Part III. Examples of Atsugewi Sentential-Verbs

Each of the twenty numbered examples which make up this part of the paper begins with the presentation of a single verb root. This root is then followed by several different sets of affixes, lettered (a), (b), etc., with which it can occur to form a sentential-verb. In this presentation, the following symbols are used:

R: root
F: F prefix
G: G prefix
PC: PC prefix
BC: BC prefix
DG: DG suffix
Px: other prefix
Sx: other suffix
Ax: the inflectional affix-set

The following points should also be noted:
-- The meaning of the root is always given in an *autic* formulation even though the root is to have an effective function in the structures underneath.

-- Likewise, the meaning of a prefix is always given in an *PC* formulation even though the prefix is to have a *BC* function in a particular structure (in this case, however, it is indexed as a *BC* prefix).
-- Each prefix is followed by a parenthesized number which refers to its listing in Part II.

-- Where the definition of a prefix in Part II or of a suffix in Part I has included alternative wordings, the definition here usually contains only the alternative relevant to the particular structure in which the prefix or suffix is to appear.

-- The definition for each inflectional affix-set shows in order: the personal surface-subject, the personal surface-object, the mode. When the subject or object is 'third-person' (which is not distinguished in Atsugewi as to number, entityhood, or gender), this is designated by the number '3'.

-- Variety in inflection has been kept to a minimum in the examples so as not to distract from the other aspects of verbal structure and meaning in Atsugewi.

-- To the right of the inflectional affix-set, the particular semantic situation-type specified by the structure is indicated by one of the terms: autic, causative, effective, adventive.

-- Under each set of affixes with which the root can occur to form a sentential-verb, this sentential-verb is shown in morphophonemic and broad-phonetic form.

-- In some cases, there is then given a literal translation, i.e., a part-for-part rendering into English of the whole structure underlying the sentential-verb.
-- In all cases, there is then given a casual translation, i.e., an English sentence suggested by the informant which often contains particular referents not specifically implied by the Atsugewi verb, but which depicts a situation to which the Atsugewi verb could be used to refer.
14. -- With an FM Root ($R_1$)

1.

$R_1$: -swal 'for limp (not stiff/resilient) material to move/be-located'

(a)

$BC$: ca- (19) 'from the wind blowing on the FIGURE'

$DG$: -mič 'down onto the surface of the ground'

$Ax$: ' -w- -a  '3, (3), factual' --causative

/'- w- ca- swal -mič -a/ \[\Rightarrow [\check{\text{waswá}míč]}

Literally: 'limp-material moved down to the surface of the ground from the wind blowing on it'

Casually: 'the clothes blew down from the clothesline'

(b)

$BC$: ra- (12Ba) 'from a linear object moving laterally [with one end] along a surface with the FIGURE'

$DG$: -im 'thither'

$Ax$: ' - a: 'you, (3), imperative' --effective

/'- ra- swal -im -a:/ [\Rightarrow [\text{aswálwá:}]

Literally: 'you effect limp-material to move thither by moving a linear object laterally [with one end] along a surface with it!'

Casually: 'push that dead snake away with this stick!'
(c)

**BC**: tu- (1) 'from the hand of a person, working in upon itself, acting on the FIGURE'

**DG**: -i^c 'up'

**Ax**: s- 'w- -^a 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- 'w- tu- swal -i^c -^a/ → [stuswalić]

Literally: 'I effected limp-material to move up by acting on it with my hand, working in upon itself'

Casually: 'I picked up the rag'

(d)

**BC**: uh- (10a) 'from a linear object moving circumpivotally [with one end] with the FIGURE'

**DG**: -i^ct 'into a liquid'

**Ax**: 'w- -^a '3, (3), factual' --effective

/'- w- uh- swal -i^ct -^a/ → [woswaličta]

Literally: 'she effected limp-material to move into a liquid by moving a linear object circumpivotally [with one end] with it'

Casually: 'she threw the clothes into the laundry tub'
(e)  

**BC:**  ti- (4) 'from the buttocks of a person acting on the FIGURE'

**DG:**  -ič 'up'

**Ax:**  n- w- -a '3, (3), evidential' --effective

/n- w- ti- swal -ič -a/ \[-> \text{ntwiswaič}\]

Literally: 'he evidently effected limp-material to be-located up by acting on it with his buttocks'

Casually: 'I see where he's carrying the rabbits he killed hung from his belt'

(f)  

**Px:**  p- 'mis-, mal-'  

**F:**  ru- (44) 'a flexible linear object attached at one end'

**DG:**  -iks 'at the lateral surface of a solid'

**Ax:**  '- w- -a '3, (3), factual' --adventive

/'- w- p- ru- swal -iks -a/ \[-> \text{pluswaliksa}\]

Literally: 'limp-material, which was a flexible linear object attached at one end, was mal-located at the lateral surface of a solid, on him'

Casually: 'his penis stayed limp (on him), he couldn't get an erection'
2.

R₁: -staq 'for runny, "icky" material to move/be-located'

(a)

BC: uh- (10a) 'from a linear object moving circumpivotaly [with one end] with the FIGURE'

DG: -i.w 'dually together'

Ax: s- '{ w- -a 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- '{ w- uh- staq -i.w -a/ → [swoslaqi.wa]

'I slammed together the hunks of clay I held in either hand'

(b)

BC: ra- (12Aa) 'from a linear object moving axially [with one end] obliquely with the FIGURE'

DG: -im 'thither'

Ax: same as (a)

/s- '{ w- ra- staq -im -a/ → [swrastaqimw]

'I slung away the rotten tomatoes, sluicing them off the pan they were in'
(c)  
**BC:** ci- (2) 'from the hands of a person, working manipulatively, acting on the FIGURE'

**DG:** -iks 'horizontally onto the lateral surface of a solid'

**Ax:** same as (a)

\[ /s- 'w- ci-staq-iks-a \rightarrow [swistaqiks] \]

'I patted some mud against the wall'

(d)  
**Px:** :- 'augmentative' [here used idiomatically]

**BC:** pri- (6) 'from the mouth-interior of a person, working ingressively, acting on the FIGURE'

**DG:** -ič 'up'

**Ax:** same as (a)

\[ /s- 'w- :- pri-staq-ič-a \rightarrow [spre-staqič] \]

'I picked up in my mouth the already-chewed gum/the guts from where it was stuck/they lay on the table'

(e)  
**BC:** ma- (3) 'from the feet of a person acting on the FIGURE'

**DG:** -ipsnu ’  'into a volume-enclosure'

-im 'thither'

**Ax:** same as (a)

\[ /s- 'w- ma-staq-ipsnu-im-a \rightarrow [sma-staqipsnu] \]

'I tracked the house up (with the manure I stepped in)'
(f) With a metathesized form of the root: -q*st*-a

BC: phu- (7) 'from the mouth-interior of a person, working egressively, acting on: the FIGURE'

DG: -m -ik· 'onto a head, into a face, into an eye'

Ax: same as (a)

\[/s- \ 'u- w- phu- q*st*-a -m -ik· -a/ \longrightarrow [\text{sphoq*tim*ik*a}]\]

'I spat (a packet of saliva) in his face'
3.

R₁:  ‐lup                    'for a small shiny spherical object to move'

(a)

BC:  cu‐ (11a)               'from a linear object moving axially
                                [with one end] non-obliquely against the FIGURE'

DG:  ‐hiy ‐ik‐                  'out of a snug-enclosure/a socket; detached from
                                moorings'

Ax:  s‐ 'w‐ ‐a                'I, (3), factual'  ‐effective

/s‐ 'w‐ cu‐ lup ‐hiy ‐ik‐ ‐a/  ➞  [scul‐up'yik‐a]

'I poked his eye out (with a stick)'

(b)

BC:  pri‐ (6)                 'from the mouth-interior of a person, working
                                ingressively, acting on the FIGURE'

DG:  ‐nik ‐iy              'all about, here and there, back and forth'

Ax:  same as (a)

/s‐ 'w‐ pri‐ lup ‐nik ‐iy ‐a/  ➞  [spil‐up'hika‐]

'I rolled the round candy around in my mouth'

(c)

BC:  phu‐ (7)                'from the mouth-interior of a person, working
                                egressively, acting on the FIGURE'

DG:  ‐im                   'thither'

Ax:  same as (a)

/s‐ 'w‐ phu‐ lup ‐im ‐a/  ➞  [spho‐upi'w]

'I spat out the round candy'
4.

R₁: -hmup' 'for a cover for a horizontal surface to move/be-located'

(a)

BC: uh- (10a) 'from a linear object moving circumpivotaly [with one end] with the FIGURE'

DG: -cam 'to a position athwart a fire-site'

Ax: s- 'w- -a 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- 'w- uh- hmup' -cam -a/ [*swohmup'caw]
'I threw a blanket over the fire'

(b)

BC: ra- (12Aa) 'from a linear object moving axially [with one end] obliquely with the FIGURE'

DG: -m -ik. 'onto a head, into a face, into an eye'

Ax: same as (a)

/s- 'w- ra- hmup' -m -ik.- a/ [swrahamup'mik-a]
'I slung the blanket up over his head'

(c)

BC: ci- (2) 'from the hands of a person, working manipulatively, acting on the FIGURE'

DG: -pik -ayw 'around'

Ax: same as (a)

/s- 'w- ci- hmup' -pik -ayw -a/ [schwehmupp'haywa]
'I tucked the kids in'
(d)

F: uh- (51) 'a weightful/resting substance/object'

DG: -cis' 'down onto the upper surface of a solid'
    -ak. 'locative'

Ax: s- ' - w- -a 'I, (3), factual' --adventive

/s-' - w- uh- hmu' -cis' -ak. -a/ → [s'wohmup'chak-a]

Literally: 'a horizontal-surface cover, which is a resting object, is down onto the upper surface of a solid, on me'

Casually: 'I have a cap on'
5.

R₁: $t^i$ 'for a planar object to move/be-located'

(a)

F: uh- (43) 'a planar object lying flush against a surface'
DG: -a·sy 'multiply together'
Ax: s- 'w- a·s $t^i$ 'I, (3), factual' --effective
/s- 'w- uh- $t^i$ -a·sy -a/ $\rightarrow$ [swohtā·syā]
'I patched a hole in the wall with boards'

(b)

F: ra- (42) 'a planar object sticking obliquely into/out of/ against a surface'
DG: -wi·s $u$ 'to all-over a surface'
-ik· 'hither'
Ax: same as (a)
/s- 'w- ra- $t^i$ -wi·s $u$ -ik· -a/ $\rightarrow$ [swratwi·suk·a]
'I shingled the roof'

(c)

F: cu- (40) 'a planar object sticking perpendicularly into a surface'
DG: -m -ik· 'onto a head, into a face, into an eye'
Ax: same as (a)
/s- 'w- cu- $t^i$ -m -ik· -a/ $\rightarrow$ [scutmik·a]
'I stuck the sun-shade on the cradle-board'
(d)

Px: p- 'back, reflexive'
F: ce- (37) 'eye, eye-shaped object'
DG: -i·w 'dually together'
DG: -ihiy 'on one's body'
Ax: same as (a)

/s- ⁠ʔ-w- p- ce- ʔ-i·w -ihiy -a/ → [sp'cet·i·wehe·]

Literally: 'I effected planar objects, which were eye-shaped objects, to come dually together back to me on my body'

Casually: 'I buttoned up'
15. --With an MDG Root \( (R_2) \)

6.

\( R_2: \) \( \text{-spa}^{q} \) 'to move into, through mud'

(a)

\( F: \) \( \text{tu-} \ (32) \) 'the hand'

\( DG: \) \( \text{-im} \) 'thither'

\( Ax: \) \( \text{s- 'w- -a} \) 'I, (3), factual' --effective

\( /s- 'w- \text{tu- spa}^{q} \text{-im -a/} \rightarrow [\text{stuspa}^{q}w] \)

'I stuck my hand into the mud'

(b)

\( F: \) \( \text{ra-} \ (42) \) 'a linear object sticking obliquely into a surface'

\( Ax: \) same as (a)

\( /s- 'w- \text{ra- spa}^{q} \text{-a/} \rightarrow [\text{swraspa}^{q}] \)

'I worked the stick around in the mud'

(c)

\( BC: \) \( \text{uh-} \ (10a) \) 'from a linear object moving circumpivotally

[with one end] with the FIGURE'

\( DG: \) \( \text{-im} \) 'thither'

\( Ax: \) same as (a)

\( /s- 'w- \text{uh- spa}^{q} \text{-im -a/} \rightarrow [\text{swospa}^{q}w] \)

'I threw the apple into the mud puddle'
(d)

F: ma- (33) 'the foot'

DG: -tip -u· 'into a pit'
-im 'thither'

Ax: s- ·- w- ·a 'I, (3), factual' --autic

/s- ·- w- ma- spaq -tip -u· -im ·a/ → [s'ma·spaqt'pu·ma]

'I stepped into a deep mud-hole'
7.

R2: $-k^h\nu_k$ 'to move into contact with a big stomach'

(a)

F: $hi- \ (38)$ 'the whole body of a person'

Ax: $s- \ 'w- \ -a \ 'I, \ (3), \ factual' --autic

/s- \ '-w- \ hi- \ k^h\nu_k \ -a/ \rightarrow [s'he^h\cdot o^h]$

'I bumped into his protruding belly'

(b)

BC: $uh- \ (10a)$ 'from a linear object moving circumpivotaly [with one end] with the FIGURE'

DG: $-wam \ -im$ 'into someone's body'

Ax: $s- \ '-w- \ -a \ 'I, \ (3), \ factual' --effective

/s- \ '-w- \ uh- \ k^h\nu_k \ -wam \ -im \ -a/ \rightarrow [s'wo^h\cdot o^h]\text{maw}$

'I hit him in his big stomach with my fist'

(c)

BC: $tu- \ (1)$ 'from the hands of a person, working towards each other, acting on the FIGURE'

Ax: same as (b)

/s- \ '-w- \ tu- \ k^h\nu_k \ -a/ \rightarrow [s'\tilde{\text{t}}uk^h\cdot o^h]$

'I grasped his protruding belly between my hands,
I played with the deer's stomach (that was lying on the ground)'
16. --With an FMDG Root (R₃)

8.

R₃: -luc 'for the natural surface-growth on a (once-) living object to come detached from (part of) the object'

(a)  

BC: ra- (12Ba) 'from a planar object moving laterally [with one edge] along a surface with the FIGURE'

Ax: s-'- w- -a 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s-'- w- ra- luc -a/ ⟷ [swlal·ūcʰ]

'I scraped the fur off the hide'

(b)  

BC: ru- (15Aa) 'from a linear object moving with axial-tension [with one end] with the FIGURE'

Ax: same as (a)

/s-'- w- ru- luc -a/ ⟷ [swlu1·ūcʰ]

'I pulled a handful of hair out of his head'

(c)  

BC: mu:- (25) 'by the AGENT applying heat/fire to the FIGURE'

Ax: same as (a)

/s-'- w- mu:- luc -a/ ⟷ [smo·lucʰ]

'I burnt the quills off the porcupine' or 'I scalped the feathers off the chicken'
(d)

BC: wi- (5) 'from the teeth of a person acting on the FIGURE'
Ax: same as (a)

/s- 'w- wi- luc -a/ \rightarrow [sweluch]
'I slid the bark off a willow twig, holding one end in my teeth'

(e)

BC: ma- (3) 'from the foot of a person acting on the FIGURE'
Ax: same as (a)

/s- 'w- ma- luc -a/ \rightarrow [smaluch]
'I skinned the rabbit by accidentally stepping on it'

(f)

G: ti- (34) 'the buttocks'
Ax: s- 'w- -a 'I, (3), factual' --adventive

/s- 'w- ti- luc -a/ \rightarrow [stwiluch]
Literally: 'the natural surface-growth came detached from a
living object, which was buttocks, on me'
Casually: 'I skinned my behind when I fell'

(g)

G: hi- (38) 'a specific part of the body not treated by
other prefix'
Ax: same as for (f)

/s- 'w- hi- luc -a/ \rightarrow [sheluch]
'I scraped some hair off my head when I fell'
g.

R₃: -skit 'for soft material to snag on/loge in an object'

(a)

PC: cu- (20) 'from flowing liquid acting on the FIGURE'
Ax: 'w- -a' '3, (3), factual' --causative

/'w- cu- skit -a/ [Čuskîth]
'some brush in the stream got snagged on a limb jutting up'

(b)

F: uh- (47) 'a free-flying object'
Ax: 'w- -a' '3, (3), factual' --autic

/'w- uh- skit -a/ [Woskîth]
'a ball sailing through the air got caught in the tree'

(c)

Px: p- 'mis-, mal-

G: ra- (42) '(one end of) a linear object sticking obliquely out of a surface'
Ax: s- 'w- -a' '1, (3), factual' --adventive

/s- 'w- p- ra- skit -a/ [Spîskîth]

Literally: 'soft-material snagged on an object, which was (one end of) a linear object obliquely sticking out of a surface, on me'

Casually: 'I caught my shirt on a nail'
(d)

G: wi- (35) 'the teeth'

DG: -im 'into one's body'

Ax: same as (c)

/s/- w- wi- skit -im -^a^/  \[\Rightarrow \] [swé-skitiw]

'I got a piece of food caught in my teeth'

(e)

G: uh- (39) '(one end of) a linear object in swinging motion'

Ax: 'w- -^a^ '3, (3), factual' --adventive

/'- w- uh- skit -^a^/  \[\Rightarrow \] [woskíth]

Literally: 'soft-material lodged in an object, which was (one end of) a linear object in swinging motion, on him'

Casually: 'the chicken pecking at the bone got a piece of meat caught in its bill'
10.
R₃:  *mur  'for fluid to come out of a biologic membranous
sack'

(a)
FC:  hi- (9)  'from the whole body of a person/animal acting
on the FIGURE'
DG:  -ik-  'hither'
Ax:  *' w- *²  '3, (3), factual'  --causative
      /' w- * mur -ik- *²/  \[\text{the cow's birth-sac (amnion) burst from the baby calf inside'}\]

(b)
BC:  tu- (1)  'from the hand of a person, working in upon itself,
      acting on the FIGURE'
Ax:  s- *' w- *²  'I, (3), factual'  --effective
      /s- *' w- tu- * mur *²/  \[\text{I made the milk squirt out of the cow's teat by squeezing it in}
      my hand'}

(c)
BC:  ci- (2)  'from the hands of a person, working manipulatively,
      acting on the FIGURE'
Sx:  -cic  'go and'
Ax:  s- *'  'I, (3), intensive'  --effective
      /s- *' ci- * mur -cic/  \[\text{I'll go milk the cow'}\]
(d)

**BC**: ra- (12Bc) 'from a linear object pressing laterally [with its side] on the FIGURE'

**DG**: -im 'thither'

**Ax**: same as (b)

/s- 'w- ra- ́mur -im -a/ \[s\\u02b0ra\acute{m}ur\acute{iw}] 'I made the milk squirt out by pressing against the cow's udder with a stick'

(e)

**BC**: pri- (6) 'from the mouth-interior of a person, working ingressively, acting on the FIGURE'

**DG**: -ik· 'hither'

**Ax**: 'w- -a '3, (3), factual' --effective

/'w- pri- ́mur -ik· -a/ \[pri\acute{m}ur\acute{k·a}] 'he sucked on the woman's breasts to start the milk-flow'

(f)

**BC**: phu- (7) 'from the mouth-interior of a person, working egressively, acting on the FIGURE'

**DG**: -im 'thither'

**Ax**: same as (e)

/'w- phu- ́mur -im -a/ \[pho\acute{o}mur\acute{iw}] 'the doctor sucked the matter out of the boil and spat it out'
11.

R₃: -ščak  'for a sharp-pointed linear object to move axially with its point into-the-substance-of yielding material'

(a)

F: cu- (40) 'a linear object moving perpendicularly into a surface'

Ax: s- 'w- -a  'I, (3), factual' --effective
/s- 'w- cu- ščak -a/ → [ščusčak]
'i skewered the piece of meat with a fork'

(b)

BC: uh- (10a) 'from a linear object moving circumpivotally [with one end] with the FIGURE'

DG: -cis'  'down into-the-substance-of a solid resting on the ground'

-im  'thither'

Ax: same as (a)
/s- 'w- uh- ščak -cis' -im -a/ → [swosčákchu]
'I swung the pickaxe head down into the tree-stump by the handle'

(c)

BC: same as (b)

DG: -m -ik.  'onto a head, into a face, into an eye'

Ax: same as (a)
/s- 'w- uh- ščak -m -ik. -a/ → [swosčákmik-a]
'I threw a nail into his eye'
(d)

Px:    p-            'mis-, mal-

G:    tu-  (32)       'the hand(s), arm(s)

DG:   -im            'into one's body'

Ax:   s- 'w- a        'I, (3), factual' --adventive

/s- 'w- p- tu- scak -im-a/ → [sptuscaKiw]

Literally: 'the end of a sharp-pointed linear object mal-moved
axially into-the-substance-of yielding materia?, which was
my hand, into my body, on me'

Casually: 'I got a thorn stuck in my finger'

(e)

Px:    :-              'augmentative' [here used idiomatically]

G:    ti-  (34)       'the buttocks'

DG:   same as (d)

Ax:   same as (d)

/s- 'w- :- ti- scak -im-a/ → [stwe:scakiw]

'I got a splinter stuck in my behind'
12.

R₃: -puq

'for dust to move off a surface (into a cloud)'

(a)

BC: ma- (3) 'from the feet of a person acting on the FIGURE'

Ax: s'-w-ᵃ 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s'-w- ma-puq -ᵃ/ → [sⁿᵃ poqʰ]

'I kicked up the dirt as I walked along'

(b)

BC: ra- (12Ba) 'from a planar object moving laterally
[with one edge] along a surface with the FIGURE'

Ax: same as (a)

/s'-w-ra-puq -ᵃ/ → [swrapʰqʰ]

'I swept the dust up into a cloud'

(c)

BC: uh- (10a) 'from a linear object moving circumpivotally
[with one end] with the FIGURE'

Ax: same as (a)

/s'-w-uh-puq -ᵃ/ → [swohpʰqʰ]

'I shook out the blanket'
(d)

BC: phu- (18) 'from matter propelled by the mouth working egressively sailing into the FIGURE'

DG: -uwW 'off from over a surface'

-ihiy 'on one's body'

Ax: same as (a)

/s- ṭ- w- phu- puq -uwW -ihiy -a/ $\rightarrow$ [s'hop-oq'uw-ehe.]

'I blew the dust off my clothes'

(e)

FC: i- (0) 'from (nothing/) something acting on the FIGURE'

Dg: -asW 'all about within itself' [e.g., hair tousling about, clothes flapping about]

Ax: 'w- -a '3, (3), factual'

/'w- i- puq -asW -a/ $\rightarrow$ [wip-oq'swa]

'there's dust swirling about over the road (where the horses had ridden past)'
13.

R₃: -hapuk 'for an object (or a sensible aspect thereof) to fail to come to -- by passing to one side of -- a body-part (or a sense) of a person'

This R occurs idiomatically with:

Px: :-

Sx: -mič

The examples in this set are all given with the following inflectional affix-set and situation-type:

Ax: s-'-w-'-a 'I, (3), factual' --adventive

(a)

G: tu- (32) 'the hands'

/s-'-w-:- tu- hapuk -mič-a/ \[sto.hapuk^hmič]\]

Literally: 'an object failed to come to, passing to one side of, a body-part, which was the hands, on me'

Casually: 'I missed catching the ball'

(b)

G: ma- (33) 'the foot/feet'

/s-'-w-:- ma- hapuk -mič-a/ \[sma.hapuk^hmič]\]

'I missed a step as I was walking down the stairs'

(c)

G: ti- (34) 'the buttocks'

/s-'-w-:- ti- hapuk -mič-a/ \[stwe.hapuk^hmič]\]

'As I bent to sit down, I got the chair pulled out from under me'
(d)

G: si- (27) 'the visual aspect of an object'

/s/-w-:-si- hapuk -mič -a/ → [swse-hapuk^hmič]

'I looked over too late to catch sight of that deer'
17. --With an fMDg Root (R₄)

14.

R₄: -miḍ 'for a house-like structure to move into a non-integral shape'

(a)

FC: uh- (24b) 'from gravity/the FIGURE's own weight acting on the FIGURE'

Dg: -tip -asw 'apart'

Ax: n- w- -a "3, (3), evidential" --causative

/n- w- uh- miḍ -tip -asw -a/ ➞ [nohméqtʰpaswa]

'the house fell apart'

(b)

FC: ca- (19) 'from the wind blowing on the FIGURE'

Dg: -uww -ay 'into two unequal parts: one part off from the rest'

Ax: same as (a)

/n- w- ca- miḍ -uww -ay -a/ ➞ [ncwam-eqúw-e.]

'the roof blew off from the house'

(c)

BC: ma- (3) 'from the foot of a person acting on the FIGURE'

Dg: -t -am 'into two unequal parts: one part out from the rest'

Ax: s- 'w- -a "I, (3), factual" --effective

/s- 'w- ma- miḍ -t -aw -a/ ➞ [sma-meqta-]

'I kicked the door out off its hinges'
(d)

BC: ci- (2) 'from the hands of a person, working manipulatively, acting on the FIGURE'

Dg: -ikc -ik -ayw 'into fragments'

Ax: same as (c)

/s- 'w- ci- miɣ -ikc -ik -ayw -a/ ➔ [scwim·eqikʰcikaywa]

'I tore the house down, demolished the house'
15.

R₄: -ɾuq 'for a live articulated object to move into a folded-together shape'

(a)

F: tu- (32) 'the hand(s), arm(s)'

Dg: -a·s'y 'multiply together/into an accumulation'

Ax: s- 'w- -a 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- 'w- tu- ɾuq -a·s'y -a/ \rightarrow [stuʔnoq'a·s'y'a]

'I made a fist'

(b)

BC: ci- (2) 'from the hands of a person, working manipulatively, acting on the FIGURE'

Optional Dg: -a·s'y 'multiply together/into an accumulation'

Ax: same as (a)

/s- 'w- ci- ɾuq (-a·s'y) -a/ \rightarrow [scwiʔnoq']

[scwiʔnoq'a·s'y'a]

'I doubled the cat up (by drawing its limbs together)'
16.

R₄: -caqih 'for the leg-set on a creature to move into an open shape'

(a)

BC: ci- (2) 'from the hands of a person, working manipulatively, acting on the FIGURE'

Dg: -tip -asw 'apart'

Ax: s−'w− a  'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s−'w− ci− caqih −tip −asw −a/ \[s\text{w}ic\text{·aqéht₃pas₃wa}\]

'I spread his legs apart (with my hands)'

(b)

F: ma− (33) 'feet, legs'
or ti− (34) 'buttocks'

Dg: same as (a)

Ax: same as (a)

/s−'w− ma− caqih −tip −asw −a/ \[s\text{ma}·caqéht₃pas₃wa]\n
or /s−'w− ti− caqih −tip −asw −a/ \[s\text{t}wic\text{·aqéht₃pas₃wa}\]

'I spread my legs apart'
16. --With an FM/MDg Root (R₅)

17A.

R₅: -miq 'for a house-like structure to move, coming into a non-integral shape the while'

(a)

FC: miw- (25) 'from heat/fire acting on the FIGURE'
DG: -mič 'down onto the surface of the ground'
Ax: n- w- -a '3, (3), evidential' --causative
/n- w- miw- miq -mič -a/ → [n⁰mwe_vmwičmič]
'the house burnt down to the ground'

(b)

FC: cu- (20) 'from flowing liquid acting on the FIGURE'
DG: same as (a)
Ax: same as (a)
/n- w- cu- miq -mič -a/ → [n⁰cum_eqmič]
'the house collapsed from the flood'

(c)

FC: uh- (24b) 'from gravity/the FIGURE's own weight acting on the FIGURE'
DG: -tip -u. 'down into a pit in the ground'
-im 'thither'
Ax: same as (a)
/n- w- uh- miq -tip -u. -im -a/ → [n⁰hmé₇pt₇pu₇ma]
'the house fell all the way down into the cellar'
17B.

R₅:  -miq  'for a house-like structure to move, being in a non-integral shape the while'

(a)

BC:  hi- (9)  'from the whole body of a person acting on the FIGURE'

DG:  -icw  'up'

Ax:  'w- ^a  '3, (3), factual' --effective

/ 'w- hi- miq -icw ^a /  \rightarrow [whem-eq'icwa]

'the kid crawling under the pile of boards from the torn down house lifted them up as he stood'
18A.

R₅:  ʰnǭq   'for a live articulated object to move, coming into a folded-together shape the while'

(a)

Px:  p-       'back, reflexive'
F:  tu- (32)  'the hand(s), arm(s)'
Dg:  a·s'y  'multiply together/into an accumulation'
DG:  ihiy   'on one's body'
Ax:  s- 'w- a² 'I, (3), factual' --effective
/s- 'w- p- tu- ʰnǭq -a·s'y -ihiy -a²/ ⟷ [sp'tuʔŋoʔa·syhe:]  
'I folded my arms across my chest'

(b)

BC:  ma- (3)       'from the foot of a person acting on the FIGURE'
DG:  mič       'down onto the surface of the ground'
Ax:  same as (a)
/s- 'w- ma- ʰnǭq -mič -a²/ ⟷ [sm'aʔŋoʔmič]  
'as he was sitting there, I bent his head down to the ground with my foot'

(c)

BC:  ma- (3)       'from the foot of a person acting on the FIGURE'
DG:  ʰiqt      'into a liquid'
Ax:  same as (a)
/s- 'w- ma- ʰnǭq -ʰiqt -a²/ ⟷ [sm'aʔŋoʔʰiqtə]  
'I shoved the reluctant cat into the water with my foot, getting him doubled up as I did so'
18B.

R₅: -ǹuq  'for a live articulated object to move,  
being in a folded together shape the while'

(a)

BC: ci- (2)  'from the hands of a person, working manipulatively,  
acting on the FIGURE'

DG: -wam  'into a gravitic-container'

Ax: s-ˀw- -a  'I, (3), factua:'  --effective

/s-ˀw- ci- ǹuq -wam -a/  \[s\dot{c}\dot{w}i\dot{o}n\dot{o}q\dot{u}\'o\ma\]  
'I stuffed the doubled-up cat into the basket'
19A.

R5: -caqih 'for the leg-set on a creature to move, coming into an open shape the while'

(a)

F: uh- (51) 'a weightful substance/object, a load'

DG: -ikn 'to a position over/astraddle an edge'
     -ik- 'hither'
     -ihiy 'on one's body'

Ax: s- 'w- a' 'I, (3), factual' --effective
     /s- 'w- uh- caqih -ikn -ik- -ihiy -a/ [swohcæq'hnikèh-e]

Literally: 'I effected a creature's leg-set, which was a weightful object/a load, to move to a position astraddle an edge hither on my body, bringing the leg-set into an open shape the while'

Casually: 'I set him up on my back with his legs over my shoulders so I could carry him someplace'

(b) In a particular periphrastic construction with:

the bare root as first element
the verb i, 'to go', as second element taking all affixation

DG: -im 'thither'

Sx: -ak 'continuative'

Ax: '- w- a' '3, (3), factual' --(self-) effective
     /-caqih '- w- i -im -ak -a/ [caqèh wi'èmakh]

'the frog went jumping along'
19. --With a Root Taking 'Sense' Prefixes

20.

R:  -lay  
    'for a person to come into/be in a pleased state of mind'

This root occurs idiomatically with:

Sx:  -im

Keeping constant the inflectional affix-set:

Ax:  s- ' w- -a  
    'I, (3), factual'

the following forms with different 'sense' prefixes occur:

(a)

FC:  sa- (27)  
    'from the visual aspect of an object acting on the FIGURE'

/s- ' w- sa- lay -im -a/  \(\rightarrow\)  [s\(^9\)sal.ay\(\tilde{\imath}\)w]

'I find it good-looking, pretty/I like it (e.g., a picture)'

(b)

FC:  ka- (28)  
    'from the auditory aspect of an event acting on the FIGURE'

/s- ' w- ka- lay -im -a/  \(\rightarrow\)  [skw\(\tilde{\imath}\)l.ay\(\tilde{\imath}\)w]

'I find it good-sounding/I like it (e.g., the singing)'

(c)

FC:  pri- (30)  
    'from the smell/taste of an object acting on the FIGURE'

/s- ' w- pri- lay im -a/  \(\rightarrow\)  [spl\(\tilde{\imath}\)l.ay\(\tilde{\imath}\)w]

'I find it good-smelling, -tasting/I like it (e.g., the flower)'

(d)

FC:  tu- (31)  
    'from the taste of a body acting on the FIGURE'

/s- ' w- tu- lay -im -a/  \(\rightarrow\)  [st\(\tilde{l}\)l.ay\(\tilde{\imath}\)w]

'I find it good-tasting, tasty/I like it (e.g., the food)'