the same information as he had to Sapir in 1910 (Euler 1967). Although Euler had planned to publish Sapir's Kaibab ethnographic notes, other projects intervened and he was unable to do so.

After Euler had checked the typescript against Sapir's original ethnographic manuscript for accuracy, he returned the original notes to Spier. In 1957, Spier deposited the original and a copy of the Kaibab typescript in the library of the American Philosophical Society, where they are held today as part of the Boas Collection. The Sapir family had deposited Sapir's original Ute and Southern Paiute linguistic notebooks, as well as a short (44-page) Kaibab lexical manuscript, at the same institution in 1956.

In 1964, Isabel Kelly published portions of her Southern Paiute data, including her Kaibab notes (Kelly 1964). In this publication she incorporated numerous passages from Sapir's notes, along with some sketches of models of artifacts made for Sapir by Tillohash, and photographs obtained from Sapir of Tillohash demonstrating various skills. The archive of Kelly's papers at the Department of Anthropology, Southern Methodist University, contains a partial cut-up version of Sapir's Kaibab typescript, which had been either retained by Kelly or returned to her by Spier at some unknown date². As far as we have been able to determine, the Sapir sketches Kelly published are preserved nowhere else. A full set of Sapir's Tillohash photographs are in the photographic archives of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

In 1974, Anne Cooke Smith published her Northern Ute materials, in which she likewise incorporated data from Sapir's notes, along with photographs by Sapir and Mason (Smith 1974). She then gave her copy

2. In a letter to Euler dated June 26, 1956, Spier notes that the manuscript in Mandelbaum's possession must have passed through Spier's hands en route to Kelly (based on marginal notes in both Spier's and Kelly's hands). Although at the time he did not recall the transfer, Spier indicates that he might well have sent it to Kelly at some time.

of Sapir's notes to James A. Goss, now of Texas Tech University. Goss kindly provided us with a photocopy of the material in his possession, a carbon copy of the Ute typescript. The lexical data from this manuscript, as well as the other Ute linguistic notes, were not incorporated into the Southern Paiute dictionary; only the texts were published.

Sapir's manuscript on Southern Paiute songs, presently being prepared for publication in this series, has also been of some interest through the years. Apparently in the 1930s, Sapir gave this manuscript, with musical transcriptions of the songs made by his father Jacob Sapir, to George Herzog, the renowned ethnomusicologist. At the same time, Sapir transferred other musical materials with the apparent hope that Herzog could assist in bringing them to publication. In 1969, Indiana University graduate student Charles Adams received the Southern Paiute song manuscript from Herzog. He also obtained the wax cylinder recordings made by Sapir with Tillohash from the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University, where they had been transferred by the University of Pennsylvania museum in 1961. Adams had enhanced copies made from the badly damaged cylinders and reviewed their contents with Tillohash. He also re-recorded from Tillohash, in 1969, the group of Mourning Ceremony songs contained in the manuscript. In 1985, the Archives purchased Herzog's papers from his estate, obtaining a photocopy of the original song text and musical transcription manuscripts. However, other than Sapir's own publication of the song recitatives from this collection (Sapir 1910d), nothing more of this music has been published. In the 1930s, Sapir made a second, handwritten copy of the Mourning Ceremony texts from the collection (more than half of the 200 songs) and sent it to John P. Harrington of the Smithsonian Institution, with a request that Harrington confirm Sapir's suspicion that the songs were in a Yuman language, perhaps Mojave. This copy is retained in the Harrington Papers at the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian.

The ethnographic works published in the present volume have the following sources. (1) The Kaibab manuscript is taken from Sapir's typescript of his manuscript (Boas Collection, MS U.3, Library of the American Philosophical Society), and includes most of the additions Sapir made from his linguistic notebooks (a few were too fragmentary for presentation). (2) The Ute manuscript is from the cut-up version in Euler's possession, checked against Sapir's original field notebooks. Both manuscripts have been reordered, rearranged, and in some cases retitled by the editors. As noted above, Sapir apparently intended to do likewise, as he cut up, reordered, and titled some sections of the Kaibab and Ute type-

scripts. The subject headings and subheadings used here retain Sapir's wording in some cases, but in others do not. They parallel quite closely the paradigm of presentation of ethnographies in the 1930s, the period when Sapir was apparently arranging these manuscripts for publication.

Sapir's Paiute orthography remains as it was in the original manuscripts. Table 1 (printed at the end of the Kaibab notes) was found among his notes, and gives his changes from the original orthography to that used in his publications of 1930–31. Most of the lexical items that appear in the Kaibab manuscript also appear in the dictionary (Sapir 1931k), and the handwritten version bears check marks, apparently indicating such inclusion. None of the Ute lexical material appears in the dictionary, nor, as noted above, does Sapir's other Ute material; from the Ute notes, only the texts were prepared for publication.

The endnotes to both works have been added by the editors as comments on, or expansions of, the material presented by Sapir. They also note points of agreement or disagreement with subsequent ethnographic work among the Kaibab and the Ute, done by Kelly, Stewart, Smith, and others.

The illustrations that accompany the manuscripts have been ably redrafted by Patricia DeBunch from field sketches made by Sapir and contained in the manuscripts. They retain the basic content and flavor of the originals, but add some details for clarity. A few illustrations, more in the character of brief diagrams contained in the body of sentences or paragraphs, have been eliminated for ease of printing. In these instances, Sapir's descriptive sentences have been modified to incorporate data given in the drawings. Figure 6, showing Kaibab face-painting, utilizes a standard form provided to Sapir by the University Museum, and is reprinted here courtesy of the University of Utah Press. DeBunch also drafted the maps which are included to orient readers to this area of Native North America.

Although some of these data of Sapir's have appeared elsewhere (especially in Kelly 1964 and Smith 1974), this is the first time that the materials have been published in their entirety. The data, though in some ways incomplete, represent valuable contributions to the ethnography of these Great Basin groups. They provide new ethnographic details, often information that would be otherwise irretrievable today.

Catherine S. Fowler
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Kaibab Paiute Ethnographic Field Notes

Tribal Names and Neighbors

Paiute Tribes, Bands¹

Qwi^εú-mpāts·i^w : ‘?-water’; somewhere west of Sevier Lake² (not now).³

Parúgunantsi^w : tribe near Parowan (parú^ugwant^ε = ‘lake harmful to people’); a few still near Parowan.

Aṅqápan^{u:x}gwítdjitd^u ~ ...djit^w : ‘red-stream people’ at Cedar; Capt. Pete, there yet.

Aṅqáqani^εγatdji^w ~ Aṅqáqanic... : ‘red-cliff-base people’; used to be in Long Valley; now with Kaibab Paiutes. (qani^εγats^ε : ‘base of cliff’.)

Pāgrⁱts·i^w ~ Pāγⁱts·i^w : Panguitch Lake people (none now in Grass Valley).

Qáivavidji^{ts}·i^w = Kaibab Paiutes (now in Moccasin Springs) (= ‘people of Qáivavi^{ts}· plateau; Qáivavi^{ts}· = ‘mountain lying down’).

S[·]jivít^{dji}·i^w = Paiutes who used to be in Trumbull Mt., Arizona (now in St. George); farming at a place now called “Sam” City^d (near Santa Clara?).

Toi^ε·óí bít^{dji}·i^w ~ Ta^εa bít^{dji}·i^w : Indians of Toi^ε·óipⁱ Creek in Arizona (toi^ε·óipⁱ : ‘creek running through rocky bed’); in Navajo country affiliated with Tuba City band;⁵ hunt to Kaibab Plateau. (= Qwaiáṅti^watdi^{ts}·i^w ~ Qwaiáṅti^watdi^{ts}·i^w : ‘people across river’, see Powell.)⁶

Yuwíñqarirⁱts·i^w ~ Yuvíñqarirⁱts·i^w : people of Mt. Trumbull (yuvínqarir ~ yuvínqarir : ‘Mt. Trumbull, pine-sitting’; yuvimpⁱ ‘pine’); now with S·iví^{ts}·i^w.

Mōrⁱts·i^w : Muddy Valley Indians.⁷

Pārán^εiγi^{ts}·i^w : Indians of Paranigut Valley (‘people who stick their feet in water’; ni^εta^εník^εpá^{zε}γav ‘I stick foot in water’; ma^εníkⁱ ‘stick hand in water’; mūwí ts·i^εníkⁱ ‘stick nose in water’).

Niváγawti^{ts}·i^w : people of Niváγantⁱ or Snowy Mt. (mountain in Nevada).⁸

Kemahwivi (Tantawait) (U.S. Census, p. 389); Pawipit (U.S. Census, p. 389).⁹

Ute

Q^u·cá^arump^ʔ ‘rope, pants string’; in Grass Valley; chief named Oáqar ‘yellow’; not on reservation.

Yuwíntiⁱ·ts·i^w ‘Uintah Indians’ (Uintah Mts.); yiv^w·íntiⁱ·ⁱ ‘mouth of canyon bordered by firs’ (cf. qanáriⁱ ‘mouth of canyon bordered by willows’).

Moγwátaviŋ^e·wantsiŋ^w ‘Ouray Utes’.

Other Neighboring Tribes

Utes: Yūfām^ʔ; Ute: Yūfāts·.

Paiutes: Paiyúts·iŋ^w (‘those who go on road and come back same way’¹⁰; paiyúvurui^ʔ ‘go away and come back same way’).

Shoshones: Qömánts·iŋ^w (‘strangers’).

Bannocks (no name)

Arapaho: Sar íⁱ·tⁱ·qāts·; Arapahoes: Sar íⁱ·tⁱ·qani^ʔ (‘dog eaters’).

Sioux: S[·]oγóts·iŋ^w; Sioux (sing.): S[·]oγóts·.

Navahos: Paγáŋwiⁱ·ts·iŋ^w ~ Paγáŋwiⁱ·ts·iŋ^w ‘cane-knife people’; ‘cane’ paγámpⁱ.

Apaches (no name; never heard of them).

Hopi: Mōq̄wīts·iŋ^w.

Zuñi (no name).

Qōnt^x·qoiqīts·iŋ^w ~ Qōnt^x·qoigiīts·iŋ^w: Walker River Paiutes.

Walapai: Oáripaiāts·iŋ^w (‘yellow-breast people’; paiān^ʔ ‘my breast’ (properly slope like hill); pōin^ʔ ‘my breast’).¹¹

Coconino: Aiāt^ʔ; (plur.) Aiātāŋ^w (? Havasupai).¹²

Ts·i·moáiyev: Chemehuevi.

Tōγ^w·antüm^ʔ ~ Tōóγ^w·antüm^ʔ : Havasupai Indians (‘fighters’); niⁱ tōγ^w·Antⁱ ‘I’m a fighter’.

White people: marikāts·iŋ^w (generally only “Gentiles”).¹³

Mormons: Mō^ʔ·mūniŋ^w; (sing.) Mō^ʔ·munⁱ.

Negroes: Tūmarikāts·iŋ^w.

Territory and Relations with Neighbors

They never had regular villages to stay in. Some bands would go to live with another band and then that band would go with one of the first. They were always moving about. They generally camped where

there was lots of grass and plenty of game (rabbits and others) and wood in winter. They used to camp around Cedar, Panguitch, Kanab, and Kaibab.

The Kaibab Paiutes used to go to Lake Panguitch in late summer and early fall; to Kaibab Plateau in late fall for deer, which they dried there; stayed at Kanab in winter; in spring they might go to Toquerville to meet other tribes to have the Bear Dance. Then they would go back to Kanab and different people would go to different places, such as Escalante Lake, to meet friends and relatives. The Kaibab were friendly to the St. George, Cedar, Q^ucárumpⁱ (Utes affiliated with Paiutes, who introduced the Bear Dance into Paiute country 15 to 20 years ago; a man named “Tom” from Escalante country taught them the songs), whose chief is Oáqar, ‘yellow’. The Paiutes never had much fighting with neighbors. Sometimes they had fist fights; a man, say of the Shivit Indians, would come with a bunch (about 50–100) of fellows and go up to a girl to take her away, her camp would resist, and if his fellows won he had the girl — they did not fight to kill but with fists; after all was over, both sides were friends and the man might live with his wife’s parents. The man did not pay for help in getting a girl (‘fight’ qómp; ‘big fight’ piyánanümp^{ax}qái). The Navahos never did fight with the Paiutes, nor with Utes (Utes and Paiutes were best of friends; Utes were more powerful).

Paiutes said Utes were good fighters and naturally looked to them for protection. Navahos were tallest and considered good fighters, brave, but not equal to Utes. They say that the Hopi make pots of clay and used to live in cliff dwellings in Kanab Creek Canyon; here there are pictographs on the rocks.¹⁴ The Paiutes did not live in cliff houses. With the Shoshones they used to have a big gambling contest and have a Squaw Dance, generally near Cedar City around July. The Muddy River Paiutes talk very fast and sing but could be understood. The Kaibab could understand the Utes better than the Muddy Rivers. Utes “drag” their talk.

Muddy River

igáṗ^ö
úm[‘]

‘sundown’
‘you’

Kaibab

t^ʔs-úṗaux^ʔ
im^ʔ

Paiute country extended as far north as Panguitch Lake, Cedar Creek, and Parowan, coming round to Escalante, south to the Colorado River, including Mt. Trumbull and land north of Colorado River, as far west

as Virgin River. If other bands or tribes wanted to hunt in Kaibab country, they were allowed to do so, generally. Chief of the Kaibabs is George (Wá^εumpísāⁱ ~ Waŋ^εumpícaⁱ).¹⁵

Geographic Terminology

Place Names

Kaibab Plateau: Qáivaviĩs· ‘mountain lying down’.

Virgin River: Parús· ‘white river’ (on account of foaming water in canyon). pānóipⁱ ‘canyon with water running through’; ó^wipⁱ ‘canyon with no water’; pāγántunóipⁱ ‘canyon with cave’.

Kanab Creek: Qanári^εó^wipⁱ ‘willow canyon’; qanáy ‘willow’.

White Cliffs¹⁶: T^o·s·Áqaiiv.

Paunsaugunt Plateau: Qwíamunts· ‘oak mountain’; qwíav ‘oak’.

Paria River: Pariyan^u·qwintⁱ ‘elk river’.

Sevier River: Piyán^u·gwintⁱ ‘big stream’.

Panguitch Lake: Paγíuy (trout and suckers, also whitefish found).

Panguitch Creek: Paγíuva[i]ŋ^u·qwintⁱ. paŋqwiĩs· ‘valley with mountains on both sides’.

Parowan Lake: Paró^oγwantⁱ ‘fighter lake’, so named from the fact that water rises up to fight people when approaching; water used to stir up and overflow.

Moccasin Spring: Pa^εáĩs·píkain^u ‘water rising, coming up’.

Shinarump Cliffs: Yüvímunts· ‘pine mountain’.

Trumbull Mountain: Yüvíŋqariĩ.

Colorado River: Pāγá^ε ‘big water’. pāγá^εóipⁱ Colorado River Canyon.

Santa Clara Creek, Conkry Farm: n^u·qwintⁱ; S·ivit Indians are located there.

Ashe Creek: Tóq^warin^u·qwintⁱ ‘black stream’: many black rocks in canyon.

Muddy Creek: Móriŋ^u·qwintⁱ. móri ‘beans’. Muddy Creek Indians: Móriĩs· or Mqá^p·^[i], plur. Mqápaĩs·iŋ^u, used to raise beans.

Escalante Creek (= Grass Valley).

Kaiparowits Peak: Qáiparowaĩs· ‘mountain’s son’.

San Juan River: TAI·Áipⁱ ~ TAI·oi^p ‘rocky canyon’. toiÁmp^w ‘gravel, rocks big and small’.

Miscellaneous General Geographic Terms

qáivayari 'peak'.

qáivavits' 'plateau'.

*Springs and Watering Places in Paiute Country*¹⁷

1. Pāñáγiyip^{ci} 'spring in a tight place' (referring to willow creek between two mountains; nayíγip^{ci} 'tight place between two hills, etc.): Iron Springs (see St. George sheet);¹⁸ 1898 Cry Dance (Muddy, Sibat, Kaibab); Round Dance (not Ghost) about 1898 near Enoch; summer 1909 "big dance" (probably Cry).

2. Pávutš ? 'little spring': spring near Enoch.

3. Cō'vinuq̄wintⁱ 'cottonwood stream': at Short Creek¹⁹ (see Kanab sheet); dries up in summer, camping place overnight.

4. 'A'tāñ^{ux}q̄wint^{ci} 'sand stream' (= Cottonwood Spring).

5. Paiyū^uxwič^c 'water-sitters' (pl. of payárii 'lake') (= Three Lakes).

6. Tonóvātš 'greasewood spring' (tón^o 'greasewood' (see Kaibab sheet).

7. Cíiv^waiš 'squaw-bush spring'.

8. Mū'tíñ^{wx} 'point' (referring to point of hill): Pipe Spring.

9. To^{xx}qóarumpātš 'wild-geese spring'.

10. Tiñqánivātš 'cave spring'.

11. Tsi^eámpivātš 'wild-rose spring' (see Kanab sheet): Yellowjacket Spring.

12. Payáñq^wton^eñinto^c 'cane valley' (payámp^u 'cane'; q^{wi}-tón^eñitc^c 'round semicircular valley at foot of hill' (see St. George sheet): Cane Patch²⁰ Creek east of Canaan.

13. Pátšpík^yain^c 'water coming out, bubbling': Moccasin Spring.

14. W^eáqarirumpa^c 'cedar-knoll spring' (w^eaqarī 'cedar knoll'): Yellowstone Spring.

15. Māñáñ^u 'thorn (spring)': now Coconino mining camp for copper.²¹

16. Oγontirīnava^c 'fir-butt spring'.

17. Tiñqánivā-tš 'cave spring'.

18. Pjái'tcapīnuq̄wint^c 'oak spring' (not regular oak, has white and red blossoms).²²

19. Mqónt^otsivātš 'hummingbird-head spring'.

20. Añqáñ^u 'reddish': Big Spring.

21. Saxwóvurír^epātš 'blue-hanging-down spring'.

22. Qaĩsóavāt̄s ~ qaĩcóavāt̄s 'end of springs'.
 23. P^z'cix^fmivaxarīr̄' 'water-lizard lake'. (p^z'cixi^fmĩnt̄s 'water lizard')
 (good camping place like all these lakes).
 24. Maávaxarīr̄ 'brush lake'.
 25. Tú'paxarīr̄ 'black lake'.
 26. Mańá'ayumpāt̄s 'thorn-fir spring'.
 27. Antelope Springs, Alkali water.²³

Subsistence

Large Game

Communal Hunt

The gathering place is called cú'pār^foap̄^{si}; a stationed man, wuńíxarīr̄ⁱ, plur. wuńíyuxwīcim' (*not* wāŋwi-); a man walking along to help round up, niŋwúaru^fīc'; people engaged in the hunt are called tińá^{ax}qarim' 'hunters'.

The hunting chief is not necessarily the same as the ordinary chief, but may be anyone who knows the country well and how game travels. The leader may be either with those who round up or with those who are stationed.²⁴ Even if he kills no deer, he may help himself to one killed at a station, for at these generally the most deer are killed.

No matter how many deer one killed, all skins belonged to the hunter. The meat was shared among all; anybody who wanted a particular part, such as two ribs or two hindquarters of a deer lying dead, could say so and it would be his; he might help the slayer in skinning. If the men did not do all the necessary sharing, the women in camp attended to it. This sharing was the regular rule for all foods, including rabbits and flour.

Because of the dense woods, people could not keep together very well, but arrived at camp at irregular intervals packing home deer; sometimes people got lost.

Mountain sheep were hunted the same way between Orderville and Rockville.²⁵

Individual Hunt

In hunting deer, each one managed by himself, deer fences being unknown; also, the use of deer-heads as decoys was not heard of by Tony.²⁶ In the spring, deer were sometimes attracted by imitating the cry of the fawn; this was done by slipping the end of a quaking-aspen leaf into the mouth and drawing in the breath between tightly pressed lips.

Snowshoes were always left outside at some distance from the house, so that women could not see them. It was considered bad luck for a woman to see the snowshoes, probably because it would spoil the hunt, for which purpose they seem to have been chiefly used.

siγ^yiċⁱ 'spear', for spearing bears (not now used); used also for 'sword'.²⁷

Small Game

Rabbit Hunting

Nowadays rabbits are generally hunted by small parties of one or more men who leave early with guns or bows and arrows. Before proceeding to the hunt, they build a campfire and the men or boys practice target-shooting; some conspicuous object such as a projecting rock way off in the distance is chosen as a mark. After having finished practicing, they proceed to chase the rabbits and shoot them.

If it is in the spring, the rabbit call is used; it imitates the sound of the rabbits during the mating season and is made by holding the thumbs straight up against the lips and producing a peculiar smacking or sucking sound.

Each one keeps the rabbits he has killed for himself, and there is no general distribution; this is so with all game, but if some family in the camp needs meat, the woman can always manage to get some from the women of the more successful families, the men not being concerned in distribution at all.²⁸

Sometimes rabbit drives are undertaken by practically all the males of one or more bands, say 80 to 100. A great circle is formed around a favorable rabbit-hunting ground which closes in gradually on the rabbits. As a rabbit attempts to rush out, it is caught at the periphery of the circle by one of the rabbit hunters and killed with a rabbit-stick,

guns or bows and arrows not being employed in this method of killing rabbits. In shooting a rabbit-stick,²⁹ one must always be careful to aim a little ahead of the point at which the rabbit is seen in order to catch him as he runs. The game caught in the rabbit drive belonged individually to those who had killed the rabbits, no collective sharing taking place. As one killed a rabbit, he did not leave it to return to it later, for it would be difficult to find among the bushes, but rather he took it along.

wán^z 'milkweed net (for catching rabbits)'; it was very long and was strung between 2 bushes by one man. He would go out and scare rabbits into the net (no party in this method).³⁰ When he came back, he would kill the rabbits by stroking their sides strongly between his thumb and index finger, causing the heart to burst (called piyúic^{zx}qaviñai 'break the heart').

A favorable season for catching rabbits was in the winter when it snowed, for then they left their tracks on the snow.

The rabbit stick (bent down forward and slightly to one side) was hurled from horseback at a rabbit [see "Games" below]. One or two other sticks were taken along. When the supply was exhausted, the rabbit hunter went to recover his sticks. The stick was thrown with the thin end in the right hand and with a downward off movement.

tāváⁱk^yaiⁱ 'many people burn brush'. This was sometimes done in rabbit-hunting. Several people would circle around and set fire to all the brush at the outside of the circle, thus preventing rabbits from escaping through the circle. Then the men would advance forward and kill the locked-in rabbits.

Woodrats

qá·t^c 'woodrat', such as are found in great quantities near St. George, where they are eaten.³¹ [See also "Food Preparation" for additional small game taken.]

Food Taboos

Paiutes have no scruples about killing coyotes, but will not eat their flesh: wolves are not eaten either, nor crows.

They never thought of eating horse, dog, wolf, or coyote.

Bird Hunting

Boys, in going out to shoot birds, would sometimes make use of a bird call. A light cylindrical piece of wood was held lightly close to the mouth, yet not quite touching it, in a horizontal position; the breath was blown against it in a high pitch, and a melodious rapid tremolo with changing pitch and rather melancholy effect owing to chromatic intervals was produced. The birds would come to the call, and as soon as they lit on the tree, the boys shot them with arrows. Coyote is said to have established the precedent for this. If the birds flew away, the boys would call out $tc + c +$, which was said invariably to call back the birds.

Ducks' eggs were sometimes gathered and boiled as food.

*Plant Foods*³²

áq̄ⁱ 'sunflower seeds' (ʷxq̄ím^ó 'sunflower plant'). The seeds were beaten out in summer with a beater. They were dried for a day or so in the sun. They were roasted on a tray with charcoal, ground on the metate, cooked with water, salt, and sometimes mashed roasted pine-nuts (nowadays flour) into mush, or sometimes cooked with pumpkin. They were generally eaten hot. 'Sunflower mush', ʷxq̄íc̄ap̄ⁱ.

tíuv^a 'pine-nuts'. They are gathered early in fall, September-October. A man, or sometimes a girl, climbs up and breaks off little branches or twigs with cones ('pine-cone', qa^eóv^ó, tív^wáq̄aov^ó). Cones are broken off from the branches with the hand and put into a burden-basket, and carried home by the women. Those at home have prepared a fire; the fire is built in the hollow-like center of a woodpile shaped like a big eagle's nest (with wood thick on the sides). The pine cones are thrown in and burned for about 15 or 20 minutes. Then ashes are strewn over to keep the nuts warm. He, or those (say 6), about the fire take the cones one by one and hit them with a flat rock to loosen the nuts. The cones are then thrown to a party (say 6) sitting around a canvas sheet (in earlier days, perhaps a natural expanse of flat rock such as sometimes is found there) and onto the canvas. These shake out the nuts with their hands; what nuts are left are plucked out with the fingers. The cones are thrown far away. Another party, after all the cones have been burnt and the nuts taken out, take the nuts in pans and lay them out on another canvas (or flat rock) to dry in the sun; they are dried thoroughly

to keep them from moulding later. Then they are stored away for winter use. When required, they may be shelled, mashed, and cooked with seeds into mush; they are also eaten plain.

Both men and women engage in pine-nut work. Men attend to climbing and firing; women used to do the carrying in burden baskets. The work of burning, hitting with rocks, and shaking out proceeded very rapidly.

tiŋwÁmpⁱ 'serviceberry'; tiŋwÁmpiv^o 'berry bush'. These were gathered in fall by picking them into burden baskets, spread out in the sun to dry, and put away for winter use in a buckskin sack (tiŋíaxunav^o 'deer sack'; qunáv^o 'sack'). Sometimes, after being dried, they are mashed on the metate and preserved. When used, these mashed serviceberries are stirred up in water and eaten as a kind of soup. The wood is used for arrows.

i^eiŋ^sⁱ 'squaw-berry', used for food like serviceberries and collected in July ('squaw-bush', s-ŋⁱv^wimp^o). The stem of the plant is used in making baskets; the unsplit stem is used for the foundation in coiled basketry, and split into three parts about, with the heart taken out, for wrapping. It is also used in twined basketry. To finish the basket, serviceberry bush is used for the hoop. The splints are soaked in water overnight; when the bark is kept on (not often), they should be used right away without soaking.

poxómpiv^o 'currant bush'; poxómpⁱ 'currant'. They ripen in August and are prepared just like serviceberries.

paáu^eoṗ^{wi} 'buffalo-berry'; bush, paáu^eoṗwiv^o ('red' q^eqip^{wi}). It was prepared like other berries, and was obtained in July and August.

q^eoṗ^{wi} red berry growing on little brush like greasewood. It was eaten either raw or prepared, like all other berries. This is the best berry of all.

yu^eávⁱ fruit of low vine-like cactus (yu^eávinp^o) with oval, flat, thorn-serrated leaves. The fruit ripens in September and is eaten raw; probably *Opuntia missouriensis*.

sí^eA (?*Rafinesquia californica*): in June the stalks are eaten raw; it is not a staple food.

yŋ^wimp^u: ?*Pinus insignis*.

táčⁱ: a kind of cactus (? *Mammillaria* or *Echinocactus*); the spines are taken off and it is eaten after burying it in ashes overnight.

uv^wáxo^eov^u: a kind of cactus, not as round as táčⁱ, that sometimes grows in bunches that stand up.

nánt^α: a short-leaved, round-spined plant, about one foot high, something like a century plant, locally known as yant. A hole about 8 or 10 feet in diameter is made and filled with rocks. Over these wood is piled and fired. When the fire has gone down, wood ashes are spread evenly as a bed for nant^α, the cabbage-like heads, stalks, and spines having been cut off at the place of gathering and the fruits brought home in burden baskets. Over these tunōxwiv^ō (grass bunched together to considerable height and growing on sand hills) is spread, and then dirt is piled over it. The plants roast for about two days. Then they are taken out and are eaten, sweet. All this is done in winter and fall. Sometimes they are dried and preserved for further use. A cake (pⁱ“qóvⁱ) is made out of the heart of the cabbage-like head that has been roasted, smashed, and laid out on rocks. In spring, when the stalks are fresh and juicy, they are roasted and eaten (known as nantá^εuwipⁱ ‘yant-stalk’). ? *Agave*.

qōsⁱ ~ qocⁱ: more like a century-plant than is nant^α. The fruit forms on the stalk and ripens in fall. The fruit is eaten raw or roasted simply on ashes. It may also be dried instead of roasting — cut into two halves, the seeds taken out, and the halves taken out to dry in the sun. It is kept for winter use and formed one of the staple foods in winter. Plant, qōsⁱv^ō ~ qociv^ō. [And on another occasion...] ḏčⁱ *Yucca baccata* (whole plant, ḏčiv^u). *Yucca* fruit (ḏčⁱ) is prepared by splitting open seeds taken out (in fall before hunting season, gathered at the foot of the plateau). Sometimes they are roasted on ashes directly, or caused to dry and cached for winter, then warmed up and darkened by burning on charcoal, when it is boiled into mush (ḏčca^εaḏⁱ).

tca^εmáviḏ^ō like oḥⁱ only smaller variety. The fruit is like that of oḥⁱ but not eaten. The stalk is roasted for about one hour buried in ashes and eaten (tca^εwávi^εuwipⁱ, smaller than nant^α stalk), the roots taken out, the outside peeled off, and used to make suds in water for hair wash. The flowers are eaten after being prepared. ? = *Yucca filamentosa*. [And on another occasion...] tca^εmáviḏ^u *Hesperoyucca whipplei*. The stalk is eaten when young and tender by roasting in ashes; the flowers are eaten roasted under ashes when young; the root is used for soap and in an arrow game. [Sapir’s note: Identified from Trelease in Missouri Botanical Garden, 13th Report, 1902.]

siḡō^ε: ‘sego’ (a sort of “wild onion”). The roots are taken out and eaten raw, generally around June and July.

wá^εzi: grass growing on sandy plains and gathered in summertime. The grass is gathered by cutting off the top of the grass blades into a

burden basket. A whole pile is made and burned, leaving a big pile of seeds on the ground. The seeds are like radish seeds, only whiter. They are roasted in a tray and ground into white flour. It is eaten as flour, or made into mush as before ('mush' wa^éáíçī^éap̄^é).

túṗ^éuwivⁱ ('black seeds'; 'seeds' pu^éiv^ó) 'pigweed'. The tops are cut off as before, brought home in a burden basket, and spread out on a skin. The seeds are beaten out with any old stick, gathered up, and stored away in a sack. When required, mush is made as before.

qó^{éu}: weeds like grass burrs. It has red seeds from which mush is made as before. It ripens in spring.

wár^z: seeds (very small) collected with a beater into a burden basket. They are roasted and shaken on a tray, then ground in a maráts· ~ máṡ^z with m^wo^éáís· and then boiled with hot rocks in a bucket and made into mush. This is eaten fresh, not preserved. 'Any mush' s·ī^éáp̄^é; wár^z = mush = warás·ī^éáp̄^é.

qwāx^{wi}: grass seed of plant two or three feet high, that used to grow chiefly around Point Spring but has now been eaten up by cattle. It was made into a very white flour and mush made as in the case of wár^z; it was considered the best mush of all. The most important Paiute foods: deer, jack-rabbit, qwǎx^{wi}, sunflower seeds (áq̄^z), nánt^z, ós̄ⁱ, and pine-nuts.

The blossoms of the locust tree (maáçīutcampiv^u, *not* a kind of oak as was noted under Springs), were collected in spring by breaking off the branches and were boiled without particular preparation (no hunger food).

ciáv^ó 'quaking asp[en]'. The sap used to be obtained in spring and summer and eaten raw ('sap of tree' cǎāp̄iay^{[ó]i}; 'sap' piyáyⁱ). [Sapir's note: Tony claims this word sounds quite different from piyávⁱ '(somebody's) mother'. Possibly 'mother' is pīyáyⁱ. Tony says 'mother' sounds "slower." It seems, though not plausibly, that "sap" has higher pitch on the second syllable: piyáyⁱ. An attempt was made by me and Tony to test each other on this basis of pitch, and the result was absolutely satisfactory in *every* case (perhaps 12 or so). māáy^o 'things' and 'brush' sound quite alike, however.]

to^éóiv^ó 'bulrush (grows in swamps)'. It is dug up in summertime and the roots eaten raw.

^{wi}tcúna^{é+z} 'wild potato'. It grows on mountains and is dug up in summer and roasted for food. A pit is dug and when the fire is down somewhat and has warmed up the earth, these roots are put on, covered

with ashes from the wood, and dirt put on top; they are allowed to roast about 15 minutes.

tümp^wĩfcoḅ^u: a small weed growing close to the ground with round, wide leaves; these leaves are cooked and are said to taste like dandelions.

Medicinal Plants

qwiṭcÁc̄ ‘wild onion’. It is used as medicine, dried and then ground fine on any old stone. It is put on wounds of people and horses, but not used internally because it is poisonous. The stalks look like those of the onion; the root is used. (qwiṭcÁc̄iv^wúnyantⁱ ‘having onions’).

saṅwáv^o ‘sagebrush’. The leaves (green part) are put in water and heated up into a sort of medicinal tea. This was poured into cooler water and drunk to make one vomit in cases of bad cold. The wood was used for firewood. The finer bark was used in a little bunch as a stopper for a water jar (‘stopper for water-jar’ q̄irAc̄^{ie}Áp̄^o).

Miscellaneous Plants

tá^zc̄ⁱ (clump of them, t^z‘cím^z‘): a small cactus about one foot high with spines that curve. t^z‘cím^wanavⁱ ‘cactus spines’. Probably “barrel cactus.”

ováxo^eov^o: very small cactus, three or four in a clump; said to be poisonous and to make one crazy when eaten.

‘wi‘cáramp^o : big cactus (as high as a man); not used.

qáicūv^o: “mountain plant”; not used for anything.

ṣ-qúmp^o: “rabbit brush” with yellow blossoms on tip; can’t be used for anything except possibly wood.

paywai^eamp^o: tree (sp.?).

qáxuṗuñā^eav^u: leaves of low plant growing near the Colorado River; they are chewed and pebbles wet in the mouth with this. The pebbles are thrown at a wild horse (mustang) which cannot be caught, whereupon it slows up. This remedy is not often resorted to, because the horse will always be slow and lazy.

qwāñánump^u (?) is a plant about three feet high with blue or purple flowers. Its leaves are tied to a necklace or armbands because of its perfume. It causes horses to sweat profusely, and hence is thrown away when riding.

Agriculture

Corns of smaller cobs than now and of different colors used to be cultivated at Moccasin Springs (sandy soil) — red, blue, and white colors sometimes all found on one cob. The old Indian name for corn is qom̄i' (hardly used now),³³ also ɽ'áṗ'ⁱ (really 'plant'; ɽáca^eaṗ'ⁱ 'corn mush'). Also planted were pumpkins, pāraṅwar, and pigweed, tóṗ^eniv^u 'black seed',³⁴ but not tobacco, beans, and melons there. The Muddy River Indians used to plant beans (mōri'), whence their name Mōriṽsiṅ^w (from which "Muddy" is corrupted). At Kanab nothing was ever planted.

áq̄^z, sunflower seeds, grows wild and was not planted; the bigger variety called mōq̄wi⁺aq̄^z is still used for seeds like others and is still planted, but [Tony is] not certain whether they used to; the name is probably 'Hopi sunflower' ('Hopi', mōq̄wi^et̄c̄).³⁵

The Paiutes did not plant in rows, but dug a little pit about three feet in diameter and one-half foot deep into which seeds were put and earth put over; when it rained water would collect, and also water would be brought from springs nearby; many such diminutive garden plots were planted.³⁶

Planting was in May or June. Corn was reaped in latter July or August, pumpkins in September, pigweeds and moqui-sunflowers also in September (wild sunflowers ripened in the latter part of June). Each cob was taken off by itself. After white influence, corn was planted in rows. The man who owned a patch would, at ripening time, invite the whole camp to help pick it into baskets and assign particular rows to different people whose property they became, he himself picking all his own corn.

ɽái' 'plant' (not ɽxái' 'enter').

t̄ixái' 'harvest' (= 'collect seeds').

pātcáq̄iṅwai' 'water, irrigate' (pātcáq̄wi' 'wet, moist').

ɽáq̄a' 'be planted'.

qó^{ie}nioav^u 'cob (without corn)' (? 'corn-back').

Corn used to be roasted on the cob in different ways: put under ashes with the husks on for about one-half hour; burnt in a fire with the husks on for about five or ten minutes, until the husks burst out; or burnt right next to the fire with the husks off for about 15 minutes (with different sides turned to the fire from time to time). After roasting, the cobs were eaten plain without salting. Corn was also boiled in mud or clay buckets (pampún^{ci}) with no handles; it was put right on the fire

and was lifted off by putting the hands on the sides; 'boiled corn', *ĩáca^εaṗ^u*. Some of the boiled corn was taken off the cob and allowed to dry thoroughly (called *p^αca^εaṗⁱ*, also when boiled the second time) and stored away for winter use; when required, it was boiled again — the grains were now small and shriveled into a sort of hominy. Nowadays green corn is unhusked and the grains taken off and ground on a metate, then put on a pan and baked on ashes; this corn bread or cake is called *qó^{iε}nivānrupⁱ* 'corn bread or cake' (*pānarupⁱ* 'bread', *pānarui* 'make bread'). This corn food is probably not aboriginal. The Paiutes never had "paper bread."³⁷

Pumpkins used to be cut up and boiled into mush with water; the mush was stirred up with any old stick (*tāqwán^εnoñomp^u*; *tāqwán^εnoi* 'to stir'; 'pumpkin mush' *paráṅwaračā^εaṗⁱ*). Another old Indian method was to cut a pumpkin into two halves, remove the seeds and slime, and bury it deep under ashes, the rind being left on; it was allowed to roast overnight, and eaten in the morning. This was called *paráṅwarantĩ^mApⁱ*.

(*tóṗu^{εi}* is not really pigweed,³⁸ but a plant growing vinelike on the ground with black seeds that are very oily; these are gathered in summer when dry by beating into a basket. It was not cultivated like pigweed. It was made into mush like other seeds, or could be eaten when ground without making it into mush, being oily like butter.)

Pigweed is probably *wár^α*.³⁹ It either grows wild or is cultivated, when it grows to a height of four or five feet. It is now planted in rows, formerly in clumps. Mush is made out of it. Mush is also made from the seeds of the cultivated sunflower.

Cultivated plants belonged to the particular man who planted them, who could use that land as long as he liked.

Insect Foods

Locusts used to be put on a roasting tray and hot wood-ashes were tossed over them until the locusts were done; they were then eaten without further preparation. Locusts were caught singly by hand.⁴⁰ [Tony] never heard of eating wasp grubs or ants.

Reptiles

saxwár looks like a lizard, only bluish in color; it used to be eaten roasted or boiled (?) by the Paiutes, particularly the St. George Indians.⁴¹

Food Preparation

Meat

The first step in the butchering of a deer is to skin the animal, the head and the fat above the hips coming off with the skin. Before the actual skinning, the belly was ripped open, the body thrust aside on either side, and the entrails pulled out. The contents of entrails were not eaten but were squeezed out, the entrails being later roasted. Before the ripping, the legs below the knees were cut off and thrown away; neither deer-hoof rattles nor deer-claw jingles were used. After skinning, the deer was cut up into various parts: two hind-quarters, two ribs, two shoulderblades, back bone and neck, two kidneys, two lungs, heart, liver, stomach, stomach fat, very soft band of meat alongside the backbone.

Sometimes the whole deer was carried home in one haul; if it was too heavy, the skin with attachments and hindquarters were carried home first, the rest being suspended high on the limbs of a tree. In packing the whole, the head was turned inside, each pair of legs roped together separately, then turned in and roped together, and the skin made to cover all; the burden was carried directly on the back and shoulders without further assistance.

The fat of the outside of the stomach of deer (pô'yumpⁱ), the thick fat just on top of the hips right under the skin and above the meat (p^x·tófompⁱ), comes right off with the skin; it was taken off by women with a scraping tool with an iron blade, formerly bone, called tcáxa^enump^u. tí'áñiwuĩs is a butchering knife for deer, nowadays an ordinary cow-puncher's knife. ʔntúq̄wⁱ is the meat along the two sides of the spinal column, which is taken off separately and used as the softest meat; sinew is made of [obtained from] it.

Sometimes the blood of the deer is carried home in some of the guts, probably the stomach, put with the gut to roast under ashes for two or three hours, and then eaten when the blood has clotted ('prepared blood, blood in guts' q̄itcávⁱ).

puγái' 'to hang (game or anything on limbs) in order to come back for it later'.

q̄v^w·ác^(x)·ai ~ uv^w·ác^(x)·ai 'to boil meat'; pamupúñiorāv^u 'bucket sticks' — three of them serve as a tripod for supporting the bucket, pāmpunⁱ, which is suspended by a rope or chain, the top of the sticks being four or five feet from the ground, while the bucket rests nearby over the fire.

It seems they had an old type of earthen pot without a handle to boil meat in, not a basket or box, which was placed on the ashes on the ground and a fire built around it.⁴²

wáí^{yi} 'to roast in ashes'; wáiv^{wāñi^{xx}}qav^{ci} 'I'll roast it'. Meat was put on red-hot ashes and turned from time to time (tsimún^{ci} 'cai').

q^utsí^{ci} 'to roast on a spit'. A sharp stick was poked through a chunk of meat and held in the hand down near the hot part of the fire, not over the fire, in which case the meat would be smoked too much. Another way is to put meat on a wooden rest, horizontally placed on the ground near the fire and turned around from time to time. Spit-roasting is superior but takes longer; ash-roasting is done if there is a hurry.

Boiling is preferred for use when in the main camp; roasting is convenient when away.

Dried in the sun, meat is also eaten after being boiled or roasted, not when raw, although this is sometimes done.

íá̄puxorán^{num}^o 'drying frame' (íá̄p^u 'sliced meat before drying'; qorái^u 'spread out (meat)'; = 'sliced-meat spreader') [see Figures 1 and 2].

The fat around the stomach, pô'yump^{ci}, is chopped up with a knife into small pieces and mixed with tc^{xx}qóqānt^{ci}; p^{ci}tó^oomp^{ci} from the hips is generally boiled with meat. The Indians generally throw bones away, not caring for marrow (yí^oúrûvⁱ); sometimes they roast bones on ashes, then split them open and eat the marrow. Brains are never eaten but are kept for tanning. The head of a deer is carefully taken out of the skin by skinning, beginning from the ears and cutting around; after the brains are taken out, the head is buried in ashes overnight, and the next day it is soft and juicy and the meat is picked out from the bones (t^otsí^{ci}m^wāp^{ci} 'roasted head'; tí^om^wái^u 'roast under the ashes').

Generally the water in which meat has been boiled is thrown away; only in the case of deer-meat having been boiled, particularly with fat, the soup is drunk (uv^wáv^u 'soup').

tī ArⁱquAv 'deer meat'; iyá̄p^u dried deer meat; q^utcū^{ci} iyāp^u 'dried beef'.

Jack-rabbit is generally boiled (qamū^unv^wač^{ci}āp^{ci} 'boiled rabbit') or roasted under ashes (qamū^uru^omāp^{ci} 'roasted rabbit'). Also, quails are either boiled or roasted under ashes, also mourning doves, piñon jays (*not* other jays), grouse, prairie hens, prairie dogs⁴³ (a very much liked food, roasted under ashes or boiled), gray squirrels, chipmunks, gophers (*not* nowadays). The St. George people depend much on smaller rodents

like wood rats (which they scare out of holes and kill with arrows) and gophers. Tony used to hunt them for Sally Rice, who cooked them under ashes.

Often meat that has been dried about two days before will be very slightly roasted on each side, then thoroughly pounded on a rock with any small rock (to^{ˈz}xqóí^ˈ) until quite loose (strands come out easy), then laid out to dry in the sun (tcāγwīkōrai^ˈ ~ tcāγwīqōrai^ˈ ‘put out to dry’; tcāxwí^ˈ ‘dry in sun’) for one or two days until thoroughly dry; the meat is then called tc^{ˈz}xqóqānt^ˈi and sacked up for future use. It can be eaten as such or, more often, is boiled with flour to make a gravy (probably not the old method).

Lungs, liver, heart, kidneys, and intestines are generally roasted; the stomach is boiled.

Vegetable Foods

Cooking was originally done by heating stones over a fire, lifting the stones between two sticks as tongs into a “kettle,” having the water in the kettle boil, and putting in the roots or seeds to be boiled. The kettle was long ago made of rudely worked clay, but this was so long ago that Tony never saw one. Also, a water jar made of the squaw bush could be used as a kettle.⁴⁴

Any stick will serve as a stirrer in mush boiling (tāqwán^ˈunump^ˈu; tāqwán^ˈai^ˈ ‘stir’).

Caches

tuγwú^ˈtī^ˈz ‘cache’(cf. qāī^ˈz ‘singing place’, t^ˈi^ˈqāī^ˈz ‘eating place’); tuγwú^ˈi^ˈ ‘to cache’; nīñi tuγwú^ˈin^ˈnīñ ‘my cached things’; tuγwú^ˈtīān^ˈi ‘my cache, place where I cache’.

A cave was always selected and a hole about two or three feet deep dug. The bottom was lined with cedar bark; then comes a sack with dried meat or other objects, a canvas covering, more cedar bark, and dirt piled on top smooth with the floor of the cave (tiñqán^ˈi) so that nothing was noticeable. In this way things kept cool and unspoiled. Caching was generally done in fall for the time when people would return in winter, the time of scarcity.

Pets, Dogs

Wild animals were captured and kept as pets. An uncle of Tony's once caught a little coyote and brought him up like a dog. He used to be quite tame and ran around the camp like a dog. One fine day, however, he ran off and never returned.

Boys would sometimes catch young sparrow hawks (qīriń^εnaŋqaṭ̄s) and bring them up as pets. They were kept merely for the fun of it and because it was good to hear them fly way up in the air and screech their little tones. They would often fly off for an hour or more and then return; but it always happened that they would once fly off and never return.

Boys would sometimes go out in the mountains to catch eaglets.⁴⁵ Several boys would hold onto a rope and let down another boy at the other end very slowly onto a cliff where there was an eyrie, often to a distance of 100 feet or more. The boy at the other end would shout for the stop as soon as he got to the cliff; he put his hand into the nest and pulled out the eaglets, was pulled back up, and carried them home. In a tree a sort of nest or cage of wood was built in which they were brought up. As they grew, a string was tied to one foot and they would fly about. After a while, tail and wing feathers were plucked out and used for feathering arrows. When all the feathers had been plucked, an eagle would be let go; before it could fly again, it would live on mice and lizards; in captivity an eagle is chiefly fed on jack-rabbits. It is claimed that a second growth of feathers is superior to the first, being softer.

The Utes would often catch eagles by erecting a sort of conical pole structure on a cliff with no hole to see through, except at the very top, where some meat was put as bait. As soon as an eagle came to light, the man concealed inside grabbed hold of the eagle's legs and carried him home. The feathers of war bonnets, according to the Utes, must be taken from live eagles; if they are taken from dead eagles, they would symbolize death, and the war bonnet would be bad luck to the wearer, leading him to death.⁴⁶ For the feathering of arrows, however, it was proper for the feathers of dead eagles to be used.

Dogs were not allowed in the deer hunt. Only in hunting rabbits and other rodents were they used; they would chase the rabbit and kill it, but were not used in the regular rabbit round-up. [Tony] never heard of the dog travois. He does not think the Paiutes had dogs before the coming of Whites.⁴⁷

Indian names of horses:

t'hópaiAmpāc̄ 'species of bird, two feet high, white, black-spotted wings (like mockingbird), long bill, wades in water (p^ʰsáxwāv^u 'marsh?').⁴⁸

oróŋwimpⁱ 'grunter'; oróŋwī 'grunt, growl'; oróŋwimpāñi 'future. naŋámpu^{ei} 'fierce eye, mean eye' (cf. naŋái^{ai} 'be angry').

Material Culture

Bows

For the bow, various woods are used: locust (piyátⁱcumpiv^u), serviceberry (tīáv^u), "drooping" willow (pāxánav^u), wood of bush or tree with thorns on branches and big useless orange-like flowers [*sic*] (used for hedges), oak (qwíyavu; not very good, because slow). Serviceberry wood is best of all, most being made of it.⁴⁹

A branch or stalk growing from the roots is used for the bow. It has to taper in thickness from the center to the ends very gradually, the center being about one and a half inches wide, the ends about one-half inch wide. It also tapers, though not so gradually, in width, tapering rapidly at the ends; the center is about three-fourths or one inch thick, the ends about one-fourth inch thick. Notches are then cut in the bow about three-fourths inch from the end for about one-fourth inch of width on each side, two notches at each end, one on each side. Bows have one of two forms, either simply bent or doubly bent [double recurved]. If the bow is to have the former shape, it is left to dry completely before the string is put on, without being bent, pulling the string giving the flexible wood its curve. If the bow has the latter form, after tapering and notching (no "sand-papering"), it is kept rigid [on edge] on the ground for about one week with five pegs [each at the point of a curve]. When completely dry, it is released and will not resume its original shape when it was as straight as an arrow. The simple-curved bow is rather more common;⁵⁰ the double-curved bow has "better shape." The [cross-]section of the bow is elliptical. At the ends the cross-section is also elliptical but longer [and thinner]. Some bows, for extra strength, were covered on the outside lengthwise with sinew glued down with piñon gum. They used to have sinew-backed bows called tāŋá^{ai}c̄ 'kick bow'; sinew was laid down with gum. No fur or other material in

center of bow for grip. Paiutes never seem to have painted bows in earlier days.

Leg sinew of deer is taken for twisting strands into bowstrings. 'Bowstring', *pāγáηwĩ^{ei}*. It is looped once around one pair of notches (Paiutes had always four notches, never only one on one end as in the Ute bow), then carried over to the other pair and looped around as often as desired, carried round and round on the bow inwards from the end, and, when the last coil is done, the end is tucked under: when the bow is not in use, the latter end is loosened. Bows used to be warmed up a little in cold weather before going out to hunt, to prevent them from cracking.

In shooting off a bow, it was held horizontally and first brought up and then down to aim at the object. The release was the primary one; when great strength was to be obtained, the other three or two of the fingers rested below on the string. The arrow rests on the clenched hand gripping the bow.

Arrows

Serviceberry branches were used for arrows. The bark is peeled off with a knife. The wood is put away to dry in the house or sun until dry enough, but not all dried up — say about two or three days. Then it is straightened by means of an antelope-horn straightener⁵¹ (*pārái^{vi}* 'straighten out'). Then it is put away to dry again, and when completely dried straightened out again. Two pieces of sandstone (not grooved, but with hollows formed by wearing out) are used to scrape arrow-sticks smooth. Then the arrows are shaped and cut to the right size (generally measured as long as the arm; the maker goes by his own arm and does not make different-sized arrows for different persons). When first cut, arrows are cut straight in circular cross-section. The nock is whittled out with two horns coming to the outward points and with slight spaces between them where they join the main shaft;⁵² the nock is cut at the switch end of the branch, so as to give equal balance to the arrow when the feathers are attached. The arrow is beveled by cutting to about one inch up from the end of the nock to allow for feathering and sinewing. The nock ("qucix^{yi}'a") may be square-cut at the points instead of pointed. The beveled part is "sand-papered"⁵³ after being cut away. Eagle or hawk feathers (*qwānātsiṣ* 'hawk' with big red tail,⁵⁴ used chiefly for small game; eagle makes better arrows for big game; not

used to play with) are taken out of the bag and split through the quill; tail feathers and wing feathers are generally used. Piñon gum, after heating, is smeared around the end of the arrow at the nock. The quill side of the feather is shaved at one end and fitted onto the arrow. (First blue or red earth paint has been painted around the arrow for one-half the feather distance; the feathers have been trimmed evenly down towards the nock, with a bare space of one-half to one inch left for sinew wrapping, and a small tuft left at the end to come out between the nock and the wrapping.) Then the open space is wrapped around with sinew which had been soaked in water. Then the arrow is put away to dry its sinew, the upper end of the feathers (three having been put down at equal distances) being now loose. Then the next arrow is thus half-feathered. After as many arrows as desired are feathered and the sinew has dried, the upper ends of the quills are shaved so as to fit the wood tightly; as this is the butt end of the quill, there are no feathers to be cut away (at the nock end the feathers were cut away if the whole feather was too long). Gum is applied and the wrapping of sinew takes place for somewhat greater length than at the nock. A little red paint has been applied to the shaft below this wrapping, leaving a clear space between itself and the paint on the nock side.⁵⁵

urúi 'feather (an arrow)'; *u'qwiûrui 'make (an arrow)'; urúqwant^{ci} 'feathered arrow'; sánán^enai 'smear on gum'; tāmúŋ^{e-wi}qwiutai 'wrap sinew around'; tāmín^{wi} 'sinew'; sāywan^enai 'paint blue'; aŋqán^enai 'paint red'; *wi'cí'z'sivai^{yi} 'scrape quill smooth'.

The length of the butt of the arrow, including the feathering, is about seven inches. With a knife, the other end of the arrow is split to a depth of one and one-half or two inches; generally a few very thin slivers are cut out. The arrow point has barbs (one on each side and serrated edges on the shaft part). The shaft of the arrow point fits closely into the shaft of the arrow and sinks down as far as above the barbs; about one inch of the point fits into the wood. Gum is smeared in the arrow and sinew wrapped for a distance of about three inches, reaching as far into the space between the barbs as one can reach. Instead of a barbed point [pointed tangs], one may have a rounded head [blunted tangs].

'Arrowhead', wuiŋ^ewunāp^{ci} ('knife point', wu^enāp^{ci}). The head was originally flint, now iron ('flint', t'z'cíp^u, used also for knives).

After "sand-papering," snake-like lines are run down the arrow-shaft by means of the point of the butt end of the blade (formerly there was a flint implement with a point for this purpose). In scratching, the shaft is lightly twirled in the left hand, while the point is run perpendicularly

down, it being held firm to either side of the point. Generally three such small lines run down; they are supposed to be good in shooting, and the arrow would not be complete without them. The lines run down from one end to the other, so that the later part will be covered by sinew wrapping. Tony's grandfather used to scratch two or three wavy lines down along the length of the arrow as a sort of trademark.⁵⁶

'Scrape (wavy lines)', *tātsīpōāru*^{ei}, better is *tātsīkwiyu*ⁱ; the former sounds more like making of straight lines. (Also used to mean 'furrow'.) fut., *-ruivāñian*ⁱ; 'scraped lines', *tātsīkwiyu*ⁱ*yk*^y*Ant*ⁱ.

The wavy lines do not seem to represent snakes.

If necessary, arrows are repaired from time to time by refeathering or putting in another point. An attempt is always made to recover arrows; if there are several along, each can always tell his own by any of several characteristics.

In arrow-making one may also use *poxómp*ⁱ 'currant' ('bush', *poxómpjv*^u). The serviceberry is superior. Currant arrows crack easily and have to be greased when they get dry. Also, a cane that grows in swamps is used for arrow-shafts, called *pāxámp*^u. If a cane arrow is used, a serviceberry foreshaft about eight or nine inches long is stuck into the hollow cane for a distance of about three inches, the lower end of the foreshaft being whittled off so as to fit in closely. Then it is wrapped around with sinew; the arrowpoint [is attached] as before. 'Cane arrow', *pāxáō*^u, *pāxú*^u*qwiyu*ⁱ; 'foreshaft', *wawái*^e*yāv*^u. The nock is cut out of one of the cane-joints (*narĩtsin*^e*aqain*^ʔ, *narĩtsin*^e*ai*ⁱ 'joints'); it is feathered as usual or, less commonly, not feathered. Cane arrows are swiftest of all but break too easily. They are best used for small game, and are swiftest when not feathered. The feathering is put on straight, not curved, in order to give straight direction; service and currant arrows would whiz right out of direction if not feathered. There is no painting or scratching on cane arrows. [Tony] never heard of poisoned arrows.

An arrow-making outfit includes: a piece of antelope horn with various holes in it of different diameters that are used to straighten out arrows of various thicknesses; two grooved pieces of sandstone used to polish out the arrow; a flint-headed arrow-scraper for notching zig-zag lines, different from the ordinary flint knife; piñon gum to pitch the sinew wrapping; and other things.

Quiver

uḵuñ^x 'quiver', made of wildcat skin.⁵⁷ The stick to which the quiver is sewn makes it stiff; the stick is used to serve as a leaning support for the quiver. The quiver is hung on the left side, strapped by a string to the right shoulder; arrows are taken out with the right hand.

Fire-making

The outside bark of cedar was shredded and used as tinder in fire-making (moγwáḗ^u 'cedar-bark'). q^ocóv^u 'slow-match'. The outside bark of cedar was taken and wrapped and tied with the same fiber (perhaps a thin strip of bark) into a long bundle. This was carried along when traveling and glowed without burning quickly. Whenever required for fire, it was waved or blown at. q^utúñui 'drill for fire' (tuñûⁱ 'drill a hole, swirl').⁵⁸

Metate and Mano

mārāḷīs is not sand-rock but hard rock with a flat top; its average size is one or one and one-half feet long and ten inches wide, but varies greatly inside. It gets worn in like a shallow trough, being packed around and used for years. mu^eáḷīs is the grinder, oblong-like in section with rounded corners, and about eight inches long, long enough to hold conveniently in both fists. The motion of grinding is like that of rubbing wash on a washboard. Flour thus ground is caught in a pan or basket, originally, placed at the side away from the woman grinding.

Pipes and Tobacco

Pipes were formerly of stone.⁵⁹ The tube was bored out by drilling with a flint-headed implement looking much like an ordinary flint-pointed arrowshaft, which was simply twirled between the hands.

The wild "Indian tobacco"⁶⁰ (qo^eáḗⁱ) was formerly used as tobacco and is still gathered by medicine-men. 'To smoke' is qo^eáḗⁱqaiⁱ 'tobacco-eat'. Pipes had a stone, generally red pipe-stone,⁶¹ bowl and wooden stem.

*Basketry and Cradles*⁶²

ótc^z 'water-jar', the same style as with the Utes.⁶³ cǐúv^{wi} 'squaw-bush' is used for both coils and wrapping. 'ótcáur 'strap by which basket is carried'; it was never carried on the head, but on the back with the strap across the forehead. It was never decorated.

'áicⁱ 'carrying basket' of coiled technique, made of squaw-bush; yautó^eóč[^] (-cAnⁱ 'my basket') 'carrying basket' or twined ware made either of willow entirely, squaw-bush entirely, or both together, willow generally used less than squaw-bush; openwork about as rough as cradle bottom.⁶⁴ The second type was used to carry things in when moving, pine cones, óčⁱ, yant, and other rough things; the first for these and also grass seeds. These were never ornamented.

t^zxqwi^{εo} (-^εunⁱ 'my basket') 'roasting tray', flat with a slight curve at the rim, very closely worked in coiled ware with squaw-bush, about one and one-half or two feet in diameter.

tixánump^u 'seed-beater', straight and flat except that it is slightly curved up at the rounded end; made of squaw-bush and openwork twined; approximately tennis-racket-shaped.

cǐyáitcox^u 'woman's basket cap', bell-shaped, flattened at the top; also made of squaw-bush in coiled ware, never twined, according to Tony.⁶⁵ tóčǐuv^{wi} found around Rockville is a small weed, naturally black in color with black leaves curving in and up into thorns;⁶⁶ these are split up into strands and used for sewing material instead of squaw-bush where a design in black is desired. One typical design is a series of circle bands, parallel to each other in an up-and-down direction with following band zig-zagged at the top and filled in in black (should look more mountain-like). Red designs in basketry are obtained by boiling squaw-bush in water with red clay, from which strands get their color. Baskets are never painted.⁶⁷

q^u'tsiayote' is a Ute word used to denote any kind of receptacle for food or drink, like a cup, pan, or tray. The Paiutes had no baskets for storage sacks.

Cradles have a willow foundation [Figure 3]. The vertical ribs are willow branches with the bark taken off. The wrapping around (in and out of) the willow ribs is done by twining by means of two flexible willow strands or rather bands (a willow switch with the bark taken off is split into three parts; the coarse part near the core is cut out,⁶⁸ leaving the flexible splint under the bark); these are twisted also along the sides of a willow "board" close to the last ribs (not as far away as in Klamath

cradleboards);⁶⁹ there is a distance of about three inches between two lines of twining, which forms a continuous line surrounding the ribs, also above and below. Willow-ribs are put close together but not so firmly that one cannot see through. There is no hoop on the willow foundation. The hood, also of willow ribs and willow-splint twining, is served on flush to the willow bottom; it has ear-like openings below (as shown in Figure 3), the lower boundary being given by a single willow switch. This hood has a rounded outline as it comes to the bottom on the head of the board, not a level top as in Apache cradleboards. There are no horns as in Kiowa and other Plains cradleboards, but a semicircular hoop of willow switch as in Apache cradleboards (no lower hoop as in Apache), leaving an opening between the hood and outer hoop. The cradle back and front below the baby's head are covered with buckskin or cloth (no pole-hoop arrangement as in Klamath); the upper hoop and covering hood are not covered with buckskin but left to stand out. There is no ornamentation on the hood as in Klamath. The lacing of the skin cover is done with a single buckskin thong. Rags are put on the bottom of the cradle as support for the baby; soft bedding and a pillow are put in before lacing. When the baby dirties the cradle (or rather the rag), it is taken out and another put in under the buttocks. At the back of the cradle are two buckskin loops directly attached to the ribs of the willow bottom (holes in buckskin covering if necessary; sometimes there is no skin cover to the willow ribs); one buckskin thong is looped to these small loops and worn around the forehead of the woman. When standing, the cradle has to be leaned against something like a tree or, perhaps more commonly, hung to a branch by the strap.

'cradle' qôñ^o, 'my cradle' qôñónⁱ; 'cradle carrying strap' qôñóuru^εa' (urú^εa' 'strap used for carrying').

There is no rule about the maker of the cradle; it is generally made by the mother. The same cradle is never used for another child, but thrown away when no longer needed.

Tumpline

Tumplines are made of buckskin thongs or milkweed ropes. The burden is rested on the back, and the line worn around the shoulders by men and around the forehead by women ('tumpline' nô'uru^εa'). Cordage was also made of milkweed.⁷⁰

Hide Preparation

pu⁷úv^w 'hide before preparation' (tīyíavuv^u 'deer hide').

tcáxa^fnump^ö 'scraper' for fat and blood-vessels on flesh side; wooden handle with groove to sides of which iron blade is now riveted;⁷¹ the old type was probably deer bone (shoulderblade?).

mantsív^ö 'hair scraper' of foreleg of deer, used to scrape off hair.

For scraping, the hide is thrown over a slanting stick [set] in the ground. Then the hide is soaked in warm water for about two hours and rinsed (tc^{'xx}qwíyuiⁱ) over the same stick by means of a stick called tc^{'xx}qwíyuinump^ö.

The skin is pulled taut from the slanting stick and the rinsing stick is held in the hand under the skin, which is twisted around and around with the stick in the hand. Water and blood are thus rinsed out. Rinsing is done twice, generally. Then the skin is stretched out on a frame (see Figure 4) and kept there for about one or two days until thoroughly dry and limber. A skin with the hair and fat off and not smoked is called 'x[']táḡ^u. Then the hide is spread out and deer's brains in water (thick like glue or mush) sprinkled over on the original hair side (not smeared on or rubbed in).⁷² This is allowed to stay about one week, when another application is made; generally three applications of brains are made. When the hide has had the first application of brains, it is rolled away and kept perhaps for a whole month; then taken out and soaked, rinsed, and then *tanned*, by simply holding the skin stretched out by feet in hand and pulling at it and working it over by rubbing part against part. When it is all dry, the second and last application⁷³ of brains is put on. The hide is put away for a couple of weeks, soaked, rinsed, and again tanned to make it softer yet. A finished tanned deer hide is called tīyíav^u. (Tony knows nothing of buffalo or elk hide tanning.)

Only when moccasins were made was it customary to smoke a hide [Figure 5]. Just so much of the hide was taken as was convenient or necessary.

Walking Cane

Old men use walking canes with a curved knob on top. When sitting, they are in the habit of reaching for objects with the cane, holding it at the butt end and raking in the objects with the curved knob.

An anecdote is told of a man who once had such a cane sold to him with the promise that it would get the man anything he wanted without the man's finding it necessary to get up. Once, after having bought it, he wanted something and commanded the cane to get it for him. The cane did not move. Again he commanded it and it did not move. Then he threatened to break it in two if it would not move, but it failed to move again. At last he threatened more decisively that he would break it if it did not move. When, for the fourth time, it had failed to move, he took the stick and broke it in two. He had misunderstood the man who sold him the cane; he really meant the cane could be made to rake in objects with its knob.

*Miscellaneous Plants Used in Manufacturing*⁷⁴

wa^éáp^ó 'cedar'; bark (outside) taken off and used for covering wickiup. Used for fire: cedar bark shredded fine and used as tinder with fire drill. 'Cedar bark' mǫxwáp^ó; 'cedar wickiup' mǫxwáqanⁱ.

s:óviḡ^ó 'cottonwood'; used for wood.

qwiýav^ó 'scrub oak'; wood used for making bow; also for wood.

wu^éiv^ó 'milkweed'; plants collected in fall when dry. Broken in middle and strands taken out and rolled by women into rope or string. wu^éiṽⁱ 'cav^ó 'milkweed rope', tⁱ 'cav^ó 'rope'.

qanáv^ó 'willow'; young willow switches used as warps in burden basket. Not very good for firewood.

paḡwí'av^ó ('water oak') 'red oak' (growing along rivers); used as hard wood for rabbit sticks and bows.

tiv^éÁḡ^ó 'pine' (from which nuts are obtained; very good for fire. Gum used for pitching water jars; also for glueing in arrows. Gum carried home; when used, put over fire to make liquid. 'Pine gum' s:āznáḡⁱ.

yiv^éiṽḡ^ó 'long-leafed pine'; wood used for wood, bark for wickiup.

ôxómp^ó 'fir'; best for tepee poles.

tsi^éÁmpiv^ó 'wild rose bush'; tsi^éÁmpⁱ 'berry'.⁷⁵ Bushes used to make arrows, but these arrows need greasing well to prevent from cracking. Deer grease used to be used. Other arrows do not need greasing, because they do not crack so easily.⁷⁶

Clothing and Personal Adornment

Clothing

Men's Garments⁷⁷

A deerskin shirt without hair was worn, being tanned as for moccasins. They had sleeves reaching to the wrists, but no collars. An opening was cut on top for the head; there was no front or back seam, only two side seams where the skin was sewn together on folding over of the skin. The main part was all one skin; two extra pieces were put on for sleeves with seams under or on one side. They seem to have had no fringing or ornamental work. Tony is not quite sure of all this, not having ever seen one. The general length of the shirt was down to the knees.⁷⁸

The breech clout was of buckskin, a long strip tucked under the private parts once and cinched by a belt, which was probably tied in front and the clout wound about the belt several times to hold better.

tīávura^{ei} 'deerskin shirt' (worn under blanket).

wítéaxuċ^x 'buckskin leggings'.

pⁱ'tcámūq^u 'buckskin belt'.

ináp^u bush⁷⁹ has fine bark (finer than cedar), of twine of which both leggings (ināpūwiticáxuċ^u) and stockings or socks (t^x'pá^eap^u) were made; socks can be worn either with bark or buckskin leggings, and are worn only in winter. These bark clothes are of rather coarse weave. (A sort of nest-like swathing of unwoven bark was also used instead of rags in the cradle to keep the baby warm.)

pⁱ'qwoĩsaiyaiḗ^u 'breech-clout'.

pátċ' 'moccasins of deerskin'.

t^u'quqaitcoḡ^u 'hat of wildcat skin' (worn only in winter).

A wildcat skin cap was worn with ears on, made of one piece, not worn over the ears.⁸⁰ Above socks seem to be rather bark filling for feet and legs than regular woven garments.

Women's and Children's Garments

The same garments were worn also by women, which differ only in size and cut. Children wore the same garments, fawn skin being used for deer.

ĩnánaj^{wi} ‘bark apron’, náj^{wi} ‘apron’.

Women wore combination leggings and moccasins (páĩc’); the leggings of the woman were tightly folded or swathed about themselves and tied with the legging strings.⁸¹

Moccasins

Moccasins consist of three parts: sole, facing (upper) and top. The sole is made of a separate piece of buckskin and is called t^zpaivav; it is made to correspond to the outline of the wearer’s foot. The second piece is called t^zxqóvav^u and has approximately the same shape, except that the buckskin is cut flat [straight] at the heel. A slit is cut from the center of the heel according to the distance of the wearer’s ankle from the toe. This upper is stitched to the sole with sinew. First the two ends between the slit are raised and stitched together to form a vertical seam at the heel. A very small strip of skin is put all around between the sole and upper, being as high as the thickness of the buckskin it is taken from: at first it extends out from the surface of the moccasin, perhaps twice as much as it is to be thick when the moccasin is finished; the sinew is carried counter-clockwise, considering the sole to be at the bottom, through all three pieces of leather by means of punching holes with an awl (wĩ’ ‘awl’, formerly of bone, āŋwĩ’) and forcing the sinew strand through by punching with the awl, the stitch used being an ordinary round or over-and-over (?) stitch.⁸² A link-piece generally ends (two ends meet) in the region of the heel, but not exactly at the vertical heel stitch. Before stitching proper, about four preliminary stitches or groups of stitches are put in at the toe, on the sides, and at the heels to give shape and hold to the upper. As they come to these in regular stitching, they are torn or cut out. After stitching, the link-piece is trimmed down to the surface of the moccasin. The top piece is roughly oblong in shape (called t^zxqúci) and is stitched onto the upper border of the upper (the top may be absent, in which case a tongue (p^ztcáa^ox^{o,u}) is used, stitched to one (forward) side of the upper (not clear whether tongue due to white influence).⁸³ Both upper and top have several holes punched into them through which a string (tampĩn’ur^u ~ tampiñ^eur^u) is passed (three holes always close together); a string is tied in front for the upper, at side for the top. After stitching of sole to upper, the moccasin is turned inside out, and the top then put on. Sometimes, not generally, this has hair on; the hair in the finished product comes on

the outside. Beading was not done on their own moccasins, but seems to have been practiced to some extent for purposes of trade; they never had porcupine-quill work on moccasins, nor painting on moccasins.

To prepare buckskin for moccasins and other purposes, a pit two or three feet deep was dug in the ground and filled with green cedar branches and dried manure. About three sticks were placed upright about the pit and the hide placed over them, the side to be worn on the outside of the moccasin being put underneath. The branches and manure were fired and the skin smoked. The branches gave the smudge, the manure the yellowish tint of the buckskin.

Moccasins were entirely undecorated, neither beads nor porcupine quills nor paint being employed.⁸⁴ Between the sole and the upper is found a very narrow connecting strip sewed on. This was considered the best type of moccasin, though the type without connecting strip was also found.

Rabbit-skin Blankets

The rabbit-skin blanket (qāmūmuru^{ei}, tīḡwīṭca^fav^u) was worn only in winter. Rabbit-skin is cut up and twisted when yet wet from the animal; it is not put in water nor is there any flesh to be scraped off, as the skin comes off even without flesh. When the skin comes off, it will not rot, nor has it odor. The hair of the blanket hides the milkweed twining, which can be felt with the hand.

The rabbit-skin blanket is oblong in shape; the largest is five by seven feet. These same blankets were used as bed covers.

[They used the] skins of jack-rabbits or cottontails (tāvūmuru^{ei} 'cottontail rabbit'). The skins must be entirely of one variety; the jack-rabbit blanket is considered superior. The hair is kept on. One long strip is cut with a knife (originally flint), starting from the head and going around the edge, taking in the tail, returning to the head, and so on spirally to the center. The strip might be six feet long and is about two inches wide. Then another strip from another rabbit is tied onto the first in a knot. About fifteen strips or more would be the minimum number for a blanket. Then the strip is bent back on itself. At the center of the bend, a string is tightly tied straight across both sides (it is not looped); two strings are tied, one to each strip-end of about 9–10 inches in length. Someone holds the strip firmly at the center, while another at the ends begins to twist the strip, using the strings to start

the twisting motion.⁸⁵ After being twisted, the bent strip is stretched out between two supports such as branches of trees and allowed to dry about a day or so. Then the strip (about four feet long) is put aside ready for use when needed. Generally about three such strips are necessary for a blanket.⁸⁶ Little wooden pegs are put at distances of two or three inches from each other on one side; the length of the peg row is the width of the blanket, and the distance between peg rows is the length of the blanket. Then one end of the string [i.e., rabbit-skin strip] is firmly tied (with a knot) to the first peg, looped around the opposite peg, and thus back and forth until the desired width of blanket is obtained, new strips being tied on if necessary. Next milkweed string is looped on the corner of the blanket and braided (simple twine) across the rows of the strip, back and forth until the complete circuit of the blanket is made. There is a distance of about four inches between the separate rows of twining. The blanket is now ready.

No other fabric was ever made in this way. [Tony] never heard of feather robes, or capes or fans.

Personal Adornment

Hair Dress

The hair of men was never cut (except probably for mourning; on the death of a relative the tail and mane of a horse were always cut); it was worn in two braids,⁸⁷ one on each side of the head, the braid consisting of three strands. Around the braid was wrapped a strip of beaver skin about one inch wide, either at the end or, more generally, extending from about the shoulder down to within a few inches of the tip, which extends out without wrapping. paĩx̄sixwa^εai^ʔ 'braid the hair' (paĩγivⁱ 'hair of the head'); pašátsiv^u 'hair-wrapping strip, band of beaver' (paǒnt̄s̄ 'beaver'). From the middle of the forehead to about the shoulders extend two smaller braids, joining the two main braids, which begin at the shoulders, the hair above hanging loose and divided into two parts. Sometimes a porcupine-quill ornament (such as made by Tony)⁸⁸ was worn on one side instead of two braids; it seems that the left side was generally so decorated; later on tin or silver rondels (or disks) were worn instead, but both these and older quill bands have gone out of use. A favorite type of ornament was to attach strips to the hair consisting of parallel horizontally disposed oblongs of buckskin

or rawhide connected each to each by (two or three) sinew strings wrapped with porcupine quills. Red flannel strips used to be worn in later days as substitutes for beaver strips. The hair was carefully parted exactly in the middle; Tony never heard of a paint strip at the part of the hair.⁸⁹

Some would wear a single eagle tail-feather sticking straight up out from the back of the head (called wixívu^v; 'feather', 'wi'ciáv').⁹⁰

Women parted their hair in the middle and allowed it to hang entirely loose in two bunches.

No combs of wood or horn were used. A sort of brush made of a certain cactus locally known as "yant" (Indian name nánt')⁹¹ was used as a comb.

Hair used to be plucked out from the face.

Face Painting

The Paiutes would often paint the face in various ways, but there seem to have been no definite rules in the matter. A man might paint his face one way one day and another on another day.

Face paintings were practiced by both men and women without particular difference in designs used by both. They were used in squaw and Bear dances, but not in Cry [Figure 6]. If a man went visiting anywhere or wanted to see his girl, he would paint in order merely "to look pretty"; if he did not, she would not look at him. The colors used were black, red, light red, blue, yellow, and brown. The fungus growing on the oak (qwiáy^u) was sometimes used (without burning or soaking) for the red pigment used in face painting.

Face paints were put on mainly for purposes of beauty, but also to keep away evil spirits, who are supposed to be frightened by the paints. The colors were put on by dipping a small match-like stick into the paint and laying it on with the point; background colors were smeared on by rubbing with the hand. If colors were painted on another background color, the latter was smeared all over the surface first, not filled in around the design. In recent times, a row of dots was sometimes obtained by dipping a comb into the paint and stamping it on the face.

Red paint rubbed on with grease was also used to prevent the face from chapping.

Ear-piercing and Earrings

In the soft lower part of the ear, wood (say cedar) beads used to be worn of very small diameter and not protruding out from the ear, but of the same thickness as the ear exactly; they are called náŋq'^z.⁹² When Tony was very young they tried to punch a hole in his ears by means of a pointed stick of hard wood (greasewood).

In later times, silver earrings were worn that were probably traded chiefly from the Navahos (also called náŋq'^z, which is used for any ear-ornament and, in Uncompahgre Ute, for 'bead'). [Tony] never heard of strings of ornaments or of shells worn in the ear. 'Necklace' qāx̄ (= 'collar'), tcóiqāx̄ 'beaded necklace', tcô'¹⁴ 'bead used for any purpose'. Tony knows only of trader's beaded necklaces. Tony once saw an old man who wore a necklace composed of hawk and eagle claws.⁹³

Houses and Other Structures

Winter House

Frame-work of house, qán'⁴ [Figure 7]. The posts are trunks of cedars generally with the bark kept on. The ground plan is circular. The posts are held in the ground by little pits four inches or so in depth; 'post' orá'^zv'. On top, somewhat below the extremities of the poles, is a circular bent-hoop support of cedar (three or four feet long) to which long poles are attached. The smokehole is above this hoop. The poles are about 30 feet long and the floor 40 feet in diameter (cedars in Moccasin Spring and Kaibab country grow 60 feet high or more). About 12 people or more would occupy such a wickiup.⁹⁴ A horizontal bar about 5 feet long lies on two poles [i.e., for a doorway] and is tied to them on the outside. It is filled in with branches above. The distance between the ends of the poles would be about two feet. [For the] 'doorway', qaníyī'⁵, instead of a door they used some old used-up fur (particularly a worn-out rabbit-skin robe) attached to the outside of the doorway and tied to the cross-pole. It had three other poles tied on top of it running parallel to the first cross-pole (one on top, one in center, and one at bottom near ground); these poles run through a twisted rabbit-skin robe at the ends and in the middle; the weight of the whole thing is enough to keep the door down against the house despite wind, without tying

to poles or pegging on the ground. 'Door' qaniutciwa^εnump^u. In entering, a man would get hold of the door by the middle stick, pull it up and to the side, enter, and let it fall back; as it is only four feet high, a man has to bend down in entering.

After the framework is set up, the spaces between the poles are filled in with smaller and thinner cedar branches. Over all is laid a lot of loose cedar (not carefully laid on in smooth sheets). Sometimes, probably generally, dirt was piled over the bark covering. One could see the branches of the frame from inside. The floor is ground stamped smooth; it would be about six inches to one foot below the level of the outside ground. Dirt is piled up against the bottoms of the poles on both the inside and outside of the house. 'Floor' qanixwi^xoqun^u. A fire is built in the center of the wickiup, but no pit or walled-in space is used; once the fire is started, the same place would be used. The fire is kept going all the time; when going away, they put ashes on to keep it glowing; at night they put big chunks on to burn all night (pine is the best firewood). 'Fireplace' na^εai^tiifiⁱ (? 'causing to burn place'). The smokehole is always kept open despite rain or snow. There are no partitions anywhere. Storage is accomplished merely by putting things and baskets back on the ground along the wall where the posts come down on the ground. Bedding consists chiefly of deer robes with the hair up toward the body (used to sit on by day and sleep on at night); also, mountain sheep and antelope robes were used, hardly elk or buffalo ('deer-robe' tiyⁱcan^εap^u, 'mountain-sheep-robe' na^γacam^εA^pu); over the body rabbit-skin robes would be put.

The winter house (qan'i) was not necessarily a permanent structure. The following [Figure 8] shows its appearance after the bark is put on.

Tepee

The tepee [Figure 9] was also used as a regular house, winter and summer; it had the advantage of being moved around, while the wickiup was not portable, being simply abandoned when camp was moved. Tony knows nothing of the Paiutes learning of the tepee from another tribe.⁹⁵ The tepee covering is of tanned deer-hide (not buffalo); tiyⁱaxaniv^u 'tepee with deer-hide covering' (qaniv^u 'tepee'). The tepee is rather smaller than the wickiup; the poles are longer than in the wickiup, but slant much more steeply. Fir-poles are best for a tepee ('poles' ora^zv^u). The distance between the poles on the ground is greater than in the

case of the wickiup, say three or three and a half feet. Four main poles are used to start with, two front ones for the doorway close together and two rear ones not close together. These four are lashed on top with buckskin thongs, now rope. The poles are not as stout as in the wickiup and simply rest on the ground without holes. There are twelve poles altogether — four main poles, two flap-poles (qānín̄t̄sturn^fwinump^u) and six other poles laid on an encircling rope. Women do all the work of putting it up. The flap-poles do not have peg-supports, but are held by their own weight.

The skin is held on the tepee frame in two places: after all the poles are put up but one, one extra pole is attached by thongs to the top of the middle of the skin and leaned against the framework. Then the skin is taken round on either side and roped from either side, pinned together by three wooden pins just above the open space for the door through two pairs of holes in the skins. Then besides, wooden pegs attached to a string are pushed into the ground and pulled down at the skin. The door is as before (but of deerskin), a separate piece with three cross-bars projecting about five inches on each side (as in the first case) and lying on the inside of the skin-door. No ornaments or paints are put on the tepee cover.

In case of storm, the tepee is roped around and tied onto a tree post. qānívunwantcí 'put up a tepee'; qān̄t̄cui 'build a wickiup'. qāniute^{'zx}qóinai 'take down a tepee'; tc^{'zx}qóinai 'take off, pull down'. qaninan̄qavav^u 'flaps' (= 'house-ears'). qan̄paiva 'wall of house'.

Summer Shade

aváxanⁱ 'shade summer house' [Figure 10]. Each side has four cedar posts with bark kept on; these are joined on top by cross-posts 20 feet long. Holes are dug into the ground about one foot to support the upright posts, which are then banked up solid. The upright posts have crotches on top to allow for reception of the cross-posts. On the sides, willow branches with leaves are intertwined irregularly among the posts and form a thick matting, so that one cannot look through. On top, also, willow branches are put; also all sorts of weeds. The top and side coverings are called nov^wĩp̄^w. This shelter is used chiefly to sit in to keep out of the sun. There is no fire in it, which is built outside; no work is regularly done in it.

Another style of aváxan⁴¹ used chiefly for sleeping in is shown below [Figure 11]. Pit holes about two feet apart are arranged in a circle and willow branches with leaves kept on are stuck in. They are bent in a round outline and all meet at the top; they are twisted in and out of each other at the top so as not to bend back easily, and are sometimes tied with flexible willow switches to hold more firmly. The door is about five feet high (the shelter being eight feet or less) and the outline formed by bending over two willows to meet on top. The willow outline is filled in with smaller willow branches ('willow' qanáv"; Kanab named after it, used to be called qanári" 'mouth of canyon with willows growing'; 'covering' nov"j̄p"u). No fire is built, so no smokehole is needed. The Ute style of shelter is apparently not used.⁹⁶

Windbreak

·wi"tóqonovīp"u (?'-wind-protecting cover') 'windbreak' used when traveling; used to sleep in [Figure 12]. It is about four feet high and consists of cedar branches piled on top of one another in almost circular form. The opening is about six feet wide (yīr"í" 'door-place'), so made as to have the wind blow away from it. A fire is built in the center, flat on the ground.

Sweat House

They never had regular standing sweat-houses.⁹⁷ When people wanted to sweat, they built one about four feet high and only about five feet in diameter, enough for two men (women never used it). It was round in ground outline, with sides of cedar posts coming to a point at the top. An opening was left on the ground just large enough to let a man crawl in. Hot stones that had been heated outside were brought in and water poured on them, making steam. Men would stay in about ten minutes. It was generally used in spring, not necessarily for sickness. 'Sweat-house' n̄x"sá"éaḡan"i (n̄x"sá"éai" 'take sweat bath', lit. 'boil oneself'). It was destroyed when through.

Menstrual Hut

náxanⁱ ‘menstrual hut’.⁹⁸ It was built like the shelter above with willow branches, only smaller [see “Summer Shade” above]. Generally two women occupy it at a time. It is about 25 feet away from the main camp, built by women whenever required. A man was supposed never to enter, but women not in that condition could. If one talked with one in that condition or smelled any of her blood, he would become lazy and not be able to walk about quickly. If young chaps (say 10 or 11 years old) go into the náxanⁱ they are derided and made to be ashamed; if an older man should do so, he would be disgraced for the rest of his life, for it looks as though he wanted to copulate in the wrong season. A woman would stay in the náxanⁱ about one week; she could not eat meat or drink cold water. If a menstruating girl stayed in the house, she was derided as no better than a dog and called “bitch.”⁹⁹

Social Organization

Life Cycle

Birth

nīntúanquβāñi ‘is pregnant, will give birth to child’. A woman gives birth to a child in the house, not the náxanⁱ. She must not eat meat for about one month after giving birth, but may eat meat before; she must not drink cold water for about a couple of weeks after delivery, but may before. She must not scratch her hair with her hands for two weeks to a month after delivery. She must not eat fish during the meat taboo; probably not grasshoppers either; no living thing should be eaten. The custom is left to women, who would not eat tabooed articles for fear of being derided by other women. There is no idea of the child being hurt if meat is eaten; if meat is eaten, there will be too much blood (bleeding) in the next delivery. White women are said by Indian women to bleed more on delivery because of meat-eating. No reason is given for not drinking cold water, except that warm water helps the stomach along by keeping it warm.

The husband is not allowed to eat meat for a few days, generally a week, after the birth of the child; he [thereafter?] may eat meat, but he

generally won't, because the sight of meat will make him sick. There is no rule for the husband about cold water and hair-scratching. He is not allowed to copulate with his wife for about one month after birth, nor for a certain period before birth, one month at least. (Whites are said to be like dogs because they have no taboos in regard to birth.) When in travail, or rather after birth, [women] retire to the *tcá̄cix^yan^{ci}* ('menstrual hut', *tcá̄cix^ya^{ai}* 'to have courses') or rather *tq̄wáq̄an^{ci}* "child house" (these two, the parturition hut and the menstrual lodge, look alike; they are always destroyed after use; *náxan^{ci}* = 'whore house' in Paiute, not 'menstrual lodge').¹⁰⁰ After the birth of the child, for a month, but not before, the husband will give away meat or fish that he has hunted, for he may continue to hunt and fish; before the birth he may use meat or fish. During the month after birth the woman stays away from the house in the *tq̄wáq̄an^{ci}* and does her own work, but must not do anything for anybody else. Immediately after birth of a child, the mother takes a hot dry bath or bed. A pit about one foot deep, one foot wide, and two or more feet long (enough to accommodate a body) is dug and filled with hot flat rocks that have been heated on a fire, loosely covered with earth, and then with blankets. The woman lies on this stomach down, the steam coming up to warm her. When the rocks cool off, she stops. Hot beds are kept up for about a week. Before delivery, two women get hold of the pregnant woman and shake her well until the child comes out. (Coyote set the precedent for this by hanging himself on a limb and shaking himself; also for the warm water and scratcher, but not for the meat taboo.)¹⁰¹

Suckling is kept up for quite a long time, often after the child has learned to talk a little and walk. Tony does not know what is done with the navel cord when it is cut off.¹⁰²

A name is not given until after about a year, when the father and mother or anyone else give a name. Even a white man might give a name, which would be the regular name for life [see "Personal Names"]. There is no ear-boring custom of infants.¹⁰³

Childhood

Sometimes in winter a boy (say of six or more) would be thrown into the snow naked, rubbed with snow, and before he had a chance to catch cold, quickly taken back into the house. This was for training. Sometimes boys did this to each other.

Indians have a rule that you must not eat game (even rabbits) that you have killed yourself until you are about ten years old; only old ladies (say above 40) and men may eat it. Women and girls who ate it, if below 40, would find it tasted funny and get sick, or else the boy would become lazy and get weak; meat of such game is said to be weak and tender. But boys may eat what another, including a boy, has killed, so that boys generally trade what game they kill. *navi^{ez}tīqai* 'infringe taboo of not eating what one as boy has killed'; text word, *qamu navi^{ez}tīqayw^eaivä*. Little girls may eat such boy-killed food, but cease to do so when about 13 or 14 years old. It is said that women can tell immediately if game has been killed by a boy by its weak taste like water, no matter how much it is cooked.

Menstrual Observances

During periods of menstruation a woman would go off to a menstrual hut (*nāyan^{ci}*) and live apart from her household for perhaps as much as a week. She was not supposed to eat meat during this time, probably because in that case the game animals would be offended. She was not allowed to scratch her head with her fingers, but had to use a scratcher, a pointed stick. If she neglected this taboo it was believed her hair would always be mussed up, even if she combed it.

Courtship and Marriage

It is said that some young fellows had a way of signaling to a girl that happened to be around so that none of the other fellows would notice it (perhaps by some motion or mark). After a while the girl would leave and go off somewhere in the brush. By and by the fellow would drop out and would know where to follow the girl.

A very small brownish rather than yellow bird is shot and put in one's pocket without skinning or anything. It helps one to win the love of girls. Tony intended once to try its dried heart but never got the chance. The little bird stays under rocks and is somewhat larger than a hummingbird.¹⁰⁴

It does not seem there were regular rules about beginning marriage. Parents seem to have had nothing to do with a match. Young people married if they liked each other. A big feast is nowadays held at the

girl's house, paid for by the parents of the girl. Tony never heard of purchase money. Indians would not allow any relatives to marry, such as aunt and nephew, or cousins.

There was no taboo on men speaking to their parents-in-law or vice versa, nor was it considered disrespectful, as in some Indian tribes, to converse with one's father. Children were never punished.

Death

In the death of a person, he is clothed in his own clothes, wrapped around in blankets, and allowed to remain stretched out. He is buried the day after death, and does not seem to face in any particular direction. Things that he used to own are buried with him, first being destroyed so as to be of no further value. Sometimes one or two horses would be killed at the grave as a sacrifice by shooting or choking; this could be done by anyone, not necessarily the chief.

When a person dies, he is carried off and buried. No one is allowed to look behind during the funeral and at no time until the return home should he have his back to the grave. Often objects of value were buried with the dead man and horses were sacrificed at the grave. It was believed that these things went with the dead man to the next world. Souls were supposed to wander west. The name of the dead man was not to be pronounced after his death and any animal or thing after which he was named could not be mentioned by that name, but had to be referred to by some such word as "mar" 'that'.

Tony never heard of burning as a regular method of disposing of the dead.¹⁰⁵

Kinship

[Sapir's kinship schedule was not contained in this manuscript. A partial list of kin terms was published separately (Sapir 1913c) and expanded in Gifford (1917).¹⁰⁶ The list that follows is taken from a short manuscript titled "Paiute Linguistic Notes (Tony Tillohash)," also in the American Philosophical Society collection.]

father: mo²y¹; my father, nīni m̄ō^{7α}, nīni moan⁴.

mother: piyay¹; my mother, nīni pi², nīni piyau⁴.

elder brother: pāvīts-in⁴; = (my brother).

- younger brother: tē^{icx}qaaĩs·in^{ci}.
 elder sister: yûpĩAn^{ci}.
 younger sister: nāmĩⁱts·in^{ci}.
 my son: nĩni tuwātsⁱ.
 my daughter: nĩni pātċĩn^{ci}.
 my grandfather: tōγon^{ci} ~ tōxon^{ci} (maternal or paternal).
 my grandmother: qāγun^{ci} ~ qaχ^{ci}unⁱ.
 my grandson: tōγōts·in^{ci}.
 my granddaughter: qaγúts·in^{ci} ~ qaxutu^{ci}.
 my aunt: pāán^{ci} (maternal or paternal).
 my nephew (uncle): s̄·inÁnts·in^{ci}.
 my uncle (nephew): ain^{ci}.
 my nephew: áits·in^{ci}.
 my maternal uncle: s̄·inAn^{ci} (mother's brother).
 my niece: maŋwí^eAn^{ci}; nĩni maŋwi^eAγ.
 man's sister's husband: tautaŋwā^x-vi-
 man's wife's brother: tsi'antam·awā-
 man's son-in-law: mo·m·a·t·si-
 woman's son-in-law: mo·m·a·t·si.
 man's brother's wife: naimpiŋwa-
 woman's husband's brother: nainqum·A.
 woman's sister's husband: nainqumA.
 man's wife's sister: naimpiŋwA.

Miscellaneous

Some people would sometimes attach themselves to another and work for him, quit him whenever they felt like it. These were not regular slaves.¹⁰⁷ taγáp̄uan^{ci} 'my servant', taγáp̄uavⁱ 'one who serves another'.

Personal Names

(Some names might be borne by man or woman.)

Qwĩt̄s 'left-handed' (male); buⁱráxant^{ci} ~ buⁱráxant^{ci} 'right-handed'.

P^{ci}·k^yáxwit^{ci} 'Sore-buttocks' (qwĩt̄^{ci} 'buttocks'); p^{ci}·k^yámo^eo^{ci} 'sore hands, -handed'; p^{ci}·k^yáro^ot̄s 'sore-headed'; p^{ci}·k^yáoā^xant^{ci} 'sore-backed'.

- Nāxánamp^{ʰz} ‘mountain-sheep-foot’ (male).
 Mampú^ht̄s̄ (male).
 Sanáq^utsikit̄s̄ ‘gum-burner’ (male); sanáp̄ⁱ ‘gum’, q^u‘tsikⁱ‘ ‘burn’.
 Tômínts (male) (*not* ‘acorn’)¹⁰⁸.
 Tīwíp̄^o ‘Earth’ (male).
 Wīyít̄s̄ ~ Wīy^tt̄s̄ (female).
 Soxór ‘Moist’ (?) (female) (soxóaxantⁱ ‘moist’).
 Māác^{ie}īp̄ⁱ ‘Flower-blossom’ (female). má^zrō ‘flower, brush’; cī^{ie}īp̄ⁱ ~ cī^{ie}i ‘blossom’ (sī^{ie}īp̄ⁱ ‘urine’, sī^{ie}ívá^zni ‘about to urinate’).¹⁰⁹
 Pá^zīcavu^{ie}i ‘Bat’s eye’ (female) (pá^zīcat̄s̄ ‘bat’).
 Yarút̄s̄ ‘Hoarse’ (or Sarút̄s̄) (sarúampayai ‘talk hoarse’).
 (Tony’s name, Tû^hp̄^{wi,i}, given as Indian for Tony; address Tûp̄wī, Tûp̄í, Tûp̄ín^h ~ (īn^h) ‘Tony he here’(*sic* Tony).
 Sa^{ie}áp̄ⁱ ‘Mush’ (male).
 Ovīnqwi^e(v)ap̄^o ‘Wood-fence’ (qwi^e(v)Áp̄^o ‘fence’) (man’s nickname; so named because when asked how was certain girl whom he had copulated with, he answered “wooden fence”).
 T^z‘qwáiⁱ (woman’s nickname; so called because she related an incident of a man who tried to copulate with her but could not because he could get no erection. She said: t^z‘qwáiamucuiⁱ ~ t^z‘qwáiamucuiⁱq̄^w ‘he tried to stiffen penis’.)
 (A nickname is generally given to a man from what he says or does.)
 Tcáxut̄s̄.
 W^{ie}án^{enux}q^wo^{emi} ‘Bent Penis’.
 Pávu^tt̄s̄ ‘Little Spring’ (?).
^{wz}‘tsi^{ie}.
 Pa^rávuray ‘Flour Arm’.

Political Organization¹¹⁰

The chief does not seem to have had very well defined powers. He was succeeded on his death by his eldest son, otherwise by his nearest relative. Women could not be chief. There was no difference between chiefs and common people; no attempt was made to keep marriage within chiefs’ families. The Paiutes never had slaves.

Religion¹¹¹*Ghosts*

If at night in the woods you keep whistling, the ghosts will come.

Various Indians claim to have seen ghosts. Once an Indian was riding a horse on a trail through the woods and led another horse that followed after. It was getting dark. Suddenly he heard a long melancholy howl starting high and gradually falling. He listened, thinking it might be someone in distress. The horses had been acting queer, moving their ears uneasily. He heard the howl again, this time nearer. The horses tried to shy away from the trail, the led horse having now sidled up to the other. He knew something was up and suspected a ghost. He got scared but kept up his courage. He continued to hear the howls, always nearer and nearer. At last he saw a man appearing, walking through the woods away from the trail. He looked like an old white man with white hair, but was not recognized by the Indian. The Indian screwed up his courage and hailed him, "Where are you going, old man," thinking he might possibly be lost. He received no answer. He asked several times, but got no answer. The old man just passed on and disappeared. The Indian was thoroughly frightened and knew it was a ghost.

Another Indian was once working alone at quite some distance away from town for a white man. He was supposed to be quite alone, yet about noon he looked into the log cabin and to his surprise saw an old white man with white hair sitting on a chair and leaning his head pensively on one hand, staring blankly. The Indian ducked, then looked in again, and there sat the old man, quite immovable. He was convinced he saw a ghost. In dismay he ran off many miles away to town and told his white employer he would not work there because of the ghost. The white man poked fun at him and said he would go back with him and see it. They returned, looked in, but the old man had disappeared. It was a ghost.

It is not a good thing to camp at a place where others who are not definitely known to be living have camped. It is believed that the ghosts of dead people who had camped there would be likely to linger about the spot and bother the new campers.

Supernaturals

Paiutes believed Wolf to be the most powerful being or god and called him *tīvāts* (understood to mean “powerful one”). Coyote was considered the next most powerful and called *S·ināṅwAvⁱ* (understood to mean “one who would do anything, comic fellow”). They never prayed to Wolf. Wolf was called *niṅwúm^wAnīs*: “People’s Father” (*niṅimó^z* ‘my father’, *niṅwúṅ^w* ‘people’, *niṅ^{wz}* ‘person’).

All the deer on Kaibab Plateau were believed to be owned by a supernatural being named *Qái^enacavⁱ*. During the hunting season (July and June, also early fall), his name must not be mentioned, or else the luck of the whole hunting season would be spoiled. He is sometimes caught sight of by a hunter in one of two forms. Sometimes on the hunt a man would see a man appear, then on the next instant he would have disappeared; the man would then know he had seen *Qái^enacavⁱ* and that his hunting luck had been ruined for that day. Or sometimes a man would see two deer of more than ordinary size, into which *Qái^enacavⁱ* had transferred himself. The hunter would begin to follow them up, but would not succeed in getting at them, and by and by he would begin to get lost and get all tangled up, losing cardinal directions, up and down, and estimates of distance; the deer would disappear and he would be lost. If *Qái^enacavⁱ* wished to do bad to a hunter who had in some way offended him, he could lure him by deer-tracks which led to nothing. Sometimes a man in traveling in a canyon would hear or see rocks hurled at him from no visible source; he would know that it was *Qái^enacavⁱ*.

Witchcraft

One way of bewitching a person is to take some of his excrement and bury it with flint that has been mashed to fine pieces; earth is put over it. This person will not be able to excrete after a while, and will die. *qwitcái^{ie}mai* ‘bury excrement’.

Dreams

To dream of blood flowing is considered bad luck; somebody will probably get killed. If you dream of your own blood flowing, one of your relatives will probably be killed.

Dreams (*nôñócīp̄ⁱ*) are considered rather important. If one dreams something will happen, it may or may not come true; it might easily happen, though (?). Songs are often gained in dreams; apparently there is no idea, like the Mohave, to visit the mountains and be taught songs.

*Souls*¹¹²

moxóav̄ⁱ 'soul'. Every person has a soul which is conceived of as leaving the body at death as an invisible double of himself and as going off to the far west in the land of ghosts.

When one dreams, his soul leaves the body and experiences the various happenings that take place in the dream. It is not a good thing to wake a person suddenly when dreaming, for his soul might not get back in time. If he's not dreaming, there's no harm in waking him up suddenly. Some of the older Indians did not like to have a black cat around where they were sleeping; the soul, when away from the body, cannot see black objects, and hence, as it flits about, is apt to be pounced upon by the black cat. They did not mind having gray cats around, however.

Once a party of Indians were sleeping in camp. During the night one of them awoke and noticed a light (like a firefly) flitting about. Finally it disappeared into a boot that lay around. The man that was awake stuffed something (like a rag) into the boot and went to sleep. In the morning all awoke except one man. They tried to wake him, but could not. One of the fellows tried to put on his boot and noticed the rag; as soon as he took it out, the other fellow awoke, i.e., his soul had returned to him.

The shadow is not connected with the idea of soul.

Shamans

Anyone, a man or woman,¹¹³ may be a medicine-man ('medicine-woman', *manmá^eumpuwaxantⁱ*). The power of doctoring is not acquired by a period of fasting or training in the mountains, but may be acquired in the ordinary course of life (after puberty and before 30–40 years of age) by dreaming. Every medicine-man has his guardian spirit who helps him and who is appealed to by one or more songs. Every spirit has his special songs; these seem to have no intelligible words. Knowledge of the songs was gained by dreaming of them. One of the most powerful

of the medicine spirits was the eagle. As soon as the medicine-man begins his song, the guardian spirit, no matter how far away at the time, approaches, and from a distance communicates with the medicine-man, telling him of the whereabouts of the sickness. All this is quite invisible to the ordinary people about. It is told that in a tepee during the night, when a medicine-man was doctoring, a sound as of the whirring of an eagle's wings was heard descending clear down to where the poles meet on top on the outside. Someone went out to see, but could see no eagle. It was the medicine-man's eagle guardian that had come to answer the medicine-man's call. In doctoring the medicine-man would sometimes sit by the patient (generally at night) and sing his medicine-song; at times he would get up and sing (no regular dance). Sometimes he sang alone, sometimes others present sang with him, following his song. In a very severe case, several medicine-men might be used, each singing his own song. A medicine-man might give some of his power away to others, as by giving them his songs. If he "divides" his power too much, he loses in efficacy; thus it happens that some medicine-men, in growing older, are less able to cure disease. Part of the doctoring consisted of sucking the point where the pain was most acute.¹¹⁴

The disease could be extracted in some visible form. Once Tony saw a medicine-man show everyone present at the doctoring a colorless round object like a glass marble as the pain he had extracted. Tony made fun of him and said that he had merely taken a glass marble to show the people. Some time after, the medicine-man came over to him as he was lying in camp and stroked him, saying some more or less unintelligible words. His folks were there at the time and were greatly frightened, thinking the medicine-man was taking his revenge and that Tony would die. But Tony did not die, and within a year the medicine-man himself died. He was not considered much of a medicine-man. After this Tony was pointed out by his uncle as a wonderful boy.

One time Tony, when a young boy, felt so sleepy that he slept during the last night of the "cry," which was strictly forbidden. Everyone was talking about it the next morning, when they found out. Some time after, Tony fell sick. A noted medicine-man then in Arizona (Trumbull Mountain) was called; he was sleeping then, but got up immediately and went. The first two nights his doctoring was not very successful; only the third night did he say that his spirit was coming and that he was beginning to see. Tony then recovered. He was given a horse in payment.

A medicine-man might be powerful enough to be immune in battle, even from bullets. There was one medicine-man who had this power; moreover, any horse he rode could be shot in only one place, the forehead.

Once a party of two or three Utes, one of them a medicine-man, were attacked by a party of cowboys. They put all to flight except the medicine-man. He dismounted and quietly stood near his horse; they kept shooting at him, but could not harm him. He shot at them and killed two or three; the rest galloped off.

Medicine-men did not bargain for a particular payment before doctoring. If they succeeded in curing the patient, they would be paid anything at all.

A certain medicine growing along the shores of the Colorado River could be used to keep away rattlesnakes, who do not like its smell. It could be attached in a bundle to the boot of a person walking in the bush; it might also be rubbed on a horse.

A sick horse could be cured by gashing him and turning him loose. After a few weeks he would recover.

One method of curing a horse with a bad sore was to cut a gash in the skin above the wound and slip in a quarter. After a while the horse would recover and the quarter could be taken out.

Medicine-men generally sit down when singing; when dancing they do so alone, their step consisting of a sort of stamping and shaking of the body; they did not dance circularly, but back and forth. Their power was obtained by dreaming, but not away from home.

A medicine-man that Tony once knew used an eagle feather fan. He scattered ashes with it on his patients. He began his doctoring by calling upon Wolf: "Our father, who made heaven and earth." This is the only time he ever heard any Indian make such a prayer.

One time a small party of Kaibab Paiutes, including Tony and Dick, who was something of a medicine-man because Mampúťs had parted with some of his power to him, camped for the night at Maá(vu)xarír "Brush Lake" on Kaibab Plateau, a place considered particularly liable to being haunted by ghosts or evil spirits. They were lying in the tent, when suddenly right near them they heard a loud sharp whistle that could not have been made by a bird or any other animal. They immediately thought of a ghost and huddled together in fear. Dick, as medicine-man, quietly said, "Let me smoke now," and took out his tobacco to roll a cigarette. (Smoking is here doubtless considered a charm against evil spirits.) After a while they heard the sound of giggling

near them; perhaps the ghost was laughing at them for their fear. Soon also the ringing of horses' bells was heard coming near; they had been frightened by something. Next morning they were found way down a canyon, having been scared away from the grazing ground.

When it was suggested to Tony that Dick himself had made the sounds in order to have an opportunity for showing off his medicine power, he scouted the idea, saying that a real medicine-man would never fool people.

The medicine-man who cured Tony told of the following experience he had undergone. Once he was out hunting for game, but met with little or no success. At last he saw a lot of porcupine tracks that led to a hole in the ground. He waited for them to come out. At last he saw them come out and began to chase them. He kept chasing them until they scampered off into a hole, he following them. One porcupine in particular always kept just a little ahead of him and kept drawing him on. At last he found himself in a great open underground country, the porcupines having disappeared. He saw a man walking along at a distance and hailed him; he directed him to the camp of the people. People lived there about as in the upper world, except that they hunted at night. He tried to do so too but could do nothing. When they returned from the hunt, they had a lot of buffalo meat. They did not eat the meat after it was prepared, but merely smelled it and then threw it away. He picked up some of the meat to eat it, but they cried out to him, "Don't, it is excrement." He did not mind, however, but went ahead and ate it and found it tasted very good. When he defecated, one of their men tried to eat his excrement but did not find it to his liking. During the day these people slept and, as he could see as he walked around, also copulated in full view. After a while he retraced his steps and found an exit to the upper world through the hole he had entered. On returning home he found he had been away quite some time and that his wife was missing him. It seems the people in that lower world were porcupines in human form.¹¹⁵

Some medicine-men claim to be able to make rain. One Kaibab medicine-man used to make this claim. Once, when there had been a long drought, the Indians angrily expostulated with him for not bringing on rain. He said nothing, but about an hour after there was a very severe rainstorm, although the sky had looked quite clear. Some Indians thought it was merely an accident, others credited the rain to the medicine-man: some jocosely wanted to compel him to stay out in the rain because he had made them be caught unawares without adequate

provision for shelter. That day the medicine-man said nothing, but the next day he claimed that the rain had been caused by his power, though he had not sung his medicine song or in any other way made visible use of his power.

As rattlesnake cure was used p̄axunt̄inAv^u, a plant growing to the height of about three feet on the sides of wooded mountains (Kaibab) with leaves and stalks like carrot.¹¹⁶ If the root is given to a snake, it will turn its head. It is often tied in little bundles, one to each ankle, to keep snakes away. When one is bitten, he chews at the root and puts it on the wound, when it heals. This was tested also in the case of a horse bitten by a snake. Tony says he was told by Archie Qumala¹¹⁷ that the Hopi use the same root as medicine in the snake dance, and that its odor keeps the snake from biting.

If one is bitten by a scorpion, a fire is built outside the house. The wounded person jumps over the fire and, while doing so, calls his own name. He has to confess any misdeed he has done, such as rape, before any people about who care to listen. He jumps as often as desired. If he does not do so, his wound swells and he is liable to die.

*Mourning Ceremony or "Cry"*¹¹⁸

As far east as the Paiutes of Muddy River, Nevada, and the Sibits of St. George, but not as far as the Kaibab Paiutes, penetrated the annual "Crying" or Mourning Ceremony. This took place every summer (June or July), rarely in the winter, and was intended to keep alive the memory of dead relatives. Sacrifice was made by piling together in a heap objects of value, such as blankets and baskets, also horses that had been shot, and putting the whole on fire. An origin myth tells how the birds and other animals, when they were people, came together long ago somewhere and bemoaned the fact that many were dying. The various animals sang their characteristic mourning songs and these are now sung by the Indians of today. In the ceremony four groups of singers are found, each singing its characteristic songs. They are roan, coyote, birds (roosters and others) and mountain sheep. These sets of songs are different in general character and are accompanied by different motions. There are over 200 of them. The "roan" songs all begin with the word w̄āf̄m and, like all the other songs, are composed of unintelligible words, presumably Mohave.¹¹⁹ The "roan" singers kneel facing each other, their leader being in the center between the lines, and nowadays accompany

their singing by means of tin cans filled with shot. They have a peculiar slanting downward motion of the hands. A man might join any group of singers, but only songs of a fixed kind were sung in any one group. Popular singers were paid for their services. The general expense of the ceremony was born by two men, one of whom might be the brother of a person that had died the preceding year. These visit the different people of their own and neighboring bands and tell all to come together at a certain place for the ceremony.

A "Cry" lasts five days and nights. One person and another whose relatives have died make arrangements for the dance, and pay for the feast; they let everybody know about it. According to myth, the ceremony originated in California.¹²⁰ They sing till 12:00 at night. On the last night, they sing up to morning. Then the clothes and blankets are burned. Animals and horses (sometimes 100)¹²¹ are driven to the mountains and choked. "Birds" stand in the road and go back and forth. "Coyotes" jerk the right arm up and down to imitate the trotting of Coyote. "Mountain sheep" hold both hands in front and pull them up and down. "Roan" singers line up opposite each other and sit and stand alternately when tired. In the last night, people are not allowed to sleep. About six officers keep them awake with pushing of a "policeman's" club. If one sleeps, he will get so sick that no medicine-man can cure him. In the beginning of the dance, there is a cry of about ten minutes at the command of a certain man, generally head of singing. Before that there is a "friendship" ceremony in which two parties of people face each other. People arrive at the meeting-place agreed upon in several parties. When the second party arrives they all dismount from their horses and line up to face a line composed of those who have already arrived. The two lines approach each other and shake hands and sing a song of friendship. The Cry leader goes around and tells people about dead relatives to make them feel bad. [See Figure 13.] Two girls back up towards the center line; the leader and assistant face the girls. Home people gradually come closer and visiting people follow, four in flank (not file). The leader explains his circuit around the center line. As soon as he reaches the center, he tells them to go ahead and cry. They cry two or three minutes. The leader sings together with four while moving and circuiting. There is no particular time for making the three center lines.

A "period" of a roan song should be sung in one single breath, otherwise the continuity of the song is broken. A new breath is taken just before the second waiún. While a song is sung, the leader is already

thinking of the next one, so that there is only a short pause before it. As a rule, he tries to have each song sung only once during the night. Once it is started again, it should be finished anyway.

Some roan songs have many words with long periods. Such are not apt to be as well known as others, only the leaders being entirely familiar with them. The others would try to follow the leaders, keep up for awhile, and lose the thread towards the latter part of the period.

The annual Cry is said by a myth to have been introduced into the Sibat¹²² (St. George) country by two old women long ago. They may be seen as two rocks on opposite sides of the Virgin River a little below Virgin City.

The "new way" of singing certain songs was first heard by Tony at a dance held at East Fork [of the Sevier River] in Escalante country by a St. George man in 1901.

In the "Cry" dance many bands participated together at a certain place agreed upon, differing for each time perhaps; everyone had to be let know about it before the party came to their particular place. The "song leader" and "speech leader" are separate people appointed before; each group of songs has its leader.

Some good "Cry" singers of the Muddy River Indians can dream their songs, like the Mohave.

[There should be payment] in the case of a song leader in a cry dance. In the "cry" of 1901 held at East Fork [of the Sevier River], the song leader was from St. George or Muddy River. No payment was agreed upon beforehand; after the ceremony he was given payment. The payment used not to be great; anything at all would do that would show his services were appreciated. If he were not paid, he would say nothing, but the next time one of his band was requested to be a song leader, they would refuse to do anything for stingy people.

Some of the "cry" songs belonged together in a set of two or three and were sung together. Such were called "brothers." As a rule, there was no fixed order to the songs; they might follow in any order as determined at the moment by the song leader. There was no particular length to a "cry" song. If they came to the end of a "set of periods," the leader might tell them to go ahead and continue the song.

No mistake must be made in the singing of a "Cry" song. If one makes an error, he will waste away with consumption.

The leader has a rattle of a baking powder can filled with shot, held in the right hand as a rattle.¹²³

Cry Dance of 1901

In 1901, Tom and Joe Pⁱk'yáxwīⁱ (both of Kanab) gave the Cry dance for Tom's father who died two or three years ago. Joe was Tom's uncle, brother of the deceased (the deceased man was not a chief, but was rich and considered rather prominent). In the fall of 1900 council was held at Kanab (niáviŋwaix'yāp' 'council'; niáviampayai' 'talk in council'; women may talk in council, but hardly ever do). Mampúṭ̄s had come from Escalante in order to arrange for the Cry. It was arranged to have the Cry in July of 1901. Tom had dropped a hint but not explicitly said he would have a Cry; the hint was carried abroad to the Arizona Paiutes and Muddy Rivers; in council all were Kanabs except Mampúṭ̄s and assistant who went along with him. They met at the main camp (of Young William with whom Tom was staying), but there was no particular rule about the place of meeting. Tom was asked if he would have a Cry; Tom then addressed the assembly and indirectly asked Frank Mustache of St. George if he would get singers, whereupon Frank said he would do what he could and, if some St. George person would not act as song leader, he would be willing to do so. Frank said he would see to it and get a "whole set" of St. George people to help — one for talker, one for roan song leader (Tom Rice), and one for assistant roan song leader (Sally Rice, Tsáxuṭ̄s), while for other songs (bird and coyote songs, greeting song) they expected to get help from Muddy River, also roan singer from St. George (John Domingo); the bird song leader of Muddy River, who used to be St. George, named W^eáñ^{ux}q^{wemi} ~ W^eáñ^{enq}wemi 'Bent Penis,' coyote song leader of Muddy River who was once of St. George was named Pávut̄s 'Little Spring (?)', the greeting song man from Muddy River named ^{wz}tsj̄^{ei}. After the day was set for the Cry, letters were written to Cedar City (Captain Peter¹²⁴ is chief of the Cedar City band, of whom there are now about 30) and to St. George. News came from St. George that they would come for the Cry and all were looking forward to the Cry in July at Yiv^wimpar̄ir 'East Fork' [of the Sevier River] (name = 'stream of water at which pines end'), because Tom's father used to live around there (Escalante band, dialect probably more like Cedar City; Q^ucárum̄p' people at Grass Valley [on the Sevier], chief Oáq̄ar̄). Everybody saved money to dress well (but absolutely no Indian finery) for a great time.

The Kanab Indians in the middle of June camped about one or two miles east of Kanab, getting ready for the Cry (at a place called W^eáq̄oa⁺aiṭc' 'cedar grove bend, semi-circular cedar grove', where there

was much good grass for pasture). Word was sent by one man to St. George: he came back before July and said that many Muddy River Indians would in two days come to St. George and that both bands would then come together to Kanab. Then a man from St. George (Pávuĩs) arrived at Kanab late in June; he came first in order to eat rabbits with the Kanab people (not many rabbits around St. George; in earlier days they used to hunt for rabbits around Mt. Trumbull); he led in coyote and bird singing by way of preliminary in the evenings. About July 5th or 6th, Frank Mustache went out very early to meet the St. George and Muddy River Indians; he came back before noon and reported that he had met them about nine at Pipe Spring (m^í‘tíŋ^w ‘mountain point running out into plain’) and accompanied them for some distance and that by noon they would be at the small town named “Fredonia”¹²⁵ about 12 miles south of Kanab (called Áĩsqav). Tom and Joe started out immediately on Frank’s report towards Fredonia, where they met them, returned with them in the afternoon, led them to camp, and went over to their own people. There were about 150 guests, of whom about 85 were of St. George (only men and women, no children). If they had not been met on the road by Tom and Joe, they would naturally have been insulted at the slight. Then *immediately* upon arrival (about 5 p.m. of July 7th), before putting up tents or even unhitching horses, “greeting” took place at which ^w‘tsí^{ei} was leader (Tom Rice and two girls served as assistants; this was the only time when Tony noticed assistants at a Cry, but he had only witnessed one other). As soon as they cried, they broke up, attended to the horses, and put up tents. That evening they had bird singing with “Broken Penis” as leader until midnight (nearly all bird songs and some roan songs were new songs that were composed by Muddy River Indians, chiefly by one certain man indefinitely referred to as Tanti^v‘waiwiyant^{ei} ‘western singer’; some were entirely new, others were new versions of old songs; coyote songs were almost all old ones). For about two nights after there was no singing nor anything during the day. On the third day after arriving all three bands proceeded northeast to East Fork. They camped the first night at Skúrumpâ (English name;¹²⁶ called in Paiute: Šqúrumpâ^{ei}ya ‘mouth of rabbit-bush canyon’; sqúmp^w ‘rabbit bush’, -túmpâ^{ei}ya ‘mouth of canyon’), where there is a ranch. No singing was done that evening. The next day they went on again and camped in a canyon called Tc^{‘x}qôarumpâc ‘Wild Geese Spring’. That evening they sent two men — Paria John (Kanab Indian named Yĩñv^wuĩs ‘Bald head’); the other man was an Arizona Paiute who lived with the Kanabs

because of marriage with a Kanab woman, named Tiv^wik^y 'Dirty Ground mixed with sticks clinging to brush' — on to East Fork to the other camp (Cedar City, Arizona Paiutes, and Grass Valley Indians, and some Shoshone from Western Utah; about 300 or more altogether). They arrived on horseback in the middle of the night at East Fork, where a round dance was being held; they informed them of the arrival of the western bands; they returned the next day and met the Kanab and two other bands at noon little more than halfway between "Wild Geese Spring" and East Fork, accompanied by most of the Arizona Paiutes (Mampúš had been at East Fork but had already left because he got mad at something). All together now started off, the Arizona Paiutes going on ahead. When two miles from East Fork camp, all of the three first bands stopped and dressed; there they were met by Púrávurav^u 'Flour Arm' (not regularly sent but came on his own account; he was a St. George Indian who had married a Kanab woman; some Kanabs already had come to East Fork). They went on from there and came in sight of the main camp about four or five o'clock. The East Fork people already were in a line (row), also three other bands advanced in flank motion. The latter got off and advanced to within about 100 yards of the other line. (When about a half mile from East Fork and already in flank form, old William circled around on his horse and addressed them. Tony does not remember what was said. The same flank movement and prepared line had been followed at Kanab.) The second greeting took place under the leadership of ^{wz}tsíⁱ, who sang a different song this time. The horses were unhitched and put out to pasture, and camps erected; they started in to sing about 7 or 8 after supper. There were three groups of singers — roan, bird, and coyote — not disposed in any formal order. All three had rattles; there was no difference in the form of the rattles. The three groups sang ahead regardless of each other; they quit at about midnight. There is no regular rule about singers; they can stop at any time or join one of the other groups. No dancing was done during the singing.

The roan singers line up in two rows who face each other, the leader being in the center of one of the rows. Part of the time they kneel, part of the time they stand, according to the precedent set by the leader. Bird singers always stand, also in two rows facing each other; they move back and forth in flank formation somewhat in Bear Dance style, but not with so lively a step; they gently shuffle along (feet slid forward slightly alternately), at the same time slightly and gently bending or swaying the body forward; the rattle in the right hand is gently moved

obliquely down to right as it is held in front slightly to left, while the palm of the left, elbow bent, is held out facing in and made gently to follow the rattle movement by moving from up left to down right; the rattle is allowed to touch the palm at each beat. Bird singers cover a distance of about 30 to 40 feet. Coyote singers stand or kneel like roan singers, with no characteristic motion (?). Mountain sheep always stand but do not move, and never kneel. (Both Coyote and Mountain sheep singers face each other in two rows.) They hold fists out with flexed elbows and move them down parallel to each other. Mountain sheep singers were had only the last night in 1901. Various groups of singers not called "coyotes" or "birds."¹²⁷ Those not singing can do as they please — talk, sit about a campfire. The singers are in the center of the dance ground; the campfires were at the edge of the dance ground all about (about eight of them). The camps were always put up in the direction of the dance ground from which that particular party came; the dance ground was a clear acre flat surrounded by big pines. Singing was done during five nights, including the first on arrival. Nothing much was done before noon; good times (Bear dances, Round dances, foot races, horse races, wrestling, target shooting, card gambling) took place on the third day after arrival; the Bear Dance was held twice; the Round Dance on the second evening (when they had no cry singing); foot races and target shooting were held on the fourth day; gambling of course at any time. On the third, fourth, and fifth nights there was "cry" singing again; the same songs were sung, but not necessarily in the same order. These last three nights the "talker" went about on the dance ground and talked out loud to the people, reminding them of their dead relatives and trying to make them sad. At the end of every five roan songs, there is a slight pause during which an abbreviated cry greeting takes place. All the people, also the non-roan-singers, join the roan singers and make up two long lines who face each other. The greeting leader comes in in the center, sings, and tells them to cry (no hand-shaking or moving about); it was said that to cry after every four songs would be too much of a strain on the people. Only during the "cry" part in the evening are there officers; there were two for Kanab and one for each of the other bands. These were to see to it particularly that no young couples went off sparking in the brush; in earlier days they had no officers but complaints were made by the older Indians about the loose conduct of the younger men, so they introduced officers who had clubs or sticks, but did not generally need to use them. In the last night, singing is kept up until dawn, when the burning has finished.

Everyone must be awake during the whole of this night. In the early morning, as soon as everything is burned, they all separate, the "cry" being finished.

In 1901 the burning pile was erected about 100 yards east of the dance ground; this was done in the afternoon of the last day. Meanwhile, offerings for the burning were made. Anyone would stretch out a rope between two trees and different people would suspend various articles of value (such as baskets, silk handkerchiefs, shawls, blankets, and other articles of clothing) from it; several such ropes would be stretched. All articles suspended on a rope are meant to be sacrificed to the dead relatives of the donor. Also, horses are tied by ropes to the trees and are considered sacrifices in the same way. A certain man has been chosen to conduct this part of the ceremony and to talk out to the people. As soon as an offering has been made, the original owner has no further claim to it, no matter how valuable it is; he has already done his share for the sake of his dead relative. After the offerings have been made, the man chosen for the ceremony talks to the people and tells them they may exchange if they wish. This seems to have been done chiefly with horses; if a very good horse has been offered, a man (not the sacrificer) may come and unhitch it and tie a poorer horse of his own in its place, which poorer horse will then be sacrificed in its stead, the good one now belonging to the exchanger. There was one Kanab man who sacrificed a good horse (he had no poor ones); a friend of his substituted a broncho of his own; when they got back home, he returned the good horse to its original owner of his own accord. This was considered perfectly proper. The sacrificer had shown his readiness to part with something valuable, while his friend had helped him out by saving the good horse for him; both received credit for their acts. Also, blankets might be exchanged, though apparently less frequently than with horses. As soon as the exchanging is over, the articles sacrificed are worn during that night for the last time by anyone who happens to take each first; the same object may be worn by different people by turns. An object, particularly such as a handkerchief, may be torn up into little strips and worn by different people (first one man might tear off a strip, then another, and so on until it is all torn up).

During the last part of the singing during the night, the woodpile is set on fire. When the roan singers have begun their very last song, all the four groups of singers get up and slowly shuffle on in flank formation towards the woodpile, keeping on singing, while all the other people go along in the same direction. As soon as they arrive at the burning pile,

all the sacrificed articles being worn are thrown into the fire; at the same time the sacrificed horses have been led up to a neighboring mountain and are shot. At the burning other articles not already put on a rope may be sacrificed. Thus one girl from Kanab, who had put on two dresses, took off the upper one and threw it into the fire. Crying goes on during the burning, also the roan singing. As soon as the singing is over, the ceremony is at an end, and everyone seems to be eager to get away as soon as possible.

At the time of the Cry of 1901, Tom, who had learned much from the Utes, led in a peculiarly Ute (not Paiute) "dance." A line of horsemen riding bareback with ropes for reins circled around clockwise, two moving abreast. Tom, the leader, held a drum made of a pail with a piece of buckskin stretched over the opening in his left and beat it with a drumstick held in his right. They all sang to his drumming. This is the only drum Tony has ever heard of in use among the Paiutes.¹²⁸

The object of the "cry" is to show respect for dead relatives; there is no idea of sending property to the spirit world, but goods are sacrificed merely to show love and disregard of wealth for their sake. There is no necessity of sacrificing if you don't want to, but it would look mean if one did not sacrifice at least something, even if only a trifle, if a relative has recently died. It is enough to sacrifice at the first "cry" after a death, not necessarily thereafter. A "cry" can be held anytime, but is generally held in summer (June or July). About 1898 (latter part of July), a "cry" was held about 6 or 8 miles below Cedar City (Muddy, St. George, some Shoshone, Kaibab, Escalante, Cedar, but no Arizona [people were present]); about 1904 (some time in May), a "cry" took place between "Cain Patch"¹²⁹ and Rockville at Siúmpāĩs ~ Ciúmpāĩs 'gravel spring' (St. George, Kanab, and Cedar only); about 1903 (November), a "cry" was held at Point Spring (Pavó^εavāĩs) at the Indian pasture near (three miles east of) Moccasin Spring (only Kanab); in 1902 (early in spring) a "cry" was held at Oáĩũmpai^{yz} 'mouth of Salt canyon' (directly east, about seven miles from Moccasin Springs, at Point Spring, on road to Kanab and just outside of Indian pasture) (only Kanab); in 1899 a "cry" was held seven miles west of Kanab at Cottonwood Springs in winter (only Kanab); about 1904 (July) a "cry" was held at qáĩĩ 'end of canyon' about 30–40 miles northwest of St. George (Mt. Meadow is about 15 miles south of it) (all bands); in 1909 (July), a "cry" was held at the same place as in 1898 (all bands except Arizona, also some Shoshones); before 1894 two "cries" were held at Sam City.¹³⁰ Utes never come to "cries" nor other tribes besides those above enumerated.

*Ghost Dance*¹³¹

In the Ghost Dance they used to have a dance-corral or fence (generally, but not always) consisting of cedar or preferably willow branches piled thick and neatly to a height of four or five feet, with four gates or openings about four feet wide, the diameter of the circle being about 60—75 feet. Planted in the center they used to have a cedar pole about 25 feet high, from the top of which depended a string to which two feathers were tied, one a big eagle tail-feather painted red, the other one of the soft white feathers under an eagle's tail-feather. There was no restriction about touching the pole. Instead of the pole, the prophet whose dreamt songs were sung would put a cane of service-berry wood smoothed nicely and symmetrically with a carved hook or knob at the top in the center; from it the same two feathers hung.¹³² Only the prophet (*pārúxūĩs*, now used also to mean anyone that composes a Round Dance) could touch the cane and feathers; when the dance was over he took it home with him and stood it up at the doorway or at the head of his bed, where nobody could touch it. Several prophets had canes and feathers, some of whom were Kaibabs. Tony was then about five years old. They generally started about 7 p.m. and kept it up till midnight. The dancing kept up day after day for many months, perhaps a year or two. Nothing was done during the day. Everyone was supposed to go to the dance, otherwise he would turn into a crow, stone, or some other animal or object. During the dance, the prophets would suddenly fall into a trance and, on awakening, prophesy various things, such as the approach of a storm; they claimed that if the people danced, their dead relatives would come back to life. Now the Indians do not like to sing these songs, for they claim the dances "ate up" the people, all the prophets having died, probably from over-exertion. Dancing was done clockwise in the same manner as an ordinary round dance. There were no special costumes worn for the ghost dance.

Mythology and Miscellaneous Beliefs

Myths

The telling of myths should be stopped as early as spring, before the Bear Dance in March takes place.¹³³

Myths were never told in summer, for then snakes would bite the narrator. In winter myths were told, for there were no snakes about at that time. Once a myth was started, it should be finished; otherwise the winter would be lengthened, part of the summer becoming winter. A favorite time of telling myths was in the evening when all had laid themselves away to go to sleep. Some man, generally an elderly person, would half-lie, half-sit with his head propped up by a log or mass of blankets and tell myths far into the night. As he told it, the auditors were expected to show their attention by comments (such as *ṃṃṃ* or *ǫwai* 'yes'), or by laughing at the humorous passages; if the full point of any passage was not seen, it might be repeated, such repetitions often stringing out a story beyond its proper length.

Gradually the auditors dozed off to sleep; it rarely happened that most of them, particularly the children, were "lucky" enough to hear the end of the stories. If the narrator found that no one responded to his good points, he would suddenly stop and call out, "Are you listening?" and, if no one answered, he might wake up the people and continue, except, of course, such as had asked to be allowed to go to sleep on the plea of being tired.

The older Indians still believe these myths to be true. An anecdote is related of a St. George Indian, who listened to the words of a white preacher at the mission church as he told of the origins of things as related in the Bible. After he had concluded, the Indian arose and told his Indian friends, "Now this man has finished telling you stories. Now I am going to tell you Indian stories and true ones." This anecdote was related from place to place and considered a good joke on the white man.

Myths, no matter how obscene, were told in the presence of women and children. Nothing was thought of this.

Tony remembers having heard the following story narrated as true. Somewhere northwest of the Kaibab Paiutes there lived two pretty unmarried girls who were great friends. Once they went out far off from the camp and sat down. One of them said, "Let us do something." The other replied, "What shall we do?" The first said, "Let us play with each other. You lie down on your belly and I shall lie on top of you like a man." The other girl consented. The first girl then began to copulate with her friend who found, to her astonishment and shame, that she had a penis as well as female private parts. She was a hermaphrodite. She was so mortified that after that she had nothing more to do with her former friend.

Wolf made heaven and earth. Indians therefore worship him. Wolf's brother is Coyote. Wolf is "father of peoples." There is no regular worship of Wolf but they talk of him as Father.

Originally there was nothing but water. Wolf told Coyote to make earth but he couldn't, so Wolf dived down for clay at the bottom of the water and made land and animals out of it. Wolf told Coyote that snow was to fall only on the mountains and was to be picked as flour by people, but Coyote thought it best to have people leave tracks on real snow. Wolf wanted a person to return when dead, but Coyote said no, he wanted people to mourn.

When people die, they go way west to the shores of a certain river.

Earth is said to be flat and round like a disk.

If one needs a wind, as in winnowing ground seeds, and there is none blowing, it will help to whistle for one. On the other hand, one should not whistle too much if there is no need of a wind.

After traveling for quite a while and then sitting down to eat, one should not eat immediately but wait a while, perhaps as much as half an hour. This is because they want to give the various parts of the body a chance to come together and set. Some part of the body might be on the road yet.

There are, in the belief of the Paiutes, certain people who eat human beings, but only females. It is not definitely stated where they live or what is their appearance.

q^u"túčⁱ 'giant, one who eats very much'; seems to occur only in a Chipmunk and Giant myth.¹³⁴

ĩnĩpũtĩc 'devil, evil spirit', can assume any form. It makes people sick and causes death. Whenever a person dies, his death is supposed to be due to a spirit who shoots into the person with his power. This "shot" object is what the medicine-man takes out. puániwĩi' '(medicine-man) takes out with medicine power'; q^u"qwĩ' 'shoot' used to refer to shooting of evil spirit. A medicine-man can also "shoot" a person. There are no different kinds of evil spirits.

sô^onuḡⁱ 'lung-spirit' (apparently believed in only by Utes).

pãḡ^oaḡĩtĩc 'water-baby' ('baby', ĩḡã^oḡĩtĩc; 'water-baby' also used for 'angel'). They live in water, are small like babies, have wings, and are supposed to drag people down into the water and drown them.¹³⁵

niḡwúnô^ovⁱ bird bigger than an eagle, who carries people away in his claws. There is a myth about him.¹³⁶

pãrô^uxwãntⁱ 'water-fighter'; not a person, only water in Lake Parowan that rises in approach of a person and drags him into water to

drown him, if he does not run away. Lake Parowan is all right now, but it used to be bad.

ĩnĩp̄ui ~ ĩnĩp̄^wi it̄s pun̄in̄^eniⁱ ‘evil spirit is looking around’, used to refer to light moving around (? “will o’ the wisp”). A “devil” may change into visible form as of a person, but ordinarily moves like wind and looks like a shadow.

turún^en̄ārⁱ ‘whirlwind’, is supposed to have an evil spirit in it.

Spirits can make themselves heard by whistling or yelling like a real person. ĩnĩp̄^wit̄s includes also “ghosts.” When a person dies his soul (moγóavⁱ) turns into an “evil spirit.”

They say that in southern California the girls have a row of holes around the vagina to which are attached strings. If a girl desires to kill a man, she lets him copulate with her, then, when the penis is well in, she pulls at the strings from behind her anus; the man’s penis is held firm until he dies.¹³⁷

Mythology — Recitatives

Wolf’s singing is considered strong and powerful, also Gray Hawk’s, though to a lesser extent.¹³⁸

Stars and Sky Lore

Orion’s Belt is called nāxán̄^w ‘mountain sheep’. The seven Pleiades are called s̄-ŋn̄iāŋ^w or Coyote’s Family. They are composed of Coyote’s daughters who fled from Coyote up into the sky when he tried to have incestuous intercourse with them.¹³⁹

“Shooting stars” are known as pũt̄ⁱsiγwidjāp̄ⁱ ‘star excrement’; pũⁱ‘ūts̄iv̄ⁱ ‘star’.¹⁴⁰ When the moon wanes, they say m^{wē}á̄toγoi^eaiⁱ ‘moon dies’; ‘moon waxes’ [no entry]; full moon [no entry]; ‘new moon’ [no entry].

When the moon has a ring outside, it is said to “eat itself” (nārīk̄^yaiⁱ). If you point at a rainbow, your finger will come off.

Thunder is caused by the rolling about of a bear in his den.

Never point at the new moon, for then your finger will get sore.

Do not try to count the stars, for then you will get blind.

Reckoning of Time¹⁴¹

táv^z 'sun, day'; taváiⁱ 'it's day'.

t^zciantⁱ 'early morning before sun-up'.

îⁱtc^uuā^u 'morning at sunrise'.

îⁱtc^{ux}qu tavaiⁱ 'forenoon'.

toγóitavaiⁱ 'midday'.

t^zciḡ^ztavaiⁱ 'afternoon'.

t^zciḡantⁱ 'time at sundown, dusk, early evening'.

ciāḡuⁱ 'early night, after dark'.

tuxwán^u 'night'.

toγóituxwan^u 'midnight'.

ciāḡuaruḡwan^u 'up to midnight'.

t^zci^ztuḡwan^u 'after midnight (to morning twilight)'.

muátoḡuḡsⁱ 'month'.

tóm^z 'year' (lit. 'winter'); wátoḡmani^z 'two years'.

qāḡāḡ^wḡⁱ 'some winter month, December or January':¹⁴² at that time a certain star named qāḡ^z comes up in the morning; at that time is the greatest feast: children are told to go out in early twilight to see it rise up out of the bush in the east. If one could see it, it is a sign he will have very good eyesight and be able to discern rabbits far off in the bushes. Month name = 'star month' ('month, moon' m^wuátoḡoḡsⁱ; m^wḡⁱ not used by itself).

pa^éátoḡoḡm^wḡⁱ 'long month', some winter month (perhaps December).

taḡ^éáuḡsⁱ ~ taḡ^éoḡs^z 'spring water-jar', probably March, when the Bear Dance takes place.

taḡ^éaruwaḡsⁱ 'little spring', perhaps April. Even old people are not absolutely certain about the Indian names of months, as Tony relates an anecdote of two old Indians who quarreled about the name of a particular month.

Music and Dance

Names of Songs and Dances: Religious and Secular

^zsíyuwaviⁱ 'roan song' (uwíyavⁱ 'song', ^zsiḡar ~ ^zsigar 'roan colored').¹⁴³

sⁱná^éuwaviⁱ ~ cíná^éuwaviⁱ 'coyote song'.

wiḡsⁱuwaviⁱ 'bird song'.

nāxanwiavⁱ 'mountain sheep song'.

yāyáṗ^ō 'cry dance'.

mā^zmáq̄^ō miṗ^ō 'bear dance'.

tāxúwiav^ō 'sun dance' (not Paiute).

tuún^{enix}qap^ō 'scalp dance, war dance'.

kiyáṗ^ō 'play dance' (used to mean 'squaw dance').

ā^zníṗā^zniṗ^ō 'squaw dance'.

naiáŋwinwiavⁱ 'gambling song, hand-game song' (naiáŋwiṗⁱ 'hand game', lit. 'carrying oneself', = na-vaŋwi-).

puáuwⁱ 'medicine-man's song' (puáxautⁱ 'medicine-man', t^utúxuavⁱ 'supernatural spirit, helper').

tu^εún^{enix}qauwjavⁱ 'scalp dance song'.

yāyáuwⁱ 'cry song'.

pārúxu⁷wAntⁱ 'prophet'; man who prophesies for future during squaw dance, at same time leader of squaw dance.

*Bear Dance*¹⁴⁴

In 1901 they had a bear-dance in the afternoon (5 to 6) about that time, not as an important dance, but as a pleasure dance, just as they had foot and horse races, wrestling, target-shooting. There is no particular leader to a bear dance. About eight men sit down on the ground in a circle around a dishpan (formerly a round basket) and play rasps which lie on the pan nearly flat (only tilted to a slight angle), singing at the same time. The singing starts in first as a sort of signal for the beginning of the dance. Whoever wishes joins in; others may look on. The women gather on the side away from the singers; the men are near the singers. The girls and women advance towards the singers on the flat stomped-out dancing ground in no regular line, and without keeping time to the music; then each singles out a partner from the men by touching with a branch or throwing a pebble. The woman then advances backwards followed at a distance by the man she had picked out in time to the music; they may thus advance and come back several times before joining in together. The dancing parties do not keep in line, but each advances and steps back regardless of the others. After a while (or immediately), they join, each holding the right hand on the other's left shoulder and left hand behind the waist. There seems to be no attempt to have the step (a sort of light springy walk or semi-hop) keep in time to the singing and rasping; some go fast, others slow. A song generally lasts from five to ten minutes. After

a very short interval, the next is started; other parties now dance or the same may dance again. The girls are supposed to represent the bears, the men are the persons who dance with the bear women, according to the myth. If one does not wish to follow the girl he is poked with a pole or branch carried by one of the two or three officers (who may have appointed themselves so or been agreed upon as such by the men, not the women) and forced to follow. If one is not alert in following, it is believed that when chased by a bear in the mountains, he will not get away easily; otherwise he would. Many songs are sung. The last song is the longest, lasting from about twenty to thirty minutes, and is called "moving the longest distance" (mīyótoḡ nīáí). If one of the members of a party gives out, his or her place is taken immediately by a friend, a large number of whom are ready. Both boy (man) and girl (woman) must not stop dancing at the same time; the party as such must continue throughout. It generally ends about sundown.

When Tony was about eight or nine, the Kaibabs returned from hunting on the Kaibab Plateau to Kanab in the fall and were instructed in it by Tom (then a young man of Cedar City Indians, who had been much with the Utes; he now lives with the Kaibabs and is considered the best singer of bear-dance songs, being generally the song-leader) and medicine-man Mampúṭṣ of the Arizona Paiutes, who had traveled much among the Southern Utes. Tom ordered six holes to be dug in a distance of about 20 feet and had cedar posts (about 10 feet high) erected; no explanation was given of this fence and it has never been used since. Mampúṭṣ sang first as leader, chiefly songs with words; then Tom followed, mostly with songs without words, which are considered more difficult. One of his songs long after, maybe composed by himself, is: "Let us go back home, my friend, we are traveling about just for fun." Nowadays the bear dance is generally sung in March, but sometimes also during the summer, whenever there is a general gathering or "good time."

The Bear Dance takes place every spring, generally early in March. Two lines are formed, one of men and one of women; the dance consists in the moving of the two lines towards each other, stopping, then moving back, and so on repeatedly. Six or eight men are used as singers of the Bear Dance songs. These songs have Paiute words and seem to follow in a certain order, each song consisting of a statement or of a question and answer referring to some incident in the myth recounting the origin of the Bear Dance. There must be several hundred of these songs; according to Tony Tillohash, old men acquainted with all the songs would be able to sing from nightfall to morning without duplicating songs. The singers in

the dance accompany themselves with rasps, rubbing cylindrical pieces of wood over long, somewhat oblong sticks serrated on one side with angular notches. Different sized rasps could be used. To secure a sounding board, a small pit is dug in the ground and a basket placed over it. The rasps rest on this by an edge obliquely cut away at one end of the side opposite the notches. The ceremony lasts four days.

In the Bear Dance, three officers are appointed with long pointed sticks. If a man touched by a willow branch held by a girl refuses to dance, he will not escape when chased by a grizzly bear. The dance is supposed to give a person the power to escape from bears. The dance consists in running back and forth, man with woman partner.

In the Bear Dance a man and woman faced each other with one hand on the other's shoulder and the other hands clasped.¹⁴⁵ The pair ran up and down keeping together in this position.

The Bear Dance is important enough in itself to make different bands come around to witness; generally it is held at the place where a particular band camps. The Kaibabs have it every March when bears come out of their dens; also the Arizona Paiutes have it; the Muddies and St. Georges have seen it but do not perform it, not having good bear-dance singers.¹⁴⁶

Rasps Used in the Bear Dance

Mampúts̄ generally rasps one direction, towards himself, two beats to each bar. Tom generally rasps four times to a bar, alternately towards and away from himself, the main beat coming on the rasp beat towards himself, with which he begins.

Before beginning to sing, it is customary to have one bar of rasping (two "towards" beats with M., four beats with Tom); sometimes only a bar is rasped. At the end of a song the rasp is played with four (or five) rapid (twice as quick as before) strokes, the last being outward and most accented. Rasps may follow either of two styles; they do not all have to rasp in the same way.

uvwu īīvun' qamusaywÁyātsiγ' Ant'^ī
 Alas (pity)! my friend having a jack-rabbit stomach!

These words are said when any one of the dancers falls down or stumbles. One of the rasps, seeing him or her do so, jumps up and

quickly runs there, while rapidly rasping, and puts the rasp on his or her back, keeping on rasping quickly.

The sound of the rasp can be heard as much as two or three miles away on a quiet evening, the rasping carrying farther than the singing. Each tries to sing as loud as he can; this is not true of cry songs. At the end of a song, the rasps are held in the hand with the sticks; at the end of the dance, the pan is put away where it belongs and the rasps and sticks are put in the hole. The rasps are thrown away after the ceremony.

*Round Dance, "Squaw" Dance, and Scalp Dance*¹⁴⁷

At Páβuṡ̄s (about 8 miles north of Cedar City) they had a round dance (not a Ghost Dance) in 1897, when they danced in the evenings; they kept up about a week; there were lots of bands (also Utah Shoshones).

Generally young men start a round dance, get together singers, and begin to circle around singing any song that they've made up. In the "cry" of 1901 Yī'íñqwaṡ̄ ~ Yīñíñqwaṡ̄ 'Porcupine Tail' from Qaná^εōḥ (live near Milford, Utah) was one of the best preliminary singers, but did not start it. In the round dance dancers all sing as they dance, while outsiders do not sing; there is no accompanying instrument. No rattles or bells are worn on moccasins for the dance. (Sometimes people did ordinarily wear moccasins with bells by way of ornament to make a sound when walking along.) All hold each other's hands; the left hand is held down facing the palm towards the body and interlocked finger for finger in the other's right hand (thumb goes under, little finger outside), the right hand held palm away from the body and interlocked with the other's left hand (thumb inside, little finger on top). They circle around clockwise facing in. They step to every beat in the bar by lifting up slightly left foot to left (which toes at an angle to the left), while the right foot is dragged after it on the end of the beat (it toes out straight in front). In the end of the Ghost Dance they used to trill the lips on a high note; this was a signal for an extra-quick step; they would keep up their song, only to a much faster time; some would then fall down because of the greater speed, which was kept up about one minute. After a round dance is started, generally by good singers (two may start it), people will come around, both men and women. In both the Ghost and Round dances women can butt in whenever they want to and dance

with any partner they choose, breaking up a hold if necessary. After the song, the women move back, while the men, particularly the main singers, remain in the center; in the Ghost Dance the women would start sometimes a dance, and the men would butt in, at the end of the song leaving the women in the center. In any one single dance only one song is sung. In regard to the step, one may also lift both feet; some sway the body lightly from right to left, the accent finding the body to the left; much depends on individual habit. The circle is complete, no opening being left as in the Squaw Dance. Tony knows nothing of a round dance in connection with girl's adolescence.¹⁴⁸

In the Squaw Dance, first men circled around clockwise in a simple step, the left foot being put down on the accented beat of the drum, and the right foot trailing behind after it. At the end of the dance, women got in a bunch at the end. In the second dance, the women start in with the men, a woman between two men, a man holding his hand clasped in the woman's or both in two women's.

The Scalp Dance is more of a Ute than a Paiute ceremony. It was sung both before and after going to war. In singing it, the participants circled clockwise, an accompaniment being struck on the drum. If a party came home with a scalp, it was put up on a fairly high pole that was stood up in the house; those dancing around it would strike the scalp from time to time with sticks held in the hand.

Once some drunken Paiutes got together and sang the scalp dance preparatory to getting even with an enemy of theirs who was at the time dancing in a round dance. At a given signal they all suddenly pounced upon him, but other Indians held them in check and tied them up until they were sobered.

Games

Games of Chance

Hand Game

naiyáŋwiḗⁱ 'hand game'. It is played for any stakes, such as blankets. These are piled up in back of the winners. Horses may be wagered but need not be around; people remember who bet horses. They gamble with two pairs of bones. Sometimes they have a little log in front, on

which the playing side beats time with sticks. The guessing side does not sing.¹⁴⁹ The bone that is to be guessed is called p^{ˈzx}qáu^εnumpⁱ;¹⁵⁰ no other bone has a name. Gambling bones are known as naiyáŋ^{wi}numpⁱ. If both bones are guessed right, the guesser says naŋwáʔqump^{ˈzx}qaŋ^w ‘kill both’. As players gamble, the man who guesses looks carefully and experiments with his motions before finally deciding on where the bones are; meanwhile, the playing side keeps changing bones. A player is not allowed to show both bones in one hand.

Guessing: (1) If the bones are in the position OX XO, where O is the unmarked and X the marked bone, it is known as wixáʔvⁱ ‘summit’. He need not say it. He puts his right fist on his breast and extends the left hand out to his with left index finger and thumb parted [indicating unmarked to the outside] and the other three fingers kept together. (2) tiráxwapiⁱ ‘it is between, center’ [XO OX]: right fist as above, and left arm extended straight forward with fingers together in plane of his body and to ground and thumb bent in down to right. (3) tív^waⁱ ‘down’ [XO XO]: right fist as above; with index finger of left (thumb loosely resting on three other fingers), he describes an arc to right [unmarked to the right]. (4) tíⁱ ‘up’ [OX OX]: like (3), only with sweep to left. The words above listed are not regularly used by the guesser. He exclaims ^εaⁱ, ^εiⁱ, or ói when he finally guesses.

Every time both are guessed, the bones are handed over to the other side. If only one is guessed, the playing side takes away one counter; if neither, two are taken away. Each side has its counters standing in front of it. The gambling men may be changed, or kept going if they have good luck. The guesser is changed if he has not good luck, but generally he is kept through a single game anyway.

Guessers think that if they put a mirror of any kind secretly behind their opponents, they can guess pretty good.

In the “hand game,” the side that did the playing¹⁵¹ sang gambling songs. Also, the man or men that handled the bones sang in rhythm to his actions. Every now and then he would toss up one of the bones in the air and quickly catch it in one of his hands.

In the game “hand” cheating was done by the trick of holding both bones in one hand. If the opponent guessed the hand without any bones in it, he lost.¹⁵² If he guessed the hand with both bones in it, the player would deftly manage to jerk the bone by pressure with the index finger along the inside of the arm into the other hand, without the opponent’s being able to see the change of hand. It is said that once the Kaibab Paiutes lost heavily to the Muddy River Indians and only later found

out the trick that had been worked on them. Each side has the same number of counters. As a rule they did not like to have only 6 counters on a side, as this made a rather short game and quick loss. Generally 8 or 12 counters were preferred,¹⁵³ giving the losing side a chance for a turn of luck. The "black" bone is so made by having sinew wrapped around the center and glued with piñon gum.

Dice¹⁵⁴

A "dice" game was played in which there were two sides and 16 long rectangular sticks, 8 for each side; on one side [of the dice] they were red, on the other unpainted. Either side scored points according to whether the majority of dice when thrown were red or unpainted.

Correct: In stick-dice game there are not 16 sticks, but only 8 or 10. One side plays for the red side, the other for black (or unmarked). The side scores from 0 to 8 points according to the number of dice that fall to their color. The sticks taper at one end in width and thickness.

Dice may be played by anyone. Scoring is done the same way,¹⁵⁵ except that instead of lines they use a row of sticks standing in a row. The count is measured off by a stick placed on the ground between them. The game is finished when the end is reached and back again. Players divide up into partners. The sticks taper evenly on either side.

Correct: Only the unmarked side counts as points. Each side tosses for this side of the die. The whole mass of dice are held together in the hand and allowed to fall on the tapering end, then they fall apart in various ways.

Billet Game

There is no women's billet game.¹⁵⁶

Games of Skill

Cup and Ball

tʰsʰín̄niṗʰi 'rabbit-head game' (cup and ball), tʰsʰín̄niniimpʰ 'rabbit-head that is played with'. A cup and ball game was played with a rabbit skull [Figure 14]. If a pointed grease-wood stick, attached to the skull

by a string, was caught in one of the holes of the skull, it counted as one point; if in one of the tooth holes, it counted 3 points; if in one of 2 holes at the end of the row of teeth, it counted 10 points. The stick used for scoring is called *toγón*ⁱ ‘snake’ and referred to as *toγón*ⁱ ‘my snake or grandfather’. Scoring is done by placing this stick at a certain line of a reentrant row of parallel lines [18 or so] with a long line running through. These marks are scratched on the ground. Each side has its “grandfather” and both start at the right end of the figure. If the first side makes 4 points, their stick is placed at the fourth parallel line, but in front of the centerline; if the opposite side makes 8 points, their stick is placed at the eighth parallel line in front of center. Whichever side can first round the end of the figure and return to the start (using the lines behind center) and then go back again round the end back to start wins out [i.e., two complete circuits]. Any even number of people (men, women, or children) can play it; they divide up into pairs. All on one side are called *nanáriγiwuŋ*^w ‘friends’. It must be played in winter. If played in summer, snakes will bite you.

Before the game, players may agree not to burn each other’s “grandfather,” in which case no scrapping results. Or they may agree to try to get “grandfathers” at the end of the last game. As soon as the last game is finished, the men of both sides try to grab the sticks. If each side gets only its own, nothing happens. If one side gets a stick of the other side, the men of the other side try to get it away from him; all wrestle. The side that has it tries to get it off to the fire as soon as possible to burn it up; they may pass it from one to another in relay fashion. If a side has its own stick, it will throw it away in some hidden spot where those of the other side can’t get at it to burn it. “My grandfather” is *toγón*ⁱ, homonymous with ‘my snake’.

níim^{wi}*qwa*^{εγ}*ŋ*^w ‘we have won out’, *t*^{zc}*s-in*^{εix}*qaváraŋ*^{wz} ‘let’s play cup and ball’. Each side has a leader who chooses men of his side. This method of scoring and burning grandfathers was not used in other games.¹⁵⁷ There was no gambling on this game.

Shinny

nanáuaḡ^ō ‘shinny game’; played by men against men, or women against women.

‘goal’ (generally some tree): *qwa*^w*ŋ*^{εε}*nūwa*^ε.

‘shinny stick’ *k*^{wi}*pán*^ε*ümp*ⁱ.

‘(shinny) ball’ *mump*^w*ÁTs-ivaTs* (generally called ball now).

They wager anything. The ball is made of a piece of buckskin filled with cloth, originally deer hair. The tree goals might be a mile or half mile apart. The center is agreed upon and a hole made about four inches deep. Bent sticks are used (perhaps branches of trees) and the two in the center hit at the ball to get it out, *one at a time*. Different players are scattered around between the goals and center. At the end of the game the goals are changed for the next time.

Arrow Shoots

naraṯcⁱqwu^εiṗⁱ 'arrow game', pāγán^εaināṗⁱ 'arrow game without bow'. In these games there are generally four men or boys, sometimes two. Two arrows are placed slantingly with point in ground, about 100 yards apart. If there are four, two stand just behind each arrow, facing the arrow and the two at the opposite end. One member of each pair is partnered with the man directly opposite at the other end. The two at one end will shoot off their arrows at one time, then their second arrows. He scores one point who gets nearest to the fixed arrow [at the opposite end]. If any part of an arrow touches the placed arrow, two points are scored. Then the other two shoot off arrows towards the other fixed arrow. Twelve points would win the game.

Another way of playing the arrow game was to have one of the four or two fellows shoot off an arrow somewhere; it would land anywhere, say in a tree. The fellows would then shoot off their arrows to see who could come nearest. Scoring was as in the preceding game. This was generally played when walking along, often on return from a hunt. Arrows were bet as stakes. When they came up to the first arrow, the same one shot it off and they went on as before, always moving.

In the "arrow game played while walking along" (náṯc^{u,α}qwi^{εi}), about 6 or 8 counters are held by one of the members of each side and 1 or 2 counters are yielded to the holder of the respective side that wins 1 or 2 points. To come closest to the arrow that has been shot off is 1 point, to touch any part of it is 2. Each player has put up a stake (such as an arrow) against a stake of one of the members of the other side. 'To touch arrow' ^{wi}tcá^αq^{wi}.

pāγáú^εninaṗⁱ is like the first of the two games just described, except that no bow was used. The arrow was held with its nock in the arm and the point held in the hand and hurled forward.

A favorite amusement was [also] to shoot an arrow high up in the air over one's head out of sight and wait for it to fall down, getting out of the way.

Another game was called máit'ui', or máit'uiip; it was played each one for himself or in sides. A party of say five would get together and one would throw the root any distance. As soon as it touched the ground, they all shoot their arrows at it. Whoever hits it first has the chance to win one or more arrows as follows. He takes the root and calls out "máit'úi^{ei}" as he spins the root in the air. The others who are lined up at a short distance immediately shoot at the root, trying to hit it, which they generally do. Those arrows that do not hit may now be won by the spinner (máit'uitci'), those that have hit being saved for the owners; he takes each arrow and shoots it at the root as he spins it in the air himself (he may throw it up right in front of his bow); whichever arrow he hits with belongs to him. If, during the first spinning, one (at least) member of each side shoots at the root, a tie is declared and the arrows all go back to their owners. If the spinner misses with any one of the others' arrows, it goes back to its owner. After the second spinning the root (which is used because it is soft and does not blunt the point) is thrown again.

Fillip

wa^éámpjīx^uquq̄^éwinump^u, kind of bean-shooter, lit. 'cedar-berry shooter'. A piece of cedar¹⁵⁸ (wa^éáp^u) branch about one or one-half foot long was taken and whittled down rather thin and flat at one end: the thick end was held in the right fist, the flexible end was held towards the body and a cedar berry put on it and shot off sling-wise or rather trigger-wise. No sides were chosen or battle fought. When snow was on the ground, a piece of charcoal would be stuck in it and berries shot off at it as a target.

Hoop and Pole, Chunkee

No hoop game or chunkee was played among the Paiutes.¹⁵⁹

Rabbit Chase

qamūnārīr^wu^ēp̄^u, a game in which each tries to head off a rabbit away from each other, done always in spring. In this game very many joined, old and young. The hunting was done by throwing rabbit-sticks, the use of firearms or bows and arrows being strictly forbidden. The sticks had to be thrown from horseback; it is considered easier to walk on foot and use the rabbit-stick, but this is not allowed, part of the sport being to see how well one could aim while rushing along on a horse. As soon as a rabbit was seen, they all chased right after it, each trying to hit it and each endeavoring to head others off from it; there was no partnership involved, though sometimes house-mates would assist each other in heading off the others. Each rider generally has two or three or more rabbit-sticks, so that, on missing once, he could have two or three more trials without getting off his horse, retrieving the rabbit-stick, and getting left behind. When his sticks gave out, he had to dismount and hunt up the sticks (or at least one), he having in each case noted where each fell. As soon as one has killed a rabbit, all gathered at the spot, dismounted to give their horses a rest, and hunted up the outstanding stick or sticks, if any. Sometimes the rabbit would run into a hole. There was then a great struggle to rush to the hole on foot and be the first to pull out the animal, for rabbits never hide deep in a burrow and can easily be reached by stretching in the arm. The one that succeeded in pulling out the rabbit killed him, the method used being to hold the rabbit in the left hand by his hind feet, head down, and then club him with the rabbit-stick on the nape; the squeezing method was never employed.¹⁶⁰ There was no further object to the game than to catch as many rabbits as possible.

Wrestling

Wrestling (nanán^ēwūnai[‘] ‘throw one another’) does not seem to be an old Indian game but to have been learned from whites, whose holds they use.

String Figures

Tony does not believe the Indians ever had string-figures.¹⁶¹

Foot Races

Tony does not think that the present foot races are aboriginal, but are derived from whites.¹⁶²

Children's Games and Amusements

Stilts

Boys, when people were out camping in Kaibab country, would make use of stilts (pāyáin^unump^u); a crotched branch of a quaking aspen tree was used, the crotch being about three feet from the ground and just big enough to stand on, the stilt as high as a person when moving; a log was generally used to get on the stilt. There was no regular game in it.¹⁶³

Pop-gun

Boys would sometimes amuse themselves by sham battles or "hunting deer" (one side would pretend to be deer) with pop-guns. A huckleberry (qōñq̄xui^u)¹⁶⁴ stick about one or one and a half feet long was taken and the soft heart tamped out by means of a rose-bush stick (tsi^uámpiv^u) somewhat longer than the tube. The tube was wetted and two or three wetted rag balls put in tight at one end so that one protruded about one-half to two-thirds its size. The loose stick was forced up and out the tube held slantingly upward and released one of the balls with a smack. New rag balls were put in as desired; boys carried rags in their pockets and tore them into balls when necessary. It was perhaps not a regular Indian game toy.

Slings

Slings were made out of a piece of shoe leather (rawhide in earlier days) as center piece, through holes in which were attached cords; one of these had a string at the end for insertion of a finger. Stones were slung as missiles. Sometimes sling fights were held between two sides with stones, just for sport.

Mud Fights

wiáñaxuq̄wi' ~ wieñaxuq̄wi' (wiáv^u 'mud') 'mud battle'. This is a mock battle that used to be indulged in by boys, sometimes also men: a cedar switch was taken and a soft clump of mud slapped on at the switch end, which weighted down the switch. The switch was swung and the mud ball released as a missile. Sometimes it was used for shooting at objects or animals (birds and rabbits) for fun. In one case a young man had one of his eyes knocked out while indulging in this mock battle.

Arrow Shoot

The root of a yucca (?) [basal stump with roots] from which soap was made (tca^emáwiḗ^u) was used in a game called náñ^ewaiḗcai' (game, náñw^eai ḗcaḗ^{ai}).¹⁶⁵ The root was thrown up into a tree: if it remained stuck, all who had divided off into sides shot at it to see whose arrow could hit it first. The root was looked upon as a deer. It was said that whoever hit it the most would be a good hunter.

Hiding Game

māvóxoī^{yi} 'making pile(s) of dirt', game māvóxoīḗ^{ai}. This is played by two or more children (boys and girls) on the ground. Some object like a pebble or marble is held in the hand by one and the hand circled round while the earth is being disturbed. Finally the object is slyly dropped into the dirt, but the boy continues circling, then stops. He then makes a number of piles, say five or six, and the others have to guess in which the object is concealed. If one fails, the next guesses, having one less pile to choose from. Whoever guesses takes the object and proceeds; if no one guesses, the first continues. No points are counted; the game is just played for fun.

Dolls

kīñwá^eavⁱ 'doll', used only by girls.

Ghost Game

ĩĩĩp̄intuḅ^{ci} ‘ghost game’ (= ‘ghost making’) is played by little boys and girls. One says he will be ghost and the others try to run away from him. He keeps chasing them until one is caught, who then also becomes a ghost and helps chase the others. In this way they try to make all of them ghosts. When all are caught, someone else is ghost to start with. This game is generally played in the banks of a wash.

Snow Slides

For sliding downhill on the snow they sometimes used a deerskin, hair side to the snow. A couple would get on this. ‘Slide’ o⁺ómp̄siô^oxwai⁺ (general term).

Bull-Roarer

The bull-roarer was often used by children in play to make a wind. The old folks, however, would not like it sometimes and would take it away and burn it up. The reason is that the buzz calls the evil spirits (ĩĩĩp̄ĩt̄s̄).¹⁶⁶

Miscellaneous Customs¹⁶⁷

This was the old Indian custom in greeting: to grasp each other’s hands, but not necessarily shake; called t̄ĩĩ^uũt̄ca^{ai}.

Greeting is máik̄^{ci} or máik̄u^wác̄^u.¹⁶⁸ On the coming of a man from another tribe, nearly everybody gathers around to hear the news; after a while he tells what he has to say; if he has nothing to say, he simply says he is going around just for fun. There is no salutation corresponding to “good-bye.”

Still the Paiutes had no sign-language.

If one sneezed, it meant that someone was speaking of him.

The following joke was sometimes indulged in: If a stranger with his bow came along, one of the home fellows might take his bow and slip it along on the ground on the broad outer side of the bow. If it fell

resting with the string toward the stranger, it showed that his penis had been "skinned."

If rats were troublesome in the house, a man would station himself near a rat-hole and call the rats by squealing with tightly pressed lips. He was ready to shoot the rat as it appeared with bow and arrow.

Bull-roarers were whirred in order to cause the wind to blow.¹⁶⁹

Table 1. Sapir's note on changes from his original orthographic system to the new and printed version.

Change:	To:
A	α
â	ω
e	ε
ẹ	e
i	ι
ai	ai
oi	oi
ï	i
ī	i
o	ο
ȯ	o
u	ĩ
ñ	n ^y
ʷ; ʷ (after x, x')	w
x̲	χ
y̲	φ
ε	,
ʷ (not followed by vowel)	x
á etc.	a' etc.
k ^y , k̄ ^y , γ ^y , x̲ ^y , x ^y , x ^y , η ^y	k̄, k̄', γ, γx̲, x̲, x̲', η
ā, ā̄, ē, ī, ī̄, ū, ō	a', ā', ē', i', ī', ū', o'
î, û, ô, ê	ι', υ', ο', ε'
p̄, t̄, k̄, q̄, c̄, s̄, x̄, m̄, n̄, ŋ̄	p', t', k', q', c', etc.
tc̄, ts̄ or t'c, t's	tc, ts
a, ʷa	a
e, ʷe	e
i, ʷi	i
o, ʷo	o
o, ʷo	ο
a, ʷa	α
ī, ʷī	ĩ
u, ʷu	ι
u, ʷu	u

(but leave ^a etc. — not ^{ʷa} etc. — after same vowel (e.g. i¹), after glottal stop ('), before glottal stop (̄), and initially; changing ^{ȯ} to ^o, ^o to superior ο, ^a to ^α and ^u to ^ι)

m, n, ʷ, ʷ plus vowel m, n, y, w plus underscored vowel as above

Table 2. Identifications of Plants in Kaibab Manuscript

aq̄ ⁱ	common sunflower, <i>Helianthus annuus</i> var. <i>lenticularis</i>
tíuv ^z	two-needle piñon, <i>Pinus edulis</i>
tiŋwÁmp ⁱ	serviceberry, <i>Amelanchier alnifolia</i> ; Utah serviceberry, <i>A. utahensis</i>
i ^ε íš. ⁱ	skunk bush, <i>Rhus aromatica</i> var. <i>trilobata</i>
poxómpiv ^ö	golden currant, <i>Ribes aureum</i>
paáú ^ε oḡ ^{wi}	silver buffalo berry, <i>Shepherdia argentea</i>
o ^ε oḡ ^{wi}	Anderson wolf berry, <i>Lycium andersonii</i> ; pale wolf berry, <i>L. pallidum</i>
yu ^ε áv ⁱ	Berry prickly pear, <i>Opuntia phaeacantha</i>
si ^{εz}	Sapir's <i>Rafinesquia californica</i> is probably a thistle, <i>Cirsium</i> sp.
yív ^{wi} imp ^u	yellow pine, <i>Pinus ponderosa</i>
táč ⁱ	<i>Mammillaria tetracistra</i>
uv ^{wi} áxo ^ε ov ^u	claret cup, <i>Echinocereus triglochidiatus</i>
nánt ^z	Utah century-plant, <i>Agave utahensis</i> var. <i>kaibabensis</i>
tunóxwiv ^ö	?, a bunch grass
oš. ⁱ ~ óč ⁱ	Datil yucca, <i>Yucca baccata</i>
tca ^ε máviḡ ^ö , tsa ^ε máviḡ ^u	narrow-leaved yucca, <i>Yucca angustissima</i>
siḡ ^ö ^{εo}	sego lily, <i>Calochortus nuttallii</i>
wá ^{εz}	Indian ricegrass, <i>Oryzopsis hymenoides</i>
túp ^ε uwiv ⁱ	pigweed, <i>Amaranthus blitoides</i> , or perhaps also prostrate pigweed, <i>Portulaca retusa</i> (Bye 1971: 95)
qó ^{εu}	barnyard grass, <i>Echinochloa crus-galli</i> , but also white-stemmed stickleaf, <i>Mentzelia albicaulis</i>
wár ^z	Fremont goosefoot, <i>Chenopodium fremontii</i>

Table 2. Identifications of Plants in Kaibab Manuscript

qwáx̄ ^{wi}	giant dropseed, <i>Sporobolus giganteus</i> , mesa dropseed, <i>S. flexuosus</i>
maáciutcampiv ^u	New Mexico locust, <i>Robinia neomexicana</i>
ciáv ^o	quaking aspen, <i>Populus tremuloides</i>
to ^e oiv ^o	common cattail, <i>Typha latifolia</i>
^{wi} tcúna ^{e+x}	Indian potato, <i>Orogenia linearifolia</i> ; spring beauty, <i>Claytonia lanceolata</i>
tümp ^w ĩtcox̄ ^u	?
qwĩtcAē	probably foothill death camas, <i>Zigadenus paniculatus</i>
saŋwáv ^o	big sagebrush, <i>Artemisia tridentata</i>
táaē ⁱ	see above
ováx̄ ^o ov ^o	see above
^{wi} caramp ^o	a large cactus, probably a cholla; <i>Opuntia</i> sp.
qáicūv ^o	?
^s -qúmp ^o	rubber rabbitbrush, <i>Chrysothamnus nauseosus</i>
paŋwai ^e amp ^o	Rocky Mountain maple, <i>Acer glabrum</i>
qáxuṗuñā ^e av ^u	?
qwañānump ^u	field mint, <i>Mentha arvensis</i>

Northern Ute Ethnographic Field Notes, 1909

Tribal Subdivisions and Neighbors

Ute Bands (Charlie Mack, Uintah Ute)

Most Ute bands¹⁷⁰ roamed about a good deal and often divided and broke up again, crisscrossing considerably in each other's territory. Utes were regularly at peace with the Shoshone, Bannock, and Paiute, also Crow; they often joined with Shoshone and Bannock against Sioux; they were hostile to the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Comanche.

m̄o^{yu}aī^{avi}vātdju (plural form); used to live around Pueblo and Denver. t'āvi^{va} 'side of hill'; m̄o^{yu}āp̄^{ci} 'bark (of cedar)'; (called Uncompahgre by Whites) (= Tabequache?); Ouray Indians (old name of Uncompahgre Indians).

t^{uu}ḡwāñāxdöm^{ci} (now living at Grand River) (talk faster but same as Uncompahgre): used to live along Grand River (Colorado and Utah); = 'down-below-Indians'; t^{uu}ḡwāñāq^w 'deeper down'.

m̄o^{yu}ātdjiuφ (now at Los Pinos, Colorado) talk like Uncompahgre formerly (now among Southern Utes) = '(cedar-) bark people'.

Yambárk'am^{ec} White River Indians (used to live in Colorado as far as Denver). = 'camass-eaters'; yamp^a 'camass'. Talk like Uncompahgre.

p'āgūanu^{wi}ndju^{ci} (used to live in Utah: went as far as Spanish Forks near Provo): two kinds: sessile, eating fish, Mormonized; and moving around. = 'side-of-lake' or 'near water people'; p'āgúá 'near water'.

p'áidju^{ci} (used to live southwest of Utah) (talk little bit like Utes); [poor people] had no clothes but breech-clout.

wī^{ue}mini^{wi}ndju^{ci} = 'pushing-woman (not regular copulating) Indians' (man sitting down).

s'īwáridju^{ci} (now mixed with Weeminuche); s'īúvⁱ 'thin slick branches of young willows for making baskets'.

k^{ze}búfau^{ci} among Southern Utes; etymology uncertain; around Green and Grand rivers.

s'ámpinu^{wi}udju^{ci} ~ sampinudj^{ci}u^{ci} (lived in Utah, southwest of Uintah: spoke only slightly different from Uintah) (now live in Grass Valley, south of Salt Lake: Mormonized); s'ám(p^{ci}) ~ sambiw^z 'many' = (white

root of) kind of cane without joints, spongy and slick, growing around springs or lakes; roots used as food, sweetish.

nú^undju^u only name for Utes; = 'people'.

pō^uauw^u,^a 'people'; pōän^u 'my people' (folk, tribe; when two come together); pōaiän puník^ye 'I see one of my people, relations'.

Ute Bands (Herbert Ariv, Uncompahgre Ute)

ak·apayal·noⁿdjiⁿ Ouray Indians.

aⁿkampáγariⁿ Uncompahgre Indians.

yabark^a noⁿntsⁿ White River Utes = 'eaters of nuts'.

wíⁿmi nūts Weeminuche (Southern Utes).

k^zpōda nūts Capote Utes.

mowátkjiφ Moache: mowannūⁿts.

bagūán nūⁿts. At Uintah.

agápbaγall nōⁿuts. Uncompahgre Indians.

yūwúntdēⁱ nōⁿts. yuwíntdīⁱ Uintah Indian.

nōⁿutcⁿ 'man, Indian'.

maumá^etcⁿ 'woman'.

Neighbors (Charlie Mack, Uintah)

q^omaw^uaiyarömⁿ (used to live about Ogden and to be called by Whites wíbo¹⁷¹ = 'talking different'. C.M.'s mother was of this tribe, but father was regular Uintah Ute. Weaver Ute Indians (= Weber County): used to talk dialect like Western Shoshone, not Eastern Wyoming Shoshone.

qōmayaiw word same; difference between it and Shoshone not very great, but greater than between Uncompahgre and Uintah Ute.

cuyútdju^u Shoshones (Wyoming people)¹⁷² (1: cuyútc) cuyúwa·g^yarömⁿ = Shoshone-talking (no regular tribe name, lived with Bannocks at Lost Fork). nūw^{ie}ampayaiⁿ 'he talks Ute'.

p^ānaik^{ye}i^uφ Bannocks (used to live on Lost Fork, Idaho).

s^aaríts^{·t}k^aemⁿ (dog eaters), Arapahoes (Utes and Shoshones used to fight them).

βa^ʔánwitdjuⁿ Navajos.

mō^ugwitdji^u Hopi.

k^u·djútⁿ k^am^e buffalo eaters, Comanche (talk like Shoshone).

qúcinādjí^u Goshiute (used to live west of Salt Lake and talked dialect not like Ute nor "Ute Paiute" but like Paiute = ? Paviotso).¹⁷³ = ? 'ashes-Ute' in Shoshonean (qúcip^u = 'ashes' in Shoshone), because they used to cover over campfires.

p'ávanditdjiu' (used to live southwest of the Ute Indians in Utah and talked dialect more or less like Ute) = 'staying near the water'.

p'ayáñawo^e ~ p'ayáñau Shoshone word = 'scratching zigzag designs on arrows', Cheyennes.

k'ömándji^uφ = all tribes with whom Utes used to fight, = 'enemies'.

pöú^uratdju' = tribe next to Apache.¹⁷⁴

Neighbors (Herbert Ariv, Uncompahgre)

cuyúts· Shoshone Indians.

bayauwidj (-ts·) Navaho Indian.

sayáiu Navaho Indian (Navaho word for horse).

báiyuts·, báiu^{ts}· Paiute Indian.

g'úmats· (g'úmats·) Sioux Indian.

kúmants·, guma^{nts} (Arapaho) or Sioux.

saiäna Cheyenne Indian.

(? saiena) ? Kiowa.

p'ánaik'yí^e, (b)ánaik'yí^e (k very far forward) Bannock Indian.

mo⁽ⁿ⁾k'wits·, (= ?ts);, mo⁽ⁿ⁾kgwits Hopi Indian. pó^uvrats·, téwats·, Pueblo house.

t'éwats· Tehua (Tañoan) Indian.

émes· Jemez Indians.

t'áos· Taos Indians.

[bánaikye^e] Zuñi (probably wrong).

havátts· Apache.

mo^ewínigats· Pawnees (ear-rings in noses).

yūwaras·its· another kind of Apache (?) (?doubles).

s·aríts·ga^ea Arapaho (dog-eaters).

maríkā^zma'ts· White woman.

murügá^ets·, maríkgats· White man (r has peculiar dark tinge).

Relations with Neighbors (Charlie Mack)

In time of war a Ute scout would sometimes put on a gray wolf skin and advance toward the enemy, imitating motions of wolf, stopping

sometimes near a bush to urinate like a wolf. He wore his quiver under him and when discovered by the enemy, tried to defend himself.

yágan 'afraid-house'. Sometimes, in time of war, as between the Arapahoes and Utes, either party would build a sort of fort consisting of a brush wickiup built on a round pit two or three feet deep. Stones were put about the wickiup. The occupants, who had fled there for shelter, would shoot with bow and arrow therefrom. The Shoshone also made use of this type of dwelling.

Subsistence

Deer Hunting (Charlie Mack)

Deer were often hunted by stalking. A man would put a deer's head on his own and move on all fours, imitating the motions of a deer. When he got near enough to the herd, he would shoot with a bow and arrow. Deer were also hunted by means of drives. Brush fences were constructed that converged, and pits covered over with light brush and leaves were dug near the point of convergence. Deer were driven into the fenced space on towards the pits; when they fell in, they were shot with bow and arrow or clubbed.¹⁷⁵

Rabbit Hunting

The Utes used to shoot rabbits with the bow and arrow. When on a pony (not when walking), they used a club with which they clubbed rabbits.¹⁷⁶ The club was a little over two feet long, without a knob, just a plain slick stick, often of green wood. They had no throwing sticks like the Hopi.

Drying Meat

For drying meat they had a long pole between two sets of lean-tos (two or three meeting poles on each side). Sometimes if they had much meat they might have one or two more supports. yāōrāyan't̓iṗ' 'drying pole placed in place with no meat on it'. 'Drying poles', yāōrā.

Meat was always dried or mashed into $tc^{ax}g\ddot{o}qant^{i177}$ and packed into parfleches, if desired for preservation. Parfleches and other things were kept inside the tent around the sides of the tent and covered over with something. If they had very much meat, they would erect a stick platform outside of the tent and put the meat on top to keep it away from the dogs. The platform¹⁷⁸ seems to have been a sort of one-sided sloping shed of poles, or else a roughly flat (rather hollow) affair of brush supported by poles underneath. Often sagebrush was bound together to serve as a surface for meat or other valuables. It was hardly more than five feet high, no higher than a woman could reach. 'Brush platform', $w^{zx}qa\ddot{t}c'qant^{i}$; it consisted of a tepee-like set of poles and others on top adjusted irregularly (horizontally) to serve as support for the brush. It looked like a rough eagle or magpie nest.

*Plant Foods*¹⁷⁹

Uintah: $d\ddot{o}^emimp'$ 'acorn'; "Crazy Indian" named $d\ddot{o}^emints$; $ts\cdot i\eta'$ 'thistle root' (used for food); $d\ddot{o}w\acute{a}mp^{i}$ '(service-)berries'.

Food Taboos

Indians did not eat coyote, dog (very seldom), crow; did not eat ants, lizards, snakes, frogs. Charlie Mack claims they did not eat grasshoppers, yellow-jacket grubs.¹⁸⁰

Material Culture

Bows and Arrows

Berry bushes were generally used for arrows, like serviceberry. Before the feathers were put on, the arrows were decorated with a zigzag scratch for looking pretty. Arrows were recognized by feathering and painting. Charlie Mack seems to recognize no trademarks. After a hunt arrows were hunted up if it was known where they were.

Uncompahgre: 'bow', $a\ddot{t}s$ (Frank says = 'bow'); 'arrow', \ddot{o} ; 'bowstring', $ba\gamma\acute{a}^ewian^{e\gamma}$; atdji $\bar{p}ba\gamma\acute{a}^ewian^{e\gamma}$ 'bowstring'; $d\ddot{a}^m\acute{u}\phi$ 'sinew';

dāⁿmuφ baγá^εwian^{εγ} 'sinew string'; k^u s·íyáφⁱ 'feathers'; urúqwa 'arrow feathers': hawk-feathers (hawk-feather, gwānátjits· k^us·í^εyāⁿ); bānán^{εwi}naḡⁱ 'arrowhead'; wi^εnaḡⁱ 'flint'; q^u·gwísiyi^εe^{7wi} 'nock'.

Tools

Mexicans used to bring iron knives, awls, and flint and iron for fire.¹⁸¹ 'Awl', wí^u (not wí); wí^utdji^εm 'your awl'.

Fire-making

Sagebrush wood (s·aóv) was used as a hearth. It had holes for drilling. They used an old dry cedar stake or sometimes sagebrush for a twirler. Sagebrush leaves and twigs were used as tinder. Old rotten wood was used as punk to make a fire when blown: known as ö^εrúcaiḡⁱ. 'Twirler and hearth', q^u·dúnīḡⁱ; hearth said not to have extra name, according to John Duncan.

Sagebrush bark, or sometimes cedar bark, was mashed (shredded) and wrapped into a long cylindrical strip (say one or two inches in diameter and a yard long), lit, and carried by one who kept it from going out by blowing at it every now and then. It was used as a slow match (q^u·có^{εwi}·djaḡⁱ; ^{wi}·djéi 'wrap around'); s·aγwá^εs·iv^z 'sagebrush bark'; s·iv^z 'bark' ('my bark', s·í^εan'; s·í^εāranw^z ~ -v^z 'bark owned by one').

'Soft rotten wood', ö^εrúcaiḡⁱ. It used to be used as tinder with flint and iron, and also with a drill. A big piece about as big as a hand of soft wood was carried in a horn of deer or antelope. Mountain sheep or young buffalo was best. Whenever it was needed, it was taken out and a small piece used to start the glow of the fire.

A campfire kept outside the house in daytime, tavín^εnaip^y; tavín^εnaip^y (was also heard).

Pottery¹⁸²

John Duncan: Bowls were sometimes made by mashing mud with a hammer and forming it into the desired shape, when burnt; they mixed up [mud] with cactus (q^w·djúts·) to lend consistency; 'clay vessel', wia^εaguts (agúts 'cup'; wianw ~ -v 'mud').

Charlie Mack: agrees as to pottery with cactus.

*Basketry*¹⁸³

ta^ɛní[̄]k^u 'seed-beater'; was made of approximately elliptical willow hoop: narrower end served as handle, and the rest was latticed in both directions with willow twigs.

cī^{ɛux}dja[̄]ts[·], cī^ōdja[̄]ts[·] 'water-jug basket' (made of "willows"). (ciúvⁱ ~ cióvⁱ 'willow-strands in coiling').

ō[·]cā[̄]tcⁱ 'basket [globular, constricted below neck] for keeping berries' (made of "willows", really cottonwood sapling stems for both coil and wrapping).

ā[̄]cⁱ 'basket [conical] for picking berries'; worn on the breast and carried around the neck by a soft buckskin string as wide as the leather thong in the jug specimen.

t^{ʰx}g^óie^u pan-like "point round" shallow basket of latticed "willows" used for shaking seeds. Holes filled with gum (pitch). A coal or two is put in and the seeds parched by beating up and down (to prevent burning). After this the seeds were ground by metate. Then they were put in water and eaten as mush.

cī[·]ayū[̄]ts[·] 'basket-tray for drying chokecherries'.

Parfleches

John Duncan: 'Parfleches', p^{ʰz}djá^{uv}. They are made of rawhide. These were decorated in color before white people came. Red rock that burns (iron ore) was used for red paint: mashed in water; 'red rock', aṅgā[̄]tūmbū[̄]tc; 'red paint', aṅgā[̄]ōmpits. Black hard mud obtained in southwestern Utah was used for black paint (tūw^{iaw}ⁱ 'black mud'). Green was made by soaking green leaves of willow, cottonwood, or other plants in hot water and cooking: when water goes off, the residue was used as green paint. Berry-bush known as gwī[·]ayaut[·] t[·]qá^{uv} ~ -w ('bear-grub'), have a blue berry, not used for food (= wild grape), was mashed in a cup so that the soft part came out. White paint was made by mixing water with white mud (lime): burned and mixed with flint (obsidian) for paint. Yellow paint was from yellow earth (light shade). For laying on paint a sharpened stick was used with sinew wrapped around at the other end. One stick was for each cup of paint. Sinew was used for smoothing out the paint laid on by the sharpened point. A rock hollowed out by pounding was used as a paint cup. 'Design',

poq̄qwa: 'white design', s'áp̄^eoqwa; öāq̄aröm poq̄qwa 'yellow design'. They apparently had no conventional design names.

[Informant unknown]: s'íugwāntⁱ small one inch long funnel-shaped jingles of tin (formerly of fawn's dewclaws: little tin buckskin strip strung through (perhaps one-half foot long outside; tied at very short intervals to small buckskin "purse" or bag (ömbínqunauw 'paint purse'; ömpⁱ 'paint'). Used to carry paint: women painted parfleches (p^ʔdjauw.^ʔ). Small willow sticks were pressed upon mud cake of paint and then paint pressed longitudinally upon rawhide. Used buffalo tongue to rub on surface to make smooth, not sinew.

Hide Processing

John Duncan: A bone scraper of the leg of elk or buffalo (not deer; and antelope's bones are too small) was used to scrape away fat, blood, and meat from the hide. It was called ^{mʔ}s'î̄tusump (bone of lower part of front leg). With a stone knife the hair and skin were cut off. With a bone of the upper part of the front legs of deer or elk sharpened by stone ('bone-knife', dōq̄una^enumpⁱ) the hair and skin were scraped off. Brains (of deer, elk, buffalo) were rubbed over skin (ts'ip̄ik̄i^uvⁱ). The brains were mashed over a little water and put on the hide for about a day. Then the hide was put away in the bush in the sunshine for about five days. Then the hide was soaked in water, mashed with the hands in water. Then a stick was put in and the hide twisted so that water ran off. Then a dry, smooth rock was rubbed over it to make it smooth.¹⁸⁴

For buckskin, smoking was done after tanning. Fire was set smoking in a hole in the ground and the skin was put over to be smoked. Buckskin was used for moccasins, gloves, leggings, shirt, a woman's dress, but not for blankets as a rule. Sometimes a buckskin hide was used for flooring as bedding. Rawhide is simply skin without tanning. It was used for tough strings and parfleches (p^ʔdjá^uv).

Transportation

Snowshoes

Apropos of John Duncan's snowshoes, Charlie Mack claims that they are too closely netted to be of service in loose snow. He says that after the hoop was lashed with rawhide, a round piece was put in center as

a starting point, used for feet; four strings angling out are put in next. Every string was double, being looped around the willow: two hides were twisted taut. The greater part of the shoes came in back of the heels. Upper strings were wrapped, each on the opposite side and crossing alternately in back and front, about the legs and tied either in front or behind. They walked by moving the feet sideways to shake off snow.

When John Duncan was told of Charlie Mack's statement, he claimed that the open kind was used on old snow but closely netted ones on new. Charlie Mack then said that those he had described were what he had seen, but that perhaps other people made them as in John Duncan's model.

Rafts

High straight grass in water (cat-tail rushes, do^εövu ~ dö^εöv^u; higher than ba^εát·) were twisted in open-work fashion and tied to two logs on each side (two on other two extremities), to make the do^εöv^us· igwáqant⁴ 'net-boat'. It was used to pack objects, women, and children. A rawhide string was attached in front and held in the mouth of a swimmer, and another swimmer was in back to push. Sometimes several loads and swimmers changed off. The Utes do not seem to have had dug-out canoes.

Horses and Dogs

Horses were used to pull tent-poles on the ground. They were tied to the saddle on both sides. One horse packed the skin. Dogs were used to pull a travois (öraš· igwáqant⁴) consisting of two poles with rawhide across.

Clothing and Personal Adornment

Clothing

Charlie Mack: Fawn and doe and elk hides were used for wearing apparel, but not buck.¹⁸⁴ Buck hide (with hair off) was sometimes used instead of buffalo in covering wickiups.

Breech Clout, etc.

Breech clouts (q^{wi}ci^{ey}q̄p̄; q^{wi}ci^{ezx}pōn 'my breech clout') were generally made of buckskin.

Uncompahgre: nekāy^wuc 'leggings' que ??; nekāvas 'moccasins' (beaded).

Hats

Charlie Mack: No hats were formerly worn by the Utes; but skins of smaller mammals (such as beaver, otter, mink) were sometimes wrapped around the head.

Robes and Blankets

Rabbit-skin blanket, murú^{ei}; mürú^{ie}dji 'make rabbit-skin blanket'. Bush rabbit¹⁸⁵ was used for blankets for kids or for women. Jack rabbits have larger skins and were used more for adults. The marks (dents) [indicating width] were made with a stone knife on the thigh of a woman. Then the strips were torn apart with the hands. The strips were made of about one inch thickness. The strips were twisted lengthwise and made into a long, continuous strip. It was doubled back and forth around wooden pins or pegs set in the ground [the "loom"]. The strip was tied to the first peg by a string made from the reddish bark of reed or rush (wi^fiw^u). After the strip was all laid out, a bark string (two strings?) was tied [twined, as weft] circularly back and forth in the direction opposite to the former. These were not much made by the Uncompahgre and White River who had buffalo; not very much by the Uintah either. They were chiefly made by Paiutes.

Antelope hides were not regularly used for wearing blankets because the hair came off too easily. They were used as sleeping blankets (āvimoγoi^e; āvimoγoi^en ará^e 'it's my sleeping blanket'). Sometimes two antelope or deer fawn hides were sewn together as a wearing blanket for children (tōndjīwumoyoiⁱciaṅ; tōndjīvuṭc 'small wearing blanket').

Badger and woodchuck blankets were sewn together like fawn skins, also coyote and gray wolf, for wearing blankets: they seem to have been worn further west. Also mountain sheep hide was used for sitting on

and wearing apparel. The Utes never wove cloth out of mountain sheep wool.

Buffalo cow and fawn hides (hair on) were used also for robes. 'Skunk-hide', pōníaw^u; pōníawumoyoi^e 'skunk robe'. They have never heard of magpie-skin blanket. 'Deer-hide blanket', tōndjīw^u or tōndjīwumoyoi^e; tōndjīwugaiḡūga 'had deer-hide blanket'; two hides were needed and sewed together with deer sinew. The hair was worn next to the skin.

Mittens

wandjīw^u, tanned antelope-hide without hair, used for gloves or rather mitts (maváqump^ʰ). Mitts were also made out of fawn's hide or wildcat fur (hair inside). Two pieces were sewed together. Charlie Mack is not certain whether the thumb was provided for.

Personal Adornment

Hair Dressing

As a comb a porcupine-tail was used. The tail was cut off, cut open and the bone and meat removed. The hide was dried, then sewn to again with sinew; the end was cut off flat. yaḡaḡgwacⁱ ~ -q^wcⁱ nandjīwa^enump^ʰ 'porcupine-tail comb'; q^{wi}civiⁱ 'somebody's tail'; nándjīwa^enump^ʰ 'comb'; ts-í^uwa^evam^ʰ 'let me comb you'; nandjīwa^evan^ʰ 'I'll comb myself'.

Face Painting

Charlie Mack: Red paint was originally obtained from reddish earth occurring in spots (probably some iron ore earth is meant). The earth was wetted with water and used as face paint. The color was not like the present light red, but dark brownish red. Sometimes it was put on the face in spots (often one roundish mass on each cheek and one on the forehead), or else the whole face was bedaubed. Often it was used merely to keep the skin soft, being mixed with grease. (Daubing the entire face with red is common even now and is used as above, partic-

ularly in traveling exposed to sunlight. Yellow is also sometimes used to cover the entire face, but chiefly to serve as background for other paints in decorating.) Charlie Mack knows of no symbolic or other significance of face paints and seems to deny that particular individuals have particular designs.

Facial Paints Observed¹⁸⁶

A rough circle of yellow on the forehead and the same of red on each cheek (little girl); both eyelids red on each eye (young man); double bands of red and green (red on the inside) on each cheek from above the eye down away from the chin (young man); dashes of red radiating out above and below both eyes (young man); multiple red bands below the eyes (young man); green lines, one over and one below each eye (young man); green band going from front to back in the part of the hair on top of the head (on a woman); red band as above (on a man); red lines over the eyebrows, yellow circle or ball (solid) on the forehead and red solid circle (only faintly outlined) on each cheek (on a woman); two parallel solid bands of red and yellow on each cheek running from each ear down towards the chin (on woman); solid red over upper cheeks and nose with yellow dots about the eyes (young man) and light lines (red) over the eyebrows (one over each); a green hollow circle with a green dot in the center on the forehead (a woman); red solid circles, one on each cheek (a woman); green mark outlined in shape of basketry olla, on the forehead (a young man); red paint on the eyebrows (a young man); red paint on the eyelids and on a small part of the face below the lower eyelid (a young man); red on the cheeks and a short band of three parallel colors on each cheek running down to the chin, (bands white, green, white; an old man); three approximately perpendicular parallel rows of blue dots on the right cheek and parallel bands of red, blue, yellow, and red (from nose out) running down on the left cheek, with background face color yellow (on a man in war and squaw dance); two parallel green stripes on the left cheek running from the eye "through" it down the cheek away from chin — nothing on the other cheek (man in war and squaw dance).

J. A[Iden] M[ason]: white spot (solid circle) on the scalp at the crown of the part of the hair (on a young Uintah woman); red cheeks crossed by two yellow parallel horizontal lines under the eyes sloping slightly downwards to the nose (on a young Uintah girl in a

dance); white lines and spots, seemingly unevenly distributed and carelessly (on an old Uintah man in a dance); yellow on the body of the face and a red line diagonally from the upper forehead to the side of the jaw, with a green line thinner outside of this (on a young Uintah woman); yellow forehead, red triangles under the eyes, thin horizontal green lines under the eyes in a red field (on a young Uintah woman in a dance; said to be a hermaphrodite); as above without the green line (on a Uintah woman in a dance); green spot at the top center of the forehead (on a Uintah woman in a dance); red surface on the forehead and cheeks, yellow dots above the eyes, yellow dots and radiating short lines below the eyes (on a middle-aged Uintah man in a dance; noted three times on the same man); yellow forehead (on a Uintah woman); red cross (with short end bars) and yellow dots at the ends (on a Uintah man); red wavy lines [one each] on the sides of the mouth (on a Uintah man).

Green snake-zigzag band encased in a yellow rectangular band running from the upper inner down to lower outer part of right cheek: to this on the inside is parallel to another rectangular band with incased uncolored snake-zigzag; on the other cheek as above, but the green band seems to have been on the inside (on a Uintah man); thin green stripe down and outwards on the right cheek, nothing on the left (on a Uintah man); green band down and outwards on each cheek cutting through the ends of the eyelashes with a red band within (on a young Uintah man); brownish band down and outwards on each cheek bending up over each eye; red under the eye within this (on a Uintah man).

Housing

*Tepee*¹⁸⁷

John Duncan: White pine (öráuw^u; 'timber', auγump^u) and cottonwood (or quaking aspen) (s'ijáau^u) were used for making the long poles of a house—10 or 15 poles were crossed at the top beginning with four poles which were tied together with rawhide or buckskin string (twisted thong). Willow rope could be used, like the lariat of Whites. The rope was made by twisting buckskin thong (thin), starting with the loop. Elk or buffalo tanned skin (no hair) was put around the poles. On one side

at the top was the hole for smoke. Three of the first four poles form the hole, the fourth is the background of the hole. 'Lodge-pole', örǎ; qaní^cörǎ 'tent-pole'. qaní^vu^o 'house covering, skin covering' (b'uw^u ~ p'uw^u 'hide': better p'ö^ow^u; nínaip'~bú~ö^{ie}a; p'ö^{ie}an' 'my body-hide, skin'). q^wök^{ya}e 'my hide (owned by me)'. moqā 'smoke goes through'; 'ö^o páqate 'hole'; qaní' qwöök^{ya}e^{noa} 'smoke-hole of house'.

For a door, two slits were made and folded over behind one of the lodge poles (door might fold either to the right or left). When open, the door was held by being tucked behind one of the lodge-poles: holes in the side of the door and the skin opposite were secured with pins. yö^orug^{wz}p' 'door' (təwá^p' 'door which swings'; yö^o 'door-place, road through a door'.) The door seems to have been generally curved at the top; it might be straight across the top, or otherwise according to individual fancy. It was cut right out of the skin and the cut-off skin used as the door. The door had three horizontal sticks through holes: the top one was firmly held to one of the lodge-poles and the door swung like a stiff pendulum. 'Door sticks', yö^o r^wu~ā^purá; qaní^{ci}x ta^p' 'little sticks to hold the skin down' (may be ten of them). qaní' uingá^vatc'ki^p'^u 'one of two movable flap poles'. A hole about four or five inches deep and two feet in diameter is made in the center of the tent for a fireplace (quná^töā); tiā 'place', quná^tc 'fire' (ugwíg^unatc 'matches' of today); na^eántⁱ 'burning fire' (quná^tc na^eantⁱ 'fire burning'). A buffalo-skin was tied to one of the lodge-poles (coming over the door) by means of a buckskin string through holes on either side of the skin ('skin', tⁱs'áuw~vⁱ; 'my skin', tⁱs'áuwian').

The door to the tepee owned by John Duncan was formed by cutting a piece of the shape of a truncated cone out of the canvas cover between two neighboring lodge-poles. It was stiffened by two horizontal pieces of wood and attached above by tying it to one of the small wooden horizontal pins. The door, when kept open, was put either on the right or left on the outside of the tepee.

People sleep around the fire on blankets of buffalo skin tanned on one side, with the hair on the other; three or four laid on top of one another and one on top of the sleeper. They sleep with the hair next to the body. They sleep with their feet to the fire or else sleep next to the fire; often brush (willow; big grass; avát^eogwiv 'much grass') is spread on the ground. Mats (āvít'īā) are made out of pa^eád^jayaqāntⁱ 'rushes'. The latter were tied close to one another by means of a willow-string (wö^eiv~w^u; nínai wö^eiw^u 'any willow-string') made out of the inner bark of willow (uvé^eyaq' 'inside willow bark'; qanár^w 'willow') and shredded

(loose-shaken) strands were rolled on the thighs of squaws. They also sleep on mats. 'Winter house', *tomógan*; 'summer house', *tadjáqan*.

t^ʷcípayigwi '(they) camp over noon' (to move on in afternoon when it gets cooler).

*Brush House*¹⁸⁸

John Duncan: Brush house (wickiup), *avágàn*, was regularly used in summer, not in winter. It was made of cottonwood poles and willow brush to fill in.

Charlie Mack: the *Pávanditdjiu* in southwestern Utah made a distinct type of summer house. It consists of a roundish polygonal ground plan sunk about two feet into the ground. At each corner a pole was erected and spaces between, together with a roof covered with a kind of cane. According to Charlie Mack, the Utes never used the subterranean lodge as a regular type of house.

Cache

Upon Rock Creek near an old Indian trail (probably made afterwards) Charlie Mack knows of a big round rock hollow inside (as big as a table) and supported by rocks put around. They say that this rock was used for caching things. This rock is known as *wínuwinte* *tigûtiayaiṗ* 'old Indian cache, closed-up structure to store'.

Social Organization

Life Cycle

Birth

John Duncan: After a baby was born, the Utes washed it and left it for about four days and washed it again. This made it grow good. The navel-cord was kept in a little sack (purse) and carried in the board with the baby for good luck. At first, there was no name. At about one month old, they gave it a name, according to its looks or accompanying

circumstances. When it has grown older, another name is often given as a nickname. Some Indians may have more than one name at a time. John Duncan seems to imply that all names are of the character of nicknames: names given away as jokes. When a man died, his name was avoided. The word conveyed by his name was formerly avoided (?) on a man's death.

Menstruation, Puberty

John Duncan: On the coming of courses, a woman leaves for the menstrual hut (? nágan). There she is attended by other women. She is not wanted about the house because of impurity. nágari ' (woman) has menstrual courses' (?). nágan is the little brush wickiup. John Duncan seems to know of no puberty ceremonies for girls.

*Terms of Relationship (Charlie Mack)*¹⁸⁹

1. mōan 'my father': n̄nai ara^εmōi 'it's my father'; address: mō^{εz} (used by children) (Shoshone, ní áp̄ö^ε).

2. pién 'my mother'; n̄nai ora^εpi; address: pié^{εz} (of children) (Shoshone, ne-vía^ε).

3. tōwán 'my son' (said by man and woman) (grown up); aṇai ra^εtōw^x 'whose son is it?'; tōwa (or tōwátc) aítđi u 'that is my uncle when seen coming'. n̄nai ora^ε [Shoshone]. tōwátđjin 'my son' (generally when young, but also when older) (no term of address but -n') (Shoshone, ni rúa^{εz}).

4. patđjítđjin 'my daughter', patđjin (grown up); plur. patđjúwun, patđjítđjiwun, grown up. (Shoshone, nivédi^ε).

5. pavítđjin 'my older brother'; pavín (more affectionate; may be used by a younger stranger) (pávⁱ, pavítc) (Shoshone, nivávi^ε, ömbávi^ε).

6. tc^{εx}gái^εtdjin, tc^{εx}gai^εin 'my younger brother'. (Shoshone: ni rami, or dami: man is dámi^ε; 'his brother' = pavítđjcaṇ ' (moavi tc^{εx}gái^εc 'my father's brother'; mōavi pavítc 'my father's brother'); mam bavi [Shoshone].

7. qún^εđjin 'my father's older brother's child'; plural qún^εdjiwun; qún^εtc, qún^ε. qún^εni 'my father's older brother' (Shoshone: nirúa^{εz}).

8. áidjin 'my father's younger brother'; áitc; also 'my older brother's child (boy or girl)' (Shoshone: ni rúa^{εz}). aítđji^εn ' (that is) my uncle (when seen coming)'.

9. 'ʷxgú'n' 'my mother's older brother'; 'ʷxgúí'djī^ε (address of children to mother's older brother); 'ʷxgútdjin' 'my younger sister's child' (man talking).

10. s'inánts'in' 'my mother's younger brother' (Shoshone: níara^{εʷ}); 'my older sister's child' (man speaking).

11. pátdjin' 'my younger or older brother's child' (woman talking); pān' 'my father's older or younger sister' (Shoshone: ni váha^ε).

12. māwún^{εʷ} 'my mother's older sister' (Shoshone: nirúa^{εʷ}); māwún^εdʷin^ε 'my younger sister's child' (woman talking).

13. nimbūian' 'my mother's younger sister' (Shoshone: nirua^{εʷ?}); nimbūiátdjin' 'my older sister's child' (woman talking).

14. páitdjīn' 'my older sister' (boy or girl talking) (Shoshone: ni vādji^ε).

15. nāmítdjin' 'my younger sister' (Shoshone: ni ríavadjī^ε, man talking; ni námi^ε, girl talking).

16. qō~ínún' 'my father's father' (Shoshone: ni pōnu^ε, ne pōnu^ε); qōnúndjin' 'my son's child' (man talking).

17. 'wí'djin' 'my father's mother' (Shoshone: na útdjī^ε); 'wí'djītdjin' 'my son's child' (woman talking).

18. toýún' 'my mother's father' (Shoshone: ni rōγō^ε; ni rōγō^εni^(u)w 'two'; ni rōγō^ε n'q̄^ε plural); toýuddjin' 'my daughter's child' (man talking).

19. qaýún' 'my mother's mother' (Shoshone: ni gǎgu^ε); qaýútdjin' 'my daughter's child' (woman speaking).

20. Children of two brothers call each other older and younger brother and older and younger sister (older and younger depend on proper age). Children of two sisters do as above as do children of brother and sister. (Cousins proved hard to get: maybe above is inaccurate.)

21. yáitdjīn' 'my (man's) father-in-law, mother-in-law' (Shoshone: ni mandōγō^ε 'man's father-in-law', sometimes ni ára^ε; ni man gǎgu^ε 'man's mother-in-law', sometimes ni váha^ε); yáitdjīn' 'my (woman's) father-in-law, mother-in-law' (Shoshone: ni man gōnu^ε 'woman's father-in-law'; ni ma^εútdjī^ε 'woman's mother-in-law'); yáitdjīn' 'my (man's or woman's) daughter-in-law' (Shoshone: na^εutdjimbīāpō^ε 'my daughter-in-law', address: útdjimbīāp̄).

22. mūnátdjin' 'my (man's) son-in-law, (woman's) son-in-law' (Shoshone [?]; ni mūnāpō^ε (man or woman talking)) (Uncompahgre say tantáuavin' instead of mūnátdjin', which sounds strange to Charlie Mack because it sounds like 'brother-in-law').

23. tantáuavin' 'my brother-in-law' (man's sister's husband; man's wife's brother) (Shoshone: ne ré^εts· (dē^εts·)); tantáuavin urú^ε 'that is my brother-in-law'; tantáuavin ará^ε 'it, this is my brother-in-law'.

24. *nāmbiwān* 'my (man's) brother's wife; my (woman's) husband's brother' (Shoshone: *ne gwi*⁷ 'my wife'). (Uncompahgre say *tantáuavin*); *nāmbiw^z* 'my (woman's) brother's wife; my (woman's) husband's sister' (Uncompahgre say *tantáuavin*) (Shoshone: *ni vámbiāpō*⁸); *nāmbiwān* 'my (woman's) sister's husband, my wife's sister'.

25. *piwān* 'my husband (*piw^z*), wife' (Shoshone: *ne gwi*⁷); *pi-wái⁹aiñq¹⁰pügant¹¹* 'widow (not having husband), widower'; *piwāruvanean*, *piwaruvan⁸(a)ñan* 'I'll marry him, her'.

Names and Naming

Personal Names

Sometimes a name was given to a child about two years old, sometimes earlier. Any relation might give a name.

Uncompahgre

p⁷p⁸a⁹áyudjits 'George'; *sésbüts*; *u⁷iw⁸uá⁹pü¹⁰ts*; *ariv*; *ádjup¹¹ts*; *yayáüüpats* (f.); *yoyóvnts*; *yoyównts* 'coyote'.

Uintah

sá·ya·ts Charlie Mack ('hunchback'); *mārāts* 'flat stone for grinding'; *mānā* 'bristle, spine'; *k'úe¹gēs* Charlie Mack's grandson; *háí⁶lōts* Charlie Mack's grandson (not regular name; so called by Charlie Mack after Sioux song burden: *hai ló*); *tc²púc* Albert, Charlie Mack's son-in-law; *dō⁵mínts* "Crazy Indian" (*dō⁵mímp* 'acorn'); *p³ay⁴vnuts* Lester, Charlie Mack's grandson; *tawúts* (f.) ('bush rabbit'); *pō⁴x*; *tcīgám*; *qasts·ump* 'red fingernail'; *widjávagō* (f.) 'chub'; *pa⁶ánt¹* Jim Pant ('tall').

One of Merimon's men working here is known as *oiöy¹* because of the peculiar cast of his face.

Sometimes a name was given to a child about two years old, sometimes earlier. Any relation might give a name.

Animal Names

Charlie Mack: Names of Charlie Mack's cattle are ^{2x}qúndiyayāt̄c̄ 'big lower, one who lows much, loud' (^{2rx}qúnt̄c̄ 'big or loud' + yaγái 'cry, low'); tûq̄^waröm^wuwái 'that black one'; t^ucáγaröm^wuwái 'that white one'.

Indians had no names for dogs.

*Political Organization**Chiefs*

Charlie Mack: They had a fairly well recognized chief. On his death he was not necessarily followed by his son; if the latter was considered undesirable for office, someone else was put in as chief.

*Religion**Spirits*

ba^eá̄npits̄, ba^eá̄npits̄ 'mermaid' (just like a little baby woman with long hair); they cry like little babies.¹⁹⁰

Witchcraft

Charlie Mack never heard of Indians who could transform themselves into wolves or bears or other animals. He claimed that Navajos sometimes transformed themselves into wolves.

*Seasons**Names of the Moons (John Duncan)*

Begin with summer:

dāt̄c̄ 'summer': datdjám̄ayāt̄oγute 'summer moon' (June); t̄oγútāt̄cām̄ 'middle summer moon' (July); p̄īnār̄at̄d̄j̄am̄ 'last summer moon' (August).

yūvān' 'fall': yūvānām̄, yūvānām̄ 'fall moon' (September);
 tōγú'ti-ruγwām̄ 'middle fall moon', avā'ti'vānām̄ 'biggest-fall moon'
 (October); pīnēi'yuvānām̄ 'last fall moon' (November).

tūm' 'winter': tōmúīm̄ 'winter moon' (December); tōγú'tōmuīm̄ 'middle
 winter moon', avā'tōmuīm̄ayātōγutc (January);

pīnārōmuīm̄~āγātōγutc 'last winter moon' (February) (pīnārats' 'last').

tam'án 'spring': tamámāyātōγutc 'spring moon' (March);
 avā't⁶⁰tamām̄. (= ávat⁶n̄) 'middle spring moon' (March-April);
 pīnā áramām̄ 'last spring moon' (May).

There are no separate names for each moon; only seasons and division
 into beginning, middle, and end.

They count by winters: s'útdjas tomúr'inqar 'one year (winter) has
 passed'.

Names of Moons [consultant unknown]

má'tōγuts' 'moon'.

t'amámōyātōγuts' (early in spring, first spring moon).

t'amán' 'spring'.

t'amán r^ei^u 'spring commences'.

dáts' 'summer'.

dádját^ei^u 'summer begins'.

yūwān' 'fall'.

yū~i'wān't^eiq^u 'fall begins'.

t'ōm' 'winter'.

tom^wút^ei^u 'winter begins'.

dádjámōyātōγuts' 'summer month'.

yīwāñ amōyātōγuts' 'fall moon'.

t'ōmúīmōyātōγuts' 'winter month'.

Music and Dance

Both the Sun and Squaw dance derived from the Shoshones of Wind
 River, Wyoming, but the Bear Dance is an old Ute dance.¹⁹¹

In the Bear Dance, men and women form on opposite sides and
 dance towards and away from each other, taking two steps forwards
 and two backwards. A drum is not used, the rasp being the only
 instrument employed. Women do not join in singing. The dance takes

place in the spring, generally in the latter part of March. It lasts a whole week, with dancing every day. The Bear Dance is supposed to be in imitation of the movements of the bear.

In the Sun Dance, both men and women sing. The drum is used as an instrument. It lasts a whole week. It has a sham battle in it. A center pole of the lodge is erected. In dancing, they move forward and backward. Their eyes are always lifted up towards the top of the center pole, to which they seem to be praying. They are supposed to fast throughout seven days and nights.

In the Squaw Dance, men and women get together in a line and form an arc of a circle: women seem generally to get in a bunch at the tail end, but cases were observed of women getting in between men. The dance consists simply of a clockwise circuit continued *ad libitum*, the left foot being put down to the left side at the accented drum beat and the right foot following on the second unaccented beat (2/4 beat with very strong beat on the first quarter). Still, quite a few hardly seem to bother about rhythm, but simply walk around.

In the Sioux Dance,¹⁹² each dancer (man) dances for himself, in no particular direction. The dance consists primarily of a series of jumps and hops, each foot being put down for a measure (2/4 beat); the best dancers accentuate the second unaccented drum beat by bending down a knee. Charlie Mack calls the dance the "jumping dance" and says it is the same as the Sioux "Omaha" dance. Men brandish weapons in the right hand—a tomahawk or an old sword. At a certain point they point these outward, saying: ^éú', ^éú'.

In the Coyote Dance, three men took little drums and sang softly; later others joined in, the big drum not being used, women in also. Others dance around the three principals with drums and imitate the cry of the coyote (J. A. Mason).

Games

Indians used to throw snow-balls at each other in a regular game with two sides; no women, no gambling. For fun they sometimes threw stones at one another with slings [made of a] round piece of rawhide with two strings attached. One was looped around the finger, and the other let go in firing; 'sling', m^éú'nump'.

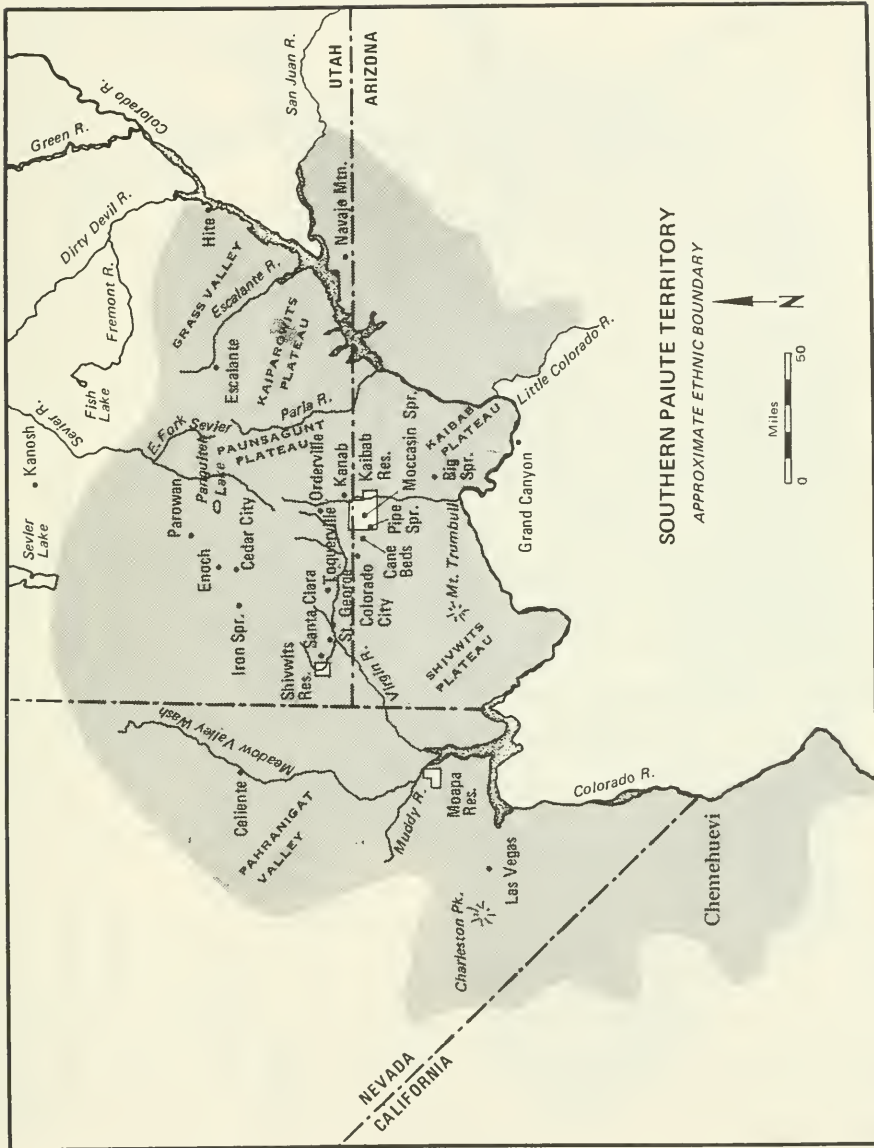
String figures were called pa^éátdjayaḡ^é. Charlie Mack showed a simple one which he said he had been taught by a woman when he was very

young. He said some women were able to make many figures, such as tepees.

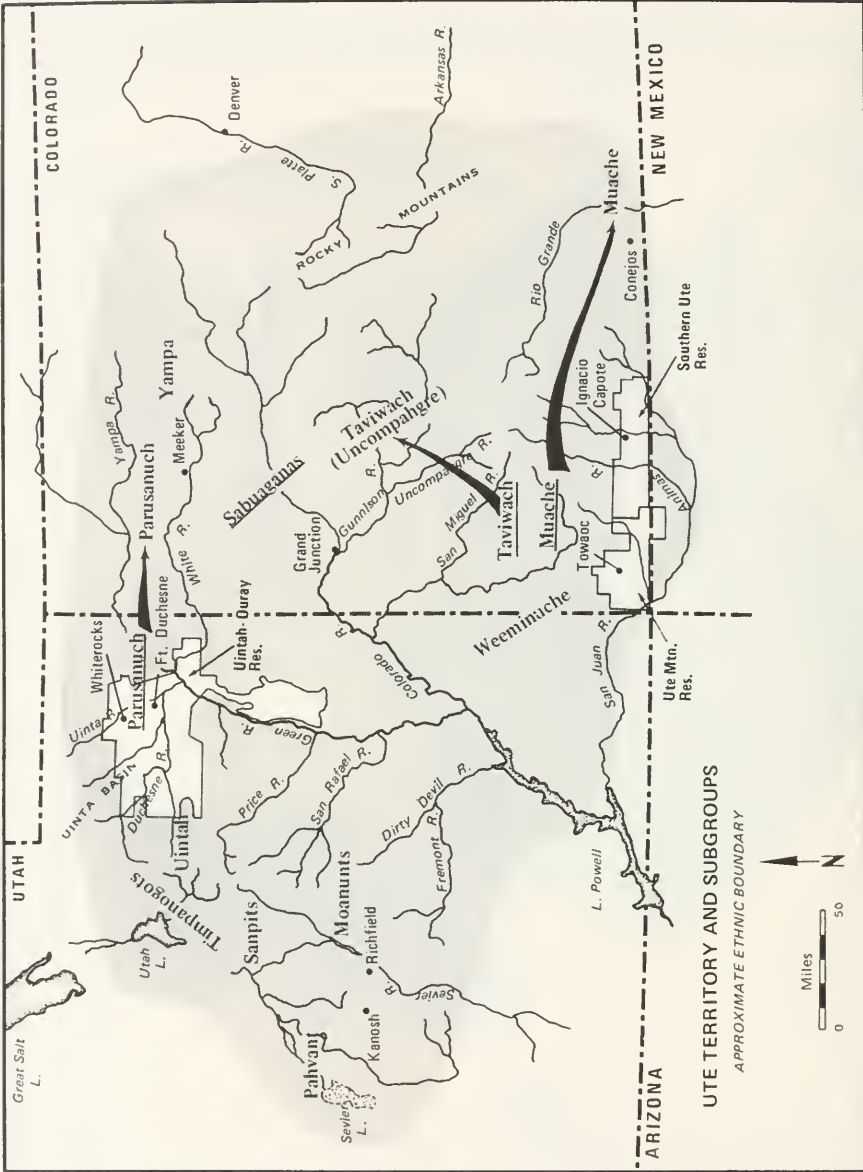
Uncompahgre hand game: 'gambling bones', náiuⁿwats.i^e náḡ[·] (-núḡ[·]); 'bone', i^uḡ, ö[·]iḡ (*i* approximately like English "bird"); 'counters', tūḡḡ[·], mái^wtūḡ[·].

Miscellaneous Customs and Beliefs

Only close relatives loused each other. If a woman loused a man, it meant she was his wife: sometimes if a woman wanted, a man loused her too. Charlie Mack claims the Indians never ate lice but simply cracked them with their teeth and threw them away; they didn't generally like to use fingernails. p^ó^eayava^emⁱ 'let me louse you'; p^ó^eävi 'louse'.



Map 1. Southern Paiute territory (after Kelly 1934).



Map 2. Ute territory (after Calloway et al. 1986).

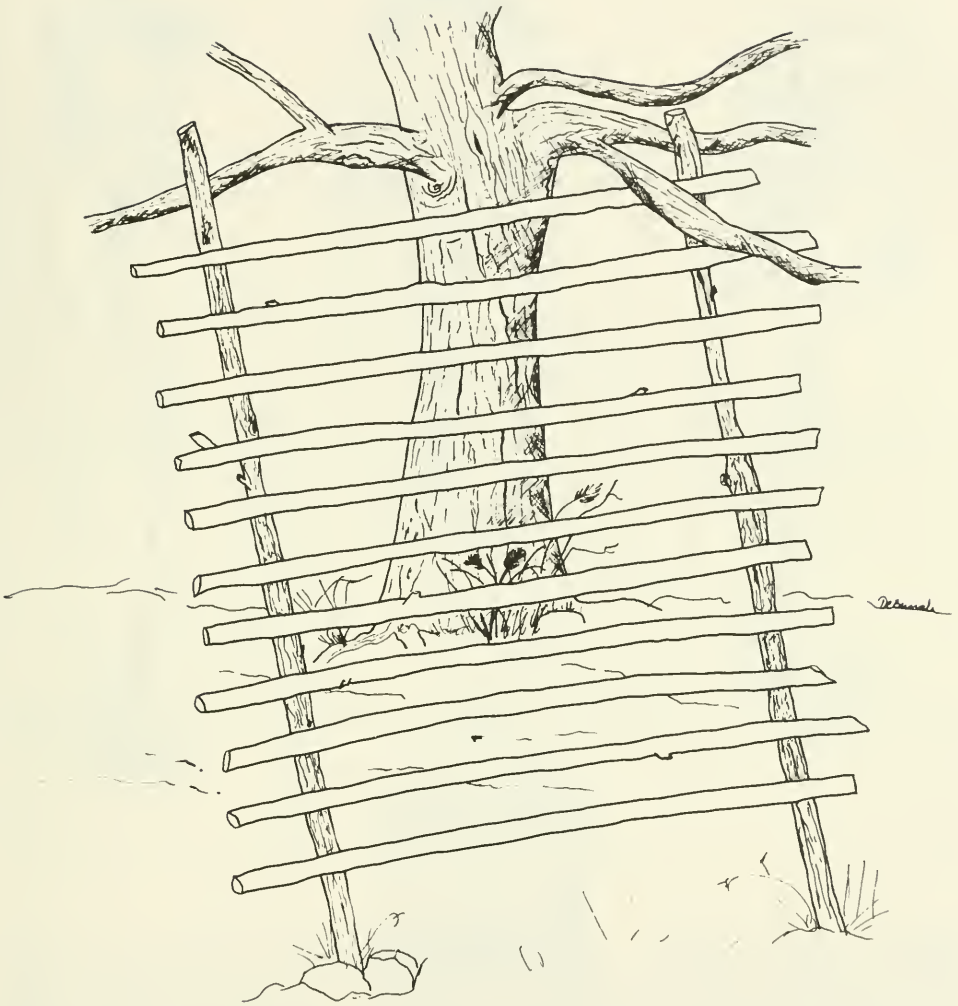


Figure 1. A drying frame for deer-meat, about 20 feet long, leaning against a tree. The poles are about six feet apart, and the top about five feet from the ground. The cross branches rest on the two big ones and will not roll off because of the roughness of the bark. [Crossbars were probably tied in place.]

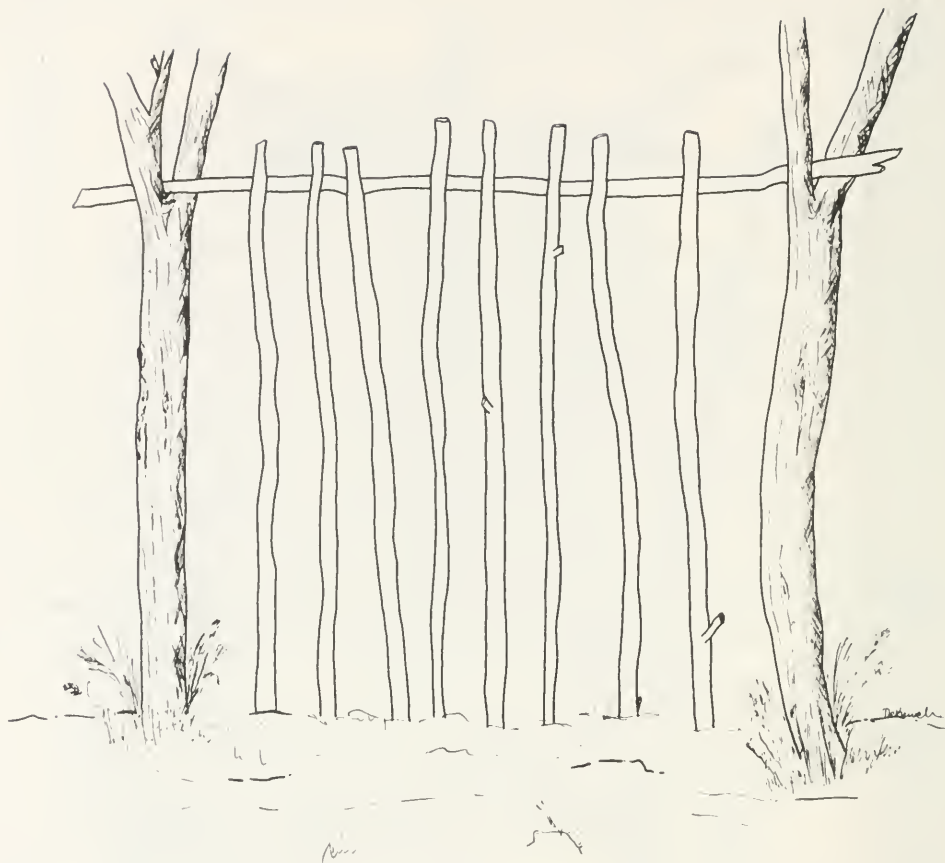
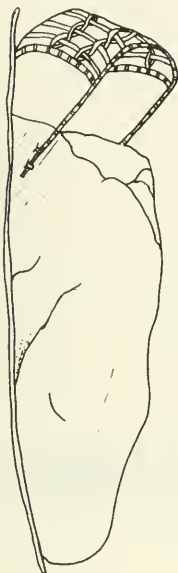
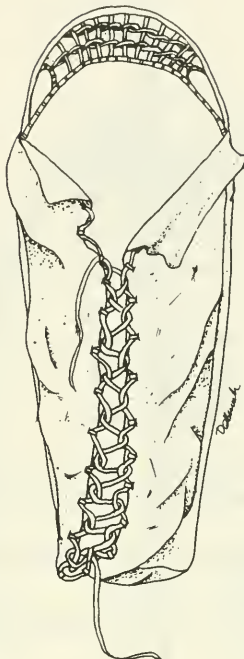


Figure 2. Second method of constructing a drying frame. The top branch rests in the crotches of two trees. Meat is hung on the vertical, slanting poles, perhaps 20–40 slices per pole. Sometimes there is only a single pole leaning against the top. A wood fire may be built under either drying frame to keep flies away.

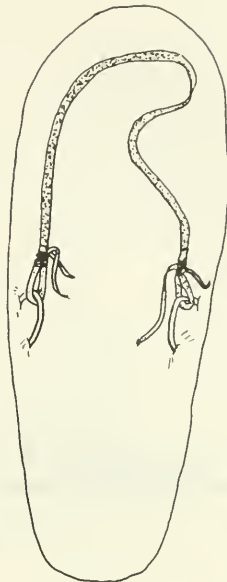
1 Standing



2 Front



3 Back



4 Bottom

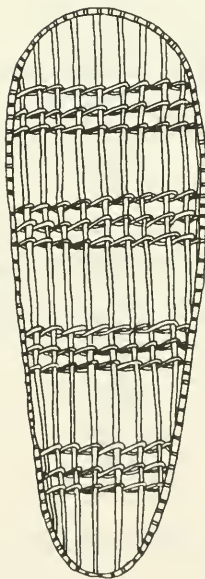


Figure 3. Southern Paiute cradle, various views.

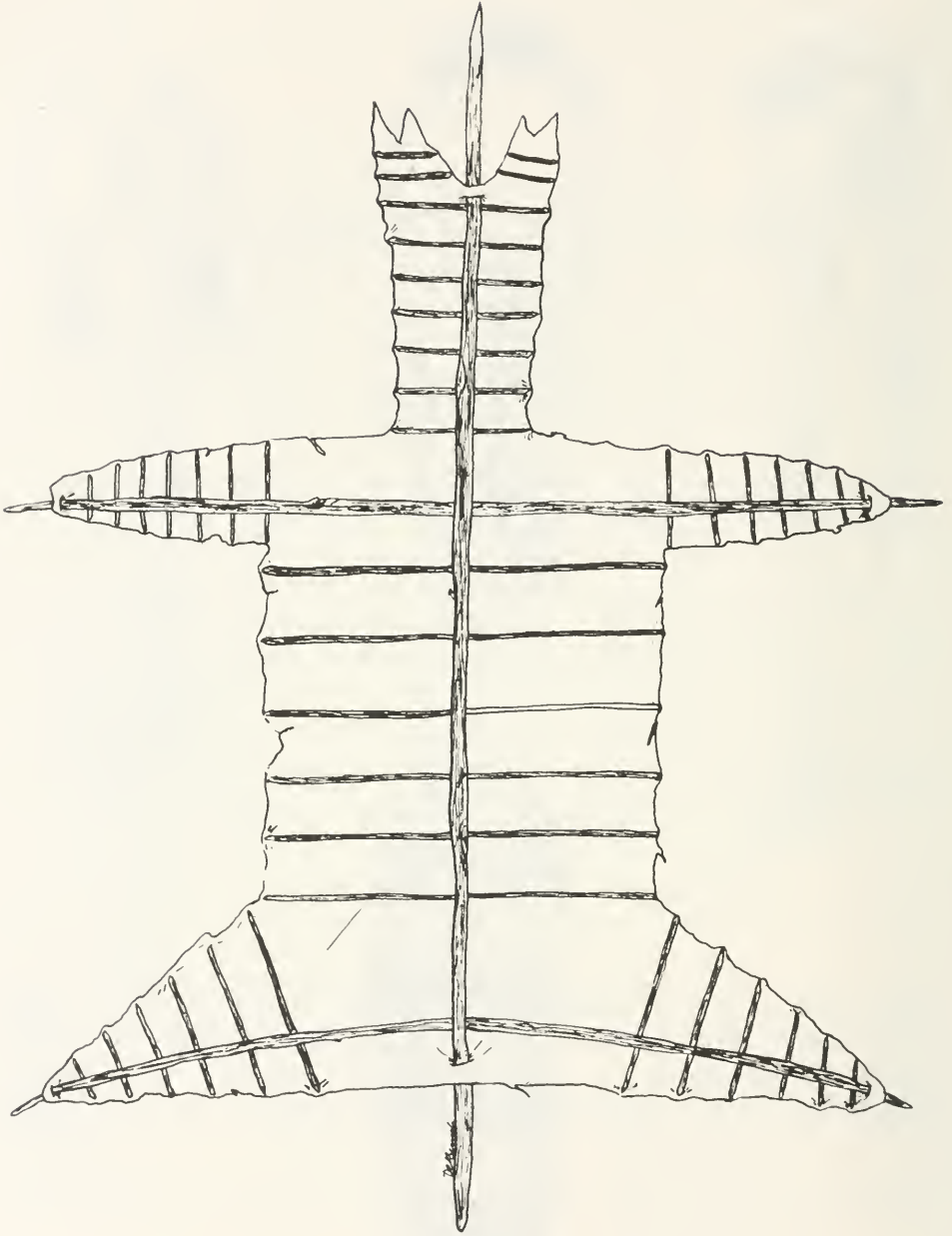


Figure 4. Method of stretching a hide for tanning.

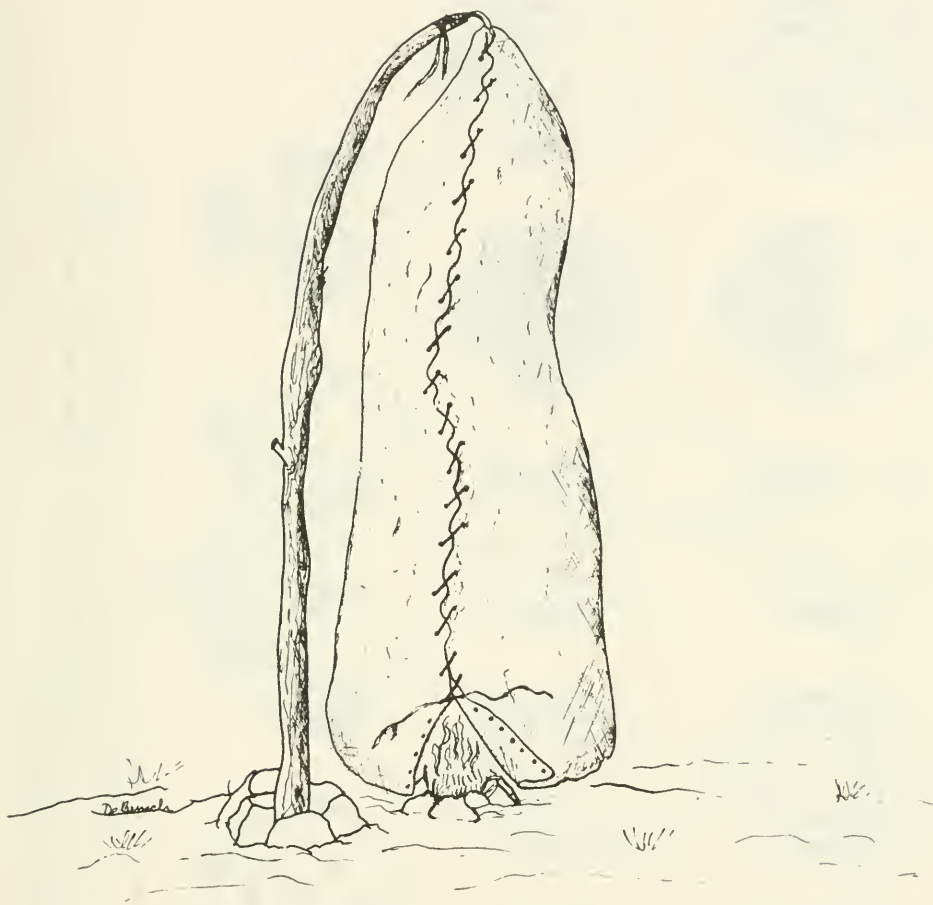


Figure 5. Method of smoking a hide.

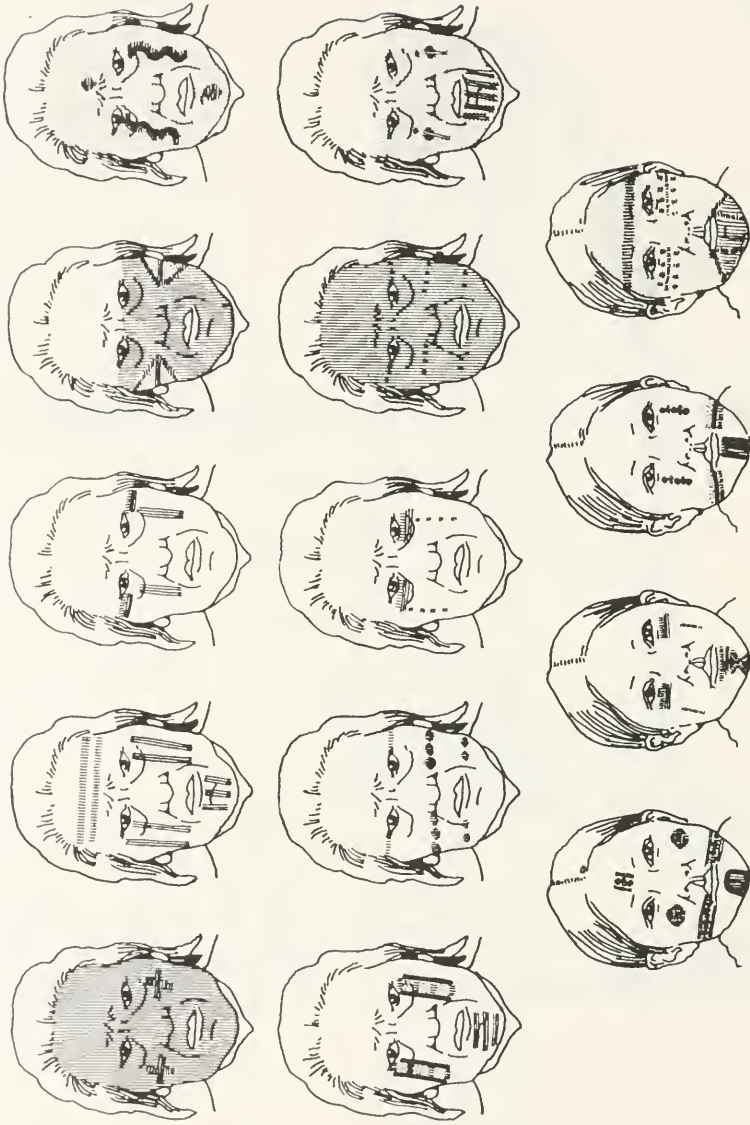


Figure 6. Face painting patterns observed by Tony Tillohash at a "squaw" dance attended by Kaibab, Shivwits, Cedar, and Parowan Southern Paiutes. Vertical hatch denotes red; horizontal hatch, blue; stipple, yellow; and black. (Source: Kelly 1964: 67.)

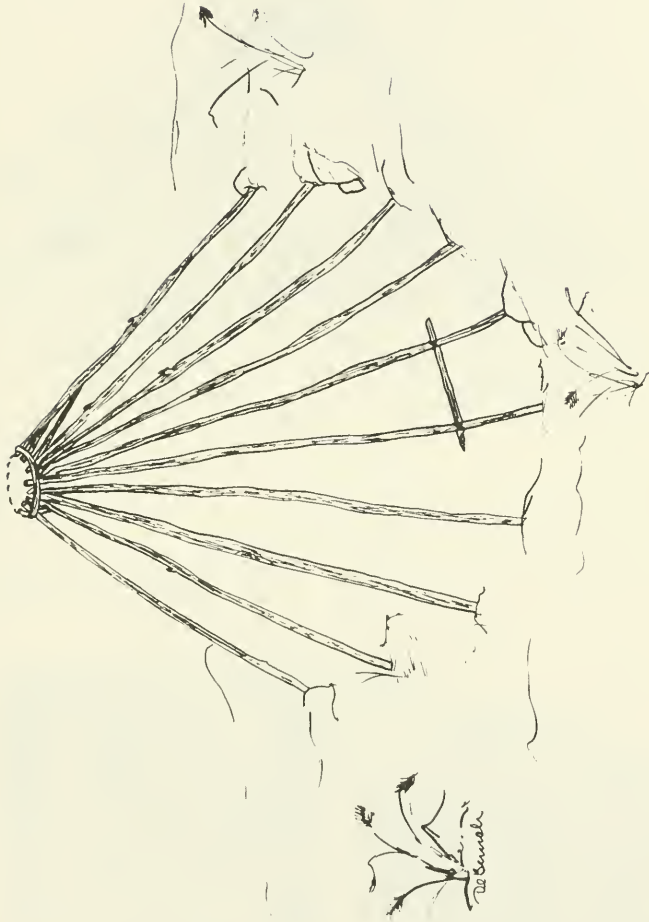


Figure 7. Framework of winter house.

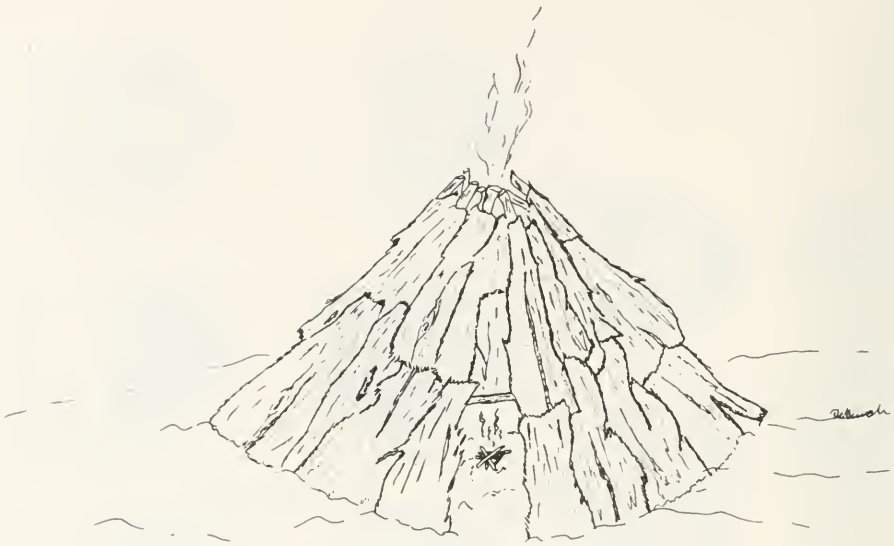


Figure 8. Bark-covered winter house and diagram of sleeping arrangement (feet toward the fire).



Figure 9. Hide-covered tepee.



Figure 10. Flat-topped summer shade structure.



Figure 11. Subconical summer shade structure.



Figure 12. Semicircular brush windbreak.

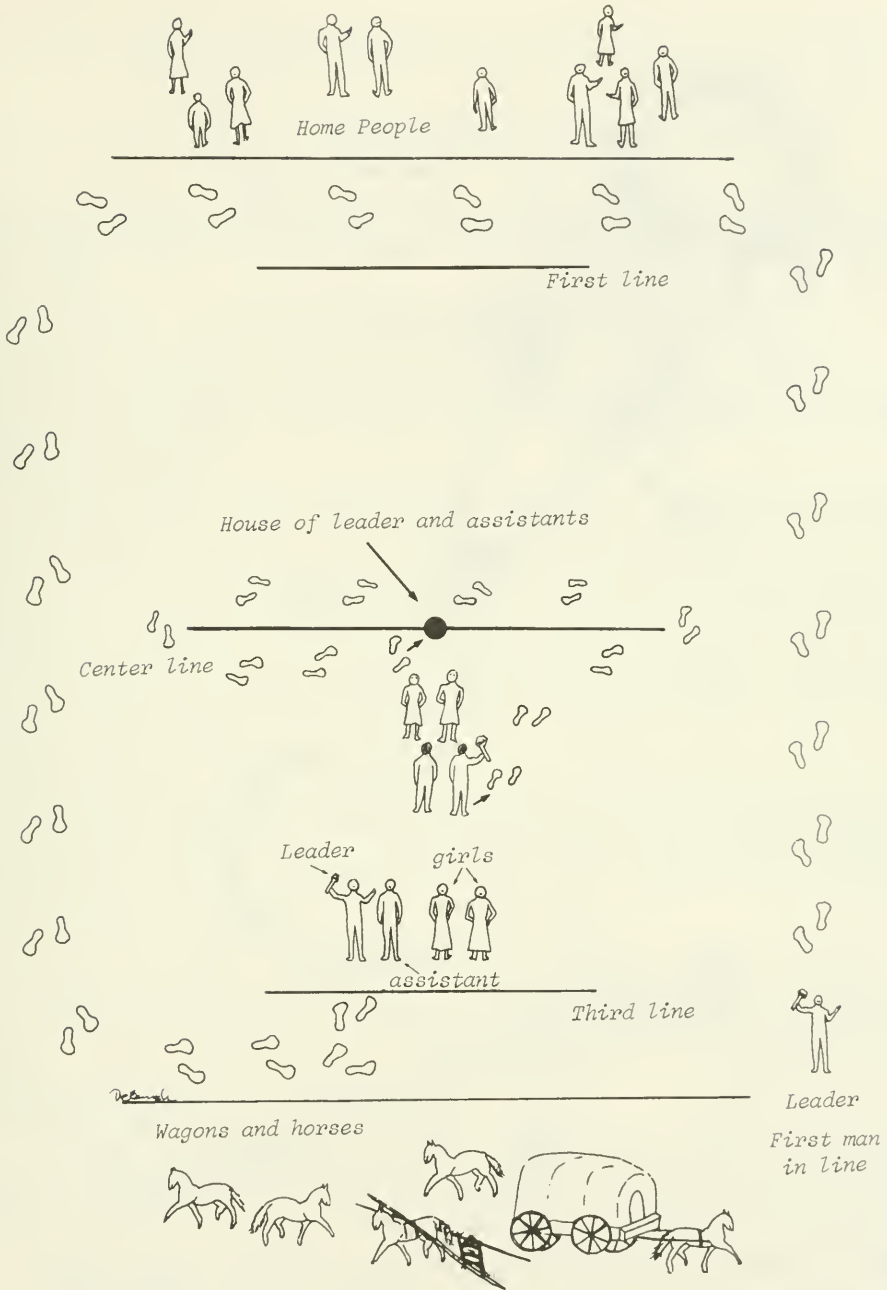


Figure 13. Ground plan of the Cry Dance and route of the leader in the friendship ceremony.

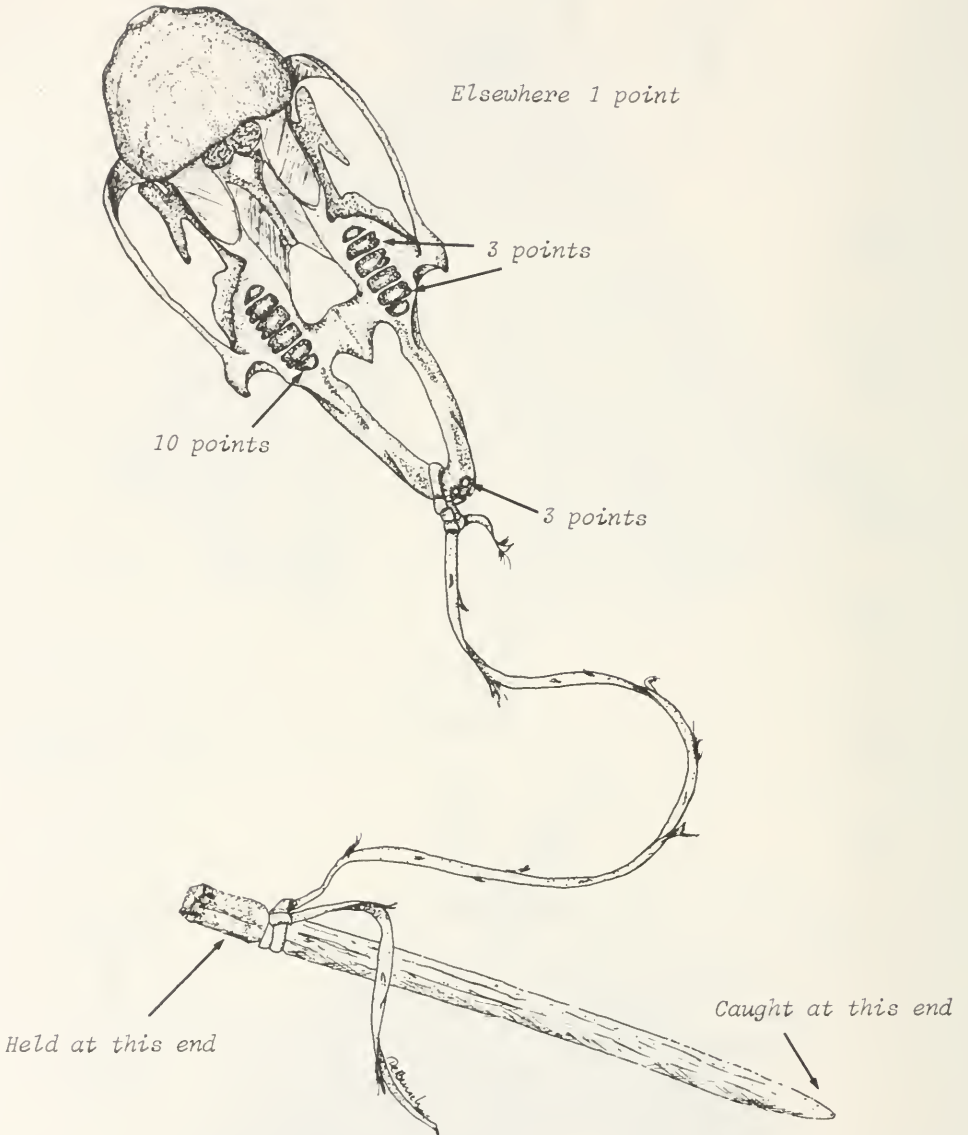


Figure 14. Skull and stick used in the Rabbit-head Game, with scoring.

Editorial Notes

1. It is unlikely that all these names refer to bands in the political sense. Others have recorded similar forms (see Kelly and Fowler 1986: 394–396).

2. See Map 1 for locations of these geographic designations.

3. Sapir meant that Paiutes were no longer living there in 1910.

4. We are unable to identify this place with certainty, but from the evidence presented it may be Shem, the principal settlement on the Shivwits Reservation.

5. Sapir (1931k: 685) identifies this “creek” as the San Juan River (see also Place Names, below). However, Southern Paiutes then were and now are living along Hamblin Wash on the Navajo Reservation northwest of Tuba City and near the San Juan River in Piute Canyon northeast of Navajo Mountain. Kelly (1964) combined all of the Southern Paiute populations south of the Colorado and San Juan rivers into her “San Juan Band.” Bunte and Franklin (1987) discuss the ethnohistory of the group in depth.

6. See Powell and Ingalls (1874, reprinted in Fowler and Fowler 1971: 98–104). Sapir seemingly requested clarification of the term recorded by Powell as referring to Southern Paiute people “east of the Colorado River” (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 104).

7. Moapa Reservation, Nevada.

8. Charleston Peak in the Spring Range, near Las Vegas, Nevada.

9. Sapir added these two names to his list from the United States Census, 1910. Kelly (1964: 31–36) has a similar list of neighboring tribes.

10. Probably Tony Tillohash’s folk etymology.

11. Sapir’s notes originally identified the referents of this term as the Mojave, another Yuman-speaking group. He bracketed that and added “Walapai,” but notes (1931k: 593–594) that the translation is probably a folk etymology.

12. Kelly (1964: 36) notes that “Aiats” is the name by which the Mojave are known to the Shivwits and Moapa Paiutes. The Havasupai were sometimes referred to as Coconino or Cosino (Kelly 1964: 35–36).

13. “Gentiles” in local usage refers to non-Mormons.

14. Cliff dwellings in Kanab Canyon were occupied prehistorically by the Anasazi, ancestors of the Hopi. The Hopi refer to these ancestors

as *Hisátsinom*. There are extensive panels of pictographs in Snake Gulch, a tributary of Kanab Canyon.

15. George served as a primary consultant to Kelly, but indicated that he had been appointed chief by the Whites rather than in the old way (Kelly 1964: 29).

16. North of Kanab. In ascending order, the formations are locally referred to as the Red (or Vermillion) Cliffs, White Cliffs, and Pink Cliffs.

17. See Kelly (1964) for location of some of these, as well as other springs. The numbers given here may originally have been on maps now lost, as Sapir refers in this list to topographic maps available in 1910.

18. Reference to a topographic map available to Sapir in 1910. He also refers to "Kanab Sheet," "Kaibab Sheet," and "St. George Sheet," below.

19. Now called Colorado City.

20. Cane Beds, a place on the Arizona Strip.

21. Now a uranium mine on the Arizona Strip south of the Kaibab Paiute Reservation.

22. Apparently New Mexico locust, *Robinia neomexicana*.

23. Sapir gave no Paiute term for this. Kelly (1964: 8) gives "Tinkanivac," or 'cave water', the same as Sapir's Number 17.

24. Kelly (1964: 48), based on additional interviews on communal hunting, suggests a point of clarification on this procedure: individuals were stationed at divides or hollows in ridges where deer were likely to go when pursued by the other hunters moving through the brush and trees.

25. Kelly's (1964: 50) data confirm Kaibab hunting of mountain sheep in the Zion district, which includes Rockville and Orderville, but others told her they were also taken on the rim of Grand Canyon.

26. Kelly (1964: 48) and Stewart (1942: 240) confirm the lack of deer fences and other enclosures for large game hunting. Stewart's (1942: 248) Kaibab consultants also denied the use of animal disguises, although individuals from other Southern Paiute areas used them.

27. Although a weapon used by some Ute groups, the thrusting spear was not reported as used by Southern Paiutes interviewed by Stewart (1942: 269).

28. But see Sapir's earlier statement on distribution under "Communal Hunting."

29. Kelly (1964: 51) illustrates a curved rabbit stick attributed to a model made by Tony Tillohash for Sapir. She also states that those she

interviewed felt that the rabbit stick was “recent,” having been introduced at the same time as the horse. Stewart’s (1942: 336) data tend to confirm this, with his consultant suggesting a Hopi source. Underhill (1953: 113) illustrates four versions of the Hopi rabbit stick.

30. A communal hunt with nets is confirmed by Kelly (1964: 50–51) and Stewart (1942: 242), and is common in the Great Basin region.

31. The desert woodrat (*Neotoma lepida*) would be near St. George. It and the bushy-tailed woodrat (*N. cinerea*) occurred in the Kaibab district. Kelly (1964: 52) was told by the Kaibab that both types were taken.

32. The plants listed here and under “Medicinal Plants” and “Miscellaneous Plants” are identified in Table 2.

33. To the west, the term aṅwibi is more commonly used for corn, thus suggesting possibly two points of origin and diffusion for the corn complex (Fowler and Fowler 1981).

34. Probably *Amaranthus blitoides*, but tuupuibi was not ordinarily cultivated. See Note 38 below.

35. Wild sunflower is *Helianthus annuus* var. *macrocarpus*. Kelly (1964: 39) was told that the term for cultivated sunflower did *not* mean Hopi sunflower, which seems unlikely.

36. This technique differs from that of ditching irrigated garden plots as described for the Southern Paiute to the west (St. George, Shivwits, Moapa) by Kelly (1932–33) and seems closer to the planting techniques of the Hopi.

37. This is a reference to the *piki* of the Hopi, a paper-thin bread baked on a griddle and rolled.

38. Sapir apparently corrects the data by noting that tōḡpu^{ei} is not cultivated, but the confusion continues. See Note 39, below.

39. Sapir may be in error here, as the plant he describes, with both a cultivated or white-seeded variety (*Amaranthus hypochondriacus*; *A. albus*) and a wild or black-seeded variety (*A. retroflexus*, *A. palmeri*) is called kumuti.

40. These are more properly cicadas (*Okanogoides* spp.). Kelly (1964: 54) has additional data on insect collection.

41. Sag^waadi is the chuckwalla (*Sauromalus obesus*), a common food species in the hot desert areas of the Great Basin and southern California.

42. Sapir is correct here in inferring the use of pottery for cooking by the Kaibab. Kelly (1964: 77–78) adds more notes on its manufacture,

and it has been found in limited quantities archeologically in Kaibab territory (Euler 1964: 379).

43. Kelly (1964: 52) was told that the prairie dog (*Cynomys* spp.) did not occur in Kaibab habitats. Tillohash may be referring to another Southern Paiute area, or he may be speaking of a species of ground squirrel (*Spermophilus* spp.).

44. See "Basketry."

45. Eagle aeries were private property, ordinarily owned by men (Kelly 1964: 92). Boys often were lowered into the nests, as stated, but probably under the direction of men rather than on their own.

46. Although Stewart (1942: 243) confirms eagle capture from a domed brush house, he says nothing about the requirement that war-bonnet feathers be from live eagles. Given that eagles were kept alive for taking feathers, this may be inferred, however.

47. Kelly's (1964: 55) notes seem to confirm all of Tillohash's statements on dogs.

48. The size description seems to fit the Black-necked Stilt (*Himantopus mexicanus*); the coloration ("like a mocking bird"), the Wilson's Phalarope (*Phalaropus tricolor*).

49. The plants suggested are: New Mexico locust (*Robinia neomexicana*); serviceberry (*Amelanchier alnifolia*, *A. utahensis*); black willow (*Salix gooddingii*) or narrow-leaf cottonwood (*Populus angustifolia*); Osage orange (*Maclura pomifera*; introduced); and Gambel's oak (*Quercus gambelii*).

50. Kelly (1964: 73) illustrates the simple bow type and confirms this statement. Recurved bows are visible in J. K. Hillers's photographs from 1871, but principally for the Moapa-Las Vegas areas (Euler 1966: Figures 45, 46; Fowler and Matley 1979: Figure 49e).

51. Most shaft wrenches collected by J. W. Powell in the 1870s from the southern Utah Southern Paiute, including the Kaibab, and now on deposit in the United States National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, are of mountain sheep rather than antelope horn.

52. See Kelly (1964: Figure 10c) for an illustration of an arrow supposedly drawn for Sapir by Tillohash.

53. A common plant used for this was scouring rush (*Equisetum* spp.) — unless a sandstone smoother is meant (see above).

54. Red-tailed Hawk (*Buteo jamaicensis*).

55. Fletching and shaft decoration on specimens collected by J. W. Powell in the 1870s are treated in Fowler and Matley (1979: 150–151).

56. Incised lines are noted on the shafts collected by J. W. Powell and deposited in the Smithsonian Institution (Fowler and Matley 1979: 64).

57. Kelly (1964: 76) lists ringtail, fox, coyote, lion or fawn skin for quivers in addition to wildcat or bobcat. Three southern Utah Southern Paiute quivers from the J. W. Powell collection are illustrated by Fowler and Matley (1979: 155).

58. Kelly (1964: 76–77) describes both the slow match and the fire hearth and drill.

59. The shape was said to be tubular for the Kaibab (Stewart 1942: 293). A slightly curving but basically tubular pipe of Kaibab manufacture was collected by J. W. Powell (Fowler and Matley 1979: 165).

60. *Nicotiana attenuata*.

61. J. W. Powell collected one “tan soapstone” pipe among the Kaibab, although most of the others he collected are green (Fowler and Matley 1979: 73).

62. See Kelly (1964: 78ff.) and Fowler and Matley (1979) for technical descriptions and illustrations of common Southern Paiute baskets.

63. I.e., coiled. Cīúv^{wi} ‘squawbush’ is skunk bush (*Rhus aromatica* var. *trilobata*).

64. Both the close coiled and the open twined burden baskets are described here. Both types are documented in the literature (Kelly 1964: 79, 84). A close twined conical seed collecting basket was also made and called by the same term.

65. Coiled basket caps are known from Moapa but, according to Kelly (1964: 83), are not reported from the Kaibab.

66. Undoubtedly devil’s claw (*Proboscidea parviflora*), the split fruits of which are used in basketry.

67. J. W. Powell collected baskets from this area in 1872 with over-painting used to enhance woven designs.

68. This should read “stripped out by hand,” as no implement was used.

69. Kelly (1964: 84) discusses cradle styles and also illustrates typical examples collected.

70. Milkweed is *Asclepias* sp., probably *A. fascicularis*, Mexican milkweed. Dogbane (*Apocynum cannabinum*) was also used by the Kaibab (Kelly 1964: 81).

71. Kelly (1964: 71) illustrates the handle for this type of blade, based on a sketch made by Sapir.

72. Kelly (1964: 71) suggests that in the first application, brains are put on both sides; in the second, usually on the hair side only.

73. In a sentence above, Sapir suggests that there are three applications. Kelly (1964: 71) indicates two.

74. Plants are identified as follows: wa^εáp^õ, common juniper (*Juniperus communis*) and Utah juniper (*J. utahensis*); s-ô'viḡ^õ Fremont cottonwood (*Populus fremontii*); qwi^εyav^õ, Gambel oak (*Quercus gambelii*); wu^εiv^õ, milkweed (*Asclepias* sp., probably *A. fascicularis*, Mexican milkweed, but also possibly dogbane, *Apocynum cannabinum*); qanáv^õ, willow (*Salix* sp.); paywí av^õ, Rocky Mountain maple (*Acer glabrum*); tiv^wAḡ^õ, two-needle pinyon (*Pinus edulis*); yiv^wimp^õ, yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*); ôxôm^p^õ, white fir (*Abies concolor*); tsi^εÁmpiv^õ, Woods rose (*Rosa woodsii*).

75. I.e., rose hip.

76. See "Arrows" for the suggestion that currant arrows also need to be greased.

77. The buckskin clothing here described may be of relatively late introduction to the Southern Paiute, i.e., 1860s. Kelly (1964: 59–65) suggests that the Plains styles may have replaced the more common skirts or dresses of bark after the introduction of guns and horses.

78. Most of the shirts photographed by J. K. Hillers in the 1870s for the Powell expedition reach mid-thigh. However, some of these may be of Ute manufacture, and in use only for the photographic sessions (Fowler and Matley 1979: 30).

79. ináp^u is cliff-rose (*Purshia mexicana*).

80. Various other caps are pictured in the Hillers photographs from other Southern Paiute areas (Fowler and Matley 1979). Some are in the J. W. Powell collection in the Smithsonian Institution.

81. Women's moccasins often have high tops, reaching to mid- or upper calf, and thus serving as leg protectors (Fowler and Matley 1979: 130).

82. Presumably "overcast"; however, this is rarely observed on moccasins collected in the area (Fowler and Matley 1979).

83. Kelly (1964: 64) also illustrates a moccasin with separate tongue, although those in the Powell collection from the area rarely have such (Fowler and Matley 1979: 31ff.).

84. This paragraph appeared elsewhere in the manuscript, but it reinforces several points. Stewart (1942) also notes lack of moccasin decoration.

85. This description is less than clear, as there is no indication of how the twisting is accomplished (e.g., on the thigh, with the hands, etc.). If both of the strips are turned in the same direction, the result would be

one long strip with the same direction of twist. If not, they would twist around each other producing a two-ply piece, which seems not to be intended.

86. This number seems unusually low. The figure of 15, given above, seems closer.

87. Braided hair dressing for men was also claimed by Kelly's (1964: 65) Kaibab consultants, although few braids are to be seen in Hillers's photographs from the 1870s. This style may have come from the Ute in the late nineteenth century.

88. The whereabouts of the various "models" made by Tillohash is unknown. They were apparently not accessioned at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (Alessandro Pezzati, Archivist, personal communication, January 1989).

89. This practice was common among the Ute (Stewart 1942: 279).

90. The feather bonnets shown in the Hillers photographs are probably an affectation for photographic purposes (Fowler and Matley 1979: 138).

91. nánt' is *Agave utahensis*. The leaf fibers were used as a comb.

92. The statement implies that the beads were contained in the earlobe and not suspended from a string.

93. The Powell collection from the Kaibab includes bird-bone and claw necklaces as well as one made of *Olivella* shells.

94. This house is larger than those seen in the Hillers photographs (e.g., Fowler and Matley 1979: Figure 57), but houses were generally built to accommodate the number of family members (Kelly 1964: 56).

95. Kelly (1964: 58) suggests Ute introduction, sometime between the 1870s and 1900. See also Euler (1966).

96. See Sapir's Ute notes that follow. Reference is probably to the tripod or conical house (Stewart 1942: 257).

97. Kelly's (1964: 59) consultants denied the use of sweat houses, relating a single event in which such use resulted in a death. Both Ute and Navajo neighbors used them extensively, however. The sweat house described suggests the Navajo type (Stewart 1942: 259).

98. Sapir seems to correct this form to *teá̄cixʷan^{ci}* in the section on "Birth," translating *náxan^{ci}* as 'whore house'.

99. Kelly (1964: 98) gives additional menstrual observances.

100. *náxan^{ci}* is said above to refer to menstrual hut. Sapir (1931k: 576) gives *nai-xanI*, *na.-xanI* 'house of prostitution' from stem *nai-s* 'to have sexual connection, to mate'.

101. Sapir (1930e: 375) recorded from Tillohash the tale of how Coyote set birth customs.

102. According to Stewart (1942: 306), the cord is placed in a special skin pouch and attached to the child's cradle. It is later disposed of in a way appropriate to the child's sex so that the child will benefit later in life.

103. Stewart's (1942: 305) data seem to confirm this for the Kaibab, but not all Southern Paiute.

104. Possibly the Rock Wren (*Salpinctes obsoletus*).

105. Kelly (1964: 101) was told that cremation was reserved for "mean" people.

106. Both lists show some terminological inconsistencies with other published schedules (e.g., Kelly 1964). Because Tillohash was orphaned and partly raised by a Mormon family, he may not have been familiar with the full range of lexical items in this domain.

107. In the historic period, Southern Paiute people were enslaved by the Navajo and sold by Ute and Navajo to Mexicans in Santa Fe (Euler 1966).

108. Sapir (1931k: 685), however, later translates the form as 'Acorn(?) man's name'.

109. Sapir is probably checking for a minimal pair here rather than recording an additional name.

110. These are all the political data Sapir recorded in 1910. For a fuller account see Kelly (1964: 26–30), and for an ethnohistorical reconstruction of bands and "chiefs" see Euler (1966: 99–104).

111. Kelly (1964: 133–142) presents data on religion, some of which she says "comes from Sapir's notes." Some are not found in the 1910 ethnographic notes which we have and could be in other Sapir notes of which we are unaware; however, see the introduction for comments on the Sapir notes available to Kelly. There is nothing here that is contradicted by Kelly, and Sapir's notes are much fuller than Kelly's section on Kaibab religion. See also Kelly (1939).

112. Compare with Kelly (1964: 140–141).

113. Kelly (1939: 151) remarked that a shaman was "never a young woman ... in a list of twenty shamans, only two were women."

114. In 1776, when the first party of Europeans to see Paiutes were camped near the Paria River, an elderly Paiute shaman attempted to cure one of the ill Spaniards by singing over him at night. In 1854, a Mormon missionary wrote about Paiute shamans curing by sucking on the patient's body (Euler 1966: 111).

115. The motif of a world underground where everything is opposite to this world is known generally among the Southern Paiute and Great Basin peoples.

116. Kelly (1939: 153) reported three Kaibab shamans who specialized in curing rattlesnake bites. Her belief that the plant used was of the genus *Ligusticum* is correct; it is *Ligusticum porteri*.

117. A Hopi Indian.

118. This is a much more complete account of the mourning ceremony than that given by Kelly (1964) and by Sapir (1912c).

119. This is true also of the mourning songs sung by Havasupai and Walapai.

120. Probably among the Mojave or other lower Colorado River Yumans.

121. This figure is undoubtedly exaggerated; Kaibab Paiutes never had that many horses to sacrifice.

122. Shivwits Paiute.

123. Kelly (1964: 85) illustrates such a rattle made by Tillohash for Sapir in 1910.

124. Usually referred to as Captain Pete.

125. In Arizona east of the present Kaibab Paiute Reservation.

126. Skutumpah Ranch is near the head of Johnson Canyon northeast of Kanab.

127. The meaning of this sentence is obscure. It may mean that the mountain sheep group was formed of others who were neither “coyotes” nor “birds”; or it may mean that there were other unaffiliated groups of singers present.

128. There are no Southern Paiute drums among the ethnographic specimens collected by Powell in the 1870s (Fowler and Matley 1979: 72). Kelly (1964: 85) lists as musical instruments only the Cry Dance rattle and the Bear Dance rasp, both late arrivals.

129. Cane Beds, Arizona, west of the Kaibab Paiute Reservation.

130. We are unable to identify this place with certainty, but it may be Shem, the population and agency center on the Shivwits Reservation. Lacking a mid front vowel, Southern Paiute speakers often substitute [a] in their English. Similarly [sː] does not occur initially and may be reflected as [s]. Sapir was not familiar with Utah place names, as the manuscript suggests.

131. Little is known about Kaibab Paiute participation in the 1890 Ghost Dance movement. Kelly (1964: 106–107) relied upon Sapir’s

notes for her data. Sapir's data are minimal, since Tillohash apparently had only seen or heard about it as a small child.

132. The central pole was part of the Northern Paiute version of this dance, from which all others were adopted (Jorgensen 1986). The use of a cane as a substitute may be uniquely Southern Paiute, perhaps representing the canes a number of Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi men commonly carried as a mark of status (see for example, Laird 1976).

133. Kelly's (1964: 120–121) statements about mythology are mostly from Sapir's notes.

134. Sapir (1930e: 408–410) records this tale.

135. See Liljeblad (1986) for discussion of this class of spirits.

136. Sapir (1930e: 464–471) records this tale. The bird's name is literally 'person carrier', but it is described as being a bird.

137. The string around the vagina is a common mythic theme in southern California.

138. For more on the quality of voices of animal actors see Sapir (1910d).

139. Again, this mythic theme is well known in the region.

140. Powell records the same theme (Fowler and Fowler 1971).

141. Kelly (1964: 134–135) gives additional data.

142. Kelly (1964: 136) gives a table correlating these data on month names with those she received in 1933.

143. These four are the names of song cycles for the Cry or Mourning Ceremony.

144. Kelly (1964: 107ff.) discusses a number of details on the Bear Dance and its introduction to the Kaibab from the Ute. She uses Sapir's account as background.

145. Above, Sapir describes the position of the hands as not on the shoulders but behind the waist. Kelly (1964: 109) also notes discrepancies in hand positions.

146. By 1915, Lowie (1924: 299) was able to witness a Bear Dance involving Shivwits people and locals at Moapa. He was told that the dance had been adopted three or four years before.

147. Hillers photographed Paiute round dances near Kanab, Utah about 1872 (Euler 1966: Appendix I, page 5, and Figure 24; Steward 1939, Plates 7 and 8).

148. Kelly's (1964: 98) data confirm lack of a dance for girls at puberty.

149. The implication is that the hiding side does sing. Kelly (1964: 114) was told that both sides sang at once. Culin (1907: 312) states that the hiding team chants first, followed by the guessing team.

150. In each pair of bones, one is marked in the center, usually with a wrapping of buckskin or pitch-covered twine (Fowler and Matley 1979: 159). The position of the unmarked bones is guessed as indicated in the statement below.

151. I.e., the hiding team.

152. Kelly (1964: 114) suggests that this statement may refer to the version played with two bones—one held by each of two players. Normally a bone would be in each hand in the four-bone version.

153. Kelly (1964: 113) says seven counters were preferred. Stewart (1942: 286) indicates that there were ten per side.

154. Notes on the stick dice game were recorded by Sapir on three separate occasions and contain two corrections. They are left as recorded rather than rewritten to reflect the corrections, to illustrate that Sapir apparently returned to some topics on occasion to cross-check information. Kelly (1964: 114) illustrates stick dice apparently made for Sapir by Tillohash.

155. This probably refers to the scoring procedure for the cup and ball game, described below.

156. We are uncertain as to which game Sapir refers to here. It may be the four stick game, which Culin (1907: 334) records for the Southern Paiute, based on notes and specimens collected by J. W. Powell. It was played by men only.

157. Although not the same scoring method, Sapir refers to the use of the same principle in his account of the dice game.

158. The term “cedar” is popularly used in this region for juniper (*Juniperus* spp.).

159. Kelly (1964) does not mention this. Stewart (1942: 285) lists its occurrence only among the San Juan Southern Paiute.

160. See “Rabbit Hunting.” This game, described to C. Fowler in the 1960s, was said often to result in injuries to horses and riders.

161. Stewart (1942: 290) also notes the seeming absence among the Southern Paiute of string figures.

162. Stewart (1942: 290) lists foot races as present among the Kaibab and does not note them as “recent.”

163. Stewart (1942: 290) lists stilts as “recent” among the Kaibab but aboriginal among his other Southern Paiute groups.

164. Although identified by Sapir as huckleberry, this is undoubtedly the referent for blue elderberry (*Sambucus caerulea*).

165. See section on "Arrow Shoots" under "Games of Skill" for a similar adult game.

166. Kelly (1964: 119) illustrates a bull-roarer, apparently made for Sapir by Tillohash.

167. These few notes were scattered throughout Sapir's field notebook. They are grouped here as a miscellaneous category.

168. Kelly (1964: 133) repeats this and gives but little information on "greetings."

169. Sapir notes here "Cree on authority of Skinner-Speck." Skinner is Alanson B. Skinner, and Speck is Frank G. Speck, both of whom worked among the Cree.

170. See Calloway, Janetski, and Stewart (1986: 338–339, 365–366) for similar group names. Not all given here can be easily traced to those known most commonly in the literature (Map 2).

171. This is undoubtedly from "Weber," as in Weber County in north-central Utah. This particular group, known popularly as "Weber Utes," was Shoshone-speaking, as Sapir correctly notes.

172. Groups now on the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming.

173. The Gosiutes speak a dialect of Shoshone. The Paviotso referred to here are from the western Great Basin and speak a related but different language than either "Ute-Paiute" (Ute) or Shoshone (Miller 1986).

174. The identity of this group is unknown. Herbert Ariv's entry, below, may indicate that they are Pueblo.

175. Stewart (1942: 240) confirms all of these techniques.

176. See also the account of this activity in the Kaibab notes.

177. Smith (1974: 49) refers to the making of pemmican by the Utes.

178. See Hillers's photographs of what may be drying platforms in Ute camps in the early 1870s (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 52, 54). Smith (1974: 67–68) gives only Sapir's account.

179. These three foods are: Gambel oak (*Quercus gambelii*), thistle (*Cirsium* sp.), and serviceberry (*Amelanchier alnifolia*, *A. utahensis*).

180. Stewart (1942: 244) was told by his Timpanogots and Pahvant consultants that coyote was eaten. His Uintah consultants, however, confirmed all the food taboos given here.

181. The Utes had been involved in trade with the Mexicans since at least the early 1700s (Calloway, Janetski, and Stewart 1986).

182. Smith (1974: 83–89) discusses data on Ute pottery-making. One of her consultants confirmed the use of prickly pear cactus leaves as temper.

183. Smith (1974: 89ff.) gives an account of the common Ute basket types. Her description matches most of the types given here, although there is some minor terminological confusion.

184. Smith (1974: 80ff.) gives an account in depth of the tanning process.

185. I.e., cottontail. The account that follows of making rabbit-skin blankets clearly assigns this technology to the Great Basin.

186. Sapir and J. Alden Mason observed these designs at dances at Whiterocks, Utah, in 1909. The list is the most extensive account known of Ute facial decoration.

187. Smith (1974: 37–42) also discusses the details of tepee construction.

188. See Hillers's photographs of Ute summer brush houses as reproduced in Steward (1939) and Fowler and Fowler (1971).

189. This very extensive list, with its Shoshone comparisons, probably from the same consultant, is far more complete than any published since.

190. Also known as "water babies" elsewhere in the Great Basin (Liljeblad 1986).

191. See Jorgensen (1986) for accounts of all these dances. The Bear Dance is particularly well known for the Ute.

192. See Vennum (1986). This is apparently a form of the Plains Grass Dance.

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