

## 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
- FC*: *FC* 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 *FC* 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<sub>1</sub>)

1.

R<sub>1</sub>: -swal 'for limp (not stiff/resilient) material  
to move/be-located'

(a)

FC: 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/ ⇒ [čwaswálmic]

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:/ ⇒ [laswal<sup>ə</sup>wá.]

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: -iĉ 'up'
- Ax: s- 'w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- 'w- tu- swal -iĉ -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [stuswaliĉ]

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: -iĉt 'into a liquid'
- Ax: 'w- -<sup>a</sup> '3, (3), factual' --effective

/'w- uh- swal -iĉt -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [woswaliĉta]

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: -iċ 'up'  
 Ax: n- w- -<sup>a</sup> '3, (3), evidential' --effective

/n- w- ti- swal -iċ -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [ntwiswalíċ]

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: -iċs 'at the lateral surface of a solid'  
 Ax: ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> '3, (3), factual' --adventive

/' - w- p- ru- swal -iċs -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [p'uswalíċsa]

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.

R<sub>1</sub>: -s<sup>2</sup>taq̣ 'for runny, "icky" material to move/be-located'

(a)

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

DĜ: -i·w 'dually together'

Ax: s- ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- ' - w- uh- s<sup>2</sup>taq̣ -i·w -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>w</sup>ost<sup>2</sup>aq̣í·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- s<sup>2</sup>taq̣ -im -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>w</sup>rast<sup>2</sup>aq̣íw]

'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- staq̣ -iks -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [ṣwistaq̣iksa]

'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: -ic̣ 'up'

Ax: same as (a)

/s- ' - w- :- pri- staq̣ -ic̣ -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [sp̣re·staq̣ic̣]

'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: -ipsn<sup>u</sup> 'into a volume-enclosure'

-im 'thither'

Ax: same as (a)

/s- ' - w- ma- staq̣ -ipsn<sup>u</sup> -im -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [ṣma·staq̣ipsnu]

'I tracked the house up (with the manure I stepped in)'



(f) With a metathesized form of the root:  $-qst^{-a}$

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- ' - w- phu-  $qst^{-a}$  -m -ik· -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [sp<sup>h</sup>oq<sup>s</sup>t<sup>i</sup>m·ik·a]

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

## 3.

R<sub>1</sub>: -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: ʂ- ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- ' - w- cu- lup -hiy -ik· -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [sʂul·up<sup>h</sup>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 -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [sʂlil·up<sup>h</sup>nika·]

'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 -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [sʂhol·up<sup>i</sup>w]

'I spat out the round candy'

4.

R<sub>1</sub>: -hmup<sup>3</sup> 'for a cover for a horizontal surface to move/  
be-located'

(a)

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

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

Ax: s- ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- ' - w- uh- hmup<sup>3</sup> -cam -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>3</sup>wohmup<sup>3</sup>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<sup>3</sup> -m -ik. -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>3</sup>wrahmup<sup>3</sup>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<sup>3</sup> -pik -ayw -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>3</sup>wehmup<sup>3</sup>h<sup>h</sup>kaywa]

'I tucked the kids in'

(d)

- F: uh- (51) 'a weightful/resting substance/object'  
 DG: -cis<sup>u</sup> 'down onto the upper surface of a solid'  
 -ak· 'locative'  
 Ax: s- ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --adventive

/s- ' - w- uh- hmup<sup>3</sup> -cis<sup>u</sup> -ak· -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>3</sup>wohmup<sup>3</sup>ak·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.

R<sub>1</sub>: -t̥<sup>i</sup> 'for a planar object to move/be-located'

(a)

F: uh- (43) 'a planar object lying flush against a surface'

DG: -a·s̥y̥ 'multiply together'

Ax: s- ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- ' - w- uh- t̥<sup>i</sup> -a·s̥y̥ -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s̥wɔh̥t̥a·s̥y̥a]

'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<sup>u</sup> 'to all-over a surface'

-ik· 'hither'

Ax: same as (a)

/s- ' - w- ra- t̥<sup>i</sup> -wi·s<sup>u</sup> -ik· -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s̥wrat̥wi·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- t̥<sup>i</sup> -m -ik· -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s̥c̥u̥tmik·a]

'I stuck the sun-shade on the cradle-board'

(d)

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

/s- ʔ- w- p- ce- t̪<sup>i</sup> -i·w -ihiy -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [sp̪c̪et̪<sup>i</sup>·i·weh̃·]

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<sub>2</sub>)

6.

R<sub>2</sub>: -s<sup>h</sup>paq̣ 'to move into, through mud'

(a)

F: tu- (32) 'the hand'

DG: -im 'thither'

Ax: s- ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective/s- ' - w- tu- s<sup>h</sup>paq̣ -im -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>h</sup>tu<sup>s</sup>paq̣i<sup>w</sup>]

'I stuck my hand into the mud'

(b)

F: ra- (42) 'a linear object sticking obliquely into a surface'

Ax: same as (a)

/s- ' - w- ra- s<sup>h</sup>paq̣ -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>w</sup>ras<sup>h</sup>paq̣]

'I worked the stick around in the mud'

(c)

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

DG: -im 'thither'

Ax: same as (a)

/s- ' - w- uh- s<sup>h</sup>paq̣ -im -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>w</sup>os<sup>h</sup>paq̣i<sup>w</sup>]

'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- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --autic/s- ' - w- ma- spáq̣ -tip -u· -im -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>h</sup>ma·spáq̣<sup>h</sup>pu·ma]

'I stepped into a deep mud-hole'



7.

R<sub>2</sub>: -k<sup>h</sup>uk 'to move into contact with a big stomach'

(a)

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

Ax: s- ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --autic

/s- ' - w- hi- k<sup>h</sup>uk -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>h</sup>whek<sup>h</sup>.ók<sup>h</sup>]

'I bumped into his protruding belly'

(b)

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

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

Ax: s- ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- ' - w- uh- k<sup>h</sup>uk -wam -im -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>h</sup>wok<sup>h</sup>ókú<sup>h</sup>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<sup>h</sup>uk -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [stúk<sup>h</sup>.ók<sup>h</sup>]

'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 (R<sub>3</sub>)

8.

R<sub>3</sub>: -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- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- ' - w- ra- luc -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [s<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>la<sup>h</sup>·ú<sup>h</sup>]

'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 -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [s<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>lu<sup>h</sup>·ú<sup>h</sup>]

'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 -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [s<sup>h</sup>m<sup>h</sup>o·ú<sup>h</sup>]

'I burnt the quills off the porcupine' or

'I scalded 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 -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [swe·lú<sup>h</sup>]

'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 -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [sma·lú<sup>h</sup>]

'I skinned the rabbit by accidentally stepping on it'

(f)

G: ti- (34) 'the buttocks'

Ax: s- ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --adventive/s- ' - w- ti- luc -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [stwil·ú<sup>h</sup>]

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 -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [swhe<sup>l</sup>·ú<sup>h</sup>]

'I scraped some hair off my head when I fell'

9.

R<sub>3</sub>: -skit 'for soft material to snag on/lodge in an object'

(a)

FC: cu- (20) 'from flowing liquid acting on the FIGURE'

Ax: ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> '3, (3), factual' --causative

/ ' - w- cu- skit -<sup>a</sup> / ⇒ [čuskít<sup>h</sup>]

'some brush in the stream got snagged on a limb jutting up'

(b)

F: uh- (47) 'a free-flying object'

Ax: ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> '3, (3), factual' --autic

/ ' - w- uh- skit -<sup>a</sup> / ⇒ [woskít<sup>h</sup>]

'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- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --adventive

/s- ' - w- p- ra- skit -<sup>a</sup> / ⇒ [spraskít<sup>h</sup>]

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 -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [swe·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- -<sup>a</sup> '3, (3), factual' --adventive/' - w- uh- skit -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [woskit<sup>h</sup>]

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.

R<sub>3</sub>: -ṃur '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: -iḳ 'hither'

Ax: 's- w- -<sup>a</sup> '3, (3), factual' --causative

/s- w- hi- ṃur -iḳ -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [whe<sup>?</sup>ṃurík·a]

'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- 's- w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- 's- w- tu- ṃur -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [sṭu<sup>?</sup>ṃur<sup>u</sup>]

'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- 's- 'I, (3), intentive' --effective

/s- 's- ci- ṃur -cic/ ⇒ [sci<sup>?</sup>ṃur<sup>u</sup>cic<sup>h</sup>]

'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- ʔ- w- ra- m̥ur -im -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s̥wraʔm̥uríw]

'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: ʔ- w- -<sup>a</sup> '3, (3), factual' --effective

/ʔ- w- pri- m̥ur -ik· -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [p̥riʔm̥urík·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)

/ʔ- w- phu- m̥ur -im -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [p̥hoʔm̥uríw]

'the doctor sucked the matter out of the boil and spat it out'

11.

R<sub>3</sub>: -sčáċ' '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- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- ' - w- cu- sčáċ' -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [sčusčáċ]

'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<sup>u</sup> 'down into-the-substance-of a solid resting  
on the ground'

-im 'thither'

Ax: same as (a)

/s- ' - w- uh- sčáċ' -cis<sup>u</sup> -im -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [sčosčáċ<sup>h</sup>u]

'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- sčáċ' -m -ik· -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [sčosčáċ<sup>mik</sup>·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- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --adventive

/s- ' - w- p- tu- sčak -im -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [sptusčakíw]

Literally: 'the end of a sharp-pointed linear object mal-moved axially into-the-substance-of yielding material, 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- sčak -im -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [stwe.sčakíw]

'I got a splinter stuck in my behind'

12.

R<sub>3</sub>: -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- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- ' - w- ma- puq -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [s<sup>h</sup>ma·póq<sup>h</sup>]

'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 -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [s<sup>h</sup>wrap·óq<sup>h</sup>]

'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 -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [s<sup>h</sup>wóhpóq<sup>h</sup>]

'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- ' - w- phu- puq -uww -ihiy -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [s<sup>h</sup>phop·oqúw·ehè.]

'I blew the dust off my clothes'

(e)

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

Dg: -asw<sup>h</sup> 'all about within itself' [e.g., hair tousling  
about, clothes flapping about]

Ax: ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> '3, (3), factual'

/' - w- i- puq -asw<sup>h</sup> -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [w<sup>h</sup>ip·oqás<sup>h</sup>wa]

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

13.

R<sub>3</sub>: -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- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --adventive

(a)

G: tu- (32) 'the hands'

/s- ' - w- :- tu- hapuk -mič -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>o</sup>·hapúk<sup>h</sup>mič]

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 -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>ma</sup>·hapúk<sup>h</sup>mič]

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

(c)

G: ti- (34) 'the buttocks'

/s- ' - w- :- ti- hapuk -mič -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>twe</sup>·hapúk<sup>h</sup>mič]

'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<sup>2</sup> -a/  $\Rightarrow$  [s<sup>2</sup>wse·hapúk<sup>h</sup>mič<sup>2</sup>]

'I looked over too late to catch sight of that deer'

17. --With an fMDg Root ( $R_4$ )

14.

$R_4$ : -miq̣ '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 -asẉ 'apart'

$Ax$ : n- w- -<sup>a</sup> '3, (3), evidential' --causative

/n- w- uh- miq̣ -tip -asẉ -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [nohmeq̣t<sup>h</sup>paswa]

'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- miq̣ -uww -ay -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [ncwam·eq̣ẉ·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- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- ' - w- ma- miq̣ -t -aw -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [sma·meq̣ta·]

'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- ʔ- w- ci- miq̃ -ikc -ik -ayw -a/ ⇒ [ṣwim·eq̃ik<sup>h</sup>cikaywa]

'I tore the house down, demolished the house'

15.

R<sub>4</sub>: -núq̣ 'for a live articulated object to move into  
a folded-together shape'

(a)

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

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

Ax: s- ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- ' - w- tu- núq̣ -a·sý -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [stúʔnoq̣á·sýa]

'I made a fist'

(b)

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

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

Ax: same as (a)

/s- ' - w- ci- núq̣ (-a·sý) -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [ṣwiʔnoq̣á]  
[ṣwiʔnoq̣á·sýa]

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



16.

R<sub>4</sub>: -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 -asw̃ 'apart'

Ax: s- ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- ' - w- ci- caqih -tip -asw̃ -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s̃wic·aqéht<sup>h</sup>pasw̃a]

'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 -asw̃ -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s̃ma·caqéht<sup>h</sup>pasw̃a]

or /s- ' - w- ti- caqih -tip -asw̃ -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s̃twic·aqéht<sup>h</sup>pasw̃a]

'I spread my legs apart'

16. --With an FM/fMDg Root (R<sub>5</sub>)

## 17A.

R<sub>5</sub>: -miq̣ '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: -mic̣ 'down onto the surface of the ground'

Ax: n- w- -<sup>a</sup> '3, (3), evidential' --causative

/n- w- miw- miq̣ -mic̣ -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [n<sup>a</sup>mwe<sup>q̣</sup>me<sup>q̣</sup>mic̣]

'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- miq̣ -mic̣ -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [n<sup>o</sup>cum·e<sup>q̣</sup>mic̣]

'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- miq̣ -tip -u· -im -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [nohmé<sup>q̣</sup>t<sup>h</sup>pu·ma]

'the house fell all the way down into the cellar'

17B.

R<sub>5</sub>: -miq̣ '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: -ic̣w 'up'

Ax: ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> '3, (3), factual' --effective

/' - w- hi- miq̣ -ic̣w -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [whem·eq̣ic̣wa]

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

18A.

R<sub>5</sub>: -núq '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·sý 'multiply together/into an accumulation'

DG: -ihiy 'on one's body'

Ax: s- ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- ' - w- p- tu- núq -a·sý -ihiy -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [sp̥tuʔnoqá·sýehe·]

'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- núq -mič -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [smaʔnoq̥mič]

'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: -içt 'into a liquid'

Ax: same as (a)

/s- ' - w- ma- núq -içt -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [smaʔnoq̥içta]

'I shoved the reluctant cat into the water with my foot,  
getting him doubled up as I did so'

18B.

R<sub>5</sub>: -ńuq̣ '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- ' - w- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factuaī' --effective

/s- ' - w- ci- ńuq̣ -wam -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [ṣwi?noq̣u?ma]

'I stuffed the doubled-up cat into the basket'

19A.

R<sub>5</sub>: -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- -<sup>a</sup> 'I, (3), factual' --effective

/s- ' - w- uh- caqih -ikn -ik· -ihiy -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [s<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup>caqé<sup>h</sup>nikè<sup>h</sup>·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- -<sup>a</sup> '3, (3), factual' --(self-) effective

/-caqih ' - w- i -im -ak -<sup>a</sup>/ ⇒ [caqé<sup>h</sup> wi<sup>h</sup>mak<sup>h</sup>]

'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- -<sup>a</sup> '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 -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [s<sup>o</sup>sa.l·ayíw]

'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 -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [skwa.l·ayíw]

'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 -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [spɪl.l·ayíw]

'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 -<sup>a</sup>/  $\Rightarrow$  [stul·ayíw]

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