Jumjum Grammar Book

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This book is used to teach how certain words correctly fit together in phrases, clauses, and sentences.

Introduction

In the Jumjum language there are several different types of words: nouns, verbs, pronouns, adjectives, modifiers, adverbs, connectors, and others. We will learn about these in this book. We will also learn about how the words go together into groups of words called phrases, clauses, and sentences. The words and how they go together are called grammar.

Learning about the words and groups of words in Jumjum can help you become a better reader and writer. It is especially important for those writing books and translating Scripture to understand the lessons of this book.

The lessons of the *Jumjum Consonant and Vowel Book* should be learned before learning from this book. Most examples sentences in this book come from the stories at the back of this book.

Some words such as 'consonant' and 'vowel' are used in this book without being explained. These words are explained in the *Jumjum Consonant and Vowel Book*. If you forget their meaning, you can look them up in the glossary at the back of this book. There are many new words in this book which are used to explain the grammar of Jumjum. Each new word is underlined and explained when it is first used. If you later see the word and forget what it means, you can also find it explained in the glossary at the back of this book.

This book can be taught to participants in a workshop. A person can also use this book to teach himself/herself without a workshop or instructor. You should read each lesson and then immediately do the exercise following the lesson. The exercise will help you test your understanding of the lesson. The answers to the exercises are in the back of the book (In this draft version of the grammar book, the answers are in the exercises following each lesson). After Pasteting an exercise, immediately check your answers to see how well you have understood. For each of your incorrect answers, try to understand the correct answer. Ask other Jumjum if you need help.

Much of the anlysis of this book is based on the following articles:

Andersen, Torben. 2018. *The encoding of subject and objects in Jumjum, a OV languages.* Lingua 204. 78-116
Andersen, Torben. 2017. *Clausal constituent order and corss-reference in Jumjum (Western Nilotic).* In Kiebling, R., Kramer, R. (Eds.), Mechthildian Approaches to Afrikanistik: Advances in Language Based Research on Africa. Festschrift in Honor of Mechtild Reh. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, Köln.
Andersen, Torben. 2004. *Jumjum phonology.* Studies in African linguistics 33. 133-162.

Contents

In the *Jumjum Consonant and Vowel Book* (JCVB) there are three spelling rules that help reading and writing. These are listed below along with the page number in JCVB where they are further explained.

Spelling Rule 1 (JCVB page 17): At the end of words, write **p, t, c, k** and not **b, d, j, g**.

Correct		Wrong	
lä**p**	*muds (pl)*	lä**b**	*muds (pl)*
ŋaa**t**	*shells (pl)*	ŋaa**d**	*shells (pl)*
puu**c**	*tendons (pl)*	puu**j**	*tendons (pl)*
aa**k**	*milk*	aa**g**	*milk*

Spelling Rule 2 (JCVB page 28): Write any two vowels in syllables next to each other. Except, never write the light vowels **i, u** in a syllable next to a syllable with the heavy vowels **ï, ü**.

Mixed light vowels		Mixed heavy vowels		Mixed light and heavy vowels	
marey	*mother-in-law*	ñäggï	*co-wives (pl)*	aallä	*chin*
naajo	*fruit bat*	pïccä	*fire stick*	paldï	*pots (pl)*
tabi	*touch (v)*	yïltük	*winter season*	cambür	*door*
aawu	*cat*	büügï	*mongoose*	erpañ	*sickle tool*
meeṭon	*nose bridge*	üllä	*black (adj)*	leŋŋä	*tooth*
dula eṇṇi	*dungs (pl)*			ellï	*hyena*
koṭṭaŋ	*tortoise, turtle*			yeewük	*dry seasonk*
kïy ḍoŋe	*ankle*			ñowdï	*oils (pl)*
koli	*refuse (v)*			päkcan	*sorghum*
corŋu	*bird*			ïntä ŋäñe	*knuckle*
dira	*bracelet*			yääjo	*trader*
ike	*he, she*			äkkin	*naming ceremony*
gito	*midwife*			dämkäpuugin	*attics (pl)*
yiluk	*rainy season*			kiṭṭä	*star*
guypa	*wild cat*			cïcam	*knife*
kïy ṭuule	*toe*			ïntä jïñe	*palm*
ñujo	*beggar*			lïbo	*rhino*
rudit	*stirring stick*			kücam	*skin bag*
				güleet	*tortoise*
				jüülo	*goat*

However, the light vowels **o, e, a** can be in a syllable in-between the vowels **i, u** and **ï, ü**.

Heavy vowels separated by light vowels	
lïb<u>o</u>ni	*rhinos (pl)*

jüülo̲ni   *goats (pl)*
gülkü̲te̲ni   *doves (pl)*
toorïya̲ni   *digging tools (pl)*

Spelling rule 3 (JCVB page 30): Never write two different vowels next to each other. Instead, separate vowels with **w** or **y**, and write **w** or **y** at the end of a word or syllable.

Correct	Wrong	
yee**w**ük	yeeük	*dry season*
aa**w**u	aau	*cat*
lï**y**aŋ	lïaŋ	*feather*
wä**y**en	wäen	*owner*

Correct	Wrong			Correct	Wrong	
ḍaw**k**ä	ḍaukä	*baboons (pl)*		ñaa**w**	ñaau	*udder*
kä**w**gä	käügä	*sisters (pl)*		wii**w**	wiiu	*fox*
gu**y**pa	guipa	*wild cat*		woo**y**	wooi	*river*
wä**y**gä	wäïgä	*fathers (pl)*		büü**y**	büüï	*shoulder blade*

In this book, we learn several other spelling rules. They are first listed here, then we learn more about them on the pages shown.

Spelling Rule 4 (page 51): Write locations as separate words.

Aŋ gin kaññïï jaan **ŋoy**.   *They found something **under** a tree.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï jaan **wic**.   *They found something **up in** a tree.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï jaan **jï**.   *They found something **in** bag.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï jaan **jok**.   *They found something **beside** a tree.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï jaan **ŋäc**.   *They found something **behind** a tree.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï jaan **ñom**.   *They found something **in front of** a tree.*

Spelling Rule 5 (page 56): Write **–ok** 'in, at, on' connected to words.

än	*hut*	ämp**ok**	*on hut, attic*
maañ	*fire*	maacc**ük**	*in fire*
daaŋ	*rakuba*	daamp**ok**	*on shelter*
wooy	*river*	wooyd**ok**	*at river*
kääl	*cave*	kääl**ok**	*in cave*

Spelling Rule 6 (page 58): Write **ti** 'on, above, in, at, around, about, to, from' separate from all words except when there is a sound change.

<u>Separate</u>

Aŋ gin kaññïï jaan wine **ti**. *They found something up in **location** of tree.*
Tiinok men üügïn **ti**. *Yesterday a person came **here**.*

<u>Joined</u>
piik *water*
Aŋ gin kaññïï pii**tti**. *They found something in **location** of the water.*

Spelling Rule 7 (page 193, 207): Write **a** 'is, be, are' separate from all words.

<u>Separate</u>
A waygä kïïgï. *(Those) **are** shoes of my feet.*
Men **a** ŋool *The person **is** lame.*

Spelling Rule 8 (page 90, 205): Words that are commonly said together are usually written separately. However, there are three reasons to join words:

1. There are two meanings.

mänbaan	*human being*	läntäṇṇä	*horse*
män baan	*person of village*	lään tïṇṇä	*red animal*

2. At least one of the words has no meaning alone (or a different meaning).

yïltük	*winter season*
yïl	*(no meaning)*
tük	*(no meaning)*

3. A sound changes.

No sound change		Sound change	
gin	*thing*	giŋkalaŋ	*anything*
män Watkey	*Jumjum person*	mäŋkalaŋ	*certain person*
män bownu	*white person*		
män jaan	*healer*		
jïïn kalaŋ	*certain scorpion*		
iin kalaŋ	*certain hyena*		
iiŋ kalaŋ	*certain woman*		

<u>Exercise 1</u>

Carefully read and say each test word below. The **bold** letters in each test word may or may not be written correctly. Write the word correctly in the space given. The first one is done as an example.

Test Word		Write correctly	Test Word		Write correctly
ḍïïḍi	*cricket*	diidi	düllun̄	*open area*	_____
waawa	*father's sister*	_____	rüñit	*rainbow*	_____
giḍ	*ear*	_____	koy	*tree type*	_____
kücam	*skin bag*	_____	cäunä	*arrow (sg)*	_____
deican	*flower (sg)*	_____	gaaggaak	*raven, bird*	_____
aallä	*chin*	_____	päkcan	*sorghum*	_____
lep	*tongues (pl)*	_____	ïïj	*ladle, spoon*	_____
yuuiu	*fog*	_____	ñaau	*udder*	_____
leg	*teeth (pl)*	_____	kaaiḍï	*clans (pl)*	_____
nääï	*mother's brother*	_____	pïït	*mud wasps (pl)*	_____
juin	*rise up*	_____	toorïa	*digging tool*	_____

Exercise 2

Carefully read and say each test word below. Write the word correctly in the space given.

Test Word		Write correctly	Test Word		Write correctly
iin̄kalan̄	*certain woman*	_____	yan̄kalan̄	*certain one*	_____
lään ṭin̄n̄ä	*red animal*	_____	män baan	*human being*	_____
kücamjï	*in bag*	_____	ginäämkä	*food*	_____
käälok	*in cave*	_____	daan̄ pon̄	*on shelter*	_____
luumjiñe	*in grass*	_____	pääm n̄oy	*under mountain*	_____
ään kalan̄	*certain day*	_____	an̄eran̄	*is good*	_____
wiñeti	*in head*	_____	piik ti	*in water*	_____
an̄aani	*is who*	_____	an̄ool	*is lame*	_____
a ṭüwon	*is dead*	_____	witken ti	*on their heads*	_____

Types of words

In this book, we learn about many types of Jumjum words. These words are in **bold** in the sentences below. The names of the words are <u>underlined</u> on the left.

Types of Jumjum words [check all]		
<u>Noun</u>	An̄ **gaaggaak** **kuukcuni** tiin̄n̄e.	*And **raven** heard **drums**.*
<u>Verb</u>	An̄ gaaggaak kuukcuni **tiin̄n̄e**.	*And raven **heard** drums.*
<u>Pronoun</u>	An̄ **ike** kuukcuni tiin̄n̄e.	*And **he** heard drums.*
<u>Location</u>	An̄ gaaggaak koojjin kuukcu **wic**.	*And raven landed **on** drum.*

9

Preposition	Aŋ gaaggaak kuuyin kuukcu **ti**.	*And raven flew **to** drum.*
Demonstrative	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcuni **yaakki** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **these** drums.*
Number	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcuni kä **yewwe** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **two** drums.*
Quantity	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcuni **muureen** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **all** drums.*
Indefinite	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcuni **yakkalaŋ** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **certain** drums.*
Adjective	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcuni **ŋerken** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **good** drums.*
Adverb	Aŋ gaaggaak kuuyin **ïñï**.	*And raven flew **down**.*
Question word	A **ŋaani** ken kuukcuni tiiŋŋe?	***Who** heard drums?*
Connector	**Aŋ wääna** gaaggaak kuukcuni tiiŋŋee da ye, kuuyin ïñï.	***And when** raven heard drums, he flew down.*

We will learn more about each of these words in the following lessons.

Nouns

A <u>noun</u> can be a person, animal, place, thing, or idea.   In the sentence below, **yuungu** 'years', **waak** 'things', **luum** 'grass', **ṭuuŋ** 'horn dance', **Wiiw** 'Fox', **waygä** 'shoes' and **boṇṇan** 'leather, skin' are all nouns.

(Leeñ 1-2)
Ñomuk ku on <u>**yuungu**</u> yakkalaŋ ti,   *Long ago in certain <u>years</u>,*
<u>**waak**</u> <u>**luum**</u> jiñe ŋelok <u>**ṭuuŋ**</u>.   <u>*things</u> of <u>grass</u> were dancing the <u>horn dance</u>.*
Aŋ <u>**Wiiw**</u> ŋeel kä <u>**waygä**</u> yek <u>**boṇṇan**</u>.   *And <u>Fox</u> was dancing with <u>shoes</u> of <u>leather</u>.*

The following are other examples of nouns:

	Singular	Plural	
Persons	wäy	wäy**gä**	*father*
	ŋool	ŋol**ku**	*crippled person*
	ṭin**nä**	ṭir	*witchdoctor*
Animals	tuŋ**ŋu**	tuk	*buffalo*
	gülküte	gülküte**ni**	*dove, bird type*
	meeŋka	meeŋka**ni**	*spider*
Places	karkar	karka**rri**	*rocky area*
	pääm	päm**kä**	*hill, large rock*
	baan	bän**kä**	*village, town, area*
Things	kuukcu	kuukcu**ni**	*drum*
	lem**mä**	lep	*tongue*
	pirkiñ	pirkiñ**ñi**	*hail, ice from sky*
Ideas	äkkin	äkkin**ni**	*naming ceremony*
	callï	callï**nï**	*spirit*

Often a noun has two <u>forms</u> or ways of saying the same noun. For example, **wäy** 'father' is the <u>singular</u> form used for one person, and **wäygä** 'fathers' is the <u>plural</u> form used for more than one person.

How do we know if a word is a noun? Most nouns can have a singular and plural form. Singular nouns can usually take the place of **waynä** 'shoe' in (1) or **waŋ** 'eye' in (2). Plural nouns can usually take the place of **waygä** 'shoes' in (3) or **waŋgä** 'eyes' in (4).

<u>Singular</u>	(1) <u>wayn**ä**</u> yeeni	*my <u>shoe</u>*	(2) <u>waŋi</u>	*my <u>eye</u>*
<u>Plural</u>	(3) <u>wayg**ä**</u> yeeki	*my <u>shoes</u>*	(4) <u>waŋgi</u>	*my <u>eyes</u>*

Ways to make singular and plural nouns

There are three ways that nouns have singular and plural forms. They can add a suffix in the singular form as in **tinnä** 'witchdoctor'. They can add a suffix in the plural form as in **dirani** 'bracelets'. They can also add suffixes in both the singular and plural form as in **ḍïïn** 'bird' and **ḍïïrgä** 'birds'. A <u>root</u> noun is the noun without any suffix.

Three ways of forming singular and plural nouns

	Singular form	Root	Plural form	
-nä/	ṭin**nä**	ṭir	ṭir	*witchdoctor*
/-ni	dira	dira	dira**ni**	*bracelet*
-n/-gä	ḍïï**n**	ḍïïr-	ḍïï**rgä**	*bird*

The following are the most common singular suffixes.

Singular suffixes

	Root vowel change ?		Singular	Plural	
-nä/	no	11	ṭin**nä**	ṭir	*witchdoctor*
-ccan/	no	4	päk**can**	päk	*sorghum*
-n/	no	1	me**n**	me	*person*
-nnä/	no	1	ṭin**nä**	ṭir	*witchdoctor*

The following are the most common plural suffixes.

Plural suffixes

	Root vowel change ?		Singular	Plural	
/-ni	no	86	dira	dira**ni**	*bracelet*
/-kkä[1]	possible	63	ñaal	ñal**kä**	*rain*

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[1] The suffix –**kkä, –ccan, -ṭṭä** may have doubled consonants in the underlying form. The plural suffix –**kkä** results in a

/-gä	possible	34	wïl	wïlgä	*tail*

The following are the most common singular and plural combinations of suffixes.

Combination suffixes

	Root vowel change ?		Singular	Plural	
-n/-gä	possible	21	ḍïïn	ḍïïrgä	*bird*
-nä/-gä	possible	13	äwnä	äwgä	*bone*
-n/-kkä	possible	10	en	erkä	*fruit type*
-gon/-gï	possible	8	wuuygon	wüüygï	*guide*
-gon/-kkä	possible	7	kiingon	kiinkä	*slave*
-nä/-ḍï	no	6	kaaynä	kaayḍï	*clan*
-con/-cäŋgä	possible	4	meeṭon	meeṭäŋgä	*bridge of nose*
-an/-gä	possible	4	ŋiiran	ŋiirgä	*rib*
-ccan/-kkä	possible	4	deycan	deykä	*flower*
-tñan/-gä	possible	4	keyñan	keygä	*gourd*
-nä/-daŋŋi	no	4	kïïmmu	kïïmdaŋŋi	*heart*
-n/-gä	possible	4	lään	lääygä	*animal*
-nañ/-gä	possible	3	yimmañ	yïmgä	*blood*
-on/-in	no	3	wäädon	wäädin	*witchdoctor*
-ñ/-kkä	possible	3	wiñ	witkä	*head*
-ñä/-kkä	no	2	muuṭṭu	muurku	*string belt, waist cloth*
-ccan/-kkï	no	2	ïïlcan	ïïlkï	*charcoal*
-ccan/-cäŋgä	possible	2	bïïccan	bïcäŋgä	*root*
-don/-däŋgä	no	2	umdon	umduŋgu	*nose*
-gon/-gä	possible	2	ṭääŋgon	ṭääŋgä	*locust*
-añ/-gä	possible	2	ḍäräŋañ	ḍäräŋgä	*palate, upper mouth*
-ñä/-jï	possible	2	äwñä	äwjï	*procupine*
-nä/-kkä	possible	2	nïïnnä	nïïnkä	*day*
-ṇan/-gä	possible	2	wiṇṇan	wingä	*rope*
-ṇan/-gä	possible	2	gunṇan	guygu	*stone*
-l/-kkä	possible	2	yiil	yirkä	*field, farm*
-ccä/-cäŋgä	possible	2	küccü	kutuŋgu	*pig*

Sound changes between singular and plural nouns

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different surface form after root-final **n** in **bä<u>n</u>kä** 'villages' than the plural suffix –**kä** does in **je<u>ng</u>ä** 'trees'. Also, the plural suffix –**kkä** results in a different surface form after root-final **r** in **e<u>rk</u>ä** 'fruit type' than the OVS incomplete suffix –**kä** does in **yoo<u>rg</u>u** 'sees'. Also compare the plural suffix –**kkä** after root-final **c** in **ï<u>ck</u>ä** 'spoon' with the OVS incomplete suffix –**kä** in **i<u>c</u>ä** 'take'. Because the plural suffixes and OVS incomplete suffix may have different underlying forms, they are listed with different spelling –**kkä** and –**kä** so that they can be more easily distinguished in this book.

There are different suffixes for singular and plural nouns, and each suffix can change or cause the root to change. The letters of the singular and plural suffixes change according to the last consonant or vowel of the noun root. First we learn about the possible changes in sounds of singular and plural nouns. Then we learn about which singular and plural nouns have which suffixes.

With the plural suffixes -**gä**, -**kkä**, -**gï**, -**jï**, or -**äŋgä**, the vowel of the noun root can change between the singular and plural forms. It can change from light to heavy (as in ba̲lba̲l/bä̲lbä̲lgä 'back of head'), from long to short (ba̲am/ba̲mkä 'jaw') or short to long (pä̲y/pä̲äygä 'path'), from one vowel to another (ja̲an/je̲ngä 'tree'), a combination of these changes (ba̲an/bä̲nkä 'village'), or none of these changes (wa̲n/wa̲ngä 'eye'). Root vowel changes only occur when the plural suffixes -**gä**, -**kkä**, -**gï**, -**jï**, or -**äŋgä** attach to the noun, and not with other suffixes.

Root vowel changes in nouns with plural suffixes -**gä**, -**kkä**, -**gï**, -**jï**, and -**äŋgä**

Changes		Singular	Plural	
light to heavy	**a/ä**	ba̲lba̲l	bä̲lbä̲l**gä**	*back of head*
long to short	**aa/a**	ba̲am	ba̲m**kä**	*jaw*
short to long	**ä/ää**	pä̲y	pä̲äy**gä**	*path, road*
different vowel	**aa/e**	ja̲an	je̲n**gä**	*tree*
combination	**aa/ä**	ba̲an	bä̲n**kä**	*village, town, area*
no change	**a/a**	wa̲ŋ	wa̲ŋ**gä**	*eye, face*

The plural suffixes –**ni** and -**in** become heavy –**nï**, -**ïn** when attached to a noun with heavy vowel ï or ü in the last syllable of the root (such as ellï̲/ellï̲**nï** 'hyena' or cambü̲r/cambü̲r**rï** 'door'). They do not become heavy when there is any other last root vowel, or when separated from ï or ü by another vowel (as in pïïto̲/pïïto̲**ni** 'farmer' or gülküte̲/gülküte̲**ni** 'dove').

Vowel changes for plural suffixes –**ni**, -**in**

Last root vowel	Singular	Plural	
a	toorïya̲	toorïya̲**ni**	*digging tool*
o	pïïto̲	pïïto̲**ni**	*farmer*
e	gülküte̲	gülküte̲**ni**	*dove*
i	biibbi̲	biibbi̲**ni**	*eyelash*
u	corŋu̲	corŋu̲**ni**	*bird type*
ä	ïjjä̲	ïjjä̲**ni**	*centipede*
ï	ellï̲	ellï̲**nï**	*hyena*
ü	cambü̲r	cambü̲r**rï**	*door*

The plural suffixes –**kkä**, -**gä**, -**äŋgä** and singular suffixes –**nä**, -**ñä** become –**kku**, -**gu**, -**uŋgu**, -**nu**, -**ñu** when attached to a root with vowel **o** or **u** (such as **yol/yolku** 'hippo' or **ul/ulku** 'rat'). The suffixes become –**kkü**, -**gü**, -**üŋgü**, -**nü**, -**ñü** when attached to a root with vowel **ü** (such as ṭü̲y/ṭü̲ykü 'haze').

Vowel changes for plural suffixes –**kkä, -gä, -äŋgä** and singular suffixes –**nä, -ñä**

Root vowel	Singular	Plural	
a	ḍaw	ḍaw**kä**	*baboon*
e	ceel	cel**kä**	*shin*
i	git	git**kä**	*ear*
ä	bär	bär**kä**	*mosquito*
ï	ïï	ïï**kä**	*badger*
o	yol	yol**ku**	*hippo*
u	ul	ul**ku**	*rat*
ü	ṭüy	ṭüy**kü**	*haze from dust*

When the plural suffixes –**gï, -dï, -kkï, -jï** attach to nouns with root vowels **i** or **u**, the root vowels become heavy (as in **biŋŋan/bïggï** 'bread', **wuuygon/wüüygï** 'guide').

Vowel changes for roots of plural suffixes –**gï, -dï, -kkï, -jï**

Last root vowel	Singular	Plural	
a	kay**gon**	kay**gï**	*firstborn*
o	kol**gon**	kol**gï**	*fat*
e	ceeg**gon**	ceeg**gï**	*rich man*
i	biŋŋan	bïg**gï**	*bread*
u	wuuy**gon**	wüüy**gï**	*guide*
ä	ääj**gon**	ääj**gï**	*potter*
ï	bïïr**can**	bïïr**kï**	*vein*
ü	üül**lü**	üül**dï**	*navel*

When the singular suffixes –**can, -ñan, -nañ, -ṇan, -an, -añ, -gon, -on, -ṭṭa** and plural suffix –**daŋŋi** are attached to nouns, there are no heavy or light vowel changes.

No vowel changes for singular suffixes –**ccan, -ñan, -nañ, -ṇan, -an, -añ, -gon, -on, -ṭṭa** and plural suffix –**daŋŋi**

Last root vowel	Singular	Plural	
a	raw**can**	raw**kä**	*twig*
o	pol**can**	pol**ku**	*cloud*
e	dey**can**	dey**kä**	*flower*
i	wiṇ**ṇan**	win**gä**	*rope*
u	guṇ**ṇan**	guy**gu**	*stone*
ä	käw**can**	käw**kä**	*seed*
ï	bïïr**can**	bïïr**kï**	*vein*

14

| ü | büük**can** | bükü**ŋgü** | *lung* |

In three nouns with two syllables in the root, the vowel of the second syllable disappears in the singular form. For example, in **kalman/kälä̱mgä** 'camel', there is a second root vowel **a** between **l** and **m** that disappears in **kalman** 'camel' but appears in **kälä̱mgä** 'camels'. This vowel disappearance only happens when a singular suffix with beginning vowel attaches to roots with two syllables.

-an/-gä	a → Ø	kalman	kälä̱mgä	*camel*
	ü → Ø	dülman	dülü̱mgü	*digging tool*
-u/-gä	u → Ø	burŋu	burų̱ŋgu	*cloth*

When suffixes are joined to nouns, sometimes two consonants are joined. Sometimes one or both of these consonants change in sound. When **n** of the suffixes **–nä, -ni, -n** follows any consonant, it becomes more like that consonant. For example in **lämmä/läp** 'mud/muds' the **n** of the suffix **–nä** becomes more like the **p** it follows. The final consonant **p** of **lap** 'muds' also becomes more like the **n** of the suffix **–na.** The result is that **pn** becomes **mm** in **lämmä** 'mud'. The other nouns below have other changes in consonants. These changes can be in the middle of words or at the end of words.

		Consonant changes in the middle of words			Consonant changes at the end of words			
Final	Changes	Singular	Plural		Changes	Singular	Plural	
		-nä	-ni			-n	(-gä, -kkä)[2]	
p	pn → mm	lämmä	läp	*mud*	pn → m	bääm	bääbgä	*dove*
t	tn → ṉṉ	pïïṉṉä	pïït	*mud wasp*	tn → n[3]	len	lidgä	*axe*
		rüñït	rüñïṉṉï	*rainbow*		yaan	yätkä	*bull*
c	cn → ññ	puuññu	puuc	*tendon*	cn → ñ	kañ	kääjgä	*wild cat*
		tïpïlïc	tïpïlïññï	*fish spear*		maañ	mäckä	*fire, gun*
k	kn → ŋŋ	leŋŋä	lek	*tooth*	kn → ŋ	kaaŋ	käggä	*snake*
		kalak	kalaŋŋi	*millipede*		ñooŋ	ñukku	*male goat*
y					yn → n	lään	lääygä	*animal*
r	rn → rr	cambür	cambürrï	*door*	rn → n	än	äärgä	*hut, room*
		aŋgar	aŋgarri	*bed*		kän	kärkä	*stomach*
l	ln → ll	gaaḍal	gaaḍalli	*sword*				

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[2] Parentheses around suffixes in a table show the suffix is not discussed or important for the data set in the table, but only listed for reference.

[3] Since consonant sequences are not allowed in word final position, each of the sequences are shortened in this position. The sequence **tn** becomes **ṉṉ** in non-word final position such as in **pïïṉṉä/pïït** 'mud wasp'. However, since **ŋ** is not allowed in word final position, it becomes **n** in words such as **len/lidgä** 'axe type'. So, the contrast between the sequence **tn** (as in **le̱n/lidgä** 'axe type') and **yn** (as in **lää̱n/lääygä** 'animal') and **rn** (as in **ä̱n/äärgä** 'hut') is neutralized in word-final position.

Final	Changes	Singular	Plural	
		uullu	uulgu	*song*
m	mn → mm	käljäm	käljämmi	*animal skin*
		gammä	gimgä	*cheek*
ñ	ñn → ññ	pirkiñ	pirkiññi	*hail, ice*
		weññä	weñgä	*vulture*
ŋ	ŋn → ŋŋ	koṭṭaŋ	koṭṭaŋŋi	*tortoise, turtle*
		yäŋŋä	yäŋgä	*meat*

When **kk** of the suffix –**kkä** follows any consonant or vowel, it becomes short as **k**. Similarly, when **cc** of the suffix –**ccan** follows any consonant, it becomes short as **c**.

Consonant changes in the middle of words

Final	Changes	Singular	Plural		Changes	Singular	Plural	
			-kkä			**–ccan**	(-cäŋgä, -kkï, -kkä)	
t	tkk → tk	yät	yätkä	*armpit*				
c	ckk → ck	ïïc	ïckä	*ladle*	ccc → cc	bïïccan	bïcäŋgä	*root*
k	kkk → kk	aak	akkä	*milk*	kcc → kc	büükcan	büküŋgü	*lung*
m	mkk → mk	baam	bamkä	*jaw*				
n	nkk → nk	paan	pankä	*moon*				
ñ	ñkk → ñk	poñ	poñku	*tradition*				
ŋ	ŋkk → ŋk	ñaŋ	ñaŋkä	*crocodile*				
r	rkk → rk	bär	bärkä	*mosquito*	rcc → rc	bïïrcan	bïïrkï	*vein*
l	lkk → lk	mal	malkä	*calf*	lcc → lc	polcan	polku	*cloud*
w	wkk → wk	ḍaw	ḍawkä	*baboon*	wcc → wc	käwcan	käwkä	*seed*
y	ykk → yk	kaay	kaykä	*bow*	ycc → yc	deycan	deykä	*flower*
i	kk → k	ïï	ïïkä	*badger*				

How do we know there are two **kk** and two **cc** in the suffixes –**kkä, -ccan**? When there is only one consonant (as in the suffixes –**can,** –**con** and –**cäŋgä**), there are different changes. Below, the consonant **c** in the suffix –**con** disappears when attached to **k** (as in **ñaakon** 'nephew'), but the double consonant **cc** in the above suffix –**ccan** remains when attached to **k** (as in **büükcan** 'lung').

Consonant changes in the middle of words

Final	Changes	Singular	Plural	
		-can, -con	-cäŋgä	
c	cc → c	lacan	läcäŋgä	*stick*
k	kc → k	ñaakon	ñäkäŋgä	*nephew*
t	tc → t	lïton	lïtäŋgä	*bead*
r	rc → ṭ	meeṭon	meeṭäŋgä	*bridge of nose*

How do we know there is really a **c** in the suffix –**con**? In the lesson *Verb forms,* we will learn that when a vowel is joined to the consonants **p, t, c, k**, these change to **b, d, j, g**. The final consonant **k** does not become **g** in **ñaakon** 'nephew', but it would if the suffix were –**on**. So there must be a consonant at the beginning of this suffix that keeps the final **k** from becoming **g**.

Changes for root consonants p, t, c, k before vowel

Changes	OVS Past	(SVO Past)	
	-i	(**-ñä**)	
p → b	tabi	tappä	*touch*
t → d	dudi	duttu	*carry, take*
c → j	iji	iccä	*take*
k → g	ḍegi	ḍikkä	*tie*

How do we know the consonant at the beginning of the suffix –**con** in **ñaakon** 'nephew' is **c** and not another consonant? In the lesson *Verb forms,* we will learn that when the verb suffix -**ci** is joined to verbs with different final consonants, there are the same changes as for the noun suffix – **con**.

Changes	OVS past once, away	(SVO past once, normal)	
	-ci	(**-ñä**)	
pc → p	tapi	tappä	*touch*
tc → t	duti	duttu	*carry, take*
cc → c	käci	iccä	*take*
kc → k	ḍeki	ḍikkä	*tie*
Changes	OVS past once, away	(SOV non-past progressive once, normal)	
	-ci	(**-e**)	
mc → mj	ṭeemji	ṭeeme (?)	*carry (on head)*
nc → nj	gaanji	gaane	*cut (grass)*
ñc → ñj	taañji	taañe	*press*
ŋc → ŋj	tiiŋji	tiŋe	*hear*
rc → ṭ	yooṭi	yoore	*see*
lc → ṭ, lj	kïṭi, kïljï	kïle	*sharpen*
wc → jj	maajji	maawe	*look for*
yc → jj	ŋeejji	ŋeeye	*crunch, chew*

We know the verb suffix in **ṭeemji** 'carried' and other OVS past verbs is –**ci** because the **c** in this suffix becomes **j** which is close in sound to **c**. The **c** becomes **j** after **m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y**.

When **p, t, c** or **k** come before the suffix –**gä, -gï** or –**gon**, these consonants become **b, d, j, g**. For example in **bääm/bääbgä** 'dove/doves' there is a final **p** which becomes **m** when the singular suffix

–n is added as **bääm** 'dove'. This final **p** becomes **b** before –**gä** in the plural **bääbgä** 'doves'[4]. The other nouns below have other changes in consonants before –**gä**. Similarly, when **p, t, c** or **k** come before the suffixes –**don, -dängä**, they also become **b, d, j, g**.

Consonant changes in the middle of words

Final	Changes	Singular	Plural				
		(-n)	-gä		-don	-dängä	
p	pg → bg	bääm	bääbgä	*dove*	pd → bd		
t	tg → dg	jïïn	jïïdgä	*scorpion*	td → dd	ŋuddon	ŋudduŋgu	*heel*
c	cg →jg	kañ	kääjgä	*wild cat*	cd → jd		
k	kg → gg	kaaŋ	käggä	*snake*	kd → gd		

Other consonant changes are shown below, some in the middle of words, and two at the end of words. Some of these changes are further explained in the lesson *Sound changes with verb suffixes.*

Consonant changes in the middle of words

Suffixes	Final	Changes	Singular	Plural	Changes	
-ṇan/(-gä)	n	nṇ → ṇṇ	iiṇṇan	iingä		*intestine*
	y	yṇ → ṇṇ	guṇṇan	guygu		*stone*
-ñä/(-kkä)	n	ntṭ → nṭ	nänṭä	nänkä		*place*
	r	rñ → ṭṭ	muuṭṭu	muurku		*string belt*
-tñan/(-gä)	l	ltñ → lñ	yelñan	yelgä		*vagina*
	y	ytñ → yñ	keyñan	keygä		*gourd*
-on/-in	t	t → d	wäädon	wäädin	t → d	*witchdoctor*
-bä/(-gä)	p	pb → bb	ṭübbä	ṭïbäŋgä	p → b	*shadow*
-nnä/	r	rnn → nn	ṭinnä	ṭir		*witchdoctor*
-ññam/(-gä)	m	mññ → mñ	ñamñam	ñämgä		*sesame seed*
-ñan/(-gä)	y	yñ → ññ	yuuññan	yuuygu		*maggot*
-ttä/(-kkä)	n	ntt → nt	ïntä	ïnkä		*hand*

Consonant changes at the end of words

Suffixes	Final	Changes	Singular	Plural	
-ñ/(-kkä)	t	tñ → ñ	jiñ	gïtkä	*abdomen*
-l/(-kkä)	r	rl → l	yiil	yirkä	*field*

These are all the sound changes of singular and plural nouns. We learn more sound changes in the lesson *Sound changes with verb forms.* Now, we learn about which singular and plural nouns have which suffixes.

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[4] Word-final plosives are voiceless word-finally. So, it seems reasonable to posit that an underlying voiceless /p/ becomes /b/ before the voiced /g/ in **bääm/bääbgä** 'dove/doves'.

Nouns with singular suffixes

Nouns can be put into groups according to their singular or plural suffixes. For example, all the nouns below have the singular suffix –**nä.** This suffix changes to –**mä, -mu, -n̠ä, -ñu, -ŋä, -ŋu, -ŋü** according to the final consonant and vowel of the plural form.

Final	Changes	Singular	Plural	
		-nä		
p	pn → mm	lä**mm**ä	läp	*mud*
		le**mm**ä	lep	*tongue*
		uu**mm**u	uup	*snail*
t	tn → n̠n̠	pïï**n̠n̠**ä	pïït	*mud wasp*
		ke**n̠n̠**ä	ket	*liver*
		ŋaa**n̠n̠**ä	ŋaat	*shell*
		e**n̠n̠**ä	et	*dung*
c	cn → ññ	puu**ññ**u	puuc	*tendon*
k	kn → ŋŋ	le**ŋŋ**ä	lek	*tooth*
		tu**ŋŋ**u	tuk	*buffalo*
		ṭü**ŋŋ**ü	ṭük	*brain*

The **n** of the singular suffix –**nä** becomes more like the final consonant of the plural form. For example in lä**mm**ä/läp 'mud/muds' the **n** of the suffix –**nä** becomes more like the **p** it follows. The final consonant **p** also becomes more like the **n** of the suffix –**na.** The result is that **pn** becomes **mm** in lä**mm**ä 'mud'. The other nouns above have other changes in consonants.

The suffix –**nä** becomes –**nu** when attached to nouns with vowel **u** (as in u**umm**u 'snail'). It becomes –**nü** when attached to nouns with vowel **ü** (as in ṭü**ŋŋ**ü 'brain').

The nouns below have the suffix –**ccan** in the singular form.

Final	Changes	Singular	Plural	
		-ccan		
k	kcc → kc	päk**can**	päk	*dura, sorghum*
		ñääk**can**	ñääk	*louse, lice*
		jiik**can**	jiik	*hair*
		yak**can**	yak	*fish*

There is one noun with the suffix –**n** in the singular form and one noun with the suffix –**nnä** in the singular form.

Singular	Plural	
-n		

me**n**	me	*person*	

Final	Changes	Singular	Plural	
		-**nnä**[5]		
r	r**n** → **nn**	ṭin**nä**	ṭir	*witchdoctor*

Nouns with plural suffixes

The plural suffix –**ni** changes according to the final consonant of the singular noun. The vowel of –**ni** becomes heavy –**nï, -n̤ï, -ñï, -ŋï, -lï,** or –**rï** when attached to a noun with heavy vowel **ï** or **ü** in the last syllable of the root (such as **ellï/ellïnï** 'hyena' or **cambür/cambürrï** 'door'). It does not become heavy when separated from **ï** or **ü** by another vowel (as in **ïjjä/ïjjäni** 'centipede' or **jüülo/jüüloni** 'goat').

Final	Changes	Singular	Plural	
			-**ni**	
o		gito	gito**ni**	*midwife*
		lïbo	lïbo**ni**	*rhino*
		pïïto	pïïto**ni**	*farmer*
		jüülo	jüülo**ni**	*goat, female goat*
		ŋaajo	ŋaajo**ni**	*fruit bat*
		yääjo	yääjo**ni**	*trader*
		boro	boro**ni**	*widow, widower*
		ñujo	ñujo**ni**	*beggar*
		kiño	kiño**ni**	*hunter*
e		gülküte	gülküte**ni**	*dove, bird type*
		kalkale	kalkale**ni**	*gall bladder*
a		dira	dira**ni**	*bracelet*
		ädda	ädda**ni**	*enemy*
		pïccä	pïccä**ni**	*fire sticks*
		amma	amma**ni**	*food*
		balga	balga**ni**	*butterfly*
		guypa	guypa**ni**	*wild cat*
		toorïya	toorïya**ni**	*digging tool (Bw Arabic)*
		meeŋka	meeŋka**ni**	*spider*
		duupa	duupa**ni**	*muscle*
		äŋŋaa	äŋŋaa**ni**	*baby*
ä		nimmä	nimmä**ni**	*goose*
		ïjjä	ïjjä**ni**	*centipede*
		jiinä	jiinä**ni**	*smoke*

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[5] Note that **rn** → **rr** as in **cambür/cambürrï** 'door/doors' with plural suffix –**ni** on page 14, so the suffix in ṭin**nä** 'witchdoctor' must be a different suffix than –**nä** in order for the final root consonant **r** → **n**.

		gïyyä	gïyyäni	*squirrel*
		kiṭṭä	kiṭṭäni	*star*
i		callï	callïni	*spirit (not seen)*
		ḍiiḍi	ḍiiḍini	*cricket, insect type*
		biibbi	biibbini	*eyelash*
ï		küüḍï	küüḍïnï	*eagle*
		büügï	büügïnï	*owl, bird type*
		ñïïrï	ñïïrïnï	*mongoose*
		ellï	ellïnï	*hyena*
u		corŋu	corŋuni	*bird type*
		burŋu	burŋuni	*barren woman*
		yuuyu	yuuyuni	*fog*
		kuukcu	kuukcuni	*drum*
y		lüüṭey	lüüṭeyni	*abscess*
		ŋuumay	ŋuumayni	*shell (of bettle)*
		annay	annayni	*whip*
		duulŋoy	duulŋoyni	*boar, male pig*
n		ïïton	ïïtonni	*bird type*
		äkkin	äkkinni	*naming ceremony*
		ükon	ükonni	*tooth stick*
		olkon	olkonni	*bird type*
t	tn → ṇṇ	rüñït	rüñïṇṇi	*rainbow*
		güleet	güleeṇṇi	*tortoise*
		rudit	rudiṇṇi	*stirring stick*
c	cn → ññ	tïpïlïc	tïpïliññï	*fish spear*
k	kn → ŋŋ	kalak	kalaŋŋi	*millipede*
		üṭük	üṭüŋŋï	*python, snake type*
		ḍulak	ḍulaŋŋi	*throwing stick*
		oogok	oogoŋŋi	*toad*
		gaaggaak	gaaggaaŋŋi	*raven, bird type*
		jamak	jamaŋŋi	*praying mantis*
		yeewük	yeewüŋŋï	*dry season*
		booloṭṭok	booloṭṭoŋŋi	*butterfly*
		yiluk	yiluŋŋi	*rainy season*
m	mn → mm	käljäm	käljämmi	*animal skin*
ñ	ñn → ññ	pirkiñ	pirkiññi	*hail, ice from sky*
		bilgiñ	bilgiññi	*bat*
		erpañ	erpaññi	*sickle, cutting tool*
		jurgiñ	jurgiññi	*animal like hare*
ŋ	ŋn → ŋŋ	koṭṭaŋ	koṭṭaŋŋi	*tortoise, turtle*
		yäntäŋ	yäntäŋŋi	*name*
		teebälaŋ	teebälaŋŋi	*car*
		tüürüŋ	tüürüŋŋï	*donkey*

		kïlläŋ	killäŋŋi	*whistle*
		wääktäŋ	wääktäŋŋi	*breath, soul, spirit*
		tukulaŋ	tukulaŋŋi	*tuft, lock of hair, mohawk*
		polloŋ	polloŋŋi	*sky*
		düllüŋ	düllüŋŋï	*open area*
		maccuŋ	maccuŋŋi	*tree type*
l	ln → ll	gaaḍal	gaaḍalli	*sword*
		jaljal	jaljalli	*earring*
		bülbül	bülbülli	*quiver, bag of arrows*
		tambal	tamballi	*stool, chair*
		tiŋal	tiŋalli	*sand*
		wacabulbul	wacabulbulli	*earthworm*
		untal	untalli	*cotton, thread*
r	rn → rr	cambür	cambürrï	*door*
		aŋgar	aŋgarri	*bed*
		gerger	gergerri	*guitar, lyre, instrument type*
		nagar	nagarri	*drum*
		karkar	karkarri	*rocky place*

The final **t** in nouns such as **rüñïit** 'rainbow' becomes **ṇ** before the suffix -**ni** as in **rüñïṇṇï** 'rainbows'. The final **c** in **tïpïlïic** 'fish spear' becomes **ñ** before the suffix –**ni** in **tïpïliññï** 'fish spears'. The final **k** in **kalak** 'millipede' becomes **ŋ** before the suffix –**ni** in **kalaŋŋi** 'millipedes'.

The plural suffix –**kkä** in the nouns below changes to –**kä**, -**kü** or -**ku**. In some nouns with these suffixes, the root vowel changes from the singular to the plural.

Vowel changes	Consonant changes	Singular	Plural	
			-**kkä**	
a/a	wkk → wk	ḍaw	ḍaw**kä**	*baboon*
	lkk → lk	mal	mal**kä**	*calf (of leg)*
		bal	bal**kä**	*farm*
	ŋkk → ŋk	ñaŋ	ñaŋ**kä**	*crocodile*
aa/a	mkk → mk	baam	bam**kä**	*jaw*
	nkk → nk	paan	pan**kä**	*moon*
	lkk → lk	baal	bal**kä**	*prostitute*
		kaal	kal**kä**	*fence*
	wkk → wk	ñaaw	ñaw**kä**	*udder*
	ykk → yk	kaay	kay**kä**	*bow (for hunting)*
	mkk → mk	yaam	yam**kä**	*basket type*
	kkk → kk	aak	ak**kä**	*milk*
	mkk → mk	naam	nam**kä**	*point, tip of arrow*
	lkk → lk	ñaal	ñal**kä**	*rain*

aa/ä	nkk → nk	baan	bä**nkä**	*village, town, area*
	ŋkk → ŋk	daaŋ	dä**ŋkä**	*shelter, rakuba*
ä/ä	rkk → rk	bär	bär**kä**	*mosquito*
	lkk → lk	wäl	wäl**kä**	*gourd*
	tkk → tk	yät	yät**kä**	*armpit*
	ŋkk → ŋk	äŋ	äŋ**kä**	*sun*
ää/ää	ŋkk → ŋk	nääŋ	nääŋ**kä**	*action, deed*
		ääŋ	ääŋ**kä**	*time*
ää/ä	lkk → lk	yääl	yäl**kä**	*marabou stork*
	kkk → kk	määk	mäk**kä**	*beer, alcohol*
	lkk → lk	kääl	käl**kä**	*cave, hole*
	mkk → mk	pääm	päm**kä**	*hill, large rock, molar tooth*
		pääm	päm**kä**	*lower back*
ee/e	lkk → lk	ceel	cel**kä**	*shin*
i/i	ykk → yk	wiiy	wiy**kä**	*dry stream*
	lkk → lk	kil	kil**kä**	*extended family*
		dil	dil**kä**	*kingfisher, bird type*
	tkk → tk	git	git**kä**	*ear*
	mkk → mk	kim	kim**kä**	*branch*
ii/i	kkk → kk	piik	pik**kä**	*water*
	ŋkk → ŋk	miiŋ	miŋ**kä**	*deaf person, mute*
	wkk → wk	wiiw	wiw**kä**	*fox*
	lkk → lk	ŋiil	ŋil**kä**	*dance*
ï/ï	ykk → yk	ŋïïy	ŋïy**kä**	*razor*
	lkk → lk	bïl	bïl**kä**	*iron*
ïï/ïï	kk → k	ïï	ïï**kä**	*badger*
ïï/ï	ckk → ck	ïïc	ïc**kä**	*ladle, spoon*
	lkk → lk	mïïl	mïl**kä**	*night*
o/o	rkk → rk	ḍor	ḍor**ku**	*hammer*
	ñkk → ñk	poñ	poñ**ku**	*tradition, custom*
	ykk → yk	koy	koy**ku**	*tree type*
	lkk → lk	yol	yol**ku**	*hippo*
oo/o	lkk → lk	ŋool	ŋol**ku**	*crippled person, limp*
	mkk → mk	boom	bom**ku**	*throwing stick*
	ykk → yk	wooy	woy**ku**	*river*
oo/u	ykk → yk	mooy	muy**ku**	*castrated male cow*
	ŋkk → ŋk	jooŋ	juŋ**ku**	*god*
u/u	lkk → lk	ul	ul**ku**	*rat*
		lul	lul**ku**	*mudfish*
		kul	kul**ku**	*warthog*
	ñkk → ñk	tuñ	tuñ**ku**	*dew*
uu/u	ykk → yk	uuy	uy**ku**	*blind*
	ŋkk → ŋk	ṭuuŋ	ṭuŋ**ku**	*horn*

	mkk → mk	luum	lum**ku**	*grass*
ü/ü	ykk → yk	ṭüy	ṭüy**kü**	*haze from dust in the air*
		lüüy	lüy**kü**	*coldness, cold time*
		büüy	büy**kü**	*shoulder blade*

The suffix –**kkä** becomes –**kku** when attached to nouns with vowel **o** (as in ḍor/ḍor**ku** 'hammer/hammers') or **u** (as in ul/ul**ku** 'rat/rats'). It becomes –**kkü** when attached to nouns with vowel **ü** (as in ṭüy/ṭüy**kü** 'haze/hazes').

The nouns below have the suffix –**gä** in the plural form. In some nouns with these suffixes, the root vowel changes from the singular to the plural.

Vowel changes	Consonant changes	Singular	Plural	
			-**gä**	
a/a		waŋ	waŋ**gä**	*eye, face*
a/ä		balbal	bälbäl**gä**	*back of head, nape*
		kabal	käbäl**gä**	*sheep, female sheep*
		ṭaaṭaŋ	ṭäṭäŋ**gä**	*ash*
		lïyaŋ	lïyäŋ**gä**	*feather*
aa/e		jaan	jen**gä**	*tree*
ä/ä		wäy	wäy**gä**	*father*
		käw	käw**gä**	*sister*
		yälyäl	yälyäl**gä**	*voice box, larynx*
		cïcam	cïcäm**gä**	*knife*
ä/ää		päy	pääy**gä**	*path, road*
ää/ää		ääl	ääl**gä**	*track, footprint*
		tääl	tääl**gä**	*flood*
ää/ä	tg → dg	määt	mäd**gä**	*brother*
		nääy	näy**gä**	*mother's brother, uncle*
		ääm	äm**gä**	*thigh*
e/e		tey	tey**gä**	*waist, small of back*
ii/ii		tiil	tiil**gä**	*money, gold*
ï/i		kïy	kïï**gä**	*foot*
ïï/ï		wïïl	wïl**gä**	*tail*
o/o		ṭoŋ	ṭoŋ**gu**	*spear*
		tol	tol**gu**	*string, thread*
		ŋoy	ŋoy**gu**	*anus*
		ñom	ñom**gu**	*face, forehead*
oo/uu		joom	juum**gu**	*monkey*
o/u		ṭonṭol	ṭonṭul**gu**	*elbow*
u/u		uŋ	uŋ**gu**	*knee*
		ul	ul**gu**	*testicle*

u/uu		yun	yuun**gu**	*year*
uu/uu		muuy	muuy**gu**	*gazelle*
uu/u		ṭuul	ṭul**gu**	*daughter, virgin*
		ṭuur	ṭur**gu**	*sister-in-law, brother-in-law*
ü/ü	**kg → gg**	tük	tüg**gü**	*lip, beak*
		kücam	kücüm**gü**	*skin bag*

The suffix –**gä** becomes –**gu** when attached to nouns with vowel **o** (as in ṭoŋ/ṭoŋ**gu** 'spear/spears') or **u** (as in uŋ/uŋ**gu** 'knee/knees'). It becomes –**gü** when attached to nouns with vowel **ü** (as in tük/tüg**gü** 'lip/lips'). The final **t** in mää<u>t</u> 'brother' becomes **d** in mä<u>d</u>gä 'brothers'. The final **k** in tü<u>k</u> 'lip' becomes **g** in tüg**gü** 'lips'.

Nouns with singular and plural suffixes

The nouns below have the singular suffix –**n** and the plural suffix –**gä**. The singular suffix can change to –**ñ**, **-ŋ** or **-m** according to the final consonant. The plural suffix can change to –**gu** or –**gü** according to the root vowel.

Vowel changes	Final cons	Singular consonant changes	Singular	Plural	Plural consonant changes	
			-n	**-gä**		
a/ää	c	cn → ñ	kañ	kääj**gä**	cg →jg	*wild cat*
aa/ä	k	kn → ŋ	kaaŋ	käg**gä**	kg → gg	*snake*
ä/ää	r	rn → n	än	äär**gä**	(no change)	*hut, room, house*
ää/ää	p	pn → m	bääm	bääb**gä**	pg → bg	*dove, bird type*
e/i	t	tn → n	len	lid**gä**	tg → dg	*axe type*
ii/ii			kiin	kiid**gä**		*guinea fowl*
	c	cn → ñ	yiiñ	yiij**gä**	cg → jg	*mouse*
ïï/ïï	t	tn → n	jïïn	jïïd**gä**	tg → dg	*scorpion*
			jïïn	jïïd**gä**		*water hole*
	c	cn → ñ	kiiñ	kiij**gä**	cg → jg	*orphan*
	r	rn → n	ḍïïn	ḍïïr**gä**		*bird*
oo/uu	k	kn → ŋ	booŋ	buug**gu**	kg → gg	*lizard type*
	c	cn → ñ	pooñ	puuj**gu**	cg → jg	*hare, rabbit*
oo/u	t	tn → n	toon	tud**gu**	tg → dg	*cock, rooster*
			goon	gud**gu**		*axe*
o/uu	k	kn → ŋ	ḍoŋ	ḍuug**gu**	kg → gg	*neck, shoulder*
u/u			buŋ	bug**gu**		*arm, wing*
uu/u	t	tn → n	juun	jud**gu**	tg → dg	*termite, termite mound*
			kuun	kud**gu**		*canoe*
ü/ü	k	kn → ŋ	tüŋ	tüg**gü**	kg → gg	*language*
üü/üü		(no change)	küün	küüg**gü**	(no change)	*thorn*

The nouns below have the singular suffix **–nä** and the plural suffix **–gä**. The singular suffix can change to **–ñä, -ŋä, –mä,** or **-lä** according to the final consonant, and can change to **-mũ** or **-lu** according to the root vowel. The plural suffix can change to **–gu** or **–gü** according to the root vowel.

Final	Consonant changes	Singular	Plural	
		-nä	**-gä**	
ï		kïï**nä**	kïï**gä**	*stream*
		ɖïï**nä**	ɖïï**gä**	*hip*
w		cäw**nä**	cäw**gä**	*arrow*
		äw**nä**	äw**gä**	*bone*
y		way**nä**	way**gä**	*shoe, sandal*
n		tin**nä**	tin**gä**	*breast*
m	**mn → mm**	gam**mä**	gim**gä**	*cheek*
		küm**mü**	küm**gü**	*egg*
ñ	**ñn → ññ**	weñ**ñä**	weñ**gä**	*vulture, bird type*
ŋ	**ŋn → ŋŋ**	yäŋ**ŋä**	yäŋ**gä**	*meat*
l	**ln → ll**	uul**lu**	uul**gu**	*song*
		buul**lu**	buul**gu**	*Tabaldi, Baobab tree*
		wil**lä**	wil**gä**	*guest, visitor*

The nouns below have the singular suffix **–n** and the plural suffix **–kkä**. The singular suffix can change to **–ñ** or **-ŋ** according to the final consonant. The plural suffix can change to **–ku** according to the root vowel.

Vowel change	Final cons	Singular consonant change	Singular	Plural	Plural consonant change	
			-n	**-kkä**		
aa/ä	c	**cn → ñ**	maa**ñ**	mäc**kä**	**ckk → ck**	*fire, gun*
			naa**ñ**	näc**kä**		*calf*
	t	**tn → n**	yaa**n**	yät**kä**	**tkk → tk**	*bull, male cow*
ä/ä	r	**rn → n**	kä**n**	kär**kä**	**rkk → rk**	*stomach, belly*
e/e			e**n**	er**kä**		*fruit of Tamarind tree*
	c	**cn → ñ**	ki**ñ**	kic**kä**	**ckk → ck**	*bee*
oo/u	k	**kn → ŋ**	ñoo**ŋ**	ñuk**ku**	**kkk → ck**	*male goat*
u/u	r	**rn → n**	ku**n**	kur**ku**	**rkk → rk**	*womb, uterus, nest*
			gu**n**	gur**ku**		*side (of body)*
uu/u	k	**kn → ŋ**	guu**ŋ**	guk**ku**	**kkk → kk**	*dog*

The nouns below have other singular and plural suffixes with similar changes in root vowels or

26

consonants.

Suffixes	Vowel changes	Final cons	Singular consonant changes	Singular	Plural	Plural consonant changes	
-gon/-gï		y		kaygon	kaygï		*firstborn*
		c	cg → jg	ääjgon	ääjgï	cg → jg	*potter*
		y		ḍeygon	ḍeygï		*porridge*
		k	kg → gg	ceeggon	ceeggï	kg → gg	*rich man*
		l		kolgon	kolgï		*fat*
	uu/üü	y		wuuygon	wüüygï		*guide*
		c	cg → jg	guujgon	güüjgï	cg → jg	*blacksmith*
		c	cg → jg	tuujgon	tüüjgï	cg → jg	*messenger*
-gon/-kkä		m		diimgon	diimkä	mkk → mk	*blacksmith*
		n		kiingon	kiinkä	nkk → nk	*slave*
		l		ḍuulgon	ḍuulku	lkk → lk	*braider*
		ŋ		ḍuungon	ḍuuŋku	ŋkk → ŋk	*old person*
		ñ		wuuñgon	wuuñku	ñkk → ñk	*poor man*
		n		yuungon	yuunku	nkk → nk	*twin*
	ü/üü	ñ		büñgon	büüñkü	ñkk → ñk	*Arab*
-nä/-ɗï		y		kaaynä	kaayɗï		*clan*
		w		ñownu	ñowɗï		*oil*
		l	ln → ll	aallä	aalɗï		*chin*
		l	ln → ll	pallä	palɗï		*clay pot*
		l	ln → ll	yäällä	yääldï		*throat*
		l	ln → ll	üüllü	üüldï		*navel*
-con/-cäŋgä	aa/ä	k	kc → k	ñaakon	ñäkäŋgä	kc → k	*nephew*
		r	rc → ṭ	meeton	meeṭäŋgä	rc → ṭ	*bridge of nose*
		t	tc → t	titon	titäŋgä	tc → t	*clitoris*
		t	tc → t	lïton	lïtäŋgä	tc → t	*bead*
-an/-gä		r		ŋiiran	ŋiirgä		*rib*
	a → Ø	m		kalman	kälämgä		*camel*
	ü → Ø	m		dülman	dülümgü		*digging tool*
		l		yügülan	yügülgü		*kidney*
-ccan/-kkä		y	ycc → yc	deycan	deykä	ykk → yk	*flower*
		w	wcc → wc	käwcan	käwkä	wkk → wk	*seed*
		w	wcc → wc	rawcan	rawkä	wkk → wk	*twig*
		l	lcc → lc	polcan	polku	ckk → ck	*cloud*
-tñan/-gä		l	ltñ → lñ	ḍelñan	ḍelgä		*penis*
		l	ltñ → lñ	yelñan	yelgä		*vagina*
		y	ytñ → yñ	keyñan	keygä		*gourd*
		y	ytñ → yñ	baayñan	baaygä		*weed*
-nä/-daŋŋi		m	mn → mm	kïïmmä	kïïmdaŋŋi		*heart*

		m	mn → mm	joommu	jomdaŋŋi		air, wind
		ñ	ñn → ññ	pääññä	pääñdaŋŋi		cobra
		l	ln → ll	ḍillä	ḍildaŋŋi		stick
-n/-gä		y	yn → n	lään	lääygä		animal
	ii/i	y		iin	iygä		hyena, thief
		y		yiin	yiygä		giraffe
		y		ṭiin	ṭiygä		grandmother
-nañ/-gä		m	mn → mm	ŋommañ	ŋomgu		ground earth
	i/ï	m	mn → mm	yïmmañ	yïmgä		blood
		ŋ	ŋn → ŋŋ	laŋŋañ	laŋgä		fly, insect type
-on/-in		t	t → d	wäädon	wäädin	t → d	witchdoctor
		r		tïïron	tïïrïn		babysitter
		l		büülon	büülïn		bruise
-ñ/–kkä		t	tñ → ñ	jiñ	gïtkä	tkk → tk	abdomen
		t	tñ → ñ	wiñ	witkä	tkk → k	head
		t	tñ → ñ	ŋäñ	ŋätkä	tkk → tk	back
-ñä/-kkä		r	rñ → ṭṭ	muuṭṭu	muurku	rkk → rk	string belt
		r	rñ → ṭṭ	ṭiiṭṭä	ṭiirkä	rkk → rk	ladder
-ccan/-kkï		r	rcc → rc	biïrcan	biïrkï	rkk → rk	vein
		l	lcc → lc	iïlcan	iïlkï	lkk → lk	charcoal
-ccan/-cäŋgä	iï/ï	c	ccc → cc	biïccan	bïcäŋgä	cc → c	root
	üü/ü	k	kcc → kc	büükcan	büküŋgü	kc → k	lung
-don/-däŋgä		t	td → dd	ŋuddon	ŋudduŋgu	td → dd	heel
		m		umdon	umduŋgu		nose
-gon/-gä		ŋ		ṭääŋgon	ṭääŋgä		locust
		y		kääygon	kääygä		soldier
-añ/-gä		ŋ		ḍäräŋañ	ḍäräŋgä		palate
		ŋ		luṭuŋañ	luṭuŋgu		bone marrow
-ñä/-jï		w		äwñä	äwjï		porcupine
	u/ü	r		durñu	dürjï		young man
-nä/-kkä		n		nïïnnä	nïïnkä	nkk → nk	day
	aa/ä	ŋ	ŋn → ŋŋ	taaŋŋä	täŋkä	nkk → nk	side (of body)
-ṇan/-gä		n	nṇ → ṇṇ	iinṇan	iingä		intestine
		n	nṇ → ṇṇ	winṇan	wingä		rope
-ṇan/-gä		y	yṇ → ṇṇ	gunṇan	guygu		stone
		y	yṇ → ṇṇ	bonṇan	boygu		skin, hide
-l/-kkä	ii/i	r	rl → l	yiil	yirkä	rkk → rk	field, farm
	ee/i	r	rl → l	geel	girkä	lkk → lk	lion
-ccä/-cäŋgä	ü/u	c	ccc → cc	küccü	kutuŋgu	cc → c	pig, sow
		c	ccc → cc	kooccu	kucuŋgu	cc → c	hoe

The nouns below have irregular singular and plural suffixes.

Suffixes	Vowel changes	Final cons	Singular consonant changes	Singular	Plural	Plural consonant changes	
-ñä/-ñäŋgä		r	rñ → ṭṭ	ṭïṭṭä	ṭïṭṭäŋgä	rñ → ṭṭ	*top of head*
-ñä/-cäŋgä	aa/ä	r	rñ → ṭṭ	aaṭṭä	ätäŋgä	rc → ṭ	*chicken, hen*
-cäkay/-cäŋgä		r	rc → ṭ	päṭäkay	päṭäŋgä	rc → ṭ	*bark (of tree)*
-can/-cäŋgä	a/ä	c	cc → c	lacan	läcäŋgä	cc → c	*stick*
-can/-kkä		c	cc → c	yüücan	yüückü	ckk → ck	*bean*
-nä/-ca		t	tn → ṇṇ	wänṇä	wätä	tc → t	*buttock*
-nä/-gï		k	kn → ŋŋ	ñäŋŋä	ñäggï	kg → gg	*co-wife*
-bä/-äŋgä	u/ï	p	pb → bb	ṭïïbbä	ṭïbäŋgä	p → b	*shadow*
-baata/-dï	a/ää	r		carbaata	cäärdï		*heat*
-n/-ggä	o/uu	o		jon	juuggu		*chest, heart*
-ey/-äŋgä	a/ä	r		marey	märäŋgä		*mother-in-law*
-kka/-cïṇṇi		t	tkk → tk	yätkä	yätïṇṇi	tc → t	*chief*
-kkon/-kkï		l	lkk → lk	yeelkon	yeelkï	lkk → lk	*spine, backbone*
-kkon/-kkäŋgä		r	rkk → rk	kurkon	kurkuŋgu	rkk → rk	*fingernail, claw*
-ṭṭä/-kkä		n	nṭṭ → nṭ	nänṭä	nänkä	nkk → nk	*place*
-tñam/-gä	a/ä	m	mññ → mñ	ñamñam	ñämgä		*sesame seed*
-ñan/-äŋgä		ñ		uññan	uñuŋgu		*ant*
-nan/-gï	i/i	k	kn → ŋŋ	biṇṇan	bïggï	kg → gg	*bread*
-ñan/-gä		y	yñ → ññ	yuuññan	yuuygu		*maggot, worm*
-con/-gä	üü/ü	k	kc → k	müükon	müggü	kg → gg	*friend*
-con/-kkini		k	kc → k	mukkon	mukkini	kkk → kk	*maize, corn*
-con/-cini		k	kc → k	tiikon	tiikinni	kc → k	*silver*
-r/-kkä		o		yor	yoku	kk → k	*body*
-ttä/-kkä		n	ntt → nt	ïntä	ïnkä	nkk → nk	*hand*
-ŋä/-äŋgä		r		burŋu	buruŋgu		*cloth*
-u/-kkä	uu/u	r		uuru	urku	kk → k	*ostrich*
-u/-ni		w		aawu	aawni		*cat*
-y/-gä		i		miy	migä		*mother*
-yä/-dï	ä/ää	y		äyyä	ääydï		*salt*

Other nouns with changes between singular and plural

The nouns below are even more different in singular and plural form.

Singular	Plural	
gin	waak	*thing*
deeŋ	däk	*cow, ox*

leeŋŋä	ligärgä	*wild cat*
errä	iirrä	*circumcision (male)*
waawa	wowgu	*father's sister, aunt*
oon	ook	*man*
leeñ	liik	*elephant*
iiŋ	määngä	*woman, wife*
jiik	jigärgä	*word, language*
ḍeel	ḍiik	*goat, female goat*
minneni	merkä	*child*
tel	tïrkä	*leg*

Singular nouns

The following nouns are singular and do not have a plural form. They can take the place of **waynä** 'shoe' in (5) or (6) but cannot take the place of **waygä** 'shoes' in (7) or (8).

Singular	(5) <u>way**nä**</u> yeeni	*my shoe*	(6) <u>way**nä**</u> yen oon	*shoe of man*
Plural	(7) <u>way**gä**</u> yeeki	*my shoes*	(8) <u>way**gä**</u> yek oon	*shoes of man*

Singular nouns	
wiiññuk	*spring season*
ṭoŋ	*crowd*
Watkey	*town name*
luummuk	*grassland*

Plural nouns

The following nouns are plural and do not have a singular form. They can take the place of **waygä** 'shoes' in (7) or (8) but cannot take the place of **waynä** 'shoe' in (5) or (6).

Plural nouns	
lüüykü	*saliva*
laakkä	*urine, pee*

A <u>proper noun</u> is a special kind of noun, such as the name of a specific place, person, day of the week, or tribe. These always have a capital (big) first letter. The following are two proper nouns.

Proper nouns			
Watkey	*Watkey town*	Jooŋ	*God*

Exercise 3

In the following sentences, <u>underline once</u> all singular nouns. <u>Underline twice</u> all plural nouns. Do

not underline any words that are not nouns. The first sentence is done as an example.

(Yaam1)
<u>Yaam</u> a <u>koy</u> tïṇṇä ke <u>ḍogleñ</u>,   *A <u>**basket**</u> is from red <u>tree</u> or (another) <u>tree</u>,*
<u>kimkä</u> ken ñorgu <u>me</u>.   *and <u>**people**</u> bend (their) <u>branches</u>.*
(Yaam 3)
Aŋ paargä me yok kä boygu ke wingä,   *And people wrap the body, with skins and ropes,*
(Yaam 5-6)
Aŋ yaam mäbaan ti ken ṭemte määngä   *And the basket on Jumjum person, women*
wakkä witken ti bata wälkä piik   *carry things on their heads such as gourds of water*
ke päk ke waak a daa ṭemtä ye.   *and grains and (other) things that they carry.*
(Kiñuk 1-2)
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ atto kiñuk pare,   *Long ago, a man went on a hunt alone,*
aŋ käñño kääl bilgiññi.   *and found a cave of bats.*
(Kiñuk 22-24)
Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ ḍoŋe ti,   *The person was wearing a whistle around his neck,*
aŋ wääna kaaññïï ko jaan ŋoy ye,   *and when (they) passed under a tree,*
men likko rawcan, aŋ kïlläŋ rääkkee jï   *the man broke off a twig, and cleaned out whistle,*
woo, i iin mooye oja ken ääto ñomuk.   *as the proud old hyena was going on ahead.*
(Leeñ)
Wiiw me nängedee waygä ka.   *Fox makes shoes for people.*

Possessed nouns

Some nouns are commonly possessed or owned by someone. These are a called <u>possessed nouns</u>. There are possessed body part nouns and possessed family nouns.

Possessed body part suffixes

Possessed body part nouns have the following suffixes in **bold** if there are two or more of the body part on the same body.

	noun	my	your (sg)	his/her	our	your (pl)	their	
eye	waŋ	waŋi	waŋü	waŋe				sg
	waŋgä	waŋgi	waŋgü	waŋge[6]	waŋgo	waŋgic	waŋgen	pl
foot	kïy	kïyï	kïyü	kïye				sg
	kïïgä	kïïgï	kïïgü	kïïge[7]	kïïgo	kïïgïc	kïïgen	pl
side	gun	gunni	günnü	gunne				sg
	gurku	gurki	gürkü	gurke	gurko	gurkic	gurken	pl
hip/waist	tey	teyi	teyü	teye				sg

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[6] In Scripture, 'his/her eyes' is *waŋ**gin***
[7] In Scripture, 'his/her feet' is *kïï**gïn***

	noun	my	your (sg)	his/her	our	your (pl)	their	
	teygä	teygi	teygü	teyge	teygo	teygic	teygen	pl
wrist	ïntä ḍoŋe	ïntï ḍoŋe	ïntü ḍoŋe	ïnte ḍoŋe				sg
	ïnkä ḍuuggen	ïnkï ḍuuggen	ïnkü ḍuuggen	ïnke ḍuuggen	ïnko ḍuuggen	ïnkïc ḍuuggen	ïnken ḍuuggen	pl

If there is only one of the body part on the same body, the plural body part can only be possessed by the pronouns 'our, your (pl), their'.

	noun	my	your (sg)	his/her	our	your (pl)	their	
head	wiñ	wiñi[8]	wiñü	wiñe[9]				sg
	witkä				witko	witkic	witken	pl
neck	ḍoŋ	ḍoŋi	ḍoŋü	ḍoŋe[10]				sg
	ḍuuggu				ḍuuggo	ḍuuggic	ḍuuggen	pl
back	ŋäñ	ŋäñi	ŋäñü	ŋäñe				sg
	ŋätkä				ŋätko	ŋätkic	ŋätken	pl
anus	ŋoy	ŋoyi	ŋoyü	ŋoye				sg
	ŋoygu				ŋoygo	ŋoygic	ŋoygen	pl
stomach	jiñ	jiñï	jiñü	jiñe				sg
	gïtkä				gïtko	gïtkïc	gïtken	pl
forehead face	ñom	ñomi	ñomü	ñome				sg
	ñomgu				ñomgo	ñomgic	ñomgen	pl
body	yor	yori	yorü	yore				sg
	yoku				yoko	yokic	yoken[11]	pl

Possessed family nouns

Some possessed family nouns have the following suffixes, which are the same as for possessed body part nouns.

	noun	my	your (sg)	his/her	our	your (pl)	their	
daughter, son	ṭuul	ṭuuli	ṭüülü	ṭuule	ṭuulo	ṭuulic	ṭuulen	sg
	ṭulgu	ṭulgi	ṭülgü	ṭulge	ṭulgo	ṭulgic	ṭulgen	pl
sister/brother-in-law	ṭuur	ṭuuri	ṭüürü	ṭuure	ṭuuro	ṭuuric	ṭuuren	sg
	ṭurgu	ṭurgi	ṭürgü	ṭurge	ṭurgo	ṭurgic	ṭurgen	pl
co-wife	ñäŋŋä	ñäŋŋi	ñäŋŋü	ñäŋŋe	ñäŋŋo	ñäŋŋic	ñäŋŋen	sg
	ñäggï	ñäggi	ñäggü	ñägge	ñäggo	ñäggic	ñäggen	pl
husband	oor	oori	oorü	oore	—-	—-	—-	sg
	ook	oogi	oogü	ooge	oogo	oogic	oogen	pl

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[8] In Scripture, 'my head' is sometimes *witkin*

[9] In Scripture, 'his/her head' is sometimes *witkin*

[10] In Scripture, 'his/her neck' is sometimes *ḍuuggin*

[11] In Scripture, 'their bodies' is sometimes *yokïn*

However, other possessed family nouns have the following suffixes. For these, the singular nouns possessed by 'my' or 'our' have the same form, the singular nouns possessed by 'your (sg)' or 'your (pl)' have the same form, and the singular nouns possessed by 'his/her' or 'their' have the same form. But all possessed plural nouns have different forms.

	noun	my	your (sg)	his/her	our	your (pl)	their	
father	wäy	wäyo	wääc	wäyen	wäyo	wääc	wäyen	*sg*
	wäygä	wäygi	wäygü	wäyge	wäygo	wäygic	wäygen	*pl*
sister	käw	käwo	käwic	käwen	käwo	käwic	käwen	*sg*
	käwgä	käwgi	käwgü	käwge	käwgo	käwgic	käwgen	*pl*

Other possessed family nouns have the following suffixes. For these, the singular and plural nouns possessed by 'my' or 'our' have the same form, singular and plural nouns possessed by 'your (sg)' or 'your (pl)' have the same form, and singular and plural nouns possessed by 'his/her' or 'their' have the same form.

	noun	my	your (sg)	his/her	our	your (pl)	their	
mother	miy	miyo	miic	meen	miyo	miic	meen	*sg*
	migä	migo	migic	migen	migo	migic	migen	*pl*
brother	määt	määdo	määdic	määden	määdo	määdic	määden	*sg*
	mädgä	mädgo	mädgic	mädgen	mädgo	mädgic	mädgen	*pl*
mother's brother	nääy	nääyo	nääyic	nääyen	nääyo	nääyic	nääyen	*sg*
	näygä	näygo	näygic	näygen	näygo	näygic	näygen	*pl*
father's sister	waawa	woowo	woowic	woowen	woowo	woowic	woowen	*sg*
	wowgu	wowgo	wowgic	wowgen	wowgo	wowgic	wowgen	*pl*
grand-mother	ţiin miy	ţiin miyo	ţiin miic	ţiin meen	ţiin miyo	ţiin miic	ţiin meen	*sg*
	ţiygä	ţiygä	ţiygä	ţiygä	ţiygä	ţiygä	ţiygä	*pl*
	migä	migo	migic	migen	migo	migic	megen	

In summary, there are the following suffixes for possessed nouns.

Possessed noun suffixes

	noun		my	your (sg)	his/her	our	your (pl)	their	
Body parts	waŋ	*eye*	-i	-ü	-e				*sg*
	waŋgä	*eyes*	(-i)	(-ü)	(-e)	-o	-ic	-en	*pl*
Family	ţuul	*daughter*	-i	-ü	-e	-o	-ic	-en	*sg*
	ţulgu	*daughters*	-i	-ü	-e	-o	-ic	-en	*pl*
	wäy	*father*	-o	-ic	-en	-o	-ic	-en	*sg*
	wäygä	*fathers*	-i	-ü	-e	-o	-ic	-en	*pl*
	miy	*mother*	-o	-ic	-en	-o	-ic	-en	*sg*
	migä	*mothers*	-o	-ic	-en	-o	-ic	-en	*pl*

Exercise 4

33

In the following sentences, <u>underline</u> all possessed nouns. Do not underline any words that are not possessed nouns.

(Yaam 5-6)

Aŋ yaam mäbaan ti ken ṭemte määngä	*And the basket on Jumjum person, women*
wakkä **witken** ti bata wälkä piik	*carry things on **their heads** such as gourds of water*

(Yaam 16-17)

Aŋ ŋucana nääkke pillä ḍuuggen ti ke	*And it also causes pain in their necks and in*
ŋätken ti bäätcïdï ïñï ke teygen ti.	*their backs going down to their hips.*

(Yaam 21)

Näŋko määngä yooko yoken	*Because of this, our women (should)*
wääkcene woo,	*rest their bodies.*

(Kiñuk 7)

Aŋ men kaññïï käälok ogo ïwon,	*And they found person in the cave that was chared,*
i jone mor määṭo.	*and his heart was still beating.*

(Kiñuk 8-9)

Aŋ düüdïnïï woo, aŋ iin durñe liikono woo	*They carried him outside, and young hyena broke*
gine ṭuule gunne ti näkkenee.	*small piece (his thing, his daughter) from his side.*

(Kiñuk 22)

Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ ḍoŋe ti,	*The person was wearing a whistle around his neck,*

(Bääm 60)

Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo,	*And Dove told him,*
"Mügja buggi ti kä lekü."	*"Hold on to me by my wings with your teeth."*

(Leeñ 3)

Aŋ wegok kïïge ti ogo, *wac, wac, wac.*	*And from his feet he was making sound, tap, tap.*

(Geel 19)

Yeeni ääŋkalaŋ naana buṭu woo ye,	*If my (strength) were to be revealed one day,*
ooric yaanna bi taapä kä.	*I would ride on this your man.*

Verbs

A <u>verb</u> is an <u>action</u> (done to something), <u>motion</u> (has movement), <u>change</u> (goes from one condition or quality to another), <u>state</u> (remains the same), or can be used as an <u>equal sign</u> between words. Verbs are used in these five different ways.

In the *Kiñuk 22-24*, **eŋdo** 'was wearing', **kaaññïï** 'passed', **likko** 'broke off', **rääkkee** 'cleaned', **oja** 'be proud', **ken** 'be' and **ääto** 'go' are verbs.

(Kiñuk 22-24)

Aŋ men **eŋdo** kïlläŋ ḍoŋe ti,	*The person **was wearing** a whistle around his neck,*
aŋ wääna **kaaññïï** ko jaan ŋoy ye,	*and when (they) **passed** under a tree,*

34

| men <u>likko</u> rawcan, aŋ kïlläŋ <u>**rääkkee**</u> jï woo, i iin mooye <u>**oja**</u> <u>**ken**</u> <u>**ääto**</u> ñomuk. | *the man **broke off** a twig, and **cleaned** out the whistle, as the **proud** old hyena **was going** on ahead.* |

The following are other examples of verbs:

Jumjum Verbs

Type	Use		
Transitive	Actions	tiiŋi	*hear*
		kääji	*bite, sting*
		mügï	*catch*
Applicative	Action	tiiŋ**gene**	*hear for*
Intransitive	Motions	üüŋ**in**	*go*
		kääj**in**	*pass by*
		lüüd**ïn**	*flee, run*
	Changes	ïw**nä**	*become dry*
		ṭiind**in**	*become old*
	States	cääy**nä**	*sit, remain*
		ŋeṭ**ṭä**	*be good*
		yaañ**ñä**	*be spoiled*
Applicative	Motion	üüŋ**gene**	*go for*
Copula	Equal sign	a	*is, are, be*
		ken	*is, are, be*

There are four types of verbs—transitive, intransitive, applicative and copula. A <u>transitive</u> verb has an object that the action is done to. Transitive verbs are usually actions. An <u>intransitive</u> verb does not have an object that the action is done to. Instead, intransitive verbs are usually motions, changes, or states. An <u>applicative</u> verb can be an action, motion, change or state. It is a transitive or intransitive verb that adds a receiver, location or experiencer. An <u>object</u> can be either a thing or person that the action is done to, but a <u>receiver</u> is only a person or animal, and receives or benefits from the action. A <u>location</u> tells the place, beginning point or ending point of a verb. An <u>experiencer</u> is a thing or person used to do the verb. A <u>copula</u> is an equal sign verb that shows two persons or things are the same or similar. The second person or thing is called a <u>complement.</u>

The transitive verb **tiiŋe** 'hears' can have the thing object **kuukcu** 'drum' as in (1) or person/animal object **gaaggaak** 'raven' as in (2). The intransitive verb **küüyïdï** 'flies, jumps' in (3) has no object. The applicative verb **tiiŋgede** 'hears' has the object **uullu** 'song' and the receiver **oon** 'man' as in (4) or the location **näntä piik** 'water place' as in (5) or the experiencer **kuukcu** 'drum' as in (6). The copula **a** 'is, be' in (7) shows the subject **yaam** 'basket' is about the same as the complement **koy tïṇṇä** 'red tree'.

Four types of verbs

Transitive	subject, thing object	(1) Aŋ men kuukcu <u>**tiiŋe**</u>.	*Person **hears** drum.*
	subject, person object	(2) Aŋ men gaaggaak <u>**tiiŋe**</u>.	*Person **hears** raven.*

Intransitive	subject, (no object)	(3) Aŋ men **küüyïdï** iñï.	*Person **jumps** down.*
Applicative	subject, object, receiver	(4) Aŋ men oon **tiiŋgede** uullu.	*Person **hears** song for man.*
	subject, obj, location	(5) Aŋ men uullu **tiiŋgede** näntä piik.	*Person **hears** song in water place.*
	sub, obj, experiencer	(6) Aŋ kuukcu **tiiŋte** men uullu.	*Person uses drum to **hear** song.*
<u>Copula</u>	subject, complement	(7) Aŋ yaam **a** koy tïṇṇä.	*A basket **is** a red tree.*

The five uses of verbs (action, motion, change, state, equal sign) are shown with examples below. A verb has a suffix (ending letters of a word) depending on its use. Action verbs sometimes have the suffix **–ne**, motion verbs sometimes have the suffix **–win**, and change and state verbs sometimes have the suffix **–nä**.

Five uses of verbs (with different past suffixes)

Actions	-ne	Aŋ men yäŋä <u>maaw**ne**</u>.	*And person <u>looked for meat</u>.*
Motions	-win	Aŋ men <u>dääg**in**</u>.	*And person <u>arrived</u>.*
Changes	-nä	Aŋ men <u>pen**nä**</u>.	*And person <u>became angry</u>.*
States		Aŋ gin <u>ŋer**rä**</u>.	*And thing <u>was good</u>.*
Equal sign		Yaam <u>a</u> koy tïṇṇä.	*A basket <u>is</u> a red tree.*

<u>Exercise 5</u>

<u>Underline once</u> all transitive verbs in the sentences below. <u>Underline twice</u> all intrastive verbs. Do not underline any words that are not verbs.

<u>(Kiñuk 1-4)</u>
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ <u>atto</u> kiñuk pare, aŋ <u>käñño</u> kääl bilgiññi. Aŋ <u>atto</u> <u>gäänono</u> luum ïwïn, aŋ <u>büükkee</u> käälok, aŋ <u>tuñgenee</u> maañ, aŋ ḍoŋe <u>tuñjenee</u> ti käälok.

A long time ago, a man <u>went</u> on a hunt alone, and <u>found</u> a cave of bats. He <u>went</u> to <u>collect</u> dry grass, <u>heaped</u> it in the cave, and he <u>caused</u> fire <u>to burn</u> it, <u>burned</u> himself in cave.

<u>(Kiñuk 14-16)</u>
Aŋ cääjjo ko ḍeeḍaŋ,
aŋ kaaco tabjï,
aŋ ḍuuko woo, aŋ ŋuca cääjjo ko ḍeeḍaŋ,
aŋ ŋuca bülco tabjï, kockon wina
ke men däädjeko.

And they were sitting a little, and then they were entering (water) to touch him, then returned out, and again sat a little, and again were returning to touch him continuing like this until the person became soft.

<u>(Bääm 18)</u>
Aŋ Wiiw len lämmä jeppe ti jaan ti,
aŋ jiccin woo.

And Fox hit the tree with the mud axe, then ran away.

<u>(Bääm 21)</u>
Aŋ Gaaggaak kuuyin ïñï, aŋ müŋŋe.

And Raven flew down and he (Fox) caught him.

<u>(Bääm 36-37)</u>

Ay müükonḍi, ika batta bi lïïṭä wään, *Ah my friend, I am not able to go,*
ika agä raac täññaŋ.   *(since) I am now sick.*

How nouns are used

Nouns can be subjects, objects, receivers, possessors, or can be introduced by location words or prepositions.

Subjects do the action, motion, change or state. Noun subjects always come before intransitive verbs, but they can come before or after transitive verbs.

In (1), the subject **gaaggaak** 'raven' does the motion **kuuyin** 'flew' and comes before this intransitive verb.

intransitive	(1) Aŋ gaaggaak **kuuyin** ïñï. *And raven **flew** down.*
transitive	(2) Aŋ gaaggaak **tiiŋŋä** kuukcu. *And raven **heard** drum.*
	(3) Aŋ kuukcu **tiiŋi** gaaggaak. *And raven **heard** drum.*

In (2, 3), the subject **gaaggaak** 'raven' does the action **tiiŋŋä, tiiŋi,** 'heard'. It comes before the transitive verb **tiiŋŋä** in (2), but comes after the transitive verb **tiiŋi** in (3). We learn more about subject nouns in the next two lessons.

Actions are done to an object. Only transitive and applicative verbs can have an object. A noun object can come before or after transitive verbs, but always comes after applicative verbs [check this].

In (4, 5), the action **tiiŋi, tiiŋŋä** 'heard' is done to the object **kuukcu** 'drum'. In (6), the action **nüütkï** 'showed' is done to the object **kuukcu** 'drum'.

transitive	(4) Aŋ kuukcu **tiiŋi** gaaggaak. *And raven **heard** drum.*
	(5) Aŋ gaaggaak **tiiŋŋä** kuukcu. *And raven **heard** drum.*
applicative	(6) Aŋ oon **nüütkï** men kuukcu. *Person **showed** man the drum.*

The object **kuukcu** 'drum' comes before the transitive verb **tiiŋi** 'heard' in (4), but come after the transitive verb **tiiŋŋä** 'heard' in (5) and after the applicative verb **nüütkï** 'showed' in (6). We learn more about object nouns in the lesson *Subjects and objects of transitive verbs.*

Nouns can also be receivers of an action or benefit from an action. These are called receiver nouns. Only applicative verbs can have a receiver. Subjects can come before or after applicative verbs, but receivers always come before an applicative verb [check this].

37

In (7), the receiver **oon** 'man' benefits from the action **nüütkï, nüütkene** 'showed'.

applicative | (7) Aŋ oon nüütkï men kuukcu. *Person **showed** man the drum.*
| (8) Aŋ men oon nüütkene kuukcu. *Peson **showed** man the drum.*

The receiver **oon** 'man' comes before the applicative verb **nüütkï** 'showed' in (7) and also before the applicative verb **nüütkene** 'showed' in (8). We learn more about receiver nouns in the lesson *Objects and receivers of applicative verbs.*

Nouns can also possess or own other nouns. These are called <u>possessor</u> nouns. In (9), **men** 'person' owns or possesses **inte** 'his hand' and in (10) **men** possesses **waynä** 'shoe'.

(9) Aŋ men inte tiiŋi gaaggaak.   *And raven heard person's hand.*
(10) Aŋ waynä men tiiŋi gaaggaak.   *And raven heard person's shoe.*

We learn more about possessor nouns in the lesson *Possessor and possessed nouns.*

Nouns can also be introduced by <u>location words</u>. Location words show the location of the verb in relation to a noun. In (11), the location word **ŋoy** 'under' introduces the noun **jaan** 'tree'.

(11) Aŋ gaaggaak kuuyin jaan ŋoy. (?)   *And raven **flew under tree***

Ŋoy shows how the location of the action **kuuyin** 'flying' relates to **jaan** 'tree'. We learn more about location words in the lesson *Locations.*

Nouns can also be <u>introduced by prepositions</u>. Prepositions and the nouns they introduce tell about the action. In (12), the preposition **ti** 'to' introduces the noun **jaan** 'tree'.

(12) Aŋ gaaggaak kuuyin jaan ti.   *And raven **flew to** tree.*

Jaan ti 'to tree' tells the direction of the action **kuuyin** 'flying' is **jaan** 'tree'. We learn more about prepositions in the lesson *Prepositions.*

<u>Exercise 6</u>

In the following sentences, <u>underline</u> each subject noun, <u>underline twice</u> each object noun, draw a triangle around each receiver noun, draw a box around each possessor noun, draw a circle around each noun introduced by a preposition, and draw a falling box around each noun introduced by a location word.

(Bääm 18)
Aŋ Wiiw len lämmä jeppe ti jaan ti.   *And **Fox** hit the mud axe on the tree.*
(Bääm 21)

38

Aŋ Gaaggaak kuuyin ïñï, aŋ müŋŋe.   *Raven flew down, and he caught him.*
(Bääm 39)
Aŋ Wiiw jone yaaññä,   *And Fox's heart became angry*
(Leeñ 2)
Aŋ Wiiw ŋeel kä waygä yek boṇṇan,   *And Fox was dancing with shoes of leather,*
(Leeñ 9)
Wiiw me näŋgedee waygä ka.   *Fox makes shoes for people.*
(Leeñ 28)
Aŋ lüüttü tï pääm ŋoy, aŋ käññä ḍuk,   *And he ran under the mountain, and found gum,*
(Pïïnnä 1-2)
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ tüwno baan   *Long ago in time past, someone died in a*
yaŋkalaŋ ti, aŋ Pïïṇṇä ken tüccïï me ogo, *certain land, and people sent Wasp,*

Subjects of intransitive verbs

In this lesson, we learn that <u>subjects</u> do the motion, change or state of intransitive verbs (without an object). Noun subjects always come before intransitive verbs. In the next lesson, we will learn that subjects do the action of transitive verbs (with an object), and come before or after them.

In *Bääm 21,* the subject **Gaaggaak** 'Raven' does the <u>motion</u> **kuuyin** 'flew' and comes before this intransitive verb.

(Bääm 21) (motion)
Aŋ **<u>Gaaggaak</u> <u>kuuyin</u>** ïñï, aŋ müŋŋe.   ***<u>Raven</u> <u>flew</u>*** *down and he (Fox) caught him.*

In *Yaam 18-19,* the subject **määngä mäbaan** 'Jumjum women' does the <u>change</u> **tiintete** 'are becoming old' and comes before this intransitive verb.

(Yaam 18-19) (change)
Ina ken **<u>määngä mäbaan</u> <u>tiintete</u>**   *That is why **<u>Jumjum women</u> <u>are becoming old</u>***

In *Geel 5,* the subject **dürjï** 'youth' does the <u>state</u> **bojok** 'were afraid' and comes before this intransitive verb.

(Geel 5) (state)
Aŋ **<u>dürjï</u>** wäättana **<u>bojok</u>** kä baaṇṇä ṭulgu.   *And then, **<u>youth</u> <u>were afraid</u>** from loving girls.*

In the list below from stories, there are other motion verbs with noun subjects. Subjects are <u>underlined</u> and verbs are in **bold**.

<u>Intransitive motion verbs with noun subjects</u>
Yaam 17   <u>pillä</u> **bäätcïdï** ïñï ke   *pain **going** down*

Kiñuk 1	mäŋkalaŋ **atto**	*certain person* **went**
Kiñuk 2	luum **ïwïn**	*grass* **became dry**
Kiñuk 5	iygä ko yewwe **atto**	*two hyenas* **went**
Kiñuk 17	men waŋge **piijodo**	*person's eyes* **were reviving**
Kiñuk 18	äŋ **joorjono**	*sun* **went down**
Kiñuk 24	iin mooye oja **ken ääto** ñomuk	*proud old hyena* **went** ahead
Kiñuk 30	iygä **yuutto** ïñï	*hyenas* **stopped** down
Kiñuk 33	iygä **buurcono** woo	*hyenas* **ran** away
Bääm 6	Wiiw **attä**	*Fox* **went**
Bääm 17	mäŋkalaŋ ïya **äätä**	*far away person* **will come**
Bääm 21	Gaaggaak **kuuyin** ïñï	*Raven* **flew** down
Bääm 47	Bääm **koojjin** ïñï	*Dove* **landed** down
Bääm 64	Bääm **pääynä**	*Dove* **flew**
Leeñ 13	mäŋkalaŋ **käjä** äräk	*someone* **may enter** inside
Leeñ 14	Wiiw **juwin**	*Fox* **arose**
Leeñ 19	Liik **äätin**	*Elephants* **came**
Leeñ 25	Liik **üüŋjene**	*Elephants* **went**
Geel 8	toorok batta **kaacïdï**	*badness* **was** not **entering**
Geel 15	tulgu **gïmmïn**	*girls* **accepted**
Geel 23	ŋiil **juwin**	*dance* **arose**
Geel 27	ŋiil batta **bi ñabo**	*dance* **will** not **be good**
Geel 37	Geel **üütte**	*Lion* **ran**
Geel 44	tulgu **murru**	*girls* **came running**
Geel 45	Wiiw **kuuyin** ïñï	*Fox* **jumped** down
Äwñä 10	Albe **kääjin** woo	*Albe* **went** out
Pïïŋŋä 5	pïïŋŋä wääna ḍukcenee ko	when *Wasp* **returned**
Pïïŋŋä 7	wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee	when *God* **arrived**

In the list below, there are other change or state verbs with noun subjects.

<u>Intransitive change or state verbs with noun subjects</u>

Yaam 9	yaam **ken lïïlte**	*basket* **enables**
Yaam 13	tïtägenene **ledok** bata	*tops of their heads* **grow**
Yaam 18	määngä mäbaan ṭiintete kä	*Jumjum women* **are becoming old**
Kiñuk 7	jone mor **määṭo**	*his heart* was still **beating**
Kiñuk 16	men **däädjeko**	*person* **will become soft**
Kiñuk 17	äŋ waŋe **wükco**	*sun's face* **was scooting**
Kiñuk 26	ŋaaka **ken week**	*what* **is crying**
Kiñuk 27	dïïn **ken week**	*bird* **is crying**
Kiñuk 36	men **üŋṇo**	*person* **survived**
Bääm 2	Bääm **a giidon**	*Dove* **gave birth**
Bääm 6	Bääm **yaakï**	*Dove* **was refusing**
Bääm 10	Bääm **booc**	*Dove* **being afraid**

Bääm 48	<u>Wiiw</u> **a țaron** kä	*Fox **hid***
Bääm 56	<u>kabal țuule</u> **a caagon** kockon	*young sheep **was** very **fat***
Bääm 56	<u>kabal țuule</u> **a tüwon**	*young sheep **was dead***
Bääm 65	kä <u>jone</u> **ñamme**	*with his heart **happy***
Leeñ 1	<u>waak luum jiñe</u> **ŋelok**	*wild animals **were dancing***
Leeñ 2	<u>Wiiw</u> **ŋeel** kä	*Fox **was dancing***
Leeñ 25	<u>Liik</u> **yoji** ŋañ	*Elephants **were not able** to run*
Leeñ 27	<u>Wiiw</u> **lüüt**	*Fox **was running***
Leeñ 30	<u>a ŋaani</u> ina **cääy**	*who **is sitting***
Geel 1	<u>wakkä luum jiñe</u> **cäyok**	*wild animals **were living***
Geel 2	<u>Geel</u> **bilti** ke	*Lion **was there***
Geel 3	<u>nääŋke toorok</u> **bilti**	*his bad actions **were there***
Geel 5	<u>dürjï wäättana</u> **bojok** kä	*then youth **were afraid***
Geel 9	<u>jone</u> batta **ñabaŋ**	*his heart **was** not **happy***
Geel 17	<u>ook ke dürjï muure</u> **boone**	*all men and youth **are unable***
Geel 29	<u>yaanne yori</u> **riijänä** kä	*this my body **was struggling***
Geel 31	<u>yori</u> **waagdä**	*my body **feels like***
Geel 43	<u>mana</u> **boone**	*certain person **is weak***
Geel 46	<u>waak muureen</u> **luggin** kä	*all animals **agreed***
Geel 48	<u>ook</u> **bilto**	***there are** men*
Äwñä 8	<u>Albe</u> batta a **lïïțon** kääjin woo	*Albe **was** not **able** to go out*
Pïïṇṇä 1	<u>mäŋkalaŋ</u> **tüwno**	*someone **died***
Pïïṇṇä 10	<u>Jooŋ jone</u> **püütono**	*God's heart **became upset***
Pïïṇṇä 13	<u>Pïïnnä teye</u> **ŋalje** ko	*Wasp's waist **is thin***

<u>Exercise 7</u>

In the sentences below, <u>underline once</u> all subject nouns before verbs. <u>Underline twice</u> all verbs of the subject nouns. Do not underline any nouns that are not subjects, and do not underline any verbs that do not follow subject nouns. The first one is done as an example.

<u>(Yaam 9-10)</u>
Aŋ a **<u>yaam</u>** ken **<u>lïïlte</u> <u>määngä</u> <u>ḍürḍïn</u>**
wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,
<u>(Yaam 18-19)</u>
Ina ken määngä mäbaan țiintete
kä bïraŋ yaanna, aŋ iiŋ ke yaam yeene
wäättana beel bata teebälaŋ yoono.
<u>(Kiñuk 1-2)</u>
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ atto kiñuk pare,
<u>(Kiñuk 7)</u>
Aŋ men kaññïï käälok ogo ïwon,
i jone mor määțo.

*And since a **basket enables women***
***to carry** these many things,*

That is why Jumjum women are becoming old
with quickly, and the woman with her basket
afterwards looks like our car.

Long ago, a man went on a hunt alone,

They found person in cave that was chared,
and his heart was still beating.

(Kiñuk 17)
Aŋ naana daa äŋ waŋe wükco ye,
i men waŋge piijodo.
(Bääm 6)

And when the sun's face moved on, then the
person's eyes began to regain consciousness.

Aŋ Bääm yaakï,
aŋ Wiiw attä näŋŋä len lämmä.
(Bääm 47-48)

Then Dove was refusing
and Fox went and made an axe of mud.

Aŋ Bääm koojjin ïñï ogo ike ämje päk,
i Wiiw a ṭaron kä cokal.
(Leeñ 1-2)

And Dove came down to eat the grain,
and Fox was hiding with nearby.

Ñomuk ku on yuungu yakkalaŋ ti,
waak luum jïñe ŋelok ṭuuŋ.
Aŋ Wiiw ŋeel kä waygä yek boṇṇan.
(Geel 1)

Long ago in certain years,
things of grass were dancing the horn dance.
And Fox was dancing with shoes of leather.

Ñomuk ku on,
wakkä luum jïñe cäyok näṇṭä keellä,
(Geel 2)

Long ago in past time, things of inside
grass (animals) were living in same place,

Aŋ Geel bilti ke meken,
(Geel 46)

And Lion was there with the others,

Aŋ wäättana waak muureen luggin
kä owkïtïn Wiiw.
(Pïïṇṇä 1)

Afterwards, all the animals acknowledged
the strength of Fox.

Ñomuk ku on,
mäŋkalaŋ tüwno baan yaŋkalaŋ ti.
(Pïïṇṇä 10-11)

Long ago in time past,
someone died in a certain land.

Aŋ Jooŋ jone püütono, aŋ Pïïṇṇä müŋŋee,
aŋ ḍeŋŋee teygin ko wiṇṇan yen bïl.
(Pïïṇṇä 13-14)

God's heart was upset, so he caught Wasp,
and tied his waist with a rope of metal.

Ina ken Pïïṇṇä teye ŋalje ko ŋal yaanna,
aŋ müügee ko merkä meken yaakka.

That is why Wasp's waist is thin like this,
and he catches the children of others.

Subjects and objects of transitive verbs

As we learned in the last lesson, subjects do the motion, change or state of intransitive verbs (without an object), and noun subjects always come before intransitive verbs. However, subjects do the action of transitive verbs (with an object), and noun subjects can come before or after transitive verbs. Actions are done to an <u>object</u>. An object can be a person, animal or thing. Object nouns can also come before or after a transitive verb. The verb form changes according to the order of the subject and object. Subject-object-verb (SOV) order is the most common for telling main actions that move a story forward. Object-verb-subject (OVS) order is often used to show a subject is indefinite (not a specific one in the mind of the listeners) or the topic (what is currently talked about). Subject-verb-object (SVO) order is often used to show an object is indefinite or the topic.

Sentences (1-3) are transitive. They each have the subject **gaaggaak** 'raven' that does the action **tiiŋŋe, tiiŋŋä** or **tiiŋi** 'heard' to the object **kuukcu** 'drum'. The words are in three different orders, and the verb changes according to the order.

transitive	most common	S<u>O</u>V	(1) Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u>.*
	subject talked about	<u>O</u>VS	(3) Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋi** <u>gaaggaak</u>.	*And a <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u>.*
	object talked about	SV<u>O</u>	(2) Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> **tiiŋŋä** <u>kuukcu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** a <u>drum</u>.*

In (1), the order is subject-object-verb (SOV) with the verb **tiiŋŋe** 'heard'. In (2), the order is subject-verb-object (SVO) with the verb **tiiŋŋä** 'heard'. In (3), the order is object-verb-subject (OVS) with the verb **tiiŋi** 'heard'.

In *Bääm 18,* the subject **Wiiw** 'Fox' does the action **jeppe** 'hit' to the object **len lämmä** 'mud axe'.

(Bääm 18) (SOV) (most common)
Aŋ **Wiiw** <u>len lämmä</u> **jeppe** ti jaan ti,   *And **Fox** **hit** <u>the mud axe</u> on the tree,*
aŋ jiccin woo.   *then ran away.*

The words are in the order subject-object-verb (SOV). This common word order is used in *Bääm 18* for telling a main action that moves the story forward where neighter the subject or object are indefinite or the topic. Both **Wiiw** 'Fox' and **len lämmä** 'mud axe' have been mentioned before this point in this story and are already a specific animal and thing in the mind of the listeners.

In *Piïŋŋä 1-2,* the subject **me** 'people' does the action **ken tüccïï** 'sent' to the object **Piïŋŋä** 'Wasp'.

(Piïŋŋä 1-2) (OVS) (indefinite subject)
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ tüwno baan   *Long ago in time past, someone died in a*
yaŋkalaŋ ti, aŋ **Piïŋŋä** <u>ken tüccïï</u> <u>me</u> ogo,   *certain land, and **people** **sent** <u>Wasp</u>,*
"Ato Jooŋ nüütkee."   *"You go inform God."*

The words are in the order object-verb-subject (OVS). This word order in *Piïŋŋä 1-2* shows the subject **me** 'people' is general (not any specific persons in the mind of the listeners). There are no people mentioned by name before this sentence. So, *Piïŋŋä 1-2* is almost like not saying who sent Wasp. Someone sent him, but we don't know who. It is not very important who sent him, but only that he was sent.

In *Kiñuk 8-9,* the subject **iin durñe** 'young hyena' does the action **liikono** 'broke' to the object **gine ṭuule** 'small piece (lit. his thing his daughter)'.

43

(Kiñuk 8-9) (SVO) (indefinite object)

Aŋ düüdïnïï woo, aŋ <u>iin durñe</u> **liikono** woo <u><u>gine ṭuule</u></u> gunne ti näkkenee.

*They carried him outside, and **young hyena** **broke** small piece (his thing, his daughter) from his side.*

The words are in the order subject-verb-object (SVO). This word order is used in *Kiñuk 8-9* to show the **gine ṭuule** 'small piece' bitten off the man is mentioned for the first time and what the sentence is about.

In the lists below from stories, there are sentences with different word order for subject and object nouns. Subjects are <u>underlined once</u>, objects are <u><u>underlined twice</u></u>, and verbs are in **bold**.

Transitive verbs with subject-object-verb (SOV) word order (most common)

Yaam 21	<u>määngä yooko</u> <u><u>yoken</u></u> **wääkcene**	*our women **must rest** their bodies*
Kiñuk 10	<u>iin durñe</u> <u><u>menen</u></u> **kiinnee**	*young hyena **told** other*
Kiñuk 19	<u>iin mooye</u> <u><u>menen</u></u> **kiinnee**	*older hyena **told** other*
Kiñuk 26	<u>iin durñe</u> <u><u>menen</u></u> **taaññee**	*young hyena **asked** other*
Kiñuk 29	<u>men</u> <u><u>killäŋ</u></u> **küüttee**	*person **blew** whistle*
Kiñuk 32	<u>men</u> <u><u>killäŋ</u></u> **mïttee** ïñï	*person **blew** whistle down*
Kiñuk 34	<u>iin durñe</u> <u><u>menen</u></u> **kiindee**	*young hyena **told** other*
Bääm 18	<u>Wiiw</u> len <u><u>lämmä</u></u> **jeppe** LOC	*Fox **hit** tree*
Leeñ 17	<u>Wiiw</u> <u><u>Liik</u></u> **kiinne**	*Fox **told** Elephants*
Leeñ 18	<u>Wiiw</u> <u><u>yäŋgä Liik kïïgen</u></u> **amme**	*Fox **ate** meat of Elephants' feet*
Leeñ 23	<u>Wiiw</u> <u><u>gäykä</u></u> **cüge**	*Fox **was moving** skins*
Geel 6	<u>Geel</u> wäättana <u><u>tulgu</u></u> **baade**	*then Lion **was loving** girls*
Geel 8	<u>Wiiw</u> jiik <u><u>yaakka</u></u> **tiiŋŋe**	*Fox **heard** these words*
Geel 34	<u>Wiiw</u> <u><u>Geel</u></u> **kiinne**	*Fox **told** Lion*
Pïïŋṇä 9	<u>Pïïŋṇä</u> ken <u><u>me</u></u> **kiinnee**	*Wasp **told** people*

Transitive verbs with object-verb-subject (OVS) word order (subject indefinite and topic)

Yaam 1	<u><u>kimkä</u></u> ken **ñorgu** <u>me</u>	*people **bend** branches*
Yaam 8	<u><u>ätäŋgä</u></u> **ŋaapcätä** <u>me</u>	*people **hang** chicken*
Bääm 67	<u><u>waak</u></u> a **kañdïï** <u>me</u>	*people **find** things*
Pïïŋṇä 2	<u><u>pïïŋṇä</u></u> ken **tüccïï** <u>me</u>	*people **sent** Wasp*
Pïïŋṇä 6	<u>men</u> **jïkcï** <u><u>me</u></u> ïñï	*people **should bury** person down*
Pïïŋṇä 7	<u>men</u> wäädenee **jïkkïï** <u><u>me</u></u>	*he found people **burried** person*

Transitive verbs with subject-verb-object (SVO) word order (object indefinite and topic)

Yaam 9	<u>määngä</u> **ḍürdïn** <u><u>wakkä yaakka</u></u> ḍirä	*women **carry** these many things*
Kiñuk 8	<u>iin durñe</u> **liikono** woo <u><u>gine ṭuule</u></u>	*young hyena **broke** off small piece*
Kiñuk 22	<u>men</u> **eŋdo** <u><u>killäŋ</u></u>	*person **was wearing** whistle*
Kiñuk 23	<u>men</u> **likko** <u><u>rawcan</u></u>	*person **broke** twig*
Bääm 1	<u>Wiiw</u> **näkä** <u><u>käñ</u></u>	*Fox **was feeling** hunger*
Leeñ 35	<u>Liik</u> yoorre **mätï** <u><u>piik muure</u></u>	*he saw Elephants **drinking** all water*
Leeñ 44	<u>ŋana</u> <u><u>me</u></u> **naŋdïïn** <u><u>nääŋkä yaacken</u></u>	*people should not **make** bad actions*

Exercise 8

In the sentences below, underline once all subject nouns. Underline twice all object nouns. Circle all verbs that have both a subject noun and object noun. Do not underline other nouns or circle other verbs. The first one is done as an example.

(Yaam 1)
Yaam a koy tïṇṇä ke ḍogleñ,   *Baskets are from two types of trees,*
kimkä ken ñorgu me.   *people bend branches (to make them).*
(Yaam 7-8)
Aŋ naana me bagit nänṭä yaŋkalaŋ ti ye,   *And when people move it to another place,*
naana yaam a küümon ye,   *if the basket is full,*
äṭäŋgä ŋaapcätä me yaam ṭuŋke ti.   *people hang chickens on the horns of the basket.*
(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte määngä ḍürdïn   *And since a basket enables women*
wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,   *to carry these many things,*
(Yaam 21)
Näŋko määngä yooko   *Because of this, our women (should)*
yoken wääkcene woo,   *rest their bodies.*
(Kiñuk 26)
Aŋ iin durñe menen taaññee ogo,   *And the young hyena asked the other,*
"Ay! A ŋaaka ken week do?"   *"Hey! What is crying out?"*
(Kiñuk 22-23)
Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ ḍoṇe ti,   *The person was wearing whistle around his neck,*
aŋ wääna kaaññïï ko jaan ŋoy ye,   *and when (they) passed under a tree,*
men likko rawcan,   *man broke off a twig,*
(Bääm 1)
Ñomuk ku on, Wiiw näkä käñ,   *A long time ago, Fox felt hunger and went out*
aŋ attä laay woo luummuk.   *roaming in grassland.*
(Leeñ 17)
Aŋ Wiiw Liik kiinne ogo,   *And Fox told the Elephants,*
"Ääte nïïnkä kä ŋaṭükel."   *"Return in days that seven."*
(Leeñ 23-24)
Aŋ Wiiw gäykä cüge yokïn,   *And Fox was moving the skins of their bodies,*
aŋ kuuyin woo, aŋ yore jecce woo.   *and jumped out, and he ran away.*
(Leeñ 43-44)
Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïin nüütkïdïn ogo   *This story tells us that*
ŋana me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken.   *people should not do bad things.*
(Geel 6)
Aŋ Geel wäättana ṭulgu baade pare küüttaŋ.   *And afterwards, Lion was only one loving girls.*
(Pïïnnä 5-7)
Aŋ pïïṇṇä wääna ḍukcenee ko ti me ti ye, *Then when wasp returned to people,*
me kiinnee ogo, men jïkcï me ïñï.   *he told people that, people (should) bury person.*

45

Aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye,   *And when God arrived,*
men wäädenee jïkkïï me ïñï.   *he found that people had buried person.*

Receivers, locations and experiencers of applicative verbs

Applicative verbs can add a receiver, a location or an experiencer. As we learned in the lesson *Verbs*, actions are done to an <u>object</u>. A person or animal that receives or benefits from an action is called a <u>receiver</u>. A place, beginning point or ending point of a verb is a <u>location</u>. A thing or person used to do a verb is an <u>experiencer</u>.

<u>Receivers of applicative verbs</u>

Receivers are added to applicative verbs to show who gets the benefit of the verb. The applicative sentences (1-2) both have the subject **men** 'person' that does the action **nüütkene** or **nüütkï** 'showed' to the object **kuukcu** 'drum', and the receiver **oon** 'man' benefits from this action.

applicative	S<u>R</u>VO	(1) Aŋ men oon **nüütkene** kuukcu.	*Person showed man the drum.*
	R<u>V</u>SO	(2) Aŋ oon **nüütkï** men kuukcu.	*Person showed man the drum.*

The words are in different order, and the verb changes according to the order. In (1), the order is subject-receiver-verb-object (SRVO) with the verb **nüütkene** 'showed'. In (2), the order is receiver-verb-subject-object (RVSO) with the verb **nüütkï** 'showed'.

In *Leeñ 9*, the receiver noun **me** 'people' receives the benefit of the action **näŋgedee waygä** 'makes shoes'. This action is done for the benefit of **me**.

(Leeñ 9) (receiver)
"Wiiw me näŋgedee waygä ka."   *"Fox makes shoes for people."*

Sometimes a receiver is used without an object. In *Bääm 10-13*, the receiver **Bääm** 'Dove' benefits from the action **nüütkene** 'showed, informed'.

(Bääm 10-13) (receiver without object)
Aŋ Bääm booc, aŋ yiipkene.   *And Dove was afraid, and threw (a chick) down.*
Aŋ yoori Gaaggaak, aŋ ääṭïn **Bääm nüütkene**.   *And Raven saw it and came and informed Dove.*
Aŋ kiinne ogo, "Ŋana ïkï booju,   *And he told him, "Don't you be afraid,*
gin yaanna batta a len, a lämmä kä pet."   *this thing is not an axe, it is just mud."*

The object is not mentioned in *Bääm 11*, but we can assume the object is the speech that Raven says to Dove in the next sentence. Even though the speech is not mentioned in *Bääm 11*, the

applicative verb **nüütkene** is still used.

Locations of applicative verbs

Locations show the place, beginning point or ending point of the verb. As we learned in the lesson *How nouns are used*, a location word or preposition can introduce a noun. Both can show the location of the action. However, when there is no location word or preposition to introduce the noun, an applicative verb can instead be used to show the noun is the location of the action.

In (3), the location word **jï** 'in' introduces **kücam** 'skin bag' and shows this is the location of the action **kaññïï** 'they found'. In (4), the preposition **ti** 'in' introduces **jone** 'his heart' and shows this is the location of the action **jaayi** 'he said'.

location word	(3) Aŋ gin kaññïï <u>kücam</u> **jï.**	*They found so.th **in skin bag**.*
preposition	(4) Aŋ jaayi <u>jone</u> **ti.**	*And he said **in his heart**.*
applic. with location	(5) Aŋ <u>Wiiw</u> Gaaggaak **tärkene** <u>piik</u>. (?)	*Fox **hid from** Raven **in water**.*
applic. with receiver	(6) Aŋ men oon **nüütkene** <u>kuukcu</u>.	*Person **showed** man **the drum**.*

However in (5), there is no preposition or location word. So, the applicative verb **tärkene** 'hid from' shows the noun **piik** 'water' is the location of this action. The noun **piik** 'water' is like an object because it is in the same order after the verb in (5) as the object **kuukcu** 'drum' in (6) (which has SRVO applicative order). The noun **Gaaggaak** 'Raven' is like a receiver because it is in the same order before the verb as the receiver **oon** 'man' in (6).

The applicative sentences (7-8) both have the subject **gaaggaak** 'raven' that does the action **tiiŋgene** or **tiiŋgi** 'hear' to the object **kuukcu** 'drum', and the location **näntä piik** 'in water place' is where this action takes place.

applicative	<u>SOVL</u>	(7) Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> kuukcu **tiiŋgene** näntä piik.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** drum <u>in water place.</u>*
	OVS<u>L</u>	(8) Aŋ kuukcu **tiiŋgi** <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>näntä piik.</u>	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** drum <u>in water place.</u>*

The verb changes according to the order. In (7), the order is subject-object-verb-location (SOVL) with the verb **tiiŋgene** 'heard'. In (8), the order is object-verb-subject-location (OVSL) with the verb **tiiŋgi** 'heard'.

In *Bääm 20,* the location noun **näntä piik** 'in water place' shows the place of the action **tärkene** 'hid from'.

(Bääm 20) (location)
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ   *Another day,*
<u>Wiiw</u> attä Gaaggaak ţärkeŋe <u>näntä piik</u>.   *Fox came and hid from Raven in place of water.*

47

Experiencers of applicative verbs

Experiencers are used by the subject to do the verb. As we will learn in the lesson *Prepostions*, the preposition **kä** 'with, by' can show a following noun is used to do the verb. However, when there is no preposition to introduce the noun, an applicative verb can instead be used to show the noun before the verb is the experiencer, which is used to do the verb.

In (9), the preposition **kä** 'with, by' introduces **ïnte aam** 'his left hand' and shows this is used to do the action **müŋŋe** 'took'. However in (10), there is no preposition. Instead, the applicative verb **tiïŋŋene** 'heard' shows the experiencer noun **gerger** 'harp' is used to do this action by the subject **men** 'person' to the object **uullu** 'song'.

preposition	S<u>O</u>V	(9) Aŋ <u>winṇan</u> **müŋŋe kä** ïnte aam.	*And he **took** <u>rope</u> **with** his left hand.*
applic. with experiencer	EVS<u>O</u>	(10) Aŋ gerger tiïŋŋene gaaggaak <u>uullu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **used** harp **to hear** <u>song</u>./And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>song</u> **with** harp*

In Yaam 9-10, the experiencer noun **yaam** 'basket' is used by the subject **määngä** 'women' to do the verb **liïlte** 'be able'.

(Yaam 9-10) (experiencer)
Aŋ a yaam ken liïlte määngä dürdïn   *And since a basket enables women*
<u>wakkä yaakka</u> dirä ye,   *to carry <u>these things</u> that are many,*

In the list below, there are other applicative verbs in stories with receivers, locations and experiencers.

Applicative verbs with receivers

Kiñuk 3	tuñgenee maañ	*he made fire for **it (grass)***
Bääm 11	äätin **Bääm** nüütkene	*he came and informed **Dove***
Bääm 42	**Bääm** nüütkene	*he informed **Dove***
Leeñ 8	Leeñ attä **meken** nüütkene	*Elephant went informed **others***
Leeñ 9	Wiiw **me** näŋedee waygä	*Fox makes shoes **for people***
Leeñ 15	ŋäälkedee waygä	*he was peeling shoes **for them***
Pïïṇṇä 3	**Jooŋ** nüütkenee	*he informed **God***

Applicative verbs with locations

Bääm 20	Gaaggaak ṭärkene **näṇṭä piik**	*he hid from Raven **in water place***

Applicative verbs with experiencers

Yaam 5	ken ṭemte määngä wakkä LOC	*women use **it (basket)** to carry things*
Yaam 7	dürte merkä	*they use **it (basket)** to carry children*

Yaam 9 a **yaam** ken lïïlte määngä	*they make **basket** to enables women*
Geel 37 **Geel** üütte ti nänṭä ŋiil	*he used **Lion** to run to dancing place*

Exercise 9

In the sentences below, underline once all subject nouns. Underline twice all object nouns. Draw a triangle around each receiver, location or experiencer noun. Circle all applicative verbs that have a receiver, location or experiencer. Do not underline other nouns or circle other verbs. The first one is done as an example.

(Kiñuk 2-3)	
Aŋ atto gäänono luum ïwïn,	*He went to collect dry grass,*
aŋ büükkee käälok, aŋ tuñgenee maañ,	*heaped it in the cave, and he caused fire to burn it,*
(Bääm 11)	
Aŋ yoori Gaaggaak, aŋ äätin Bääm nüütkene,	*And Raven saw it and came and informed Dove,*
(Bääm 20)	
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ	*Another day,*
Wiiw attä Gaaggaak ṭärkene nänṭä piik.	*Fox came and hide from Raven in place of water.*
(Bääm 42)	
Aŋ yoori Gaaggaak, aŋ attä Bääm nüütkene.	*And Raven saw it, and went and informed Dove.*
(Leeñ 8-9)	
Aŋ Leeñ attä meken nüütkene ogo,	*And Elephant went and informed others,*
"Wiiw me näŋedee waygä ka."	*"Fox makes shoes for people."*
(Pïïnnä 3)	
Aŋ wääna attee ko ye, Jooŋ nüütkenee.	*And when he went, he informed God.*

Possessor and possessed nouns

When two nouns are said together, the second noun may own or possess the first noun for distant relationship (alienable), or the first may own the second for close relationship (inalienable). Owning nouns are called possessor nouns. Nouns that are owned are called possessed nouns. If the two nouns have a close relationship, a possessor suffix -**e** 'his' or –**en** 'their' is on the second noun, and the second noun is a possessed noun. If the two nouns have a distant relationship, there is no possessor suffix on the second noun, and the second noun is a possessor noun.

In (1), there is a close relationship between the nouns **men ïnte** 'person's hand (lit. person his hand)'. The possessed noun **ïntä** 'hand' has the suffix –**e** 'his' and follows the possessor noun **men** 'person'.

close	possessor possessed-**e**	(1) men ïnt**e**	*hand of person, person's hand*
distant	possessed possessor	(2) waynä men	*shoe of person, person's shoe*

In (2), there is a distant relationship between the nouns **waynä men** 'shoe of person'. The possessed noun **waynä** 'shoe' comes before the possessor noun **men** 'person'.

In *Yaam 11-12*, there is a close relationship between the nouns **määngä witken** 'women's heads (lit. women their heads)'. The possessed noun **witkä** 'heads' has the suffix **–en** 'their' and follows the possessor noun **määngä** 'women'.

(Yaam 11-12) (Close relationship)
Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ yaam ti ye,   *And a bad thing concerning the basket is*
naana ṭemtä määngä witken ti   *when women carry (it) on their heads*
yuungu kä ḍiräk ye, **määngä witken** wec.   *for many years, the **heads of women** are bald.*

The possessor noun **määngä** 'women' owns the possessed noun **witkä** 'heads'. Since heads are nearly always found as part of person, the word **witkä** 'heads' is not easily separated from **määngä** 'women'. **Witkä** has a close relationship with **määngä**. To show this close relationship, we write the possessed noun second and with the suffix –en 'their' as **määngä witken**.

In *Kiñuk 1-2*, there is a distant relationship between the nouns **kääl bilgiñ̃i** 'cave of bats'. The possessed noun **kääl** 'cave' comes before the possessor noun **bilgiñ̃i** 'bats'.

(Kiñuk 1-2) (Distant relationship)
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ atto kiñuk pare,   *A long time ago, a man went on a hunt alone,*
aŋ käñño **kääl bilgiñ̃i**.   *and found a **cave of bats**.*

The possessor noun **bilgiñ̃i** 'bats' owns the possessed noun **kääl** 'cave'. A cave can be separated from bats, such as if the bats move away. So, the relationship between these words is not as close—it is distant. To show they have a distant relationship we write the possessor noun second and without a possessor suffix as **kääl bilgiñ̃i**.

Close possessor nouns

In nouns with a close relationship, the first or the second noun can be singular or plural. When the possessor noun is singular, the possessor suffix –e 'his' comes on the possessed noun, as in (3-4). And when the possessor noun is plural, the possessor suffix –en 'their' comes on the possessed noun, as in (5).

  (3) men ïnt**e**   *person's hand (person his hand)*
  (4) men ïnk**e**   *person's hands (person his hands)*
  (5) me ïnk**en**   *peoples' hands (people their hands)*

Body part nouns, family nouns, and some other nouns are not easily separated from the words owning them. So, they are written with a suffix –**e** 'his' or –**en** 'their' on the possessed noun

which comes second. These include the words below with a close relationship.

Nouns with close relationship (inalienable)

	Possessor possessed	
Kiñuk 17	äŋ waŋe	sun's face
Kiñuk 17	men waŋge	person's eyes
Bääm 39	Wiiw jone	Fox's heart
Leeñ 41	Leeñ mooye ŋäñe	big Elephant's back
Geel 34	Geel ŋäñe	Lion's back
Geel 40	Geel ŋäc	to Lion's back
Äwñä 7	kääl tüke	cave's lip (door)
Pïïnnä 13	Pïïŋnä teye	Wasp's waist
Yaam 12	määngä witken	women's heads
Yaam 14	määngä waŋgen	women's eyes
Bääm 19	Gaaggaak iken ke Bääm juuggen	Raven and Dove's hearts
Leeñ 18	Liik kïïgen	Elephants' feet

Some possessor nouns with close possessor pronouns suffixes have become adjectives that tell a characteristic (quality) about the noun before it.

Possessed nouns with close relationship used as adjectives

	Possessor possessed	
Kiñuk 8	iin durñe	young hyena (hyena's small one)
Kiñuk 11	iin mooye	old hyena (hyena's old one)
Bääm 34	ḍeel ṭuule	small goat (goat's daughter)
Leeñ 41	Leeñ mooye	big Elephant (elephant's big one)

Distant possessor nouns

In nouns with a distant relationship, the first or the second noun can also be singular or plural.

(6) waynä <u>men</u>   shoe of person
(7) waygä <u>men</u>   shoes of person
(8) waynä <u>me</u>   shoe of people
(9) waygä <u>me</u>   shoes of people

When the words **men, me** 'person, people' are possessed in a distant relationship, they become **män, mä** 'person of, people of'.

(10) <u>män</u> jaan   person of tree, healer
(11) <u>mä</u> jengä   people of trees, healers
(12) <u>män</u> poñ   person of tradition, priest
(13) <u>mä</u> poñku   people of traditions, priests

51

Nouns other than body parts and family nouns can easily be separated from the nouns owning them. They are often written with the possessor nouns second. These include the words below with a distant relationship.

Nouns with distant relationship (alienable)

	Possessed possessor	
Yaam 6	wälkä piik	*gourds of water*
Yaam 18	määngä mäbaan	*women of human being (Jumjum)*
Kiñuk 2	kääl bilgiññi	*cave of bats*
Bääm 6	len lämmä	*axe of mud*
Bääm 20	nänṭä piik	*place of water*
Bääm 46	nänṭä päk	*place of grain*
Leeñ 6	waygä kïïgï	*shoes of my feet*
Leeñ 18	yäŋgä Liik	*meat of Elephant*
Geel 1	wakkä luum	*things of grass (wild animals)*
Geel 46	owkïtïn Wiiw	*strength of Fox*
Äwñä 2	kääl äwñä	*cave of porcupine*
Pïïnnä 14	merkä meken	*children of others*

For some nouns with distant relationship, the possessor connector **yen**, **yek** 'of' comes between the nouns. The singular connector **yen** follows a singular possessor such as in (12). The plural connector **yek** follows a plural possessor such as in (13).

(10) waynä <u>men</u> *shoe of person*	(11) waygä <u>men</u> *shoes of person*
(12) waynä **yen** men *shoe **of** person*	(13) waygä **yek** men *shoes **of** person*

The following nouns with distant relationship have the possessor connector **yen** 'of' or **yek** 'of' between them.

Nouns with distant relationship (alienable)

	Possessed connector possessor	
Pïïnnä 11	wiṇṇan **yen** bïl	*rope of metal*
Leeñ 2	waygä **yek** boṇṇan	*shoes of skin*

Exercise 10

Underline all possessed nouns in the lines below. Underline twice all possessor nouns in the lines below. Then in the blank to the left, write C if the nouns have a close relationship, and write D if the nouns have a distant relationship. The first sentence is done as an example.

(Yaam 14)
Aŋ ŋucana yiñ yeene yïmgä taañjede   *And another bad thing of it, is that it presses*

C　ïñï **määngä waŋgen** ti,　　　　　　　　*the blood down on the __women's eyes__,*
　　(Kiñuk 17)

__　　An naana daa äŋ waŋe wükco ye,　　　*And when the sun's face moved on, then the*
__　　i men waŋge piijodo.　　　　　　　*person's eyes began to regain consciousness.*
　　(Bääm 6)

　　Aŋ Bääm yaakï,　　　　　　　　　　*Then Dove was refusing*
__　　aŋ Wiiw attä näŋŋä len lämmä.　　　*and Fox went and made an axe of mud.*
　　(Bääm 39)

__　　Aŋ Wiiw jone yaaññä,　　　　　　　*And Fox's heart became angry, and he went and*
　　aŋ attä ääcin kücam cäygene jï päk.　*brought an animal skin bag full of grain.*
　　(Leeñ 2)

__　　Aŋ Wiiw ŋeel kä waygä yek boṇṇan,　*And Fox was dancing with shoes of leather,*
　　(Geel 34)

__　　Aŋ Wiiw taappä Geel ŋäñe ti.　　　*And Fox rode on the Lion's back.*
　　(Geel 46)

　　Aŋ wäättana waak muureen luggin　　*Afterwards, all the animals acknowledged*
__　　kä owkïtïn Wiiw.　　　　　　　　*the strength of Fox.*
　　(Pïïnnä 10-11)

　　Aŋ Jooŋ jone püütono, aŋ Pïïṇṇä müŋŋee,　*Then God was upset, so he caught Wasp,*
__　　aŋ ḍeŋŋee teygin ko wiṇṇan yen bïl.　*and tied his waist with a rope of metal.*
　　(Pïïnnä 13-14)

__　　Ina ken Pïïṇṇä teye ŋalje ko ŋal yaanna,　*That is why Wasp's waist is thin like this,*
__　　aŋ müügee ko merkä meken yaakka.　*and he catches it with these children of others.*

Locations (locatives)

Location words show the goal or location of an action in relation to a certain noun they follow. They can also show the location of a noun. Location words can sound the same as the body part noun they come from. Or, when followed by the preposition **ti** 'here, place, location', they sound the same as the possessed body part noun. That is, they have the possessor suffix –**e** 'his' when following a singular noun, and have the suffix –**en** 'their' when following a plural noun.

In *Kiñuk 22-23*, the location **ŋoy** 'under' shows the goal (the ending place or direction of the action **kaaññïï** 'they passed') in relation to the noun **jaan** 'tree'.

(Kiñuk 22-23) (goal of action)
　Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ ḍoŋe ti,　　　　　*The person was wearing a whistle around his neck,*
　aŋ wääna kaaññïï ko jaan __ŋoy__ ye,　*and when (they) passed __under__ a tree,*

The location **ŋoy** 'under' sounds the same as the body part noun **ŋoy** 'anus' that it comes from.

In *Bääm 40-41,* the location and preposition **ŋoye ti** 'under' shows the location of the noun **kücam**

'skin bag' in relation to the **jaan gaaggaak** 'tree of Raven'.

(Bääm 40-41) (location of noun)

Aŋ kaaccä kücam jïñe ti, jaan	*Then he entered into the bag __under__ nearby*
gaaggaak **ŋoye ti** kä cokal, aŋ päk tükke ïñï.	*tree of Raven, and he sprinkled out some grain.*

The location **ŋoye** 'under' sounds the same as the possessed body part noun **ŋoye** 'his anus' that it comes from.

The singular body part nouns below in **bold** can be used as location words following singular nouns.

Singular nouns and location words

Noun		Possessed noun		Location	Location and adverb **ti**	
				Aŋ gin kaññïï	Aŋ gin kaññïï	*They found something*
ŋoy	*anus*	ŋoye	*his anus*	. . . jaan **ŋoy**.	. . . jaan **ŋoye ti**.	. . . __under__ *tree.*
wiñ	*head*	wiñe	*his head*	. . . jaan **wic**.	. . . jaan **wiñe ti**.	. . . __up in__ *tree.*
gun	*side*	gunne	*his side*	. . . jaan **jok**.	. . . jaan **gunne ti**.	. . . __beside__ *tree.*
jïñ	*stomach*	jïñe	*his stomach*	. . . kücam **jï**.	. . . kücam **jïñe ti**.	. . . __inside__ *skin bag.*
ŋäñ	*back*	ŋäñe	*his back*	. . . jaan **ŋäc**.	. . . jaan **ŋäñe ti**.	. . . __behind__ *tree.*
ñom	*face*	ñome	*his face*	. . . jaan **ñom**.	. . . jaan **ñome ti**.	. . . __before__ *tree.*

The plural nouns below in **bold** can be used as location words following plural nouns.

Plural nouns and location words

Noun		Possessed noun		Location	Location and adverb **ti**	
				Aŋ gin kaññïï [check all]	Aŋ gin kaññïï [check all]	*They found something . .*
ŋoygu	*anuses*	ŋoygen	*their anuses*	. jengä **ŋoygu**.	. jengä **ŋoyen ti**.	. __under__ *trees.*
witkä	*heads*	witken	*their heads*	. jengä **witkä**.	. jengä **witken ti**.	. __up in__ *trees.*
gurku	*sides*	gurken	*their sides*	. jengä **gurku**.	. jengä **gurken ti**.	. __beside__ *trees.*
gïtkä	*stom.s*	gïtken	*their stom.s*	. kücümgü **gïtkä**.	. kücümgü **gïtken ti**.	. __inside__ *bags.*
ŋätkä	*backs*	ŋätken	*their backs*	. jengä **ŋätkä**.	. jengä **ŋätken ti**.	. __behind__ *trees.*
ñomgu	*faces*	ñomgen	*their faces*	. jengä **ñomgu**.	. jengä **ñomgen ti**.	. __before__ *trees.*

Location words found in the stories are shown below.

	Location words	
Kiñuk 23	kaaññïï ko jaan **ŋoy**	*they passed __under__ tree*
Bääm 8	yuuttu jaan **ŋoy**	*he stood __under__ tree*

Bääm 44	päk a püüktïdïnï ïñï jaan **ŋoy** baanni	*grain was spilled down **under** tree of my area*
Leeñ 28	lüüttü tï pääm **ŋoy**	*he ran **under** mountain*
Bääm 41	jaan gaaggaak **ŋoye ti** kä cokal	***under** nearby tree of Raven*
Leeñ 1	waak luum **jïñe** ŋelok ṭuuŋ	*things of **inside** grass (animals) danced dance*
Geel 1	wakkä luum **jïñe** cäyok nänṭä keellä	*things of **inside** grass (animals) live together*
Bääm 40	kaaccä kücam **jïñe ti**	*he entered **into** bag*
Geel 7	wükcïdï tï ṭulgu **gurken ti**	*he pass **next to** girls*

We have the following spelling rule for writing location words.

Spelling Rule 4: Write locations as separate words.

Aŋ gin kaññïï jaan **ŋoy**.	*They found something **under** a tree.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï jaan **wic**.	*They found something **up in** a tree.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï jaan **jï**.	*They found something **in** bag.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï jaan **jok**.	*They found something **beside** a tree.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï jaan **ŋäc**.	*They found something **behind** a tree.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï jaan **ñom**.	*They found something **in front of** a tree.*

Exercise 11

In the sentences below, <u>underline</u> all location words and the preposition ti 'here, location' when it follows a location word.

(Bääm 8)
Aŋ yuuttu jaan **ŋoy**, aŋ Bääm ene ogo,   *(He) stood **under** tree, and he was threatening Dove,*
(Bääm 40-41)
Aŋ kaaccä kücam jïñe ti, jaan   *Then he entered into the bag, under nearby*
gaaggaak ŋoye ti kä cokal, aŋ päk tükke ïñï.   *tree of Raven, and he sprinkled out some grain.*
(Bääm 43-44)
Ika käññä päk a püüktïdïnï ïñï   *I found grain spilled down*
jaan ŋoy baanni, aŋ ika batta ämä päk.   *under tree of my area, and I am not eating the grain.*
(Leeñ 1)
Ñomuk ku on yuungu yakkalaŋ ti,   *Long ago in past time of certain years, the things of*
waak luum jïñe ŋelok ṭuuŋ.   *inside grass (animals) were dancing the horn dance.*
(Leeñ 28)
Aŋ lüüttü tï pääm ŋoy, aŋ käññä ḍuk,   *And he ran under the mountain, and found gum,*
(Geel 1)
Ñomuk ku on,   *Long ago in past time, things*
wakkä luum jïñe cäyok nänṭä keellä,   *of inside grass (animals) were living in the same place,*
(Geel 7)
I baati durñu yaana ŋuca   *And there was no youth who could go near,*
wükcïdï tï ṭulgu gurken ti ye.   *to be next to the girls.*

Prepositions

<u>Prepositions</u> introduce nouns along with other words, and tell about a verb. The preposition and the words introduced by the preposition are called a <u>prepositional phrase</u>. **Kä** 'with, by, that, from' introduces a tool, source, goal, or noun used as an adverb, quantity or number, **ke** 'with' introduces accompaniment, **–ok** 'in, inside' introduces location, and **ti, tï** 'on, above, in, at round, about, to, from' introuduces place, time, relatedness, goal, or source. The prepositions **kä** and **ke** come before the prepositional phrase, but **ti** and the suffix **–ok** follow the phrase (postpositions).

<u>**Kä, ko** 'with, by, that, from' for tool, source, goal, adverb</u>

The preposition **kä, ko** 'with, by, that' comes before a noun. It introduces a tool, source, goal, or noun used as an adverb, quantity or number. Some speakers say **kä** and others say **ko** for the same preposition.

Kä, ko often introduces a <u>tool</u>, that is, what is used to do the verb. In Yaam 3, the preposition **kä** 'with' introduces **boygu ke wingä** 'skins and ropes'. It shows these nouns are a tool used to do the verb **paargä** 'wrap'.

  <u>(Yaam 3) (tool)</u>
  Aŋ paargä me yok <u>**kä** boygu ke wingä</u>,   *And people wrap body <u>**with** skins and ropes</u>,*

Kä, ko can sometimes show the <u>source</u>, the place where the verb came from. In *Geel 18*, **kä** 'from' shows **Geel** 'Lion' is the source where **booju** 'be afraid' (does not) come from.

  <u>(Geel 18) (Source)</u>
  Ika batta booju <u>**kä** Geel</u>,   *I am not afraid <u>**from** Lion</u>,*
  ika cäänna agä oon bata ike aŋan.   *I am also a man like him.*

Kä, ko sometimes shows the <u>goal</u>, the direction or ending location of the verb. In *Kiñuk 24-25,* **ko** 'to' shows **nänṭa mïṭon** 'dark place' is the ending location of **ḍakkïï** 'arrived'.

  <u>(Kiñuk 24-25) (Goal)</u>
  Aŋ wääna ḍakkïï **ko** nänṭa mïṭon ye,   *And when they arrived **to** densely forested place,*
  killäŋ puuccee küüttee ogo, *tiit*!   *he tried to blow the whistle, tweet!*

Kä, ko also introduces nouns as <u>adverbs</u>, that tell about the verb. It can also introduce numbers or quantities that tell how many of noun there are.

In *Yaam 18-19,* **kä** 'with' introduces the noun **bïraŋ yaanna** 'this quickly'. These words are used as an adverb that tell how **ṭiintete** 'becoming old' happens.

Ina ken määngä mäbaan ṭiintete   *That is why Jumjum women are becoming old*
kä bïraŋ yaanna, aŋ iiŋ ke yaam yeene   **with** *quickly, and the woman with her basket*

In *Leeñ 17,* **kä** 'with' introduces the number **ŋaṭükel** 'seven', which tells how many of the noun **nïïnkä** 'days' there are.

(Leeñ 17) (Number)
Aŋ Wiiw Liik kiinne ogo,   *And Fox told the Elephants,*
"Ääte nïïnkä **kä** **ŋaṭükel**."   *"Return in days **that** seven."*

Ke 'with' for accompaniment

The preposition **ke** 'with, and' comes before a noun. It often introduces <u>accompaniment</u>, someone who does the verb along with the subject.

In *Geel 2,* the preposition **ke** 'with' introduces the noun **meken** 'others' which accompanies, or does the verb **bilti** 'was there' along with **Geel** 'Lion'.

(Geel 2) (Accompaniment)
Aŋ Geel bilti **ke** meken,   *And Lion was there **with** the others,*

In the lesson *Main clause connectors,* we will learn that **ke** 'with, and, or, until' is also used as a connector to join two nouns or two prepositional phrases in the same <u>phrase</u> (a group of words without a verb) or <u>clause</u> (a group of words with a verb).

In *Yaam 3,* the preposition **ke** 'and' connects the noun **wingä** 'ropes' with **boygu** 'skins' so that they are both used to do the verb **paargä** 'wrap'.

(Yaam 3) (Connecting two nouns)
Aŋ paargä me yok kä boygu **ke** wingä.   *And people wrap body with skins **and** ropes.*

-ok 'in, inside' for location

The prepositional (postpositional) suffix **-ok** 'in, inside' attaches to the end of a noun it introduces. It introduces <u>location</u>, specifically that the position of the verb is inside the noun.

In *Kiñuk 2-3,* **-ok** 'inside' attaches to the noun **kääl** 'cave' and shows the verb **büükkee** 'heaped it' happened inside this noun.

(Kiñuk 2-3) (Location-inside)
Aŋ atto gäänono luum ïwïn,   *He went to collect dry grass,*

aŋ büükkee <u>käälok</u>, aŋ tuñgenee maañ. *heaped it <u>**in** cave</u>, and he caused fire to burn it.*

<u>**Ti, tï** 'on, above, in, at, around, about, to, from' for place, time, related information, goal, source</u>

The preposition (postposition) **ti** 'on, above, in, at around, about, to, from' often comes after a noun it introduces, but can also come before the noun. It introduces place, time, related information, goal or source. The light preposition **ti** is most common. In the lesson *Prepostions introducing pronouns,* we learn that the heavy preposition **tï** follows heavy pronouns **ïkï** 'you (sg)', **ïkïï** 'us (two)', **ïkïïn** 'us (and you)' [and maybe some verbs with heavy vowels].

Ti 'on, above' introduces <u>place</u>, specifically the position of the verb above, in or around the noun. In *Yaam 16,* **ti** 'in' shows the location of the verb **nääkke pillä** 'causes pain' is in **ḍuuggen** 'their necks'.

<u>(Yaam 16) (Place-in)</u>
Aŋ ŋucana nääkke pillä <u>duuggen **ti**</u>. *And it also causes pain <u>**in** their necks</u>.*

Ti can also introduce the <u>time</u> or duration of the verb. In *Geel 28,* **ti** 'in' shows the time of the verb **yori boonu** 'my body is sick' is **nïïnkä yaakki** 'these days'.

<u>(Geel 28) (Time)</u>
Aŋ müükonḍi por ŋäjjä, *And do you know, my friend,*
<u>nïïnkä yaakki **ti**</u> yori boonu kockon. *<u>**in** these days</u> my body is very sick.*

Ti can introduce <u>related information</u>, that is, the noun certain information is about. In *Yaam 11-12,* **ti** 'about' shows the information **määngä witken wec** 'heads of women are bald' is related to the noun **yaam** 'basket'.

<u>(Yaam 11-12) (Related information)</u>
Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ <u>yaam **ti**</u> ye, *And a bad thing <u>**about** the basket</u> is*
naana ṭemtä määngä witken ti *when women carry (it) on their heads*
yuungu kä ḍiräk ye, määngä witken wec. *for years that many, the heads of women are bald.*

Ti can introduce the <u>goal</u>, the ending place or direction of the verb. In *Yaam 7,* **ti** 'to' shows the ending place of the verb **bagit** 'move' is **nänṭä yaŋkalaŋ** 'certain place'.

<u>(Yaam 7) (Goal)</u>
Aŋ naana me bagit <u>nänṭä yaŋkalaŋ **ti**</u> ye *And when people move it <u>**to** another place,</u>*

Ti can also introduce the <u>source</u>, the beginning place of the verb. In *Leeñ 2-3,* **ti** 'from' shows the beginning place of the verb **wegok** 'making sound' is **kïïge** 'his feet'.

<u>(Leeñ 2-3) (Source)</u>

Aŋ Wiiw ŋeel kä waygä yek boṇṇan,   *And Fox was dancing with shoes of leather,*
aŋ wegok kïïge ti ogo, *wac, wac, wac.*   *And **from** his feet he was making sound, tap, tap.*

Ti most often follows the phrase it introduces. However, in *Bääm 45-46,* **ti** 'to' introduces the goal **näṇṭä päk** 'place of grain' and comes before this phrase.

(Bääm 45-46) (Goal, **ti** before phrase)
Aŋ Bääm gïmmïn, aŋ päygin iken   *And Dove agreed, and they (he) and Raven flew,*
ke Gaaggaak, aŋ ḍakkä **tï** näṇṭä päk.   *and they arrived **to the place of the grain**.*

Other sentences from the stories with these four prepositions are given below. The preposition **kä** 'with, by, that, from' introduces the following phrases.

Preposition **kä** 'with, by, that, from'

tool	Yaam 2	ḍiigjänä me ïñï **kä** wingä	*people tie them down **with** ropes*
	Yaam 3	paargä me yok **kä** boygu	*people wrap body **with** skins*
	Bääm 60	mügja buggi ti **kä** lekü	*you hold my wings **with** your teeth*
	Bääm 65	I week **kä** jone ñamme	*he cried **with** sweet heart*
	Leeñ 2	Wiiw ŋeel **kä** waygä	*Fox was dancing **with** shoes*
	Geel 35	mükküdü **kä** yori	*I control **with** my body*
	Geel 37	wiṇṇan müṇŋe **kä** ïnte aam	*he grabbed rope **with** his left hand*
	Geel 46	waak luggin **kä** owkïṭïn Wiiw	*animals agreed **with** strength of Fox*
	Pïïṇṇä 11	ḍeŋŋee teygin **ko** wiṇṇan yen bïl	*he tied his waist **with** a chain*
source	Geel 5	dürjï bojok **kä** baaṇṇä ṭulgu	*youth were afraid **from** loving girls*
	Geel 17	bojgo **ko** Geel	*they afraid **from** Lion*
	Geel 18	ika batta booju **kä** Geel	*I am not afraid **from** Lion*
goal	Kiñuk 23	kaaññïï **ko** jaan ŋoy	*they passed **to** under tree*
	Kiñuk 25	ḍakkïï **ko** näṇta mïṭon	*they arrived **to** dark place*
	Kiñuk 28	wükcïnïï **ko ko** ḍeeḍaŋ	*they went **to** as little (further)*
	Pïïṇṇä 14	müügee **ko** merkä meken yaakka	*he catches **to** children of these others*
adverb	Yaam 18	määngä ṭiintete **kä** bïraŋ yaanna	*women become old **with** quickly*
	Bääm 13	a lämmä **kä** pet	*it is mud **with** only*
	Geel 29	yori riijänä **kä** pet	*my body was struggling **with** very*
	Bääm 16	Tääyä ïñï **kä** bïraŋ	*you cut it down **with** quickly*
	Bääm 40	kaaccä kücam jïñe ti . . . **kä** cokal	*he entered bag . . . **with** nearby*
	Bääm 48	Wiiw a ṭaron **kä** cokal	*Fox was hiding **with** nearby*
	Geel 39	ḍäägene ti **kä** cokal	*he arrived **with** nearby*
	Geel 21	booju **kä** loon	*you are afraid **with** shyness*
	Geel 44	ṭulgu murru gïṭï **kä** yaalgä	*girls came running **with** laughter*
	Pïïṇṇä 13	ken Pïïṇṇä teye ŋalje **ko** ŋal yaanna	*Wasp's waist is thin **with** this thinness*

	Kiñuk 10	ŋeeyjï **ko** ïw	*we eat it **with** dryness*
	Geel 42	ooric yaanna bi taapä **kä** ääŋkalaŋ	*this man I will ride **with** certain day*
	Kiñuk 14	cääjjo **ko** ḍeeḍaŋ	*they were sitting **with** little*
quantity	Yaam 12	ṭemtä määngä . . . yuungu **kä** ḍiräk	*women carry . . . years **that** many*
number	Yaam 2	näkä nïïnkä **kä** ḍäk	*is days **that** three*
	Bääm 62	ika bi weekcä . . . ääŋki **kä** yew	*I will cry . . . times **that** two*
	Leeñ 17	Ääte minkä **kä** ŋaṭükel	*you return days **with** seven*
	Äwñä 9	ike nääkin nïïnkä **kä** yewwe	*he spent days **that** two*
	Bääm 5	yiipka ïñï **kä** keelok	*you throw down **with** one*
	Äwñä 5	näkkä äwñä **kä** keelok	*he felt porcupine **that** one*
	Kiñuk 5	iygä **ko** yewwe atto kiñuk	*hyenas **that** two went hunting*
	Kiñuk 29	men killäŋ küüttee tugged **ko** yewwe	*person blew whistle times **that** two*

The preposition **kä** nearly always introduces a noun or phrase. But in the following sentences, the noun introduced by **kä** is not mentioned.

Preposition **kä** 'with, by, that, from'

Kiñuk 18	dääṇṇee **ko**	*he became soft **with** (softness)*
Geel 19	ooric yaanna bi taapä **kä**	*this your man I will ride **on** (him)*
Äwñä 2	laaye **kä**	*he was roaming **around** (area)*
Pïïṇṇä 3	attee **ko**	*they went **to** (place)*
Pïïṇṇä 7	Jooŋ ḍäägenee **ko ti**	*God arrived **as to** (place)*

The preposition **ke** 'with' introduces the phrases below.

Preposition **ke** 'with'

accom-paniment	Yaam 19	iiŋ **ke** yaam yeene	*woman **with** this her basket*
	Geel 2	Geel bilti **ke** meken	*Lion was there **with** others*
	Geel 45	ŋeel **ke** ṭulgu küüttaŋ	*he alone dances **with** girls*
	Äwñä 1	Albe attä kiñuk **ke** guuŋ yeene	*Albe went on hunt **with** his dog*
	Bääm 19	Gaaggaak iken **ke** Bääm juuggen	*hearts of Raven **and** Dove*
	Bääm 46	päygin iken **ke** Gaaggaak	*he **and** Raven flew*

The prepositional suffix **-ok** 'inside' introduces the phrases below.

Prepositional suffix -**ok** 'inside'

location-inside	Kiñuk 3	büükkee kääl**ok**	*he heaped it **inside** cave*
	Kiñuk 4	ḍoŋe tuñjenee ti kääl**ok**	*he burned himself **inside** cave*
	Kiñuk 7	men kaññïï kääl**ok**	*they found person **inside** cave*
	Äwñä 3	kaaccä kääl**ok**	*he entered **inside** cave*
	Äwñä 9	ike nääkin nïïnkä kä yewwe kääl**ok**	*he spent two days **inside** cave*
	Leeñ 34	Liik attä wiir**ok**	*Elephants went **inside** river*

Depending on the noun it is attached to, the prepositional suffix –**ok** can have the meanings 'inside, in, at, on'. There can be an added consonant such as the ḍ in **wooyḍok** 'at river', and the suffix can also be –**ük** as in **maaccük** 'in fire'.

Noun		-**ok** 'inside, in, at, on'		**jï** 'in, inside', **ti** 'in, on'		**wic** 'on', **gïtï** 'in, through'	
wooy	*river*	wooyḍok	*at river*	wooy **jï**	*in river*	jaan **wic**	*up in tree*
äm ?	*hut*	ämpok	*on hut*	baan **jï**	*inside village*	daaŋ **wic**	*on shelter*
ul ?	corner	ulpok	*in corner*	baan **ti**	*in village*	cätä **gïtï**	*through mud*
maañ	*fire*	maaccük	*in fire*	mäbaan **ti**	*on people*	luum **gïtï**	*through grass*

The location words **jï** 'in, inside' and **wic** 'on', the preposition **ti** 'in, on' and the adverb **gïtï** 'in, through' can all give similar meaning to that of the prepositional suffix –**ok**. Which word or suffix is used may depend on the noun and the verb in the sentence.

We have the following spelling rule for writing the preposition suffix –**ok**.

Spelling Rule 5: Write –**ok** 'in, at, on' connected to words.

än	*hut*	ämp**ok**	*on hut, attic*
maañ	*fire*	maacc**ük**	*in fire*
daaŋ	*rakuba*	daamp**ok**	*on shelter*
wooy	*river*	wooyd**ok**	*at river*
kääl	*cave*	kääl**ok**	*in cave*

The preposition **ti** 'on, above, in, at, around, about, to, from' introduces other phrases below.

Preposition **ti** 'on, above, in, at, around, about, to, from'

place-	Yaam 5	yaam mäbaan **ti**	*basket on Jumjum people*
above	Yaam 5	ṭemte määngä wakkä witken **ti**	*women carry things on their heads*
	Yaam 8	äṭäŋgä ŋaapcätä me yam ṭuŋke **ti**	*people hang chickens on horns*
	Yaam 14	yïmgä taañjede ïñï määngä waŋgen **ti**	*it presses blood down on eyes*
	Kiñuk 21	dünṇï iin durñe ḍoŋe **ti**	*hyena carried him on his neck*
	Leeñ 29	paatte waŋge **ti**	*he spread it on his face*
	Geel 32	Ïkï bi taapci ŋäñi **ti**	*I will carry you on my back*
	Geel 34	Wiiw taappä Geel ŋäñe **ti**	*Fox rode on Lion's back*
in, at	Yaam 16	nääkke pillä ḍuuggen **ti**	*it causes pain in their necks*
	Yaam 16	nääkke pillä . . . ŋätken **ti**	*it causes pain in their backs*
	Yaam 17	bäätcïdï ïñï ke teygen **ti**	*pains goes down and in their hips*
	Kiñuk 13	büüccï pii**ti**	*they soaked him in water*
	Geel 8	toorok batta kaaccïdï wiñe **ti**	*badness did not enter in his head*
	Geel 41	jaayi jone **ti**	*he said in his heart*
	Pïïṇṇä 1	mäŋkalaŋ tüwno baan yaŋkalaŋ **ti**	*someone died in certain land*
	Leeñ 26	wäättana wegok nankeen **ti**	*they cried in their places*

around	Kiñuk 22	men eŋdo killäŋ ḍoŋe **ti**	*person wore whistle **around** his neck*
	Geel 35	ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan ḍoŋü **ti**	*I tie rope **around** your neck*
time	Leeñ 1	Ñomuk ku on yuungu yakkalaŋ **ti**	*before long ago **in** certain year*
	Geel 23	ääŋkalaŋ **ti**	***in** another day*
	Geel 28	nïïnkä yaakki **ti**	***in** these days*
	Äwñä 1	Ääŋkalaŋ **ti**	***in** certain day*
	Äwñä 11	nïïnkä yaakka **ti**	***in** all these days*
related	Yaam 10	a gin a ŋeraŋ yaam **ti**	*is a thing that good **about** basket*
	Yaam 11	gin a yaajaŋ yaam **ti**	*a thing that bad **about** basket*
	Geel 4	dürjï yämde ṭulgu **ti**	*he threatened youth **about** girls*
goal	Yaam 7	me bagit nänṭä yaŋkalaŋ **ti**	*people move **to** certain place*
	Bääm 60	mügja buggi **ti**	*hold on **to** my wings*
	Leeñ 38	attä Leeñ yaana tälaŋ ye **ti**	*he went **to** big elephant*
	Leeñ 40	kaacci ŋäñi **ti**	*you enter **to** my back*
	Leeñ 41	kaaccä Leeñ mooye ŋäñe **ti**	*he entered **to** big elephants back*
	Geel 24	Wiiw juwin attä Geel **ti**	*Fox rose and went **to** Lion*
	Geel 33	Wiiw jaajjin jone **ti**	*Fox said **to** himself*
source	Kiñuk 9	liikono woo gine ṭuule gunne **ti**	*he broke off small thing **from** his side*
	Leeñ 3	wegok kïïge **ti**	*he made them **from** his feet*
	Geel 11	atï ükcïdï gïtï jiik yaakka ṭulgu **ti**	*he went evaluated by word **from** girls*
	Geel 14	tääcki **ti** Wiiw	*asking **from** Fox*

In the sentences below, **ti** is used along with the other prepositions **kä** or –**ok**, or is used along with itself.

Preposition **ti** with other prepositions

Geel 36	ḍekke da **kä** ḍoŋe **ti**	*he tied it **to on** his neck*
Kiñuk 4	ḍoŋe tuñjenee **ti** kääl**ok**	*he burned himself **from in** cave*
Bääm 18	Wiiw len lämmä jeppe **ti** jaan **ti**	*Fox swung mud axe **to on** tree*
Pïïṇṇä 5	pïïṇṇä ḍukcenee **ko ti** me **ti**	*wasp returned **to at** people*

Ti nearly always comes after the noun or phrase it introduces. But in the sentences below, **ti** comes before..

Preposition **ti** before noun phrase

Geel 37	Geel üütte **ti** nänṭä ŋiil	*Lion ran **to** place of dancing*
Geel 39	ḍäägene **ti** kä cokal	*he arrived **to** with near*
Bääm 46	ḍakkä **tï** nänṭä päk	*they arrive **to** place of grain*

Ti nearly always introduces a noun or phrase. But in the sentences below, the noun introduced by **ti** is not mentioned.

Preposition **ti** without a noun phrase

Bääm 63	ḍakkene **ti**	*they arrived **at** (place)*
Geel 12	ḍakke **ti**	*he arrived **at** (place)*
Piïṇṇä 7	Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko **ti**	*God arrived **at** (place)*
Leeñ 36	tääckene **ti**	*he asked **from** (them)*
Geel 48	ook bilto **ti**	*men are there **in** (place)*

In the lesson *Location words*, we learned the preposition **ti** nearly always occurs with location words that have the possessor suffix **–e** or **-en**.

Preposition **ti** occurs after a location word with possessor suffix **–e** or **-en**

Bääm 40	kaaccä kücam **jiñe ti**	*he entered **inside** bag*
Bääm 41	kaaccä kücam jaan Gaaggaak **ŋoye ti**	*he entered bag **under** tree of Raven*
Geel 7	wükcïdï **tï** ṭulgu **gurken ti**	*he passed **to near** girls*

We have the following spelling rule for writing the preposition **ti.**

Spelling Rule 6: Write **ti** 'on, above, in, at, around, about, to, from' separate from all words except when there is a sound change.

Separate
An gin kaññïï jaan wine **ti**. *They found something up in **location** of tree.*
Tiinok men üügïn **ti**. *Yesterday a person came **here**.*

Joined
piik *water*
An gin kaññïï piit**ti**. *They found something in **location** of the water.*

In summary, the prepositions and how they are used are listed below.

	Meaning	Used for			
kä, ko	*with, by, that*	tool	Yaam 3	paargä me yok **kä** boygu	*people wrap body **with** skins*
	from	source	Geel 18	ika batta booju **kä** Geel	*I am not afraid **from** Lion*
	to	goal	Kiñuk 25	ḍakkïï **ko** nänṭa mïṭon	*they arrived **to** dark place*
		adverb	Bääm 13	a lämmä **kä** pet	*it is mud **with** only*
ke	*with*	accomp	Geel 2	Geel bilti **ke** meken	*Lion was there **with** others*
ti	*on, above*	place	Yaam 5	yaam mäbaan **ti**	*basket **on** Jumjum people*
	in, at		Yaam 16	nääkke pillä ḍuuggen **ti**	*it causes pain **in** their necks*
	around		Geel 35	ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan ḍoŋü **ti**	*I tie rope **around** your neck*
	in, on	time	Geel 28	nïïnkä yaakki **ti**	*in these days*
	about	related	Yaam 11	gin a yaajaŋ yaam **ti**	*a thing that bad **about***

63

					basket
	to	goal	Yaam 7	me bagit nänṭä yaŋkalaŋ ti	*people move **to** certain place*
	from	source	Leeñ 3	wegok kïïge **ti**	*he made them **from** his feet*
-ok	*in, inside*	location	Kiñuk 3	büükkee kääl**ok**	*he heaped it **inside** cave*

The location words from the previous lesson are listed below for comparison with place prepositional phrases having **ti**.

Location words.

Singular noun		Plural noun		
Aŋ gin kaññïï	Aŋ gin kaññïï	Aŋ gin kaññïï [check all]	Aŋ gin kaññïï [check all]	*They found something*
. . . jaan **ŋoy**.	. . . jaan **ŋoye ti**.	. jengä **ŋoygu**.	. jengä **ŋoyen ti**.	. . . ***under*** *tree/trees.*
. . . jaan **wic**.	. . . jaan **wiñe ti**.	. jengä **witkä**.	. jengä **witken ti**.	. . . ***up in*** *tree/trees.*
. . . jaan **jok**.	. . . jaan **gunne ti**.	. jengä **gurku**.	. jengä **gurken ti**.	. . . ***beside*** *tree/trees.*
. . . kücam **jï**.	. . . kücam **jïñe ti**.	. kücümgü **gïtkä**.	. kücümgü **gïtken ti**.	. . . ***inside*** *bag/bags.*
. . . jaan **ŋäc**.	. . . jaan **ŋäñe ti**.	. jengä **ŋätkä**.	. jengä **ŋätken ti**.	. . . ***behind*** *tree/trees.*
. . . jaan **ñom**.	. . . jaan **ñome ti**.	. jengä **ñomgu**.	. jengä **ñomgen ti**.	. . . ***before*** *tree/trees.*

Exercise 12

In the sentences below, underline all prepositional phrases. The first sentence is done as an example.

(Yaam 2)
Aŋ ḍiigjänä me iñï **kä** <u>wingä</u>,
aŋ näkä nïïnkä **kä** <u>ḍäk</u>.

*People tie them down **<u>with</u> <u>ropes</u>**
for days **<u>that</u> <u>three</u>.***

(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte määngä ḍürdïn
wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,
aŋ a gin a ŋeraŋ yaam ti ye inni.

*And since a basket enables women
to carry these many things,
this is a good thing about the basket.*

(Yaam 11-12)
Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ yaam ti ye,
naana ṭemtä määngä witken ti
yuungu kä ḍiräk ye, määngä witken wec.

*And a bad thing about the basket is
when women carry (it) on their heads
for years that many, the heads of women are bald.*

(Yaam 16-17)
Aŋ ŋucana nääkke pillä ḍuuggen ti
ke ŋätken ti bäätcïdï iñï ke teygen ti.

*And it also causes pain in their necks
and in their backs going down and in their hips.*

(Yaam 18-19)

Ina ken määngä mäbaan ṭiintete kä bïraŋ yaanna, aŋ iiŋ ke yaam yeene wäättana beel bata teebälaŋ yoono. <u>(Kiñuk 2-4)</u>	*That is why Jumjum women are becoming old with quickly, and the woman with her basket afterwards looks like our car.*
Aŋ atto gäänono luum ïwïn, aŋ büükkee käälok, aŋ tuñgenee maañ, aŋ ḍoŋe tuñjenee ti käälok. <u>(Kiñuk 8-9)</u>	*He went to collect dry grass, heaped it in cave, and he caused fire to burn it, and burned himself in the cave.*
Aŋ düüdïnïï woo, aŋ iin durñe liikono woo gine ṭuule gunne ti näkkenee. <u>(Kiñuk 13)</u>	*And they carried him outside, and young hyena broke off small piece from his side and tasted (it).*
Aŋ düṇṇïï ïññïï büüccïï piitti. <u>(Kiñuk 21)</u>	*They lifted him and took and soaked him in water.*
Aŋ düṇṇïï iin durñe ḍoŋe ti, i küjjï ogo cüüyïdïnï. <u>(Bääm 45-46)</u>	*And the young hyena carried (person) on his neck, but they didn't know that he revived.*
Aŋ Bääm gïmmïn, aŋ päygin iken ke Gaaggaak, aŋ ḍakkä tï nänṭä päk. <u>(Bääm 47-48)</u>	*And Dove agreed, and they (he) and Raven flew, and they arrived to the place of the grain.*
Aŋ Bääm koojjin ïñï ogo ike ämje päk, i Wiiw a ṭaron kä cokal. <u>(Bääm 60)</u>	*And Dove came down to eat the grain, and Fox was hiding with nearby.*
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Mügja buggi ti kä lekü." <u>(Leeñ 2-3)</u>	*And Dove told him, "Hold on to my wings with your teeth."*
Aŋ Wiiw ŋeel kä waygä yek boṇṇan, aŋ wegok kïïge ti ogo, *wac, wac, wac.* <u>(Leeñ 34)</u>	*And Fox was dancing with shoes of leather, And from his feet he was making sound, tap, tap.*
Aŋ Liik attä wiirok mätï piik, <u>(Leen 38)</u>	*And the Elephants went in the river to drink water,*
Aŋ attä Leeñ yaana tälaŋ ye ti, <u>(Geel 5)</u>	*And he went to the Elephant who is big,*
Aŋ dürjï wäättana bojok kä baaṇṇä ṭulgu. <u>(Geel 28)</u>	*And then, youth were afraid from loving girls.*
Aŋ müükonḍi por ŋäjjä, nïïnkä yaakki ti yori boonu kockon. <u>(Geel 33-35)</u>	*And do you know, my friend, in these days my body is very sick.*
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin jone ti ogo, "Ee, a yaana ṭäkkä ye inni!" Aŋ Wiiw taappä Geel ŋäñe ti. Aŋ Wiiw Geel kiinne ogo, "Dalä ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan ḍoŋü ti, mükküdü kä yori." <u>(Geel 36-37)</u>	*And Fox said to himself, "Yes, this is what I want!" And Fox rode on the Lion's back. And Fox told Lion, "Let me tie the rope on your neck (so that) I control it with my body."*

Aŋ wääna ḍekke daa kä ḍoŋe ti ye,	*And when he tied it with to his neck,*
winnan müŋŋe kä ïnte aam,	*he grabbed the rope with his left hand,*
aŋ Geel üütte ti nänṭä ŋiil.	*and Lion ran to the place of dancing.*
(Geel 45)	
Aŋ Wiiw kuuyin ïñï,	*And Fox jumped down,*
aŋ wäättana ŋeel ke ṭulgu küüttaŋ.	*and then only he was dancing with the girls.*
(Äwñä 1)	
Ääŋkalaŋ ti	*On certain day,*
wina Albe attä kiñuk ke guuŋ yeene.	*Albe went on a hunt with his dog.*
(Äwñä 9)	
Aŋ ike nääkin nïïnkä kä yewwe käälok.	*And he spent days that two in the cave.*
(Äwñä 11)	
Aŋ nïïnkä yaakka ti muure, Albe batta ämï,	*And in all these days, Albe did not eat,*
(Pïïnnä 1)	
Ñomuk ku on,	*Long ago in time past,*
mäŋkalaŋ tüwno baan yaŋkalaŋ ti.	*someone died in a certain land.*

Pronouns

A <u>pronoun</u> is used in place of a noun. There are subject pronouns, object pronouns, receiver pronouns, and pronouns introduced by prepositions. These all have the same spelling and sound. There are also prossessor pronouns and reflexive pronouns which are different in spelling from the other pronouns.

In *Geel 34*, **ika** 'me', **-ü** 'your' (on ḍoŋü 'your neck') and **yori** 'myself ' are all pronouns.

(Geel 34)	
Aŋ <u>**Wiiw**</u> <u>**Geel**</u> kiinne ogo,	*And* <u>**Fox**</u> *told* <u>**Lion**</u>,
"Dalä **ika** ḍikcä winnan ḍoŋ**ü** ti,	*"Let* **me** *tie the rope on* **your** *neck*
mükküdü kä **yori**."	*(so that) I control it with* **myself** *."*

Ika 'I' and **yori** 'myself' takes the place of the noun **Wiiw** 'Fox' who is speaking. **–Ü** 'your' (on ḍoŋü 'your neck') takes the place of the noun **Geel** 'Lion' who is spoken to. Rather than saying **Wiiw** 'Fox' and **Geel** 'Lion' every time we talk about **Wiiw** and **Geel**, we can instead say the pronouns **ika, -ü, yori** in place of these nouns.

<u>S</u>ubject pronouns take the place of a noun that does the action, motion, change or state. Although subject nouns can come before or after transitive verbs, subject pronouns always come before intransitive verbs. As you read each of the sentences below, look for differences in the pronouns in **bold** that can take the place of the underlined noun **oon** 'man'.

Subject pronouns

Oon näŋï ŋaaka?	*What is <u>man</u> doing?*
Ika näŋä ŋaaka?	*What am **I** doing?*
Ïkï näŋä ŋaaka?	*What are **you (sg)** doing?*
Ike näŋï ŋaaka?	*What is **(s)he** doing?*
Ïkïï näŋï ŋaaka?	*What are **we (two)** doing?*
Ïkïïn näŋïn ŋaaka?	*What are **we (and you)** doing?*
Ikoon näŋon ŋaaka?	*What are **we (not you)** doing?*
Ikee näŋe ŋaaka?	*What are **you (pl)** doing?*
Iken näŋï ŋaaka?	*What are **they** doing?*

We learn more about these subject pronouns in the following lessons.

<u>Object</u> pronouns receive the action. They always come before transitive verbs. Object pronouns are the same in sound as subject pronouns. We learn more about them in the lesson *Object Pronouns*.

Object pronouns

Aŋ gaaggaak <u>oon</u> tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard <u>man</u>.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **ika** tiiŋŋa.	*And raven heard **me**.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **ïkï** tiiŋŋey.	*And raven heard **you(sg)**.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **ike** tiiŋi.	*And raven heard **him/her**.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **ïkïï** tïïŋŋï.	*And raven heard **us(two)**.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **ïkïïn** tïïŋŋïn.	*And raven heard **us(and you)**.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **ikoon** tiiŋŋon.	*And raven heard **us(not you)**.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **ikee** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **you(pl)**.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **iken** tiiŋi.	*And raven heard **them**.*

<u>Receiver</u> pronouns receive the action. They always come before applicative verbs and are the same in sound as subject and object pronouns. We learn more about them in the lesson *Receiver pronouns*.

Receiver pronouns

A ŋaani ken <u>oon</u> nuutkene waŋ?	*Who informed the <u>man</u>?*
A ŋaani ken **ika** nüütkana waŋ?	*Who informed **me**?*
A ŋaani ken **ïkï** nüütkene waŋ?	*Who informed **you (sg)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ike** nüütkï waŋ?	*Who informed **(him/her)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ïkïï** nüütkïnï waŋ?	*Who informed **us (two)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ïkïïn** nüütkïnïn waŋ?	*Who informed **us (and you)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ikoon** nüütkonon waŋ?	*Who informed **us (not you)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ikee** nüütkene waŋ?	*Who informed **you (pl)**?*
A ŋaani ken **iken** nüütkï waŋ?	*Who informed **them**?*

<u>Pronouns introduced by prepositions</u> are the same in sound as subject, object and receiver

pronouns. There are no pronouns introduced by location words [check this]. We learn more about pronouns introduced by prepositions in the lesson *Prepositions Introducing Pronouns*.

Pronouns introduced by preposition

Aŋ gin kaññïï <u>oon</u> ti (?)	*They found something at <u>man</u>.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **ika** ti.	*They found something at **me**.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **ïkï** tï.	*They found something at **you (sg)**.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **ike** ti.	*They found something at **him/her**.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **ïkïï** tï.	*They found something at **us (two)**.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **ïkïïn** tï.	*They found something at **us (and you)**.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **ikoon** ti.	*They found something at **us (not you)**.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **ikee** ti.	*They found something at **you (pl)**.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **iken** ti.	*They found something at **them**.*

<u>Possessor</u> pronouns own or possess something or someone. The thing or person owned has a close or distant relationship with the possessor pronoun. In the sentences below, there are pronoun owners of **ṭuule** 'daughter'. **Ṭuule** has a close relationship to her owners because she cannot easily become the daughter of someone else.

Possessor pronouns with close relationship (inalienable)

Singular family noun		Plural family noun	
<u>men</u> ṭuule	*person's daughter*	<u>men</u> ṭulge	*person's daughters*
ṭuul**i**	*my daughter*	ṭulg**i**	*my daughters*
ṭüül**ü**	*your (sg) daughter*	ṭülg**ü**	*your (sg) daughters*
ṭuul**e**	*his/her daughter*	ṭulg**e**	*his/her daughters*
ṭuul**o**	*our daughter*	ṭulg**o**	*our daughters*
ṭuul**ic**	*your (pl) daughter*	ṭulg**ic**	*your (pl) daughters*
ṭuul**en**	*their daughter*	ṭulg**en**	*their daughters*

Below, there are pronoun owners of **waynä** 'shoe' which is more easily separated from people. We learn more about possessor pronouns in the lesson *Possessor Pronouns*.

Possessor pronouns with distant relationship (alienable)

Singular noun		Plural noun	
waynä <u>oon</u>	*shoe of <u>man</u>*	waygä <u>oon</u>	*shoes of <u>man</u>*
waynä yen <u>oon</u>	*shoe of <u>man</u>*	waygä yek <u>oon</u>	*shoes of <u>man</u>*
waynä **yeeni**	*my shoe*	waygä **yeeki**	*my shoes*
waynä **yüünü**	*your (sg) shoe*	waygä **yüükü**	*your (sg) shoes*
waynä **yeene**	*his/her shoe*	waygä **yeeke**	*his/her shoes*
waynä **yoono**	*our (two) shoe*	waygä **yooko**	*our (two) shoes*
waynä **yoono**	*our (and your) shoe*	waygä **yooko**	*our (and your) shoes*
waynä **yoono**	*our (not your) shoe*	waygä **yooko**	*our (not your) shoes*
waynä **yeenic**	*your (pl) shoe*	waygä **yeekic**	*your (pl) shoes*

waynä **yeenen** *their shoe* | waygä **yeeken** *their shoes*

Relfexive pronouns show the subject and object are the same. Or they show the noun introduced by a preposition is the same as the subject. The possessed body parts **ḍoŋ** 'neck' and **yor** 'body' are used as reflexive pronouns. In the sentences below, the pronouns in **bold** are reflexive pronouns.

Relfexive pronouns [check all verbs]	
Aŋ **ḍoŋi** tuñjenee.	And I burned **myself.**
Aŋ **ḍoŋü** tuñjenee.	And **you (sg)** burned **yourself.**
Aŋ **ḍoŋe** tuñjenee.	And **he** burned **himself.**
Aŋ **ḍuuggo** tuñjenee.	And **we** burned **ourselves.**
Aŋ **ḍuuggic** tuñjenee.	And **you (pl)** burned **yourselves.**
Aŋ **ḍuuggen** tuñjenee.	And **they** burned **themselves.**

Reflexive pronouns [check all verbs]	
Aŋ mükküdü kä **yori.**	And I control it **myself.**
Aŋ mükküdü kä **yorü.**	And **you (sg)** control it **yourself.**
Aŋ mükküdü kä **yore.**	And **he** controls it **himself.**
Aŋ mükküdü kä **yoko.**	And **we** control it **ourselves.**
Aŋ mükküdü kä **yokic.**	And **you (pl)** control it **yourselves.**
Aŋ mükküdü kä **yoken.**	And **they** control it **themselves.**

We learn more about these pronouns in the lesson *Reflexive pronouns.*

In summary, the pronouns are listed below by themselves.

Pronouns

Subject	Object	Receiver	With prep.	
ika	ika	ika	ika	*I, me*
ïkï	ïkï	ïkï	ïkï	*you (sg)*
ike	ike	ike	ike	*(s)he, him, her*
ïkïï	ïkïï	ïkïï	ïkïï	*we (two), us*
ïkïïn	ïkïïn	ïkïïn	ïkïïn	*we (and you), us*
ikoon	ikoon	ikoon	ikoon	*we (not you), us*
ikee	ikee	ikee	ikee	*you (pl)*
iken	iken	iken	iken	*they, them*

Possessor					Relfexive		
Close		Distant					
Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl				
-i	-i	yeeni	yeeki	*my*	ḍoŋi	yori	*myself*
-ü	-ü	yüünü	yüükü	*your (sg)*	ḍoŋü	yorü	*yourself*
-e	-e	yeene	yeeke	*his, her*	ḍoŋe	yore	*himself, herself*

-o	-o	yoono	yooko	*our (two)*	ḍuuggo	yoko	*ourselves*
-o	-o	yoono	yooko	*our (and your)*	ḍuuggo	yoko	*ourselves*
-o	-o	yoono	yooko	*our (not your)*	ḍuuggo	yoko	*ourselves*
-ic	-ic	yeenic	yeekic	*your (pl)*	ḍuuggic	yokic	*yourselves*
-en	-en	yeenen	yeeken	*their*	ḍuuggen	yoken	*themselves*

Exercise 13

Underline all pronouns in the sentences below. There is one blank on the left for each pronoun. In these blanks, write **subject**, **object**, **with prep**, **possessor** or **reflexive** for which type of pronoun you find. The first sentence is done as an example.

	(Kiñuk 4)	
Reflexive	Aŋ **ḍoŋe** tuñjenee ti käälok.	*And burned **himself** in the cave.*
	(Kiñuk 7)	
_____	Aŋ men kaññïï käälok ogo ïwon, i jone mor määṭo.	*They found person in cave that was chared, and his heart was still beating.*
	(Bääm 3)	
_____	"Ïkï näŋä ŋaaka jaan wic wina?"	*"What are you doing up in the tree?"*
	(Bääm 4)	
	"Ika tïïcä	*"I am caring for*
_____	merkä yeeki."	*my children."*
	(Bääm 54)	
_____	"Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok,	*"Do not eat me,*
_____	yuudu por, ïkï nüütkeni.	*just wait, I will inform you.*
	(Leeñ 20)	
_____	Iñjon waygä yooko.	*Give us our shoes.*
	(Geel 29-30)	
_____	Aŋ inni äätä ïkï tï,	*When I came to you,*
	yaanne yori riijänä kä pet.	*this body of mine was struggling.*
	(Geel 35-36)	
_____	"Dalä ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan	*"Let I tie the rope*
_____	ḍoŋü ti,	*on your neck*
_____	mükküdü kä yori."	*(so that) I control it myself."*

Subject pronouns

In the last lesson, we learned subject pronouns can take the place of noun subjects doing the action, motion, change or state. Subject nouns can come before or after transitive verbs. But subject pronouns only come before verbs. Subject pronouns are used in speeches, to give importance to the same subject as in the previous clause (group of words with a verb), or the pronoun **iken** 'they' is used to connect two nouns.

Below, the subject pronouns in bold can take the place of the underlined noun **oon** 'man'. The verb changes with the subject pronoun.

Subject pronouns	
<u>Oon</u> näŋï ŋaaka?	*What is <u>man</u> doing?*
Ika näŋä ŋaaka?	*What am **I** doing?*
Ïkï näŋä ŋaaka?	*What are **you (sg)** doing?*
Ike näŋï ŋaaka?	*What is **(s)he** doing?*
Ïkïï näŋï ŋaaka?	*What are **we (two)** doing?*
Ïkïïn näŋïn ŋaaka?	*What are **we (and you)** doing?*
Ikoon näŋon ŋaaka?	*What are **we (not you)** doing?*
Ikee näŋe ŋaaka?	*What are **you (pl)** doing?*
Iken näŋï ŋaaka?	*What are **they** doing?*

In *Bääm 3-4,* **ïkï** 'you (sg)' is a subject pronoun and does the action **näŋä** 'doing'. **Ika** 'I' is also a subject pronoun and does the action **tïïcä** 'caring'.

(Bääm 3-4) (In speeches)
Aŋ taaññe ogo,	*He asked him,*
"**Ïkï** <u>**näŋä**</u> ŋaaka jaan wic wina?"	*"What are <u>**you doing**</u> up in the tree?"*
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "**Ika** **tïïcä** merkä yeeki."	*Dove told him, "<u>I am caring</u> for my children."*

Both subject pronouns in *Bääm 3-4* come before the verb, and both are in speeches.

In stories, subject pronouns are not used very often outside of speeches. When telling the main events that move the story forward, pronouns are usually not used for the same subject as in the previous clause.

In *Kiñuk 1-4,* **mäŋkalaŋ** 'certain man' is the one doing all the actions. The first clause has this subject noun **mäŋkalaŋ**. But then for all the following clauses, there is no noun or pronoun subject mentioned. The correct verb form is enough to show it is the same man who does each action.

(Kiñuk 1-4) (No pronoun for same subject)
Ñomuk ku on, **mäŋkalaŋ** **atto** kiñuk pare,	*A long time ago, **a certain man went** on hunt alone,*
aŋ **käññö** kääl bilgiññi. Aŋ **atto gäänono**	*and **found** a cave of bats. He **went** to **collect***
luum ïwïn, aŋ **büükkee** käälok, aŋ	*dry grass, **heaped** it in the cave, and*
tuñgenee maañ, aŋ ḍoŋe **tuñjenee** ti käälok.	*he **caused** fire **to burn** it, and **burned** himself in cave.*

However, a pronoun can be used to emphasize, identify or show importance to the same subject as in the previous clause.

In *Bääm 45-47,* **Bääm** 'Dove' is the subject of **koojjin ïñï** 'came down' and also the subject of **ämje**

'eat'. However, the subject pronoun **ike** 'he' is used before the second verb, even though it has the same subject as the first.

<u>(Bääm 45-47) (Important subject, contrastive focus)</u>

Aŋ Bääm gïmmïn, aŋ päygin iken ke Gaaggaak,	*And Dove agreed, and he and Raven flew,*
aŋ ḍakkä tï nänṭä päk.	*and they arrived to the place of the grain.*
Aŋ Bääm koojjin ïñï ogo **ike** <u>**ämje**</u> päk,	*And Dove came down to **he eat** the grain,*
i Wiiw a ṭaron kä cokal. Aŋ müŋŋe,	*and Fox was hiding nearby. Then he caught him,*

The subject pronoun **ike** 'he' may be used to help identify the subject is **Bääm** 'Dove' and not **Gaaggaak** 'Raven'. It may also be used to show importance to Dove as the one who ate and then was caught by Fox. This begins the most exciting part of the story where we learn about Dove trying to get away from Fox.

In *Leeñ 42-43*, the subject noun **Leeñ mooye** 'big Elephant' is first mentioned. Then the subject pronoun **ike** 'he' is also used for the subject of the motion **aajjï** 'was crossing'.

<u>(Leeñ 42-43) (Important subject, topic)</u>

A Leeñ mooye yaana paaññe kïïgïn ye,	*It was the big Elephant, whose feet were peeled,*
ken **ike** <u>**aajjï**</u> woo wiiy.	*<u>**he was crossing**</u> the river.*

Both the noun **Leeñ mooye** 'big Elephant' and pronoun **ike** 'he' are the same elephant. The pronoun **ike** is used to show this elephant is important. He is the one talked about earlier that Fox took fat from his feet, and he is the one now helping Fox cross the river.

When two nouns are the subject or are both involved as the subject, the pronoun **iken** 'they' can be used as the connector 'and' to join these nouns.

In *Bääm 19,* **juuggen** 'their hearts' is the subject of **ñappä** 'be happy'. However, both **Gaaggaak** 'Raven' and **Bääm** 'Dove' are both possessors of **juuggen** 'their hearts'. The pronoun **iken** 'they' connects **Gaaggaak** and **Bääm** like the English word 'and' connects two nouns.

<u>(Bääm 19) (**Iken** 'they' connecting two nouns)</u>

Aŋ Gaaggaak **iken** ke Bääm juuggen <u>**ñappä**</u>,	*And the hearts of Raven **and** Dove <u>**became happy**</u>,*
aŋ yircin woo.	*and they laughed.*

Other subject pronouns from stories are listed below, and all come before the verb. Subject pronouns are in bold and verbs are underlined.

Subject pronouns

I	Bääm 4	**ika** <u>tïïcä</u> merkä yeeki	*I <u>am caring</u> for my children*
	Bääm 24	**ika** <u>cokulunu</u> tüwnü	*I <u>am near</u> death*

	Bääm 33	**ika** äätädä ïkï ken maaweni	*I come looking for you*
	Bääm 37	**ika** batta bi lïïtä wään	*I am not able to go*
	Bääm 37	**ika** agä raac täññaŋ	*I am sick now*
	Bääm 43	**ika** käññä päk	*I found grain*
	Bääm 44	**ika** batta ämä päk	*I am not eating grain*
	Bääm 55	**ika** attä laayä	*I went roaming*
	Bääm 56	**ika** käññä kabal	*I found sheep*
	Bääm 57	**ika** täkä ïkï ijeni	*I want to take you*
	Bääm 61	**ika** bi weekcä	*I will cry*
	Leeñ 7	**ika** täkä näŋgaa	*I want you to make for me*
	Leeñ 33	**ika** agä uyku	*I am a blind person*
	Leeñ 39	**ika** batta lïïltä aaydin piik	*I am not able to cross water*
	Geel 18	**ika** batta booju kä Geel	*I am not afraid from Lion*
	Geel 18	**ika** cäänna agä oon bata ike aŋan	*I am also a man like this he*
	Geel 31	**ika** batta bi lïïtä wään	*I will not be able to walk*
	Geel 35	**ika** dikcä wiṇṇan doṇü ti	*I tie rope on your neck*
you (sg)	Bääm 3	**ïkï** näŋä ŋaaka jaan wic	*what are **you** doing in tree?*
	Bääm 12	ŋana **ïkï** booju	*don't **you** be afraid*
	Geel 22	**ïkï** ṭüülü yaanna daa bi näŋä ŋaaka	***you** small thing that will do what?*
	Geel 48	**ïkï** agjey oon parü	***you** are the only man*
	Pïïṇṇä 9	**ïkï** ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan	***you** said that this*
(s)he	Bääm 47	**ike** ämje päk	***he** ate grain*
	Leeñ 43	**ike** aajjï woo wiiy	***he** crossed over river*
	Äwñä 6	**ike** täkï kääjïdï woo	***he** was wanting to go out*
	Äwñä 9	**ike** nääkin nïïnkä kä yewwe käälok	***he** spent two days in cave*
	Pïïṇṇä 4	daljï me **ike** äätee	*people let **he** come*
we (two)	Bääm 34	**ïkïï** batta atï ḍeel ṭuule	*can **we** not go to small goat?*
	Bääm 38	**ïkïï** bi atï tïṇṇäk	***we** will go tormorrow*
	Bääm 59	**ïkïï** bi atï ogoo	*how will **we** go?*
	Bääm 61	**ïkïï** dakkï tï	***we** arrive*
	Geel 26	**ïkïï** atcï	***we** go*
	Geel 27	**ïkïï** baawgï tï	***we** are absent*
	Geel 30	**ïkïï** bi bülcï müürï ogoo	***we** will return how?*
we (no y)	Leeñ 12	**ikoon** däägonon	***we** have arrived*
	Leeñ 37	**ikoon** aajjodon woo wiiy	***we** are crossing river*
you (pl)	Leeñ 36	**ikee** ate wa	*where are **you** going?*
	Geel 14	**ikee** jaayje	***you** are saying*
they	Bääm 19	Gaaggaak **iken** ke Bääm juuggen ñappä	*hearts of Raven **and** Dove became happy*
	Bääm 46	päygin **iken** ke Gaaggaak	*he **and** Raven flew*

In summary, the subject pronouns are listed below.

73

Subject pronouns

ika	*I*
ïkï	*you (sg)*
ike	*(s)he*
ïkïï	*we (two)*
ïkïïn	*we (and you)*
ikoon	*we (not you)*
ikee	*you (pl)*
iken	*they*

Exercise 14

In the sentences below, <u>underline once</u> all subject pronouns before verbs. <u>Underline twice</u> all verbs after subject pronouns. The first one is done as an example.

(Bääm 33-35)
Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo,
"<u>Ika</u> <u><u>äätädä</u></u> ïkï ken maaweni ka,
aŋ ogoo täññani? <u>Ïkïï</u> batta <u><u>atï</u></u> ḍeel ṭuule,
yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?"

And Fox told him,
"<u>I</u> <u><u>am coming</u></u> looking for you,
and about what? Can <u>we</u> not <u><u>go</u></u> (to) the small goat
that was dead in the animal pen?

(Bääm 36-38)
Aŋ kiini Gaaggaak ogo, "Ay müükonḍi,
ika batta bi lïïṭä wään, ika agä raac täññaŋ.
Aŋ atä parü, ïkïï bi atï tïṇṇäk."

And Raven told him, "Ah my friend,
I am not able to go, (since) I am now sick.
You go alone, we two will go tomorrow."

(Bääm 43-44)
Aŋ kiinne ogo, "Ika käññä päk a püüktïdïnï ïñï
jaan ŋoy baanni, aŋ ika batta ämä päk.

He (Raven) told him, "I found grain spilled down
under tree of my area, and I am not eating grain.

(Bääm 45-46)
Aŋ Bääm gïmmïn, aŋ päygin iken ke Gaaggaak,
aŋ ḍakkä tï nänṭä päk.

And Dove agreed, and he and Raven flew,
and they arrived to the place of the grain.

(Bääm 61)
Aŋ naana ïkïï ḍakkï tï ye, ika bi weekcä ogo,

And when we arrive, I will cry,

(Leeñ 12)
Wiiw, ikoon ḍäägonon.

Fox, we have arrived.

(Leeñ 36-37)
Aŋ tääckene ti ogo, "Ikee ate wa?"
Aŋ kiini ogo, "Ikoon aajjodon woo wiiy."

He asked it from them, "Where are you going?"
And they told him, "We are crossing the river."

(Geel 14-15)
Aŋ tääcki ti Wiiw ogo, "Ajïñe ogo, ikee jaayje
ogo Geel ken ogo oon pare ya?"

Then Fox asked them, "Is it true that you are
saying that Lion is the only man?"

(Geel 29-30)

Aŋ inni äätä ïkï tï, yaanne yori riijänä kä pet.
Aŋ täññani ïkïi bi bülcï müürï ogoo?

When I came to you, this body of mine was really struggling. And now how will we two return?

(Geel 47-48)

Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï
ogo ŋana yorü naŋdeey ogo
ïkï agjey oon parü, ook bilto ti cäänna.

This story shows
that you should not make yourself to
you be the only man; there are (other) men also.

(Äwñä 6-7)

Aŋ ike ṭäkï kääjïdï woo, aŋ wääna
ḍäägenee kääl tük ye, kääl tüke üüljene.

Then he was wanting to go out, and when he arrived at cave entrance, entrance was closed off.

(Äwñä 9)

Aŋ ike nääkin nïinkä kä yewwe käälok.

And he spent two days in the cave.

(Pïïnnä 4)

Ato me kiinje ogo, 'Daljï me ike äätee.'

Go tell them, 'People should let he come.'

(Pïïnnä 9)

Pïïṇṇä ken me kiinnee ogo,
ïkï ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan.

Wasp told the people that
you said (to do) this.

Object pronouns

In the lesson on *Pronouns*, we learned that <u>object pronouns</u> can take the place of an object noun, which has action done to it. Object nouns can come before or after the verb, but object pronouns only come before the verb. Object pronouns are the same in sound as subject pronouns, and both come before the verb. Object pronouns are used in speeches. They are occasionally used in non-speeches of stories to emphasize, identify or show importance to the same object as in the previous clause, or to show a show a different object than in the previous clause.

Below, the object pronouns in bold can take the place of the underlined noun **oon** 'man'. The verb form changes with the object pronoun.

Object pronouns

Aŋ gaaggaak <u>oon</u> tiiŋe.	*And raven heard <u>man</u>.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **ika** tiiŋa.	*And raven heard **me**.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **ïkï** tiiŋey.	*And raven heard **you(sg)**.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **ike** tiiŋi.	*And raven heard **him/her**.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **ïkïi** tiïŋï.	*And raven heard **us(two)**.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **ïkïin** tiïŋïn.	*And raven heard **us(and you)**.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **ikoon** tiiŋon.	*And raven heard **us(not you)**.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **ikee** tiiŋe.	*And raven heard **you(pl)**.*
Aŋ gaaggaak **iken** tiiŋi.	*And raven heard **them**.*

Both subject and object pronouns are the same, and always come before the verb. However, the verb form changes with many subject and object pronouns to show the correct meaning.

In *Bääm 44,* the subject pronoun **ika** 'I' comes before the verb **ämä** 'eating'. In *Bääm 58,* the object pronoun **ika** 'me' comes before the verb **amja** 'eat'.

| subject pronoun **ika** 'I' | Bääm 44 | **ika** batta **ämä** päk | *I am not eating grain* |
| object pronoun **ika** 'me' | Bääm 58 | **ika** wäättana **amja** | *afterwards you can eat me* |

In *Bääm 53-54,* **ika** 'me' is an object pronoun which the action **nägdaa** 'eat' is done to.

(Bääm 53-54) (In speech)
Aŋ Bääm weekcin, aŋ Wiiw kolde ogo,   *And Dove cried, and was refusing Fox,*
"Ŋana **ika** **nägdaa** ḍok, yuudu por, ïkï nüütkeni."   *"Do not eat me, just wait, I will inform you."*

The object pronoun **ika** in *Bääm 53-54* comes before the verb, and is in a speech.

In stories, object pronouns are not used very often other than in speeches. When telling the main events that move the story forward, usually there is no pronoun for the same object as in the previous clause. However, an object pronoun can be used to emphasize, identify or show importance to the same object as in the previous clause [check this], or to show a different object than in the previous clause.

In *Kiñuk 2-4,* all three actions are done to **luum ïwïn** 'dry grass'. The first clause has this object noun **luum ïwïn**. But then for the two following clauses, there is no noun or pronoun object mentioned. The correct verb form is enough to show it is the same grass that all three actions are done to.

(Kiñuk 2-4) (No pronoun for same object)
Aŋ **atto gäänono** luum ïwïn,   *He went to collect dry grass,*
aŋ **büükkee** käälok,   *heaped (it) in the cave,*
aŋ **tuñgenee** maañ.   *and he caused fire to burn (it).*

In *Äwñä 13,* **guuŋ yeene** 'his dog' is the object of **miigene** 'found'. However, the object pronoun **ike** 'him (man)' before the second verb **keeygä** 'waiting for' shows the man is a different object than the dog in the previous clause.

(Äwñä 13) (Different object)
Aŋ daa guuŋ yeene miigene   *And he (man) found his dog*
ike keeygä woo üntük,   *waiting for him (man) outside,*

Other object pronouns from stories are listed below, and all come before the verb. Object pronouns are in bold and verbs are underlined.

76

Object pronouns

me	Bääm 22	ŋana **ika** kajdaa	(you) do not _bite_ **me**
	Bääm 54	ŋana **ika** nägdaa ḍok	(you) do not _eat_ **me**
	Bääm 58	**ika** wäättana amja	afterwards you can _eat_ **me**
	Geel 26	**ika** tuucata me	people _are sending_ **me**
you	Bääm 33	ika äätädä **ïkï** ken maaweni	I come _looking for_ **you**
	Bääm 51	gula **ïkï** müŋŋeni täññaŋ	how I _have caught_ **you** now
	Bääm 52	**ïkï** bi ereni pok	I will _slaughter_ **you**
	Bääm 57	ika ṭäkä **ïkï** ịjeni	I want to _take_ **you**
	Geel 32	**ïkï** bi taapci ŋäñi ti	I will _carry_ **you** on my back
him	Äwñä 13	**ike** _keeygä_ woo üntük (?)	_waiting for_ **him** _outside (or he waits?)_
you	Geel 41	**ikee** batta _kiinde_	_did I not _tell_ **you**?_
_(pl)_	Kiñuk 34	**kee**tta _kiindeni_	_did I not _tell_ **you**?_

In summary, the object pronouns are listed below.

Object pronouns

ika	me
ïkï	you (sg)
ike	him, her
ïkïï	us (two)
ïkïïn	us (and you)
ikoon	us (not you)
ikee	you (pl)
iken	them

Exercise 15

In the sentences below, underline once all object pronouns. Underline twice all verbs with object pronouns. The first one is done as an example.

(Kiñuk 34-35)
Aŋ iin durñe menen kiindee ogo,   And the young hyena said to the other,
"**Keetta** kiindeni ogo 'Ŋeeyjï ko ïw?' "   "Did I not **_tell_ _you_**, 'We can eat it dry?' "
(Bääm 22)
Aŋ kiintä Gaaggaak ogo,   And Raven was telling him,
"Ŋana ika kajdaa, yeepca ñaalok."   "Don't bite me, throw me up."
(Bääm 33-35)
Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo,   And Fox told him,
"Ika äätädä ïkï ken maaweni ka,   "I am coming looking for you,
(Bääm 51-52)
Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo, "Gula ïkï müŋŋeni täññaŋ,   Fox told him, "Oh how I have caught you now,

aŋ ïkï bi ereni pok." *and I will slaughter you."*
(Bääm 53-58)

Aŋ Bääm weekcin, aŋ Wiiw kolde ogo, *And Dove cried, and was refusing Fox,*
"Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por, ïkï nüütkeni. *"Do not eat me, just wait, I will inform you.*
Ika attä laayä, aŋ ika käññä kabal ṭuule *I went roaming, and I found a very fat young*
a caagon kockon a tüwon, aŋ ika ṭäkä ïkï ijeni. *dead sheep, and I want to take you.*
Aŋ naana batta agï kañgon ye, *And if we do not find it,*
ika wäättana amja." *then you can eat me."*
(Geel 26)

Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, ïkïï atcï, *And people are sending me to say, let's go,*
(Geel 32)

Aŋ kiini Geel ogo, "Ïkï bi taapci ŋäñi ti." *Lion told him, "I will carry you on my back."*
(Geel 41-42)

Ikee batta kiinde ogo, *"Did I not tell you*
ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure!" *that I would one day ride this your man, look!"*
(Äwñä 13)

Aŋ daa guuŋ yeene miigene *And he found his dog*
ike keeygä woo üntük, *waiting for him outside,*

Receiver pronouns

Receiver pronouns can take the place of a receiver noun. It benefits from the action, is caused to do the action, or is like an object with the meaning of a location. Receiver nouns and receiver pronouns only come before applicative verbs. Receiver pronouns are the same as subject and object pronouns, and all come before the verb.

Below, the receiver pronouns in bold can take the place of the underlined noun **oon** 'man'. The verb changes with the receiver pronoun.

Receiver pronouns

A ŋaani ken <u>oon</u> nuutk**ene** waŋ?	*Who informed the <u>man</u>?*
A ŋaani ken **ika** nüütk**ana** waŋ?	*Who informed **me**?*
A ŋaani ken **ïkï** nüütk**ene** waŋ?	*Who informed **you (sg)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ike** nüütk**ï** waŋ?	*Who informed **(him/her)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ïkïï** nüütk**inï** waŋ?	*Who informed **us (two)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ïkïïn** nüütk**inïn** waŋ?	*Who informed **us (and you)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ikoon** nüütk**onon** waŋ?	*Who informed **us (not you)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ikee** nüütk**ene** waŋ?	*Who informed **you (pl)**?*
A ŋaani ken **iken** nüütk**ï** waŋ?	*Who informed **them**?*

In *Bääm 53-54,* **ïkï** 'you (sg)' is a receiver pronoun. It receives the benefit of the action **nüütkeni** 'inform' and comes before this action.

78

(Bääm 53-54) (In speech)

Aŋ Bääm weekcin, aŋ Wiiw kolde ogo,   *And Dove cried, and was refusing Fox,*

"Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por, **ïkï** <u>nüütkeni.</u>"   *"Do not eat me, just wait, I will **inform you**."*

Other receiver pronouns from stories are listed below, and all come before the verb. Recevier pronouns are in bold and verbs are underlined.

Recevier pronouns

me	Bääm 50	A Gaaggaak ken **ika** <u>nüütkana</u> waŋ	*It was Raven who <u>informed</u> **me** of idea*
you (sg)	Bääm 49	A ŋaani ken **ïkï** <u>nüütkeney</u> waŋ yaanna	*who <u>told</u> **you** this idea*
	Bääm 55	**ïkï** <u>nüütkeni</u>	*I will <u>inform</u> **you***
us	Yeeñ 43	wiiw a yaanni **ïkïïn** <u>nüütkïdïn</u>	*this story <u>informs</u> **us***

In summary, the receiver pronouns are listed below.

Receiver pronouns

ika	*me*
ïkï	*you (sg)*
ike	*him, her*
ïkïï	*us (two)*
ïkïïn	*us (and you)*
ikoon	*us (not you)*
ikee	*you (pl)*
iken	*them*

Exercise 16

In the sentences below, <u>underline once</u> all receiver pronouns. <u>Underline twice</u> all applicative verbs with receiver pronouns. The first one is done as an example.

(Bääm 49-52)

"A ŋaani ken **<u>ïkï</u>** <u><u>nüütkeney</u></u> waŋ yaanna?"   *"Who **<u>informed you</u>** this idea?"*

A Wiiw ken tääccin. Aŋ kiini Bääm,   *Fox was the one asking him. And Dove told him,*

"A Gaaggaak ken **ika** <u>nüütkana</u> waŋ."   *"It was Raven who **<u>informed</u> <u>me</u>** of this idea."*

(Bääm 53-58)

Aŋ Bääm weekcin, aŋ Wiiw kolde ogo,   *And Dove cried, and was refusing Fox,*

"Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por, ïkï nüütkeni.   *"Do not eat me, just wait, I will inform you.*

(Yeeñ 43-44)

Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïïn nüütkïdïn ogo   *This story tells us that*

ŋana me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken.   *people should not do bad things.*

In the lesson *Prepositions*, we learned about prepositions that introduce a noun or noun phrase. In this lesson, we learn about prepositions introducing pronouns. Pronoun can be introduced by the preposition **ti, tï** 'to, at', **ke** 'with' and **kä, ko** 'by, at, to' [check this]. But pronouns cannot be introduced by the preposition **–ok** 'inside' or by any location words [check this].

Below, the pronouns in bold introduced by the preposition **ti, tï** 'at' can take the place of the underlined noun **oon** 'man'. The light preposition **ti** follows the pronouns **ika, ike, ikoon, ikee, iken** with light vowels, and the heavy preposition **tï** follows the pronouns **ïkï, ïkïï, ïkïïn** with heavy vowels.

Pronouns introduced by preposition
Aŋ gin kaññïï <u>oon</u> ti (?)	*They found something at <u>man</u>.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **ika** ti.	*They found something at **me**.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **ïkï** tï.	*They found something at **you (sg)**.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **ike** ti.	*They found something at **him/her**.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **ïkïï** tï.	*They found something at **us (two)**.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **ïkïïn** tï.	*They found something at **us (and you)**.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **ikoon** ti.	*They found something at **us (not you)**.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **ikee** ti.	*They found something at **you (pl)**.*
Aŋ gin kaññïï **iken** ti.	*They found something at **them**.*

In *Geel 29-30*, the pronoun **ïkï** 'you (sg)' is introduced by the preposition **tï** 'to'.

(Geel 29-30)
Aŋ inni äätä <u>**ïkï**</u> **tï**, yaanne yori riijänä kä pet.	*When I came **to <u>you</u>**, this body of mine was struggling.*

Below, the meaning and use of the four prepositions are shown with example clause. In these examples, the prepositions introduce nouns.

Prepositions introducing nouns
	Meaning	Used for			
kä, ko	*with, by, that*	tool	Yaam 3	paargä me yok **kä** boygu	*people wrap body **with** skins*
	from	source	Geel 18	ika batta booju **kä** Geel	*I am not afraid **from** Lion*
	to	goal	Kiñuk 25	ḍakkïï **ko** nänṭa miṭon	*they arrived **to** dark place*
ke	*with, and*	accomp	Geel 2	Geel bilti **ke** meken	*Lion was there **with** others*
ti	*on, above*	location	Yaam 5	yaam mäbaan **ti**	*basket **on** Jumjum people*
	in, at		Yaam 16	nääkke pillä ḍuuggen **ti**	*it causes pain **in** their necks*

	around		Geel 35	ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan ḍoŋü **ti**	*I tie rope **around** your neck*
	in, on	time	Geel 28	nïïnkä yaakki **ti**	***in** these days*
	about	related	Yaam 11	gin a yaajaŋ yaam **ti**	*a thing that bad **about** basket*
	to	goal	Yaam 7	me bagit näṇṭä yaŋkalaŋ **ti**	*people move **to** certain place*
	from	source	Leeñ 3	wegok kïïge **ti**	*he made them **from** his feet*
-ok	in, inside	location	Kiñuk 3	büükkee kääl**ok**	*he heaped it **inside** cave*

In the sentences below, both a noun and a pronoun follow the prepositions [check all].

Prepositions introducing nouns		Prepositions introducing pronouns	
Aŋ gaaggaak kuuyin <u>jaan</u> **ti**.	*Raven flew **to** <u>tree</u>.*	Aŋ gaaggaak kuuyin <u>ike</u> **ti**.	*Raven flew **to** <u>him</u>.*
Geel bilti **ke** <u>meken</u>.	*Lion was **with** <u>others</u>.*	Geel bilti **ke** <u>ike</u>.	*Lion was **with** <u>him</u>.*
Ika batta booju **kä** <u>Geel</u>.	*I am not afraid **from** <u>Lion</u>.*	Ika batta booju **kä** <u>ike</u>.	*I am not afraid **from** <u>him</u>.*

In summary, the pronouns introduced by prepositions are listed below.

Pronouns with prepositions	
ika	*me*
ikï	*you (sg)*
ike	*him, her*
ikïï	*us (two)*
ikïïn	*us (and you)*
ikoon	*us (not you)*
ikee	*you (pl)*
iken	*them*

Possessor pronouns

<u>Possessor pronouns</u> take the place of possessor nouns. They own something or someone. There are two sets of possessor pronouns: those for nouns with a close relationship to the pronoun (inalienable), and those for nouns with a distant relationship to the pronoun (alienable). Close possessor pronouns are suffixes attached to the possessed noun. In (1), the close possessor pronoun suffix –i 'my' is attached to the possessed noun ṭuuli 'my daughter'. Distant possessor pronouns are separate words following possessed nouns. In (2), the distant possessor pronoun **yeeni** 'my' follows the possessed noun **waynä** 'shoe'.

close	(1) ṭuul**i**	*my daughter*
distant	(2) waynä **yeeni**	*my shoe*

In *Kiñuk 22,* the close possessor pronoun –e 'his' is attached to the noun ḍoŋ 'neck'.

   (Kiñuk 22) (Possessor pronoun with close relationship)
   Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ **ḍoŋe** ti,   *The person was wearing a whistle around **his neck**,*

A neck will nearly always stay attached to a person. So we say the relationship of **ḍoŋ** 'neck' and the possessor pronoun –**e** 'his' is close.

In *Äwñä 1,* the distant possessor pronoun **yeene** 'his' follows the noun **guuŋ** 'dog'.

   (Äwñä 1) (Possessor pronoun with distant relationship)
   Ääŋkalaŋ ti wina Albe attä kiñuk ke **guuŋ yeene**,   *One day, Albe went on a hunt with **his dog**,*

A dog can have a new owner or die and may not always belong to the same person. So, we say the relationship of **guuŋ** 'dog' and the possessor pronoun **yeene** 'his' is distant.

<u>Close possessor pronouns</u>

Body parts and family members are not easily separated from their owners. These nouns with a close relationship have the possessor pronoun suffixes below. Each can take the place of the possessor noun **men** 'person's'.

Singular body part noun		Plural body part noun (inalienable)	
<u>men</u> waŋe	*person's eye*	<u>men</u> waŋge	*person's eyes*
waŋ**i**	***my** eye*	waŋg**i**	***my** eyes*
waŋ**ü**	***your (sg)** eye*	waŋg**ü**	***your (sg)** eyes*
waŋ**e**	***his/her** eye*	waŋg**e**	***his/her** eyes*
		waŋg**o**	***our** eyes*
		waŋg**ic**	***your (pl)** eyes*
		waŋg**en**	***their** eyes*

Singular family noun		Plural family noun (inalienable)	
<u>men</u> ṭuule	*person's daughter*	<u>men</u> ṭulge	*person's daughters*
ṭuul**i**	***my** daughter*	ṭulg**i**	***my** daughters*
ṭüül**ü**	***your (sg)** daughter*	ṭülg**ü**	***your (sg)** daughters*
ṭuul**e**	***his/her** daughter*	ṭulg**e**	***his/her** daughters*
ṭuul**o**	***our** daughter*	ṭulg**o**	***our** daughters*
ṭuul**ic**	***your (pl)** daughter*	ṭulg**ic**	***your (pl)** daughters*
ṭuul**en**	***their** daughter*	ṭulg**en**	***their** daughters*

Below are close possessor pronoun suffixes on other possessed nouns in the stories. They are body parts, family nouns and one other noun.

Possessor pronouns attached to nouns with a close relationship

Body parts	-i	Bääm 60	buggi	*my wings*
		Leeñ 6	kïïgï	*my feet*
		Leeñ 40	ŋäñi	*my back*
	-ü	Bääm 60	lekü	*your teeth*
		Leeñ 5	kïïgü	*your feet*
		Geel 35	ḍoŋü	*your neck*
		Geel 47	yorü	*your body*
	-e	Kiñuk 7	jone	*his heart*
		Kiñuk 9	gine	*his thing*
		Kiñuk 9	gunne	*his side*
		Kiñuk 22	ḍoŋe	*his neck*
		Leeñ 3	kïïge	*his feet*
		Leeñ 42	kïïgïn	*from his feet*
		Geel 37	ïnte	*his hand*
		Pïïṇṇä 11	teygin	*around his waist*
	-en	Yaam 5	witken	*their heads*
		Yaam 13	ṭiṭägenen	*their tops of heads*
		Yaam16	ḍuuggen	*their necks*
		Yaam 17	ŋätken	*their backs*
		Yaam 17	teygen	*their hips*
		Yaam 21	yoken	*their bodies*
		Leeñ 14	kïïgïn	*in their feet*
		Leeñ 23	yokïn	*from their bodies*
		Geel 17	juugin	*in their hearts*
		Geel 44	ïnken	*their hands*
Family nouns	-i	Bääm 31	müükonḍi	*my friend*
	-e	Kiñuk 9	ṭuule	*his daughter*
	-ic	Geel 42	ooric	*your (pl) man*
Other nouns	-i	Bääm 43	baanni	*my area*

Distant possessor pronouns

Nouns other than body parts and family nouns are often more easily separated from their owners. These nouns with a distant relationship have the possessor pronouns below that are separate words. Each can take the place of **yen men, yek men,** or **men** 'of person'.

Possessor Pronouns with distant relationship (alienable)

waynä <u>yen men</u>	*shoe <u>of person</u>*	waygä <u>yek men</u>	*shoes <u>of person</u>*
waynä <u>men</u>	*shoe <u>of person</u>*	waygä <u>men</u>	*shoes <u>of person</u>*
waynä **yeeni**	***my** shoe*	waygä **yeeki**	***my** shoes*
waynä **yüünü**	***your (sg)** shoe*	waygä **yüükü**	***your (sg)** shoes*
waynä **yeene**	***his, her** shoe*	waygä **yeeke**	***his, her** shoes*

waynä **yoono**	*our* shoe	waygä **yooko**	*our (and your)* shoes
waynä **yeenic**	*your (pl)* shoe	waygä **yeekic**	*your (pl)* shoes
waynä **yeenen**	*their* shoe	waygä **yeeken**	*their* shoes

Below are distant possessor pronouns on other possessed nouns in the stories.

Possessor pronouns after possessed nouns with a distant relationship

yeeki	Bääm 4	merkä **yeeki**	*my children*
yeene	Yaam 19	yam **yeene**	*her basket*
	Äwñä 1	guuŋ **yeene**	*his dog*
yeeke	Äwñä 14	waak **yeeke**	*his things*
yoono	Yaam 19	teebälaŋ **yoono**	*our car*
yooko	Yaam 21	määngä **yooko**	*our women*
	Leeñ 20	waygä **yooko**	*our shoes*
yeekic	Leeñ 22	waygä **yeekic**	*your shoes*

Sometimes distant possessor pronouns alone can be used in place of possessed nouns. In this way, they are used as possessives.

In *Geel 19,* the possessor pronoun **yeen** 'my' takes the place of the possessed noun **owkïtïn yeeni** 'my strength'.

(Geel 19) (Possessive)

<u>Yeeni</u> ääŋkalaŋ naana buṭu woo ye,   *If mine (my strength) were revealed one day,*

ooric yaanna bi taapä kä.   *I would ride on this your man.*

In summary, the possessor pronouns are listed below.

Possessor pronouns

Close		Distant		
Singular noun	Plural noun	Singular noun	Plural noun	
-i	-i	yeeni	yeeki	*my*
-ü	-ü	yüünü	yüükü	*your (sg)*
-e	-e	yeene	yeeke	*his/her*
-o	-o	yoono	yooko	*our (and your)*
-ic	-ic	yeenic	yeekic	*your (pl)*
-en	-en	yeenen	yeeken	*their*

Exercise 17

In the sentences below, underline all possessor pronouns and the nouns they possess. Then in the blank on the left, write C for pronouns with a close relationship with the possessed noun, and D for

pronouns with a distant relationship with the possessed noun. The first sentence is done as an example.

	(Yaam 16-17)	
<u>C</u>	Aŋ ŋucana nääkke pillä <u>ḍuuggen</u> ti ke	*And it also causes pain in **their necks** and in*
<u>C, C</u>	<u>ŋätken</u> ti bäätcïḍï ïñï ke <u>teygen</u> ti.	***their backs** going down to **their hips**.*
	(Yaam 19)	
___	Aŋ iiŋ ke yaam yeene wäättana beel	*And the woman with her basket afterwards*
___	bata teebälaŋ yoono.	*looks like our car.*
	(Yaam 21)	
___	Näŋko määngä yooko	*Because of this, our women (should)*
___	yoken wääkcene woo,	*rest their bodies.*
	(Kiñuk 7)	
	Aŋ men kaññïï käälok ogo ïwon,	*And they found person in cave that was chared,*
___	i jone mor määṭo.	*and his heart was still beating.*
	(Bääm 4)	
	Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo,	*And Dove told him,*
___	"Ika tïïcä merkä yeeki."	*"I am caring for my children."*
	(Bääm 43)	
	Ika käññä päk a püüktïḍïnï ïñï	*I found grain spilled down*
___	jaan ŋoy baanni,	*under the tree of my area,*
	(Bääm 60)	
	Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo,	*And Dove told him,*
___	"Mügja buggi ti kä lekü."	*"Hold on to me by my wings with your teeth."*
	(Leeñ 3)	
___	Aŋ wegok kïïge ti ogo, *wac, wac, wac.*	*And from his feet he was making sound, tap, tap.*
	(Leeñ 20)	
___	Iñjon waygä yooko.	*Give us our shoes.*
	(Leeñ 22)	
___	Dale waygä yeekic iñekä woo.	*Let me bring you your shoes out here.*
	(Geel 19)	
	Yeeni ääŋkalaŋ naana buṭu woo ye,	*If my (strength) were to be revealed one day,*
___	ooric yaanna bi taapä kä.	*I would ride on this your man.*
	(Äwñä 1)	
	Ääŋkalaŋ ti wina	*One day,*
___	Albe attä kiñuk ke guuŋ yeene,	*Albe went on a hunt with his dog,*
	(Äwñä 14)	
___	Aŋ waak yeeke koowne,	*And he took his things,*
	aŋ wäättana ḍuukin ŋäjäk paa.	*and then returned back home.*

Reflexive pronouns

A <u>reflexive pronoun</u> shows the subject that does an action is the same as the object to which the action is done. Or it shows the subject is the same as the pronoun introduced by a preposition. Relfexive pronouns are the possessed body parts **ḍoŋ** 'neck' or **yor** 'body'.

In *Kiñuk 4* the reflexive pronoun **ḍoŋe** 'himself' shows the same man who does the action **tuñjenee** 'burned' is to whom this action is done. **Ḍoŋe** 'himself' is the same in sound as the possessed noun **ḍoŋe** 'his neck'.

(Kiñuk 2-4) (Same subject and object)

Aŋ atto gäänono luum ïwïn,	*He went to collect dry grass,*
aŋ büükkee käälok, aŋ tuñgenee maañ,	*heaped it in cave, and he caused fire to burn it,*
aŋ **ḍoŋe** tuñjenee ti käälok.	*and burned **himself** in the cave.*

In *Geel 36,* the reflexive pronoun **yori** 'myself' shows the same Fox who does the action **mükküdü** 'controls' is also introduced by the preposition **kä** 'with'. **Yori** 'myself' is the same in sound as the possessed noun **yori** 'my body'.

(Geel 34-36) (Same subject as before preposition)

Aŋ Wiiw Geel kiinne ogo,	*And Fox told Lion,*
"Dalä ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan ḍoŋü ti,	*"Let me tie the rope on your neck*
mükküdü kä **yori**."	*(so that) I control it with **myself** ."*

Below, the reflexive pronouns in bold are the subjects and objects of the action **tuñjenee** 'burned'.

Relfexive pronouns [correct all verbs]

Aŋ **ḍoŋi** tuñjenee.	And **I** burned **myself.**
Aŋ **ḍoŋü** tuñjenee.	And **you (sg)** burned **yourself.**
Aŋ **ḍoŋe** tuñjenee.	And **he** burned **himself.**
Aŋ **ḍuuggo** tuñjenee.	And **we** burned **ourselves.**
Aŋ **ḍuuggic** tuñjenee.	And **you (pl)** burned **yourselves.**
Aŋ **ḍuuggen** tuñjenee.	And **they** burned **themselves.**

Below, the reflexive pronouns in bold are the subjects of the action **mükküdü** 'controls' and are introduced by the preposition **kä** 'with'.

Reflexive pronouns [correct all verbs]

Aŋ mükküdü kä **yori.**	And **I** control it **myself.**
Aŋ mükküdü kä **yorü.**	And **you (sg)** control it **yourself.**
Aŋ mükküdü kä **yore.**	And **he** controls it **himself.**
Aŋ mükküdü kä **yoko.**	And **we** control it **ourselves.**
Aŋ mükküdü kä **yokic.**	And **you (pl)** control it **yourselves.**
Aŋ mükküdü kä **yoken.**	And **they** control it **themselves.**

In summary, the relfexive pronouns are listed below.

Relfexive pronouns

ḍoŋi	yori	*myself*
ḍoŋü	yorü	*yourself*
ḍoŋe	yore	*himself, herself*
ḍuuggo	yoko	*ourselves*
ḍuuggo	yoko	*ourselves*
ḍuuggo	yoko	*ourselves*
ḍuuggic	yokic	*yourselves*
ḍuuggen	yoken	*themselves*

Exercise 18

In the lines below, underline all reflexive pronouns.

(Yaam 21-22)
Näŋko määngä yooko yoken wääkcene woo,   *Because of this, our women must rest themselves,*
aŋ päjjene beeljene bata meken.   *and be healthy and become like others.*
(Kiñuk 2-4)
Aŋ atto gäänono luum ïwïn,   *He went to collect dry grass,*
aŋ büükkee käälok, aŋ tuñgenee maañ,   *heaped it in cave, and he caused fire to burn it,*
aŋ ḍoŋe tuñjenee ti käälok.   *and burned himself in the cave.*
(Geel 34-36)
Aŋ Wiiw Geel kiinne ogo,   *And Fox told Lion,*
"Dalä ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan ḍoŋü ti,   *"Let me tie the rope on your neck*
mükküdü kä yori."   *(so that) I control it with myself ."*

Demonstratives and demonstrative adjectives

A demonstrative adjective describes a noun by pointing or showing a noun the listeners can see or already know about. It follows the noun it points to. A demonstrative (pronoun) also points to or shows a noun the listeners can see or already know about. It take the place of the noun and any words that describe that noun.

Demonstrative adjectives

In *Bääm 12-13*, **yaanna** 'that' is a demonstrative adjective. It points to the noun **gin** 'thing'.

(Bääm 12-13)
Ŋana ïkï booju,   *Don't you be afraid,*
gin **yaanna** batta a len, a lämmä kä pet.   *that thing is not an axe, it is just mud.*

The demonstrative adjective **yaanna** 'that' shows which **gin** 'thing' is talked about. It is the **len lämmä** 'axe of mud' Fox made to scare Dove and that Raven is pointing to while he speaks to Dove.

The demonstrative adjective **yaanni** 'this' points to a singular noun **kuukcu** 'drum' as in (1). The demonstrative adjective **yaakki** 'these' points to more than one of that noun **kuukcuni** 'drums' as in (2).

(1) Aŋ **kuukcu** <u>yaanni</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak.   *And raven heard <u>**this drum**</u>.*
(2) Aŋ **kuukcuni** <u>yaakki</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak.   *And raven heard <u>**these drums.**</u>*

In (3), the demonstrative adjective **yaanni** 'this' shows **kuukcu** 'drum' is near the speaker. In (4), the demonstrative adjective **yaanna** 'that' shows **kuukcu** is away from the speaker.

<u>Near speaker [check all]</u>	(3) Aŋ **kuukcu** <u>yaanni</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak. *And raven heard <u>**this drum**</u>.*
<u>Away from speaker</u>	(4) Aŋ **kuukcu** <u>yaanna</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak. *And raven heard <u>**that drum**</u>.*
<u>Far away from speaker</u>	(5) Aŋ **kuukcu** <u>yaanja</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak. *And raven heard <u>**that drum**</u>.*

In (5), the demonstrative adjective **yaanja** 'that' shows **kuukcu** is far away from the speaker.

Similarly, in (6), the plural demonstrative adjective **yaakki** 'these' shows **kuukcuni** 'drums' are near the speaker. In (7), the plural demonstrative adjective **yaakka** 'those' shows **kuukcuni** are away from the speaker.

<u>Near speaker</u>	(6) Aŋ **kuukcuni** <u>yaakki</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak. *And raven heard <u>**these drums**</u>.*
<u>Away from speaker</u>	(7) Aŋ **kuukcuni** <u>yaakka</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak. *And raven heard <u>**those drums**</u>.*
<u>Far way from speaker</u>	(8) Aŋ **kuukcuni** <u>yaakca</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak. *And raven heard <u>**those drums**</u>.*

In (8), the plural demonstrative **yaakca** 'those' shows **kuukcuni** are far away from the speaker.

In non-speeches of stories, the demonstrative adjectives **yaanni** 'this' and **yaakki** 'these' can show a noun is recent or easily remembered in the mind of the listeners. The demonstrative adjectives **yaanna** 'that' and **yaakka** 'those' can show a noun is in the past or distant in time and memory of the listeners.

In *Bääm 66-67*, the demonstrative adjective **yaanni** 'this' shows the noun **wiiwa** 'story' was recently mentioned. In fact, it is the same story that the listeners just heard.

(Bääm 66-67) (recent memory)
Yaan <u>**wiiwa**</u> <u>yaanni</u> nüütï ogo,   *<u>**This story**</u> tells us that, (when)*
waak a kañdïï me ye, ŋana boonjï me.   *people find things, it should be enough for people.*

In *Äwñä 11*, the demonstrative adjective **yaakka** 'those' shows the noun **nïïnkä** 'days' are days of the past that have already happened and the listeners may not remember as well.

(Äwñä 11) (distant memory)
Aŋ **nïïnkä yaakka** ti muure, Albe batta ämï.   *And all __those days__, Albe did not eat.*

Demonstratives (demonstrative pronouns)

Demonstratives (demonstrative pronouns) are used instead of nouns subjects that come before the copula (equal sign verb) **a** 'is, be'. However, instead of coming before the copula, they follow the copula and the complement of the copula (what the subject is equal to).

In (10), the demonstrative **inni** 'this' can take the place of **gin yaanni** 'this thing' in (9).

(9) **Gin yaanni** a len. *__This thing__ is an axe.*	(11) **Waak yaakki** a lidgä. *__These things__ are axes.*
(10) A len **inni**. *__This__ is an axe.*	(12) A lidgä **ikki**. *__These__ are axes.*

In (12), the demonstrative **ikki** 'these' can take the place of **waak yaakki** 'these things' in (11).

The other demonstratives can take the place of nouns, as shown below.

	Singular noun	Plural noun
Near speaker	A len **inni**. *__This__ is an axe.*	A lidgä **ikki**. *__These__ are axes.*
Away from speaker	A len **ina**. *__That__ is an axe.*	A lidgä **ika**. *__Those__ are axes.*
Far away from speaker	A len **ïya**. *__That__ is an axe.*	A lidgä **ïka**. *__Those__ are axes.*

In *Geel 33*, the demonstrative **inni** ' this' is the subject equal to the relative clause **yaana ṭäkkä ye** 'that which I want'.

(Geel 33)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin jone ti ogo,   *And Fox said to himself,*
"Ee, a yaana ṭäkkä ye **inni**!"   *"Yes, __this__ is that which I want!"*

The demonstratives adjectives and demonstratives are summarized below.

Demonstrative adjectives

	Singular		Plural	
Near speaker, near in time and memory	len **yaanni**	*this axe*	lidgä **yaakki**	*these axes*
Away from speaker, distant in time and memory	len **yaanna**	*that axe*	lidgä **yaakka**	*those axes*
Away from both	len **yaanja**	*that axe*	lidgä **yaakca**	*those axes*

Demonstratives (demonstrative pronouns)

	Singular		Plural	
Near speaker, near in time and memory	**inni**	*this*	**ikki**	*these*
Away from speaker, distant in time and memory	**ina**	*that*	**ika**	*those*
Away from both	**ïya**	*that*	**ïka**	*those*

Exercise 19

In the lines below, underline all demonstratives and demonstrative adjectives and the nouns they point to. The first sentence is done as an example.

(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte määngä ḍürḍïn   *And since a basket enables women*
wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,   *to carry these many things,*
aŋ a gin a ŋeraŋ yaam ti ye <u>**inni**</u>.   <u>***this is***</u> *a good thing about the basket.*
(Bääm 34-35)
Ïkïï batta atï ḍeel ṭuule,   *Can we not go (to) the small goat*
yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?"   *that was dead in that animal pen?*
(Bääm 48-49)
"A ŋaani ken ïkï nüütkeney waŋ yaanna?"   *"Who gave you that idea?"*
A Wiiw ken tääccin.   *Fox was the one asking him.*
(Bääm 66-67)
Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï ogo,   *This story tells us that, (when)*
waak a kañḍïï me ye, ŋana boonjï me.   *people find things, it should be enough for people.*
(Leeñ 30)
Aŋ taaji ogo, "A ŋaani ina cääy yaanna?"   *And asked him, "Who is that sitting?"*
(Geel 8)
Aŋ Wiiw jiik yaakka tiiŋŋe,   *And Fox heard about those words,*
(Geel 10-11)
Aŋ juwin ḍoŋe lääkkene ogo kar,   *He got up and left straight away,*
atï ükcïdï gïtï jiik yaakka ṭulgu ti.   *he went to evaluate by those words of girls.*
(Geel 19)
Yeeni ääŋkalaŋ naana buṭu woo ye,   *If my (strength) were to be revealed certain day,*
ooric yaanna bi taapä kä.   *I would ride on that your man.*
(Geel 22)
Ïkï ṭüülü yaanna daa bi näŋä ŋaaka?   *Your small thing that just can do what?*
(Geel 28)
Aŋ müükonḍi por ŋäjjä,   *And do you know, my friend,*
nïïnkä yaakki ti yori boonu kockon.   *in these days my body is very sick.*
(Geel 33)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin jone ti ogo,   *And Fox said to himself,*
"Ee, a yaana ṭäkkä ye inni!"   *"Yes, that which I want is this!"*
(Geel 41-42)

90

Ikee batta kiinde ogo,	*Did I not tell you*
ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure!	*that I would one day ride this your man, look!*
(Äwñä 11)	
Aŋ nïïnkä yaakka ti muure, Albe batta ämï.	*And all those days, Albe did not eat.*
(Pïïṇṇä 13-14)	
Ina ken Pïïṇṇä teye ŋalje ko ŋal yaanna,	*That is why Wasp's waist is thin like that thinness,*
aŋ müügee ko merkä meken yaakka.	*and he catches the children of those others.*

Numbers

<u>Numbers</u> tell how many of the noun there are and follow the noun.

In (1-2), the number **keelok** 'one' and the number **yewwe** 'two' tell how many **kuukcuni** 'drums' there are.

(1) Aŋ **kuukcu kä <u>keelok</u>** tiiŋi gaaggaak.   *And raven heard <u>**one drum**</u>.*
(2) Aŋ **kuukcuni kä <u>yewwe</u>** tiiŋi gaaggaak.   *And raven heard <u>**two drums**</u>.*

In the lesson *Prepositions,* we learned that the preposition **kä, ko** 'with, by, that, form' can introduce a noun used as a tool, source, goal, or adverb.

In *Yaam 18-19*, **kä** 'with' introduces the noun **bïraŋ yaanna** 'this quickly'. These words are used as an adverb that tell how **ṭiintete** 'becoming old' happens.

(Yaam 18-19) (Adverb)
Ina ken määngä mäbaan ṭiintete	*That is why Jumjum women are becoming old*
<u>kä</u> bïraŋ yaanna, aŋ iiŋ ke yaam yeene	<u>*with quickly*</u>*, and the woman with her basket*

This preposition **kä** 'with' is also used to introduce numbers that tell how many of noun there are. In *Leeñ 17,* **kä** 'with' introduces the number **ŋaṭükel** 'seven', which tells how many **nïïnkä** 'days' there are.

(Leeñ 17) (Number)
Aŋ Wiiw Liik kiinne ogo,	*And Fox told the Elephants,*
"Ääte nïïnkä <u>**kä**</u> ŋaṭükel."	*"Return in days <u>**that** seven</u>."*

Numbers are listed below. The preposition **kä** 'with' introduces each number after a noun.

Number of nouns [check all]	
nïïnnä kä **keelok**	*one* day
nïïnkä kä **yew(we)**	*two* days
nïïnkä kä **ḍäk**	*three* days

91

niïnkä kä **ŋan**	*four* days
niïnkä kä **duuc**	*five* days
niïnkä kä **ḍüügük**	*six* days
niïnkä kä **ŋaṭükel**	*seven* days
niïnkä kä **cunuuk**	*eight* days
niïnkä kä	*nine* days
niïnkä kä **caay**	*ten* days
niïnkä kä **caay wiñen kä keelok**	*eleven* days
niïnkä kä **caay witken kä yew(we)**	*twelve* days
niïnkä kä **caykä kä yew(we)**	*twenty* days
niïnkä kä **caykä mäyken kä duuc**	*fifty* days
niïnkä kä **caay mooy**	*one hundred* days

Numbers can follow a noun or take the place of a noun. In *Bääm 5*, the preposition and number **kä keelok** 'with one' takes the place of the noun and number **minneni kä keelow** 'one child'.

(Bääm 5) (Takes place of noun)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "Yiipka iñï **kä keelok**."   *Fox said it, "Throw down with __one__ (of them)."*

Exercise 20

In the lines below, underline all numbers and the nouns they tell about. The first sentence has been down as an example.

(Yaam 2)
Aŋ ḍiigjänä me iñï kä wingä,   *People tie them down*
aŋ näkä **niïnkä kä ḍäk**.   *with ropes for __three days__.*
(Kiñuk 5)
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ iygä ko yewwe atto kiñuk,   *Then one day, two hyenas went hunting,*
(Kiñuk 28-29)
Aŋ wääna wükcïnïï ko ko ḍeeḍaŋ ye,   *And when they went a little further,*
men killäŋ ŋoccee küüttee   *the person again blew the whistle*
tügge ko yewwe ogo, *tiit tiit!*   *two times, tweet tweet!*
(Bääm 5)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "Yiipka iñï kä keelok."   *Fox said it, "Throw down with one (of them)."*
(Bääm 61-62)
Aŋ naana ïkïï ḍakkï tï ye, ika bi weekcä ogo,   *And when we arrive, I will cry,*
kuruk, kuruk ääŋki kä yew.   *kaaw, kaaw two times.*
(Leeñ 17)
Aŋ Wiiw Liik kiinne ogo,   *And Fox told the Elephants,*
"Ääte niïnkä kä ŋaṭükel."   *"Return in seven days."*
(Äwñä 4-5)
Aŋ määññä, aŋ näkkä äwñä kä keelok,   *Then he looked for it (porcupine),*

aŋ erre pok.   *and felt one porcupine, then slaughtered it.*
(Äwñä 9)
Aŋ ike nääkin nïïnkä kä yewwe käälok.   *And he spent two days in the cave.*

Quantities

Quantities tell the amount or approximate number of a noun or pronoun. A quantity follows the noun it tells about. There are different quantities for countable and uncountable nouns [check this]. Things, animals and people are often nouns that are countable. Plants and liquids are often nouns that are not countable.

In (1), **muureen** 'all' is a countable quantity. It shows approximately how many **kuukcuni** 'drums' are heard. **Kuukcuni** 'drums' is a noun that is countable, and the countable quantity **muureen** describes this noun.

countable	(1) Aŋ **kuukcuni** <u>muureen</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*And raven heard **all** drums*.
uncountable	(2) Aŋ **jengä** <u>muure</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*And raven heard **all** trees*.

In (2), **muure** 'all' is an uncountable quantity that shows approximately how many **jengä** 'trees' are heard. **Jengä** 'trees' is a noun that is uncountable, and the uncountable quantity **muure** describes this noun.

The quantity **ḍiräk** 'many' is similar but different in spelling to the state verb **ḍirä** 'are many'. In (3), the non-past progressive state verb **ḍirä** 'are many' has the subject **kuukcuni** 'drums'. In (4), the quantity **ḍiräk** 'many' tells the approximate number of the noun **kuukcuni** 'drums'.

State verb	(3) **Kuukcuni** **ḍirä**.	***Drums** are many*.
Quantity	(4) Aŋ **kuukcuni** <u>ḍiräk</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*And raven heard **many drums***.

The quanity **ḍiräk** 'many' can be introduced by the preposition **kä** 'with, by, that', just as numbers are.

(Yaam 11-12) (Introduced by **kä**)
Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ yaam ti ye,   *And a bad thing concerning the basket*
naana ṭemtä määngä witken ti   *is when women carry (it) on their heads*
yuungu kä ḍiräk ye, määngä witken wec,   *for **many years**, the heads of women are bald,*

In summary, the quantities are shown below.

Quantities [check all]

93

Countable		Uncountable	
me **muureen**	*all people*	jengä **muure**	*all trees*
kutuŋgu ḍiräk	*many pigs*	??	

Exercise 21

In the lines below, <u>underline</u> all quantities and the nouns they tell about. The first sentence has been done as an example.

(Yaam 11-12)
Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ yaam ti ye,   *And a bad thing concerning the basket*
naana ṭemtä määngä witken ti   *is when women carry (it) on their heads*
yuungu kä ḍiräk ye, määngä witken wec,   *for **many years**, the heads of women are bald,*
(Leeñ 10-11)
Aŋ juwin attä muureen,   *And they all got up and went,*
aŋ Wiiw wääti baanne, aŋ bäärgä ogo,   *and found Fox in his place, and were calling him*
(Leeñ 35-36)
aŋ Wiiw attä wiirok, aŋ Liik yoorre mätï   *Fox went to the river, and saw Elephants drinking*
piik muure,   *all the water,*
(Geel 2-3)
Aŋ Geel bilti ke meken,   *And Lion was there with the others,*
aŋ nääŋke toorok bilti, meken muure ene, *and he did bad actions, threatening all the others,*
(Geel 16-17)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "Naana ook ke dürjï   *And Fox said, "If all the men and youth*
muure boone juugin ogo bojgo ko Geel ye, *are unable in their hearts and afraid of Lion,*
(Geel 46)
Aŋ wäättana waak muureen luggin   *Afterwards, all the animals acknowledged*
kä owkïtïn Wiiw.   *the strength of Fox.*
(Äwñä 11)
Aŋ nïïnkä yaakka ti muure, Albe batta ämï, *And all these days, Albe did not eat,*
(Pïïnnä 12)
Aŋ Pïïṇnä tuummee ogo   *And he cursed Wasp (so) that*
ŋana giido yuunge muureen.   *she would not give birth all her years.*

Indefinite

<u>Indefinites</u> show that a noun has not yet been mentioned or is different than others of the noun that have already been mentioned. They have a singular and plural form. The indefinites **yaŋkalaŋ**, **yakkalaŋ** 'certain, other, another' follow nouns and are separate from them. They can also take the place of a noun. In addition, there are other indefinites that always take the place of a noun: **mäŋkalaŋ, mäkkalaŋ** 'certain person', **nääŋkalaŋ** 'certain thing, anything', **giŋkalaŋ** 'certain thing, anything', **taaŋkalaŋ** 'certain place, anyplace', **ääŋkalaŋ** 'certain day', **jiikkalaŋ** 'certain word'. The

indefinites **menen** 'other, another', **meken** 'others' always show a different one of the noun than previously mentioned.

Common indefinite

The indefinites **yaŋkalaŋ**, **yakkalaŋ** 'certain, other, another' can follow most nouns. They show the noun has not yet been mentioned or is different than others of the noun already mentioned.

In *Geel 25,* the indefinite **yaŋkalaŋ** 'certain' shows the noun **ŋiil** 'dance' has not been mentioned before and is new to the listener.

   (Geel 25) (Mentioned for first time)
   Müükonḍi, **ŋiil yaŋkalaŋ** juwin baan jï ka.   *Friend, **certain dance** is taking place in country.*

Sometimes the indefinite **yaŋkalaŋ** 'certain' can take the place of a noun. In *Kiñuk 5-6,* the indefinite **yaŋkalaŋ** 'certain, other' takes the place of two different hyenas, and shows they are different from each other.

   (Kiñuk 5-6) (Mentioned for first time, different, take place of noun)
   Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ iygä ko yewwe atto kiñuk,   *Then one day, two hyenas went hunting,*
   yaŋkalaŋ ogo ḍuuŋgon, aŋ **yaŋkalaŋ** ogo   ***certain one** of them was old, and **other** young.*
   durñu.

Instead of saying **iin yaŋkalaŋ** 'certain hyena, another hyena', the storyteller just says **yaŋkalaŋ** 'certain' for the first hyena, and **yaŋkalaŋ** 'other' for the second one.

The singular indefinite **yaŋkalaŋ** 'certain, another, other' of (1-2) can follow or take the place of a singular noun. The plural indefinite **yakkalaŋ** 'certain, others' of (3-4) can follow or take the palce of a plural noun.

   (1) Aŋ kuukcu **yaŋkalaŋ** tiiŋi gaaggaak.   *And raven heard **certain drum**.*
   (2) Aŋ **yaŋkalaŋ** tiiŋi gaaggaak.   *And raven heard **certain one.***
   (3) Aŋ kuukcuni **yakkalaŋ** tiiŋi gaaggaak.   *And raven heard **certain drums**.*
   (4) Aŋ **yakkalaŋ** tiiŋi gaaggaak.   *And raven heard **certain ones**.*

Indefinites that always take the place of a noun

Some indefinites always take the place of a noun. They come from a noun and a shortened form of the indefinite **yaŋkalaŋ**, **yakkalaŋ** 'certain, other, another'. In the chart below, the words in parentheses are not common and some are not used at all. But they show where the indefinites come from. For example, the indefinite **mäŋkalaŋ** 'certain person, anyone' comes from the words **men yaŋkalaŋ** 'certain person' which is not commonly said.

Indefinites that always take the place of a noun

Singular		Plural	
(men **yaŋkalaŋ**) mäŋ**kalaŋ**	*certain person, anyone*	(me yakkalaŋ) mäk**kalaŋ**	*certain persons*
(gin **yaŋkalaŋ**) giŋ**kalaŋ**	*certain thing, anything*	waak **yakkalaŋ** (waak**kalaŋ**)	*certain things*
(nääŋ yaŋ**kalaŋ**) nääŋ**kalaŋ**	*certain thing, anything*	(nääŋkä **yakkalaŋ**) (nääŋkä**kalaŋ**)	*certain things*
nänṭä **yaŋkalaŋ** (nänṭä**kalaŋ**)	*certain, any place*	nänkä **yakkalaŋ** (nänkä**kalaŋ**)	*certain places*
(taaŋŋä **yaŋkalaŋ**) taaŋ**kalaŋ**	*certain side of body* *certain place, anyplace*	täŋkä **yakkalaŋ** (täŋkä**kalaŋ**)	*certain sides, places*
(nïïnnä **yaŋkalaŋ**) ääŋ**kalaŋ**	*certain, any day*	nïïnkä **yakkalaŋ** (nïïnkä**kalaŋ**)	*certain days*
(jiik **yaŋkalaŋ**) jiik**kalaŋ**	*certain, any word*	jigärgä **yakkalaŋ** (jigärgä**kalaŋ**)	*certain words*

The singular indefinite **mäŋkalaŋ** 'certain person, someone' of (5) can take the place of a singular noun. The plural indefinite **mäkkalaŋ** 'certain people, some people' of (6) can take the place of a plural noun.

(5) Aŋ <u>**mäŋkalaŋ**</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak.   *And raven heard <u>**someone**</u>.*
(6) Aŋ <u>**mäkkalaŋ**</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak.   *And raven heard <u>**some people.**</u>*

As shown below, the singular indefinites **ääŋkalaŋ** 'certain day, another day' and **giŋkalaŋ**, **nääŋkalaŋ** 'certain thing, anything' are written connected, but the plurals of these indefinites are separate.

Singular	Plural	
Aŋ <u>**giŋkalaŋ**</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak.	Aŋ <u>**waak yakkalaŋ**</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*And raven heard <u>**certain thing**</u>.*
Aŋ <u>**nääŋkalaŋ**</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak.	Aŋ <u>**waak yakkalaŋ**</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*And raven heard <u>**certain thing**</u>.*
Aŋ <u>**taaŋkalaŋ,**</u> kuukcu tiiŋi gaaggaak. (?)	Aŋ <u>**täŋkä yakkalaŋ,**</u> kuukcu tiiŋi gaaggaak. (?)	*And <u>**everywhere**</u> , raven heard drum.*
Aŋ <u>**ääŋkalaŋ**</u>, kuukcu tiiŋi gaaggaak.	Aŋ <u>**nïïnkä yakkalaŋ,**</u> kuukcu tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*And <u>**certain day**</u>, raven heard drum.*
Aŋ <u>**jiikkalaŋ**</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak.	Aŋ <u>**jigrgä yakkalaŋ**</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*And raven heard <u>**certain word.**</u>*

We have the following spelling rule that helps us decide when to connect and when to separate words.

Spelling Rule 8 (page): Words that are commonly said together are usually written separately. However, there are three reasons to join words:

A. There are two meanings.

mänbaan	*human being*	läntän̩n̩ä	*horse*	
män baan	*person of village*	lään tin̩n̩ä	*red animal*	

B. At least one of the words has no meaning alone (or a different meaning).

nääŋkalaŋ	*anything*	yïltük	*winter season*
nääŋ	*kill*	yïl	*(no meaning)*
		tük	*(no meaning)*

C. A sound changes.

No sound change		Sound change	
gin	*thing*	giŋkalaŋ	*anything*
män Watkey	*Jumjum person*	mäŋkalaŋ	*certain person*
män bownu	*white person*		
män jaan	*healer*		
jïïn kalaŋ	*certain scorpion*		
iin kalaŋ	*certain hyena*		
iin kalaŋ	*certain woman*		

Different indefinite

Another indefinite that can follow a noun or be used in place of a noun is **menen** 'other, another', **meken** 'others'. This singular and plural indefinite always shows a different of the noun than previously mentioned.

In *Kiñuk 10,* the indefinite **menen** 'other' takes the place of a different hyena than the **iin durñe** 'young hyena'.

(Kiñuk 10) (Different, takes place of noun)
Aŋ iin durñe **menen** kiinnee ogo,   *And the young hyena said to the <u>other,</u>*
"Ŋeeyjï ko ïw."   *"We can eat it chared."*

In summary, the indefinites are listed below.

Indefinites			
	Singular	Plural	
Common	kuukcu **yaŋkalaŋ**	kuukcuni **yakkalaŋ**	**certain** drum
Take the place of noun	**mäŋkalaŋ**	**mäkkalaŋ**	**certain** person

97

giŋkalaŋ	waak yakkalaŋ	certain thing
nääŋkalaŋ	waak yakkalaŋ	certain thing
taaŋkalaŋ	täŋkä yakkalaŋ	certain place
ääŋkalaŋ	nïïnkä yakkalaŋ	certain day
jiikkalaŋ	jigärgä yakkalaŋ	certain word
<u>Show different noun</u>	kuukcu **menen**	kuukcuni **meken**	**another** drum

Exercise 22

In the lines below, <u>underline</u> all indefinites and the nouns they tell about. The first sentence has been done as an example.

<u>(Yaam 7-8)</u>
Aŋ naana me bagit **<u>nänţä</u>** **<u>yaŋkalaŋ</u>** ti ye,   *And when people move it to **<u>another place</u>**,*
<u>(Yaam 21-22)</u>
Näŋko määngä yooko yoken wääkcene woo,   *Because of this, our women must rest themselves,*
aŋ päjjene beeljene bata meken.   *and be healthy and become like others.*
<u>(Kiñuk 1-2)</u>
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ atto kiñuk pare,   *Long ago, a certain man went on a hunt alone,*
aŋ käñño kääl bilgiññi.   *and found a cave of bats.*
<u>(Kiñuk 5-6)</u>
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ iygä ko yewwe atto kiñuk,   *Then one day, two hyenas went hunting,*
yaŋkalaŋ ogo ḍuuŋgon, aŋ yaŋkalaŋ ogo durñu.   *certain one of them was old, and other young.*
<u>(Kiñuk 19)</u>
Aŋ iin mooye menen kiinnee ogo,   *And the older hyena said to the other,*
<u>(Kiñuk 26)</u>
Aŋ iin durñe menen taaññee ogo,   *And the young hyena asked the other,*
<u>(Bääm 16-17)</u>
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Tääyä ïñï kä bïraŋ,   *And Dove told him, "Cut it down quickly,*
mäŋkalaŋ ïya äätä, ädit ţoŋ ke lacan mooye."   *another person is coming carrying spear/stick."*
<u>(Bääm 20)</u>
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ   *Another day,*
Wiiw attä Gaaggaak ţärkene nänţä piik.   *Fox came and hide from Raven in water.*
<u>(Leeñ 1)</u>
Ñomuk ku on yuungu yakkalaŋ ti,   *Long ago in certain years,*
<u>(Leeñ 8-9)</u>
Aŋ Leeñ attä meken nüütkene ogo,   *And Elephant went and informed others,*
"Wiiw me näŋgedee waygä ka."   *"Fox makes shoes for people."*
<u>(Leeñ 13)</u>
Aŋ bäärgä Wiiw ogo, "Mäŋkalaŋ käjä äräk."   *Fox was calling, "Someone may enter inside."*
<u>(Leeñ 32)</u>
Baati mäŋkalaŋ yaana a kaajon winni ye?   *Was there not someone who passed by here?*
<u>(Geel 1-3)</u>

98

Ñomuk ku on, wakkä luum jïñe cäyok
nänṭä keellä, baan yaŋkalaŋ jï.
Aŋ Geel bilti ke meken,
aŋ nääŋke toorok bilti, meken muure ene,
(Geel 13)

*Long ago in past time, wild animals were living
in the same place, in certain country.
And Lion was there with the others,
he did bad actions, threatening all the others,*

Aŋ luugi ṭulgu ogo, "Jiikkalaŋ baati."
(Geel 19)

Girls replied, "There is not a certain problem."

Yeeni ääŋkalaŋ naana buṭu woo ye,
ooric yaanna bi taapä kä.
(Geel 23)

*If my (strength) were to be revealed certain day,
I would ride on this your man.*

Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ ti, ŋiil juwin baan jï.
(Geel 41-42)

Another day, there was a dance in this country.

Ikee batta kiinde ogo,
ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure!
(Äwñä 1)

*"Did I not tell you
that I would one day ride this your man, look!*

Ääŋkalaŋ ti
wina Albe attä kiñuk ke guuŋ yeene.
(Piïnnä 1-2)

*On certain day,
Albe went on a hunt with his dog.*

Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ tüwno baan
yaŋkalaŋ ti, aŋ Piïnṇä ken tüccï me ogo,
(Piïnnä 13-14)

*Long ago in time past, someone died in a
certain land, and people sent Wasp,*

Ina ken Piïnṇä teye ŋalje ko ŋal yaanna,
aŋ müügee ko merkä meken yaakka.

*That is why Wasp's waist is thin like this,
and he catches these other children.*

Adjectives

Some verbs can be used to describe a noun. They tell a characteristic (quality) about the noun they follow. Some possessed nouns are also used to tell a characteristic about the noun they follow. If verbs or nouns have a different spelling or meaning when used in these ways, they are called adjectives. Singular and plural adjectives have different forms (spellings). Singular adjectives sometimes have the suffix –**e**, -**aŋ**, or -**on**, and plural adjectives often have the suffix –**en**, -**kken,** or -**in**.

Adjectives from verbs

The verb **ŋeṭṭä** 'was good' is a state that tells how something remains. It can be used with a noun subject and with each pronoun subject in past, non-past progressive and non-past times.

Past	Non-past progressive away	Non-past	[check all]
Men ŋeṭṭä woo.	Men ŋeraŋ.	Men bi ŋeṭï ïñï.	*Person*
Ika ŋeṭṭä woo.	Ika ŋeräŋer.	Ika bi ŋeṭä ïñï.	*I*
Ïkï ŋeṭṭi woo.	Ïkï ŋeräŋer.	Ïkï bi ŋercï ïñï.	*You (sg)*

Ike ŋeṭṭä woo.	Ike ŋeraŋ.	Ike bi ŋeṭï ïñï.	*(S)he*
Ïkïï ŋeṭṭï woo.	Ïkïï ŋerïŋer.	Ïkïï bi ŋeṭï ïñï.	*We (two)*
Ïkïïn ŋeṭṭïn woo.	Ïkïïn ŋerïnŋer.	Ïkïïn bi ŋeṭïn ïñï.	*We (and you)*
Ikoon ŋeṭṭon woo.	Ikoon ŋeronŋer.	Ikoon bi ŋeṭon ïñï.	*We (not you)*
Ikee ŋeṭṭe woo.	Ikee ŋereŋer.	Ikee bi ŋeṭe ïñï.	*You (pl)*
Iken ŋeṭṭä woo.	Iken ŋeraŋ.	Iken bi ŋeṭï ïñï.	*They*
was good	*am good*	*will be good*	

Singular adjectives often have the same spelling as non-past progressive state verbs. However, plural adjectives are different than all state verb forms, because they have the suffix –**en**.

The same non-past progressive state verb **ŋeraŋ** 'is good' has the singular subject **kuukcu** 'drum' in (1) and the plural subject **kuukcuni** 'drums' in (2).

State verb	Sing. subject	(1) Aŋ **kuukcu** **ŋeraŋ**.	*Drum is good.*
	Plural subject	(2) Aŋ **kuukcuni** **ŋeraŋ**.	*Drums are good.*
Adjective	Singular	(3) Aŋ **kuukcu** **ŋeraŋ** tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*raven heard good drum.*
	Plural	(4) Aŋ **kuukcuni** **ŋerken** tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*raven heard good drums.*

In (3), the singular adjective **ŋeraŋ** 'good' describes the singular noun **kuukcu** 'drum', and has the same spelling as the state verb **ŋeraŋ** 'is good' in (1-2). However in (4), the plural adjective **ŋerken** 'good' describes the plural noun **kuukcuni** 'drums', and is different than all the forms of this state verb.

The adjective **tiiŋon, tiiŋin** 'hearing, hearings' may come from the non-past progressive SVO verb **tiŋit** 'is hearing', but has different spelling and use.

The verb **tiŋit** 'is hearing' has the singular subject **men** 'person' in (5) and the plural subject **me** 'persons' in (6).

State verb	Singular subject	(5) Aŋ **men** **tiŋit** gin.	*Person is hearing thing.*
	Plural subject	(6) Aŋ **me** **tiŋit** gin.	*People are hearing thing.*
Adjective	Singular	(7) Aŋ yätkä **män** **tiiŋon** yoorre.	*Chief saw a person of hearing.*
	Plural	(8) Aŋ yätkä **mä** **tiiŋin** yoorre.	*Chief saw people of hearings.*

However, in (7), the singular adjective **tiiŋon** 'hearing' describes the singular noun **män** 'person of', and in (8), the plural adjective **tiiŋin** 'hearings' describes the plural noun **mä** 'people of'.

Adjectives from possessed nouns

Some possessed nouns are used as adjectives to tell the characteristic of a noun before it. The singular and plural of these adjectives have the same spelling as the singular and plural possessed noun.

In (5) the singular noun **ṭuul** 'daughter' has the possessor pronoun **–e** 'his'. In (6), the plural noun **ṭulgu** 'daughters' has the possessor pronoun **–ken** 'their'.

Possessed noun	Singular	(5) Aŋ **ṭuule** tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*And raven heard **his daughter**.*
	Plural	(6) Aŋ **ṭulgen** tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*And raven heard **their daughters**.*
Adjective	Singular	(7) Aŋ **kuukcu ṭuule** tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*And raven heard **small drum**.*
	Plural	(8) Aŋ **kuukcuni ṭulgen** tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*And raven heard **small drums**.*

In (7-8), this possessed noun is used as an adjective with new meaning to tell a characteristic (quality) of the noun before it. In (7), the singular adjective **ṭuule** 'small' describes the singular noun **kuukcu** 'drum' and has the same spelling as the singular possessed noun **ṭuule** 'his daughter'. In (8), the plural adjective **ṭulgen** 'small' describes the plural noun **kuukcuni** 'drums', and has the same spelling as the plural possessed noun **ṭulgen** 'their daughters'.

There are the following other adjectives in **bold**:

Adjectives

Singular		Plural	
men **yaajaŋ**	*bad person*	me **yaacken**	*bad people*
men **ŋeraŋ**	*good person*	me **ŋerken**	*good people*
baan **ṭuule**	*small village*	bänkä **ṭulgen**	*small villages*
iin **mooye**	*older hyena*	iygä **muyken**	*older hyenas*
iin **durñe**	*younger hyena*	iygä **dürjïgenen**	*younger hyenas*
jone **ñamme**	*his sweet heart*	juuggen **ñabaŋ**	*their sweet hearts*
nänṭa **miṭon**	*dark place*	nänkä **miṭin**	*dark places*
koy **tïṇṇä**	*red tree*	koyku **tïtkä**	*red trees*
men **ŋoole**	*lame person*	me **ŋolken**	*lame people*

Exercise 23

In the lines below, underline all adjectives and the nouns they tell about. The first sentence has been done as an example.

(Yaam 1)
Yaam a **koy tïṇṇä** ke ḍogleñ.   *A basket is **red tree type** or another tree type.*
(Kiñuk 8-9)
Aŋ düüdïnïï woo, aŋ iin durñe liikono woo   *They carried him outside, young hyena broke*
gine ṭuule gunne ti näkkenee.   *small piece from his side.*
(Kiñuk 11)

101

Aŋ iin mooye kulcono ogo,	*And the older hyena refused him,*
(Kiñuk 22-24)	
Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ ḍoŋe ti,	*Person was wearing a whistle around his neck,*
aŋ wääna kaaññïï ko jaan ŋoy ye,	*and when (they) passed under a tree,*
men likko rawcan, aŋ kïlläŋ rääkkee jï	*man broke off a twig, and cleaned out whistle,*
woo, i iin mooye oja ken ääto ñomuk.	*as the proud old hyena was going on ahead.*
Aŋ wääna ḍakkïï ko nänṭa mïṭon ye,	*And when they arrived to dark place,*
(Bääm 16-17)	
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Tääyä iñï kä bïraŋ,	*And Dove told him, "Cut it down quickly,*
mäŋkalaŋ ïya äätä,	*there is another person far away coming*
ädit ṭoŋ ke lacan mooye."	*carrying a spear and a big stick."*
(Bääm 28)	
Aŋ Wiiw attä, i jone yaajaŋ kockon.	*And Fox came, and his very bad heart.*
(Bääm 34)	
Ïkïï batta atï ḍeel ṭuule,	*Can we not go (to) the small goat*
(Bääm 64-65)	
Aŋ Bääm pääynä, i week kä jone ñamme.	*Dove flew away, was crying with sweet heart.*
(Leeñ 42-43)	
A Leeñ mooye yaana paaññe kïïgïn ye,	*It was the big Elephant, whose feet were peeled,*
ken ike aajjï woo wiiy.	*he was crossing the river.*
(Leeñ 43-44)	
Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïïn nüütkïḍïn ogo	*This story tells us that*
ŋana me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken.	*people should not do bad actions.*
(Geel 22)	
Ïkï ṭüülü yaanna daa bi näŋä ŋaaka?	*That you small thing just can do what?*

<div align="center">

Relative clauses

</div>

A <u>relative clause</u> is a group of words with a verb that tells about a previous noun. An <u>identifying relative clause</u> begins with **yaana, yaaka** 'who, which, that' and identify which specific noun we are talking about. **Yaana** follows singular nouns and **yaaka** follows plural nouns. Both usually have **ye** at the end of the clause. **Mana** is a short way of saying **men yaana** 'person who' and **maka** is a short way of saying **me yaaka** 'people who'. A <u>descriptive relative clause</u> does not have **yaana, yaaka** 'who, which, that' and gives information about the noun.

<u>Identifying relative clauses</u>

In *Leeñ 38*, **yaana** 'who, which' follows the singular noun **Leeñ** 'Elephant'. It introduces the relative clause **yaana tälaŋ ye** 'who is big'.

(Leeñ 38) (Identifies with **yaana . . . ye**)
Aŋ attä <u>Leeñ **yaana** tälaŋ **ye**</u> ti, aŋ kiinne ogo, *He went to <u>Elephant **who** is big</u>, and told him,*

This relative clause tells which **Leeñ** is talked about. There were several elephants drinking at the river that Fox could have talked to, and **yaana** points out one **Leeñ** in particular that was big as the one that Fox went to, and not any other **Leeñ**. There is the word **ye** at the end of this relative clause.

In *Bääm 34-35,* **yaana** 'that, which' follows the noun **ḍeel ṭuule** 'small goat' and introduces the relative clause **yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï** 'that was dead in the animal pen'.

(Bääm 34-35) (Identifies without **ye**)
Ïkïï batta atï ḍeel ṭuule,   *Can we not go (to) the <u>small goat</u>*
yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?"   *<u>that was dead in the animal pen</u>?*

This relative clause tells which **ḍeel ṭuule** 'small goat' is talked about. Perhaps both the Raven and Fox have noticed this particular goat as they passed it in previous days and have it in mind. There is no end clause word **ye** at the end of this relative clause. [check for a reason].

Sometimes the noun before a relative clause is not mentioned. In *Geel 33,* there is no noun before the relative clause **yaana ṭäkkä ye** 'that which I want'. Maybe an unmentioned noun such as **gin** 'thing' is described by this relative clause.

(Geel 33) (No noun)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin jone ti ogo,   *And Fox said to himself,*
"Ee, a **yaana** ṭäkkä **ye** inni!"   *"Yes, <u>that which I want</u> is this!"*

In (1), the singular relative connector **yaana** 'who, which' introduces the relative clause **yaana tälaŋ ye** 'which is big' and identifies the singular noun **kuukcu** 'drum'. In (2), the plural relative connector **yaaka** 'who, which' introduces the relative clause **yaaka ḍoŋgaŋ ye** 'which are big' and identifies the plural noun **kuukcuni** 'drums'.

Singular noun	(1) Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **yaana** tälaŋ **ye** tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*And raven heard <u>drum which is big</u>.*
Plural noun	(2) Aŋ <u>kuukcuni</u> **yaaka** ḍoŋgaŋ **ye** tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*And raven heard <u>drums which are big</u>.*

Mana is a short way of saying **men yaana** 'person who' and **maka** is a short way of saying **me yaaka** 'people who'. These also introduce identifying relative clauses.

In (1), the singular relative connector **mana** introduces the relative clause **mana tälaŋ ye** 'person who is big'. In (2), the plural relative connector **maka** introduces the relative clause **maka ḍoŋgaŋ ye** 'people who are big'.

Singular	(1) Aŋ **mana** tälaŋ **ye** tiiŋi gaaggaak. (?)	*And raven heard <u>person who is big</u>.*

103

noun

| Plural noun | (2) Aŋ **maka ḍoŋgaŋ ye** tiiŋi gaaggaak. (?) | *And raven heard people **who are big**.* |

In *Iin 34,* **mana** 'person who' introduces the identifying relative clause **mana daa ṭäkkänä Jooŋ yale yok ye** 'the person who God wants to change'.

(Iin 34) (Identifying relative clause.
Mana daa ṭäkkänä Jooŋ yale yok **ye**,   ***The person who** God wants to change,*
daa yale yok?   *he will be changed, right?*

Descriptive relative clauses

Descriptive relative clauses do not have **yaana, yaaka** 'who, which, that' or **ye** and tell information about the noun before. They can be introduced by the non-past progressive tense helping verb **a** 'be, is, that', the complement connector **ogo** 'that, as, was' or no connector.

In *Bääm 2,* **a** 'be, is, that' introduces the relative clause **a giidon jaan wic** 'that had given birth up in a tree'. This clause tells new information about **Bääm** 'Dove' that the listeners did not know about before.

(Bääm 2) (descriptive clause introduced by **a**)
Aŋ käññä Bääm **a** giidon jaan wic.   *He found Dove **who had given birth up in a tree**.*

In *Kiñuk 7,* **ogo** 'that, as, was' introduces the relative clause **ogo ïwon** 'that was chared'. This clause tells new information about **men** 'person'.

(Kiñuk 7) (descriptive clause introduced by **ogo**)
Aŋ men käññïï käälok **ogo** ïwon,   *And they found **person** in the cave **that was chared**.*

In *Kiñuk 2-3,* no connector with symbol Ø 'then, that' introduces the relative clause Ø **ïwon** 'that was dry'. This clause tells new information about **luum** 'grass'.

(Kiñuk 2-3) (descriptive clause introduced by no connector)
Aŋ atto gäänono luum **Ø** ïwïn,   *He went to collect grass **that was dry**.*

There is little difference between a descriptive relative clause introduced without a connector (as in *Kiñuk 2-3*) and a clause used as an object (complement) introduced without a connector (as in *Bääm 29-30*).

(Bääm 29-30) (Complement introduced by no connector)
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ Wiiw attä Gaggak maawe,   *And another day, Fox went looking for Raven,*
aŋ käññe **Ø** cääy ñaalok jaan wic.   *and found (him) sitting up in a tree*

Both are clauses inside a larger clause. We learn more about both of these in the lesson *Dependent clauses inside main clauses.*

Exercise 24

In the lines below, underline all relative connectors and the clause they introduce. Also underline the noun they identify or describe. The first sentence has been done as an example.

(Yaam 5-6)
Aŋ yaam mäbaan ti ken ṭemte määngä
wakkä witken ti bata wälkä piik
ke päk ke <u>waak **a** daa ṭemtä ye</u>.

And the basket on Jumjum person, women
carry things on heads such as gourds of water
*and grains and (other) <u>things **that** they carry</u>.*

(Yaam 9-12)
Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte
määngä Ø ḍürdïn wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,
aŋ a gin a ŋeraŋ yaam ti ye inni.
Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ yaam ti ye,
naana ṭemtä määngä witken ti
yuungu kä ḍiräk ye, määngä witken wec.

And it is a basket that enables
women who carry these many things,
this is a thing that is good concerning basket.
And a thing that is bad concerning the basket is
when women carry (it) on their heads
for many years, the heads of women are bald.

(Kiñuk 7)
Aŋ men kaññïï käälok ogo ïwon,
i jone mor määṭo.

And they found person in cave that was chared,
and his heart was still beating.

(Bääm 2)
Aŋ käññä Bääm a giidon jaan wic.

He found Dove that had given birth up in a tree.

(Bääm 34-35)
Ïkïï batta atï ḍeel ṭuule
yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?"

Can we not go (to) the small goat
that was dead in the animal pen?

(Bääm 43-44)
Ika käññä päk a püüktïdïnï ïñï
jaan ŋoy baanni, aŋ ika batta ämä päk.

I found grain that was spilled down
under tree of my area, and I am not eating grain.

(Bääm 54-56)
Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por, ïkï
nüütkeni. Ika attä laayä, aŋ ika käññä
kabal ṭuule a caagon kockon a tüwon,

Do not eat me, you just wait, I will inform you.
I went roaming, and I found
sheep that was fat and young that was dead,

(Bääm 66-67)
Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï ogo,
waak a kañdïï me ye, ŋana boonjï me.

This story tells us that, things
which people find, should be enough for people.

(Leeñ 15-16)
aŋ Leeñ yaana a caagon ye cïcam ŋaaljede ïñï,
aŋ yaana bämaŋ ye, ken paaje ñaalok.

and the elephant that was fat, he peeled deeply,
and the one that was thin, he peeled shallowly.

(Leeñ 32)
Baati mäŋkalaŋ yaana a kaajon winni ye?

Was not someone else who passed by here?

(Leeñ 32-33)
Aŋ jaajjin ogo, "Ika agä uyku,
baati mana agä yoorgon ye."

*And he said, "I am blind and
there is no person who I see."*

(Leeñ 38)
Aŋ attä Leeñ yaana tälaŋ ye ti, aŋ kiinne ogo,

he went to Elephant who is big, and told him,

(Leeñ 42-43)
A Leeñ mooye yaana paaññe kïïgïn ye,
ken ike aajjï woo wiiy.

*It was the big Elephant, whose feet were peeled,
he was crossing the river.*

(Geel 7)
I baati durñu yaana ŋuca
wükcïdï tï ṭulgu gurken ti ye.

*And there was no youth who could go near,
to be next to the girls.*

(Geel 21-22)
Wiiw, booju kä loon.
Atä ukcu maka daa maldä ŋïngïn ye.

*Fox, you are afraid from shyness. Go look
for people who you will try to deceive.*

(Geel 33)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin jone ti ogo,
"Ee, a yaana ṭäkkä ye inni!"

*And Fox said to himself,
"Yes, that which I want is this!"*

(Geel 43)
Por mana boone jok ye.

Just a person who is weak.

(Iin 12-13)
Aŋ wääna kääññee nïïnkä kä yewwe ye,
nïïnnä yaana wäätcete kä ḍak ye,
i oja deeŋ Iin giiṇṇä.

*So, when he Pasteted two days,
on the day which became the third,
Hyena's cow suddently gave birth.*

(Iin 24)
Aŋ ken ike booc kä menen a boojon.

He was afraid of his friend that he feared.

(Iin 34)
Mana daa ṭäkkänä Jooŋ yale yok ye,
daa yale yok?

*A person who God wants to change,
he will be changed, right?*

(Iin 62)
Wääc yaana ogoo ye, ken giit?

A father which how can give birth?

(Ṭiin 12-13)
Aŋ amma wine yaana a eegone
ken iñtä me ook.
Aŋ nänṭe yaana taanaŋe ken iñtä määngä.

*The people took the top food that was cooked
and give it to the men.
place that was uncooked was given to women.*

(Watkey 2)
Aŋ iki ken äkkene me pääm
yaana battä me ogo Watkey ye.

*And the people named him after the hill
that the people called Wadega.*

(Paaw 20)
Aŋ jïïn yaanna ti mana tüw näntä kalaŋ ti ye,
ṭïïbbe yoorgu me jïïdük wina ke täññaŋ.

*And in that well, person who dies in any place,
his picture can be seen there in the well now.*

(Uyko 12)
Wäyo yäŋŋä yaana ñabaŋ yaanni äbä wa?

Father, meat which is good, you bought where?

Noun phrases

In this lesson, we compare various types of words describing nouns, and the order of these words. These words along with a noun are called a noun phrase.

In previous lessons, we learned many words that describe or tell about nouns. The names of these are underlined in the list below.

Types of words in noun phrases

Noun	Aŋ gaaggaak **kuukcuni** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **drums.***
Close Pos Noun	Aŋ gaaggaak **kuukcuni ïnken** tiiŋŋe. (?)	*And raven heard **hands of drums.***
Dist Pos Noun	Aŋ gaaggaak **kuukcuni me** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **drums of people.***
Close Pos Pronoun	Aŋ gaaggaak **kïïgï** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **my feet.***
Dist Pos Pronoun	Aŋ gaaggaak **kuukcuni yeeki** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **my drums.***
Demonstrative	Aŋ gaaggaak **kuukcuni yaakki** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **these drums.***
Number	Aŋ gaaggaak **kuukcuni kä yewwe** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **two drums.***
Quantity	Aŋ gaaggaak **kuukcuni muureen** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **all drums.***
Indefinite	Aŋ gaaggaak **kuukcuni yakkalaŋ** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **certain drums.***
Adjective	Aŋ gaaggaak **kuukcuni ŋerken** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **good drums.***
Rel Clause	Aŋ gaaggaak **kuukcuni yaaka ḍoŋgaŋ ye** tiiŋŋe.	*And raven heard **drums which are big.***

Sometimes more than one of these words is used to describe a noun. In *Geel 10-11,* there are two of these words that describe the noun **jiik** 'words'.

(Geel 10-11)
Aŋ juwin ḍoŋe lääkkene ogo kar,   *He got up and left straight away,*
atï ükcïdï gïtï **jiik** yaakka ṭulgu ti.   *he went to evaluate by those words of girls.*
                    Noun -Demonstrative-Possessor.noun

The word **yaakka** 'those' is a demonstrative (points to which **jiik** 'words'). The **ṭulgu** 'girls' is a possessor noun (shows who owns **jiik** 'words').

The order of words describing nouns in a noun phrase may be like the following:

Common order of words describing nouns in a noun phrase
Noun-Possessor.pronoun-Number-Indefinite-Demonstrative-Possessor.noun-(Preposition)-Quantity-Adjective-Relative.clause

No noun phrase has all these types of words. But, all noun phrases have one or more of them.

Sometimes the preposition **ti** 'in' comes in the middle of a noun phrase, as in *Äwñä 11.*

(Äwñä 11)
Aŋ **niïnkä yaakka ti muure**, Albe batta   *And **in all those days**, Albe did not*
ämï.   *eat.*
<u>Noun-Demonstrative-Preposition-Quantity</u>

<u>Exercise 25</u>

In the blank below each sentence, write the names of the underlined words in the noun phrase in
their order. The first one has been done as an example.

(Bääm 34-35)
Ïkïï batta atï <u>ḍeel ṭuule</u>,   *Can we not go (to) the **small goat***
<u>yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï</u>?''   *__that was dead in the animal pen__?*
<u>Noun-Adjective-Relative.clause</u>

(Leeñ 42-43)
A <u>Leeñ mooye yaana paaññe kïïgïn ye</u>,   *It was the **big Elephant, whose feet were peeled**,*
ken ike aajjï woo wiiy.   *he was crossing the river.*
_____

(Geel 41-42)
Ikee batta kiinde ogo,   *Did I not tell you*
<u>ooric yaanni</u> bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure!   *that I would one day ride **this your man**, look!*
_____

(Äwñä 11)
Aŋ <u>niïnkä yaakka ti muure</u>, Albe batta ämï. *And **in all those days**, Albe did not eat.*
_____

(Pïïnnä 12)
ŋana giido <u>yuunge muureen</u>.   *she would not give birth **all her years**.*
_____

(Pïïnnä 13-14)
aŋ müügee ko <u>merkä meken yaakka</u>.   *and he catches **those other children***
_____

<center>Adverbs</center>

An <u>adverb</u> describes or tells about a verb. It usually follows the verb, but can also come at the
beginning of the sentence.

In *Kiñuk 24*, the adverb **ñomuk** 'ahead' comes after the motion verb **ääto** 'was going' and tells how
this verb happened. It tells the place or direction of this motion.

(Kiñuk 24) (Follows verb)

I iin mooye oja ken ääto **ñomuk**.   *As the proud old hyena was going on **ahead**.*

Adverbs can also begin sentences. In *Geel 1,* the adverbs **ñomuk** 'long ago' and **ku on** 'time past' begin the sentence and tells the time of the state verb **cäyok** 'were living'.

(Geel 1) (Begin sentence)
Ñomuk ku on, wakkä luum jïñe cäyok   *Long ago in past time, wild animals were living*

The following are also adverbs. Manner adverbs tell how the action happens. Place adverbs tell the place of the action. Time adverbs tell the time of the action.

Place Adverbs		Manner Adverbs	
ïñï	*down, towards*	müürï	*together*
woo	*outside, off, away*	pare	*alone*
ñomuk	*ahead, long ago*	parü	*alone*
ŋäjäk	*backwards, behind*	küüttaŋ	*alone, only*
ñaalok	*north, up*	ogo kar	*straight away*
äräk	*inside*	kä bïraŋ	*quickly*
winni	*here*	kä loon	*shyly*
üntük	*outside*	kä yaalgä	*laughingly*
kä cokal	*nearby*	kä ŋal	*thinly*
		kä ïw	*dryly*

Time Adverbs		Other Adverbs	
wäättana	*afterwards, then*	wina	*like this*
ŋuca	*again*	ŋucana	*also*
ŋoccee	*again*	ṭeṭaŋ	*very*
ŋocca	*again*	kockon	*very*
täññani	*now*	por	*just*
täññaŋ	*now*	mor	*still, yet*
tïṇṇäk	*tomorrow*	tok	*just*
ku on	*past time*	yaan	*also*
ko ḍeeḍaŋ	*little while*	kä pet	*very*
		aŋan	*like that*

The preposition **kä** 'with, by, that, from' can introduce certain nouns that are often used as adverbs. In *Kiñuk 10*, the noun **ïw** 'dryness' in the prepositional phrase **kä ïw** 'chared (lit. with dryness)' is used to tell how the action verb **ŋeeyjï** 'we eat it' is done.

(Kiñuk 10) (Preposition used as adverb)
Aŋ iin durñe menen kiinnee ogo,   *And the young hyena said to the other,*
"Ŋeeyjï **ko ïw**."   *"We can eat it **chared**."*

109

The sentences below from stories have other prepositions and nouns used as adverbs.

Geel 29	yori riijänä **kä** pet	*my body was struggling **with** very*
Bääm 16	Tääyä iñï **kä** bïraŋ	*you cut it down **with** quickness*
Bääm 48	Wiiw a ṭaron **kä** cokal	*Fox was hiding **with** nearness*
Geel 21	booju **kä** loon	*you are afraid **with** shyness*
Geel 44	ṭulgu murru gïtï **kä** yaalgä	*girls came running **with** laughter*
Pïïṇṇä 13	ken Pïïṇṇä teye ŋalje **ko** ŋal	*Wasp's waist is thin **with** thinness*
Kiñuk 10	ŋeeyjï **ko** ïw	*we eat it **with** dryness*
Geel 42	ooric yaanna bi taapä **kä** ääŋkalaŋ	*this man I will ride **with** certain day*
Kiñuk 14	cääjjo **ko** ḍeeḍaŋ	*they were sitting **with** little*

Most adverbs can be used instead of **pare** 'alone' in (1), **kä bïraŋ** 'quickly' in (2), or **ñomuk** 'long ago' in (3).

(1) Aŋ men üüŋïn **<u>pare</u>**.   *And person went **<u>alone</u>**.*
(2) Tääyä **<u>kä bïraŋ</u>**.   *Cut it **<u>quickly</u>**.*
(3) **<u>Ñomuk</u>** men ḍäägin.   ***<u>Long ago</u>** person arrived.*

Exercise 26

In the sentences below, underline all adverbs and prepositional phrases used as adverbs. The first sentence has been done as an example.

(Yaam 16-17)
Aŋ **<u>ŋucana</u>** nääkke pillä ḍuuggen ti ke   *And it **<u>also</u>** causes pain in their necks and in*
ŋätken ti bäätcïdï **<u>iñï</u>** ke teygen ti.   *their backs going **<u>down</u>** to their hips.*
(Kiñuk 1)
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ atto kiñuk pare,   *Long ago, a man went on a hunt alone,*
(Kiñuk 14)
Aŋ cääjjo ko ḍeeḍaŋ,   *And they were sitting a little,*
(Kiñuk 28)
Aŋ wääna wükcïnïï ko ko ḍeeḍaŋ ye,   *And when they went a little further,*
(Bääm 16-17)
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Tääyä iñï kä bïraŋ,   *And Dove told him, "Cut it down quickly,*
mäŋkalaŋ ïya äätä, ädit ṭoŋ ke lacan mooye."   *another person is coming carrying spear/stick."*
(Bääm 36-37)
Ay müükonḍi, ika batta bi lïïṭä wään,   *Ah my friend, I am not able to go,*
ika agä raac täññaŋ.   *(since) I am now sick.*
Aŋ atä parü, ïkïï bi atï tïṇṇäk."   *You go alone, we two will go tomorrow."*
(Leeñ 21-22)
Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo, "Por keeya wina,   *Fox told them, "You just wait for me like this,*
dale waygä yeekic iñekä woo."   *Let me bring you your shoes out here."*

(Leeñ 32)
Baati mäŋkalaŋ yaana a kaajon winni ye?   *Was there not someone who passed by here?*
(Geel 6-7)
Aŋ Geel wäättana ṭulgu baade pare küüttaŋ.   *And afterwards, Lion was only alone loving girls.*
I baati durñu yaana ŋuca   *And there was no youth who could go near,*
wükcïḍï tï ṭulgu gurken ti ye.   *to be next to the girls.*
(Geel 10)
Aŋ juwin ḍoŋe lääkkene ogo kar,   *He got up and left straight away,*
(Geel 28)
Aŋ müükonḍi por ŋäjjä,   *And do you just know, my friend,*
nïïnkä yaakki ti yori boonu kockon.   *in these days my body is very sick.*
(Geel 29-30)
Aŋ inni äätä ïkï tï,   *When I came to you,*
yaanne yori riijänä kä pet.   *this body of mine was really struggling.*
Aŋ täññani ïkïï bi bülcï müürï ogoo?   *And now how will we return together?*
(Äwñä 1)
Ääŋkalaŋ ti wina Albe attä kiñuk   *One day like this, Albe went on a hunt*
ke guuŋ yeene,   *with his dog,*
(Äwñä 9-10)
Aŋ ike nääkin nïïnkä kä yewwe käälok.   *And he spent two days in the cave.*
Aŋ wäättana kääl tüke kupkene,   *And afterwards the cave door opened,*
aŋ wäättana Albe kääjin woo.   *and then Albe went out.*
(Pïïṇṇä 9)
Pïïṇṇä ken me kiinnee ogo,   *Wasp told the people*
ïkï ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan.   *that you said (to do) that.*

Adverb *daa, da*

The adverb **daa, da** 'as, like, just, also, can, be' is used in many different ways to describe verbs. It can come before or after the verb. Some people say **da** for the same word as **daa**.

Exercise 27

In the sentences below, underline all adverbs **daa**.

(Yaam 5-6)
Aŋ yaam mäbaan ti ken ṭemte määngä   *And the basket on Jumjum person, women*
wakkä witken ti bata wälkä piik   *carry things on heads such as gourds of water*
ke päk ke waak a <u>daa</u> ṭemtä ye.   *and grains and (other) things <u>like</u> they carry.*
(Kiñuk 17)
Aŋ naana daa äŋ waŋe wükco ye,   *And when as sun's face moved on, then the*
i men waŋge piijodo.   *person's eyes began to regain consciousness.*

111

(Geel 21-22)
Wiiw, booju kä loon.   *Fox, you are afraid from shyness. Go*
Atä ukcu maka daa maldä ŋïngïn ye.   *look for other people who you will also deceive.*
Ïkï ṭüülü yaanna daa bi näŋä ŋaaka?   *You small thing who just will do what?*
(Geel 36)
Aŋ wääna ḍekke daa kä ḍoŋe ti ye,   *And when he tied it as to his neck,*
(Äwñä 13)
Aŋ daa guuŋ yeene,   *And as for his dog,*
miigene ike keeygä woo üntük,   *he found him waiting for him (man) outside,*
(Iin 4-5)
Aŋ kaaygä yäädgänä a yäädgïnï   *They took turns grazing,*
mäŋkalaŋ daa kääjï nïïnkä kä yewwe,   *each person just grazing two days at a time,*
aŋ daa ŋuca yätänä menen.   *and they just were helping each other.*
(Iin 8-9)
Müüdonḍi, nïïnkä ŋückïtï   *My friend, we should increase (the days so that)*
mäŋkalaŋ daa kääjï nïïnkä kä ḍäk, hayo?   *each person just grazes for three days, alright?*
(Iin 22-23)
Aŋ wina Iin daa yore ḍiille,   *After that, Hyena just kept quiet,*
batta a jayïnï woo ŋuca,   *not saying another word, although*
I ŋäjje bääkan daa a deeŋ yeene ken giiṇṇä.   *he just knew it was his cow who gave birth.*
(Iin 34-35)
Mana daa ṭäkkänä Jooŋ yale yok ye,   *A person who God just wants to change,*
daa yale yok?   *won't he just be changed?*
(Iin 42)
Aŋ Iin wina wäättana daa wine lüüŋŋe   *And then Hyena just lowered his head*
i waŋge tüle week.   *crying and whipping his eyes.*
(Iin 51)
Aŋ wina Geel pennä, aŋ wäättana daa cääy   *And Lion became angry and then just sat*
i däämjïdï päyjï.   *looking away.*
(Watkey 6)
Aŋ wääna yoorene daa ye,   *And when they just saw it,*
iken bojgin kockon.   *they were terrified.*

In the sentences below, underline all adverbs **da**.

(Iin 7-8)
Aŋ Geel wääna deeŋ menen yoorree **<u>da</u>** kä   *And when Lion saw that his friend's cow was*
ṭäkee kä giidä ye, I menen kiinne ogo,   *<u>just</u> going to give birth, he said to his friend,*
(Iin 14-15)
Aŋ wina ike juwin aŋ yaan yeene paaṇṇe   *Immediately he went and rubbed the after-birth*
ŋoygin kä baygä ogo ken giiṇṇo da,   *on bull's anus as though he had just given birth,*
i ina a deeŋ menen ken giiṇṇä yaanna.   *when really it was his friend's cow that gave birth.*
(Iin 17-18)
Aŋ wääna ḍäk kïïdene da ti paa ye,   *When he like brought the cows home,*

112

i oja yooṭi Iin, aŋ Iin jone ñapä kockon,
(Iin 24)

then Hyena saw them, and Hyena was very happy.

Aŋ wina Geel wääna Iin yoorree da batta
jaayee ye, kiini ogo, "Nana ïkï batta
gïmmädä kä jiik yeeki ye, . . ."
(Iin 37-38)

*Then, when Lion saw that Hyena just didn't
say anything, he said, "If you don't
accept what I'm saying, . . ."*

Ina kiinde kä aŋan yaanna baan,
yaan yeeni giinnä aŋ ärgä Iin ogo,
'Deeŋ yeene ken giiṇṇo da.'
(Iin 65-66)

*The reason I am speaking to you like this is that
my bull gave birth and Hyena is forcing me
to agree, 'His cow is one who actually gave birth.'*

Aŋ ina yoku naañ Iin ärjee da ogo
yüünü yaanna, oon kalaŋ yoku a giidon.
Naañ ṭuule yaanna a yen Iin.
(Watkey 11)

*So, it is like you taking Hyena's calf by force
as yours, by supposing a male cow could give
give birth. This calf is of Hyena.*

Aŋ wääna ṭeljene da ti gunne ti ye,
i kalman tüw.

*And when they just nailed it to the camel's side,
the camel died.*

Verb form changes

In the lesson *Verbs,* we learned five uses of a <u>verb</u>: it can be an action, motion, change, state, or it can be used as an equal sign between words. There are four types of verbs: intransitive, transitive, applicative, and copula. All verbs have a subject that does the verb. A <u>transitive</u> verb has an object that the action is done to. Transitive verbs are usually actions. An <u>intransitive</u> verb does not have an object that the verb is done to. Instead, intransitive verbs are usually motions, changes, or states. An <u>applicative</u> verb can be an action, motion, change or state, and is a transitive or intransitive verb that adds a receiver, location or experiencer. A <u>copula</u> is an equal sign verb that shows two persons or things are the same or similar.

Four types of verbs with five uses

Type	Use	Clause participant		
Transitive	action	subject, object	Aŋ men kuukcu **tiiŋe**.	*And person **hears** drum.*
Intransitive	motion change state	subject	Aŋ men **üüŋü**. Aŋ men **tüw**. Aŋ men **yaac**.	*And person **goes**. And person **dies**. And person **is bad**.*
Applicative	action	subj, obj, adds receiver subj, obj, adds location subj, obj, adds exp.	Aŋ men oon **tiiŋgede** uullu. Aŋ men uullu **tiiŋgede** näntä piik. Aŋ kuukcu **tiiŋte** men uullu.	*And person **hears** song for man. And person **hears** song in water place. And person **hears** song with drum./Person **uses** drum **to hear** song.*

	motion	subj, adds receiver	Aŋ men oon **üüŋete**.	*And person **goes** for man.*
		subj, adds location	Aŋ men näntä piik **üüŋete**.	*And person **goes** to water place.*
		subj, adds experiencer	Aŋ gin **üüŋete** men.	*Person **goes by help of** thing./ Person **is using** thing **to go**.*
Copula	equal sign	subj., complement	Aŋ yaam **a** koy tïṉṉä.	*And a basket **is** a red tree.*

Verbs change for nine different reasons: (1) a new clause participant (receiver, location, experiencer), (2) time of the verb (past, non-past), (3) nature of verb (the action happens over time or the action is viewed as a whole), (4) word order (SOV, OVS, SVO), (5) which person is involved with the action (**ika** 'I', **ïkï** 'you (sg), etc.), (6) direction (the verb is without direction, towards the speaker, or away from the speaker), (7) number (the verb is done once or more than once), (8) type of clause (main or dependent), and (9) used as a noun (subject, object, possessor etc.) or adjective. Each of these changes makes a different <u>verb form</u>.

Reasons for change in verb form

(1)	new clause participant (valency)	add receiver, location, experiencer
(2)	time of verb (tense)	past, non-past
(3)	nature of verb (aspect)	happens through time, viewed as a whole
(4)	clause word order	SOV, SVO, OVS, etc.
(5)	person involved with verb	**ika, ïkï, ike, ïkïï**, etc.
(6)	direction of verb	no direction, here, away
(7)	number of actions (pluralaction)	once, repeated
(8)	type of clause	main, dependent
(9)	use as a noun or adjective	used as subject, object, possessor, etc.

When a verb changes for any of these reasons, it has a different <u>suffix</u>, or ending letters of the verb. In the next lesson, there is a list of the verb suffixes. The consonants and vowels of the suffixes can also change according to the last consonant or vowel of the root verb, and the root vowel can also change. In this lesson, we learn about the eight reasons for verb form changes. Then in the lesson *Sound changes with verb suffixes,* we learn about the consonant and vowel changes of these verb forms.

(1) Verb form changes for adding receivers, objects and experiencers

A transitive or intransitive verb can change when adding a receiver, location or experiencer. A receiver is added to show who or what benefits from the verb. A location is added to show the place of the verb. An experiencer is added to show what the verb uses.

The transitive verb **tiiŋŋe** 'heard' can have the subject **gaaggaak** 'raven' and object **uullu** 'song'. When the receiver **bääm** 'dove' is added to show who benefits, or when the location **näntä piik**

'water place' is added to show the place, the verb changes to the applicative verb **tiiŋgene** 'heard for, heard in'. When the experiencer **gerger** 'harp' is added to show what is used, the verb changes to the applicative verb **tiiŋŋene** 'heard with'.

Transitive verb form change for adding a receiver, location or experiencer

Transitive	action	subj, obj	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>uullu</u> **tiiŋŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>song</u>.*
Applicative		subj, obj, rec	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> bääm **tiiŋgene** <u>uullu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>song</u> for dove.*
Applicative		subj, obj, loc	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>uullu</u> **tiiŋgene** näntä piik.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>song</u> in water place.*
Applicative		subj, obj, exp	Aŋ gerger **tiiŋŋene** <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>uullu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>song</u> with harp./ <u>Raven</u> **uses** harp **to hear** <u>song</u>.*

The intransitive motion verb **üüŋïn** 'went' can have the subject **men** 'person'. When the object **oon** 'person' is added to show the benefit, when the location **näntä piik** 'water place' is added to show the location, or when the experiencer **gin** 'thing' is added to show what is used, the verb changes to the applicative verb **üüŋene** 'went for/to/with'.

Intransitive motion verb form change for adding a receiver or location

Intranstive	motion	subj	Aŋ <u>men</u> **üüŋïn**.	*And <u>person</u> **went**.*
Applicative		subj, rec	Aŋ <u>men</u> <u>oon</u> **üüŋene**.	*And <u>person</u> **went** for <u>man</u>.*
Applicative		subj, loc	Aŋ <u>men</u> <u>näntä piik</u> **üüŋene**.	*And <u>person</u> **went** to <u>water place</u>.*
Applicative		subj, exp	Aŋ gin **üüŋene** <u>men</u>.	*<u>Person</u> **went with help of** thing./ <u>Person</u> **used** thing **to go**.*

The intransitive state verb **ŋerrä** 'was good' has the subject **men** 'person'. When the object **oon** 'person' is added to show the benefit, when the location **näntä piik** 'water place' is added to show the location, or when the experiencer **gin** 'thing' is added to show what is used, the verb changes to the applicative verb **ŋeṭṭene** 'was good for/in/with'.

Intransitive state verb form change for adding a receiver or location

Intrans	state	subj	Aŋ <u>men</u> **ŋerrä** woo.	*And <u>person</u> **was good**.*
Applica		subj, rec	Aŋ <u>men</u> <u>oon</u> **ŋeṭṭene** woo. (?)	*And <u>person</u> **was good** for <u>man</u>.*
Applica		subj, loc	Aŋ <u>men</u> <u>näntä piik</u> **ŋeṭṭene** woo.	*And <u>person</u> **was good** in <u>water plc</u>.*
Applica		subj, exp	Aŋ gin **ŋeṭṭene** <u>men</u> woo.	*<u>Person</u> **was good with help of** thing./<u>Pers</u> **used** thing **to be good**.*

(2) Verb form changes for time

A verb can change according to the time of the verb–whether it is <u>past</u> (happens before the time of speaking), or <u>non-past</u> (happens during or after the time of speaking).

The transitive verb **tiiŋŋe** 'heard' has past time, and the verbs **tiiŋe** 'hears' and **bi tiiŋe** 'hear' have

non-past time—either present or future.

Transitive verb form changes for time

past	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u>.*
non-past (present), repeat[12]	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **hears** <u>drum</u>.*
non-past (future)	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **bi tiiŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **will hear** <u>drum</u>.*

The helping verb **bi** 'will' sometimes comes before a non-past verb to clearly show the time is future—after the time of speaking.

The intransitive motion verb **üüŋïn** 'went' has past time, and the verb **bi üŋü** 'will go' has non-past time. There is a similar change for time in the state verb **tüwnü** 'died' and **bi tüw** 'will die'. However, motion verbs have different changes than state verbs.

Intransitive verb form changes for time

	Motion		State	
past	Men **üüŋïn**.	*Person **went**.*	Men **tüwnü**.	*Person **died**.*
non-past	Men **bi üŋü**.	*Person **will go**.*	Men **bi tüw**.	*Person **will die**.*

The applicative verb **nüütkene** 'showed' has past time, and the verb **bi nüütke** 'will show' has non-past time.

Applicative verb form changes for time

past	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **nüütkene** kuukcu.	*Person **showed** man the drum.*
non-past	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **bi nüütke** kuukcu. (?)	*Person **will show** man the drum.*

(3) Verb from changes for nature of verb (aspect)

A verb can change according to its nature. The action can be thought of as happening over time like we are watching it in a film—<u>progressive</u> (imperfective). Verbs that are progressive usually have the letter **d** (or sometimes **t, g**) in the suffix. If a verb is not progressive, it is thought of as a whole—<u>non-progressive</u>, regardless of when the action happens or how long the action takes. Past verbs can be either progressive or non-progressive, and non-past verbs can also be either progressive or non-progressive.

The transitive past verb **tiiŋŋe** 'heard' and non-past verb **tiiŋe** 'hears' are compared with the past progressive verb **tiŋdene** 'was hearing' and non-past progressive verb **tiŋde** 'is hearing'.

Transitive verb form changes for nature of verb (aspect)

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[12] In section (7) below, we learn that some verbs change when the action is repeated. These are called <u>repeat verbs</u>. When they are non-past, repeat verbs must have **bi** or a root vowel change.

Past (non-progressive)	Aŋ gaaggaak <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u>.*
Non-past (non-progressive)	Aŋ gaaggaak <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **hears** <u>drum</u>.*
Past progressive	Aŋ gaaggaak <u>kuukcu</u> **tiŋdene**.	*And <u>raven</u> **was hearing** <u>drum</u>.*
Non-past progressive	Aŋ gaaggaak <u>kuukcu</u> **tiŋde**.	*And <u>raven</u> **is hearing** <u>drum</u>.*

Most verbs do not have a root vowel change when a progressive suffix is added. However, in a few progressive verbs, the root vowel becomes short (such as **tiiŋe** 'hear', **tiŋde** 'is hearing'). As we learn below, root vowels can only become short in progressive verbs with no (normal) direction.

Root changes for nature (aspect) in non-past transitive verbs

Change	Non-past (non-prog.)	Non-past progressive	
a–a	Aŋ men gin bi t**a**be.	Aŋ men gin t**a**bde.	*touch*
e–e	Aŋ men gin bi ḍ**e**ge.	Aŋ men gin ḍ**e**gde.	*tie*
o–o	Aŋ men gin k**o**le.	Aŋ men gin k**o**lde.	*refuse*
i–i	Aŋ men gin bi **i**je.	Aŋ men gin mor **i**jde.	*take*
u–u	Aŋ men gin bi d**u**de.	Aŋ men gin d**u**dde.	*carry*
ï–ï	Aŋ men gin bi k**ï**le.	Aŋ men gin k**ï**lde.	*sharpen*
ü–ü	Aŋ men gin bi m**ü**ge.	Aŋ men gin m**ü**gde.	*catch*
aa–aa	Aŋ men gin bi t**aa**ñe.	Aŋ men gin mor t**aa**ñde.	*press*
ee-ee	Aŋ men gin bi ŋ**ee**ye.	Aŋ men gin mor ŋ**ee**yde.	*crunch*
oo-oo	Aŋ men gin bi y**oo**re.	Aŋ men gin y**oo**rde.	*see*
ii-ii	Aŋ men gin bi k**ii**ne.	Aŋ men gin k**ii**nde.	*tell*
ee–e	Aŋ men gin bi ṭ**ee**me.	Aŋ men gin ṭ**e**mde.	*carry*
ii–i	Aŋ men gin bi t**ii**ŋe.	Aŋ men gin t**i**ŋde.	*hear*
üü–ü	Aŋ men gin bi ḍ**üü**re.	Aŋ men gin ḍ**ü**rde.	*carry*

And person will ___ thing.   And person is (still) ___ thing.

The intransitive motion past verb **üüŋïn** 'went' and non-past verb **bi üüŋü** 'will go' are compared with the past progressive verb **üüngïn** 'was going' and non-past progressive verb **üüŋïdï** 'is going'. The intransitive state past and non-past verbs for 'die' are also compared with progressive forms of this verb.

Intransitive verb form changes for nature of verb (aspect)

	Motion		State	
Past (non-prog.)	<u>Men</u> **üüŋïn**.	*<u>Person</u> **went**.*	<u>Men</u> **tüwnü**.	*<u>Person</u> **died**.*
Non-past (non-prog.)	<u>Men</u> **bi üüŋü**.	*<u>Person</u> **will go**.*	<u>Men</u> **bi tüw**.	*<u>Person</u> **will die**.*
Past progressive	<u>Men</u> **üüngïn**.	*<u>Person</u> **was going**.*	<u>Men</u> **tüwdïn**.	*<u>Person</u> **was dying**.*
Non-past prog.	<u>Men</u> **üüŋïdï**.	*<u>Person</u> **is going**.*	<u>Men</u> **tüwït**.	*<u>Person</u> **is dying**.*

The applicative past verb **nüütkene** 'showed' and non-past verb **bi nüütke** 'will show' are compared with the past progressive verb **nüütkedeeda** 'was showing' and non-past progressive verb **nüütkede** 'is showing'.

117

Applicative verb form changes for nature of verb (aspect)

Past (non-prog.)	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **nüütkene** kuukcu.	*Person **showed** man the drum.*
Non-past (non-prog.)	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **bi nüütke** kuukcu.	*Person **will show** man the drum.*
Past progressive	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **nüütkedeeda** kuukcu.	*Person **was showing** man the drum.(?*
Non-past progressive	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **nüütkede** kuukcu.	*Person **is showing** man the drum.*

(4) Verb form changes for word order

A verb can change according to the order of the clause participants (subject, object and receiver) and the verb.

For transitive verbs, the verb form can change according to the order of the subject, object and verb. In past time, with subject-object-verb (SOV) word order, the verb form is **tiiŋŋe** 'heard'; with object-verb-subject (OVS) word order, the verb form is **tiiŋi** 'heard'; and with subject-verb-object (SVO) word order, the verb form is **tiiŋŋä** 'heard'. There are similar changes for word order with non-past time and non-past progressive forms of this verb.

Transitive verb form changes for word order

Past	S<u>O</u>V	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u>.*
	<u>O</u>VS	Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋi** <u>gaaggaak</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u>.*
	S<u>VO</u>	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> **tiiŋŋä** <u>kuukcu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u>.*
Non-past	S<u>O</u>V	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **bi tiiŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **will hear** <u>drum</u>.*
	<u>O</u>VS	Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **bi tiiŋgä** <u>gaaggaak</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **will hear** <u>drum</u>.*
	S<u>VO</u>	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> **bi tïïŋï** <u>kuukcu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **will hear** <u>drum</u>.*
Non-past progressive	S<u>O</u>V	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **tiŋde**.	*And <u>raven</u> **hears** <u>drum</u>.*
	<u>O</u>VS	Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **tiŋtä** <u>gaaggaak</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **hears** <u>drum</u>.*
	S<u>VO</u>	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> **tiŋit** <u>kuukcu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **hears** <u>drum</u>.*

The word orders are used to show which participants are being talked about (topic). When the subject is a <u>new topic</u> (mentioned for the first time or what is currently talked about), especially if it is <u>indefinite</u> (not yet a specific one of the noun in the mind of the listeners), the OVS word order is often used. When the object is a new topic or indefinite, the SVO word order is often used. When neither the subject or object is a new topic or indefinite, the SOV word order is often used[13].

In *Bääm 6*, the object **len lämmä** 'axe of mud' is mentioned for the first time in the story with the SVO past verb **näŋŋä** 'made'.

(Bääm 6) SVO for indefinite object
Aŋ Bääm yaakï,   *Then Dove was refusing*

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[13] (Andersen 2017:14; 2018:84-86)

aŋ Wiiw attä **näŋŋä** len lämmä.	*and Fox went and **made** an axe of mud.*

In *Bääm 10,* the subject **Gaaggaak** 'Raven' is mentioned for the first time in the story with the OVS past verb **yoori** 'saw'.

(Bääm 10-13) OVS for indefinite subject

Aŋ Bääm booc, aŋ yiipkene.	*And Dove was afraid, and threw (a chick) down.*
Aŋ **yoori** Gaaggaak, aŋ äätin Bääm nüütkene,	*And Raven **saw** it and came and informed Dove,*
aŋ kiinne ogo, "Ŋana ïkï booju,	*and he told him, "Don't you be afraid,*
gin yaanna batta a len, a lämmä kä pet."	*that thing is not an axe, it is just mud."*

In *Bääm 18,* the subject **Wiiw** 'Fox' and the object **len lämmä** 'mud axe' have both been mentioned before in the story and are old topics of the SOV past verb **jeppe** 'made hit'.

(Bääm 18) SOV for definite subject and object

Aŋ Wiiw len lämmä **jeppe** ti jaan ti,	*And Fox **made** the mud axe **hit** on the tree,*
aŋ jiccin woo.	*then ran away.*

Some transitive verbs have a root vowel change when an SVO (antipassive) suffix is added. The vowels **a, aa** become **ä, ää** (such as **tamme, täppä** 'touched'), the vowels **e, ee** become **i, ii** (such as **ḍeŋŋe, ḍikkä** 'tied') and the vowels **o, oo** become **u, uu** (such as **yoorre, yuṭṭu** 'saw'). Some verbs with long root vowel in SOV form have a short vowel in SVO form, but no verbs with short root vowel in SOV form have a long vowel in SVO form. SVO verbs can only have the 5 vowels {i,u,ä,ï,ü} in short or long form[14].

Root changes for SVO word order (antipassive) in past verbs

Change	Past SOV	Past SVO	
a–ä	Aŋ men gin tamme.	Aŋ men täppä gin.	*touched*
e–i	Aŋ men gin ḍeŋŋe.	Aŋ men ḍikkä gin.	*tied*
o-u	Aŋ men gin kolle.	Aŋ men kuṭṭu gin. (?)	*refused*
i–i	Aŋ men gin iññe.	Aŋ men iccä gin.	*took*
u–u	Aŋ men gin dunne.	Aŋ men duttu gin.	*carried*
ï–ï	Aŋ men gin kïlle.	Aŋ men kïṭṭä gin.	*sharpened*
ü–ü	Aŋ men gin müŋŋe.	Aŋ men mükkü gin.	*caught*
aa–ä, ää	Aŋ men gin taaññe.	Aŋ men tääññä gin.	*pressed*
ee-i, ii	Aŋ men gin ŋeeyne.	Aŋ men ŋiññä gin.	*crunched*
	Aŋ men gin ṭeemme.	Aŋ men ṭiimmä gin.	*carried*
oo-u, uu	Aŋ men gin yoorre.	Aŋ men yuṭṭu gin.	*saw*
ii–i, ii	Aŋ men gin tiiŋŋe.	Aŋ men tiiŋŋä gin.	*heard*
üü–ü, üü	Aŋ men gin ḍüürre.	Aŋ men ḍüüṭṭü gin. (?)	*carried*
	And person ___ thing.	*And person ___ thing.*	

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[14] (Andersen 2018:98)

For intransitive verbs, the subject is always before the verb. So there is no change for word order with intransitive verbs.

For applicative verbs, the verb form can change according to the order of the subject, object, receiver and verb. In past time, with subject-receiver-verb-object (SRVO) word order, the verb form is **nüütkene** 'showed'; with receiver-verb-subject-object (RVSO) word order, the verb form is **nüütkï** 'showed'. There are similar changes for word order with non-past and non-past progressive forms of this verb. Non-past applicative verbs cannot be used without the future helping verb **bi**. So, non-past progressive forms are used for present tense[15].

Applicative verb form changes for time and word order

Past	S<u>RV</u>O	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **nüütkene** kuukcu.	*Person **showed** man the drum.*
	RV<u>SO</u>	Aŋ oon **nüütkï** <u>men</u> kuukcu.	*Person **showed** man the drum.*
Non-past	S<u>RV</u>O	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **bi nüütke** kuukcu. (?)	*Person **will show** man the drum.*
	RV<u>SO</u>	Aŋ oon **bi nüütkünü** <u>men</u> kuukcu. (?)	*Person **will show** man the drum.*
Non-past prog.	S<u>RV</u>O	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **nüütkede** kuukcu.	*Person **shows** man the drum.*
	RV<u>SO</u>	Aŋ oon **nüütkütü** <u>men</u> kuukcu.	*Person **shows** man the drum.*

The same verbs that have a root vowel change when an SVO (antipassive) suffix is added also have this root vowel change when an applicative suffix is added. The vowels **a, aa** become **ä, ää**, the vowels **e, ee** become **i, ii** and the vowels **o, oo** become **u, uu**. In some applicative verbs, root vowels are shortened, but they are never lengthened. Applicative verbs can only have the 5 vowels {i,u,ä,ï,ü} in short or long form[16].

Root changes for SRVO word order (applicative) in past transitive verbs

Change	Past SOV	Past SRVO	
a–ä	Aŋ men gin tamme.	Aŋ men yätkä täpkene gin.	*touched*
e–i	Aŋ men gin ḍeŋŋe.	Aŋ men yätkä ḍikkene gin.	*tied*
o-u	Aŋ men gin kolle.	Aŋ men yätkä kulkene gin. (?)	*refused*
i–i	Aŋ men gin iññe.	Aŋ men yätkä ickene gin.	*took*
u–u	Aŋ men gin duŋŋe.	Aŋ men yätkä dutkene gin.	*carried*
ï–ï	Aŋ men gin kïlle.	Aŋ men yätkä kïlkene gin.	*sharpened*
ü–ü	Aŋ men gin müŋŋe.	Aŋ men yätkä mükkene gin.	*caught*
aa–ä, ää	Aŋ men gin taaññe.	Aŋ men yätkä tääñgene gin.	*pressed*
ee-i, ii	Aŋ men gin ŋeeyne.	Aŋ men yätkä ŋijgene gin.	*crunched*
	Aŋ men gin ṭeemme.	Aŋ men yätkä ṭiimgene gin.	*carried*
oo-u, uu	Aŋ men gin yoorre.	Aŋ men yätkä yurkene gin.	*saw*
ii–i, ii	Aŋ men gin tiiŋŋe.	Aŋ men yätkä tiiŋgene gin.	*heard*
üü–ü, üü	Aŋ men gin ḍüürre.	Aŋ men yätkä ḍüürkene gin. (?)	*carried*
	And person ___ thing.	*And person ___ thing.*	

[15] (Andersen 2018:89)
[16] (Andersen 2018:109)

(5) Verb form changes for persons

A verb can change according to which subject does the verb, to which object the verb is done, and which receiver benefits from the action. When the subject, object or receiver changes from one person to another with various pronouns (**ika, ïkï, ike**, etc.), the verb form can change.

Intransitive verbs change according to the noun or pronoun subject like in the following sentences with the verb **ŋeṭṭä** 'was good'.

Intranstive verb form changes for subject (for past time)

Men ŋeṭṭä woo.	*Person was good.*
Me ŋeṭṭä woo. (?)	*People were good.*
Ika ŋeṭṭä woo.	*I was good.*
Ïkï ŋeṭṭi woo.	*You (sg) were good.*
Ike ŋeṭṭä woo.	*(S)he was good.*
Ïkïï ŋeṭṭï woo.	*We (two) were good.*
Ïkïïn ŋeṭṭïn woo.	*We (and you) were good.*
Ikoon ŋeṭṭon woo.	*We (not you) were good.*
Ikee ŋeṭṭe woo.	*You (pl) were good.*
Iken ŋeṭṭä woo.	*They were good.*

Transitive verbs also change according to the noun or pronoun subject. SOV and OVS verbs have the same suffixes for pronoun subjects, but differ for noun subjects.

Transitive verb form changes for subject (on past verbs)

SOV	OVS	SVO	
Aŋ **men** gin yoorre.	Aŋ gin yoori **men**.	Aŋ **men** yuṭṭu gin.	*Person saw thing.*
Aŋ **me** gin yoorre. (?)	Aŋ gin yoori **me**.	Aŋ **me** yuṭṭu gin.	*People saw thing.*
Aŋ **ika** gin yoorru.	Aŋ gin yoorru **ika**.	Aŋ **ika** yuṭṭu gin.	*I saw thing.*
Aŋ **ïkï** gin yoorri.	Aŋ gin yoorri **ïkï**.	Aŋ **ïkï** yuṭṭi gin.	*You (sg) saw thing.*
Aŋ **ike** gin yoorre.	Aŋ gin yoorre **ike**.	Aŋ **ike** yuṭṭu gin.	*(S)he saw thing.*
Aŋ **ïkïï** gin yoorrï.	Aŋ gin yoorrï **ïkïï**.	Aŋ **ïkïï** yüṭṭï gin.	*We (two) saw thing.*
Aŋ **ïkïïn** gin yoorrïn.	Aŋ gin yoorrïn **ïkïïn**.	Aŋ **ïkïïn** yüṭṭïn gin.	*We (and you) saw thing*
Aŋ **ikoon** gin yoorron.	Aŋ gin yoorron **ikoon**.	Aŋ **ikoon** yuṭṭon gin.	*We (not you) saw thing*
Aŋ **ikee** gin yoorre.	Aŋ gin yoorre **ikee**.	Aŋ **ikee** yuṭṭe gin.	*You (pl) saw thing.*
Aŋ **iken** gin yoori.	Aŋ gin yoori **iken**.	Aŋ **iken** yuṭṭu gin.	*They saw thing.*

SVO verb forms have about the same suffixes as intransitive verbs and not the same suffixes as SOV and OVS verbs.

Subject suffixes of transitive and intransitive (past) verbs

	SOV	OVS	SVO	SV	

men	-ne	-i	-ñä	-ñä	*person*
me	-ne	-i	-ñä	-ñä	*people (?)*
ika	-nä	-nä	-ñä	-ñä	*I*
ïkï	-ni	-ni	-ñi	-ñi	*you (sg)*
ike	-ne	-ne	-ñä	-ñä	*(s)he*
ïkïï	-nï	-nï	-ñï	-ñï	*we (two)*
ïkïïn	-nïn	-nïn	-ñïn	-ñïn	*we (and you)*
ikoon	-non	-non	-ñon	-ñon	*we (not you)*
ikee	-ne	-ne	-ñe	-ñe	*you (pl)*
iken	-i	-i	-ñä	-ñä	*they*

There are also changes in the transitive verb when done to different objects, and most of these object suffixes are different than the subject suffixes. It is not possible (or is very rare) for the object of SVO verbs to be a pronoun. A line through words or sentences means it is not possible.

Transitive verb form changes for object (on past verbs)

SOV	OVS	SVO	
Aŋ men **oon** tiiŋŋe.	Aŋ **oon** tiiŋi men.	Aŋ men tiiŋŋä **oon**.	*And person heard **man**.*
Aŋ men **ook** tiiŋŋe.	Aŋ **ook** tiiŋi men.	Aŋ men tiiŋŋä **ook**.	*. . person heard **men**.*
Aŋ men **ika** tiiŋŋa.	Aŋ **ika** tiiŋŋa men.	~~Aŋ men tiiŋŋä **ika**.~~	*person heard **me**.*
Aŋ men **ïkï** tiiŋŋey.	Aŋ **ïkï** tiiŋŋey men.	~~Aŋ men tiiŋŋä **ïkï**.~~	*person heard **you(sg)**.*
Aŋ men **ike** tiiŋi.	Aŋ **ike** tiiŋi men.	~~Aŋ men tiiŋŋä **ike**.~~	*person heard **him/her**.*
Aŋ men **ïkïï** tïïŋŋï.	Aŋ **ïkïï** tïïŋŋï men.	~~Aŋ men tïïŋŋä **ïkïï**.~~	*person heard **us(two)**.*
Aŋ men **ïkïïn** tïïŋŋïn.	Aŋ **ïkïïn** tïïŋŋïn men.	~~Aŋ men tïïŋŋä **ïkïïn**.~~	*per heard **us(and you)***
Aŋ men **ikoon** tiiŋŋon.	Aŋ **ikoon** tiiŋŋon men.	~~Aŋ men tiiŋŋä **ikoon**.~~	*per heard **us(not you)***
Aŋ men **ikee** tiiŋŋe.	Aŋ **ikee** tiiŋŋe men.	~~Aŋ men tiiŋŋä **ikee**.~~	*person heard **you(pl)**.*
Aŋ men **iken** tiiŋi.	Aŋ **iken** tiiŋi men.	~~Aŋ men tiiŋŋä **iken**.~~	*person heard **them**.*

However, only with SVO transitive verb forms, and not SOV, OVS, can a subject be mentioned without an object. For example, in the sentences below, the object of SOV and OVS clauses cannot be left out, but the object of SVO clauses can be. This means a true object comes before the verb, and an object after the verb is optional (it is not a core constituent of the clause, but peripheral)[17]. This shows that SVO verbs are more like intransitive verbs than transitive.

Objects before verbs are true objects; objects after verbs are optional

	Object mentioned		Object not mentioned	
S<u>O</u>V	Aŋ ika <u>oon</u> yoorru.	*I saw <u>man</u>.*	~~Aŋ ika yoorru.~~	*~~I saw.~~*
<u>O</u>VS	Aŋ <u>oon</u> yoorru ika.	*I saw <u>man</u>.*	~~Aŋ yoorru ika.~~	*~~I saw.~~*
SV<u>O</u>	Aŋ ika yuṭṭu <u>oon</u>.	*I saw <u>a man</u>.*	Aŋ ika yuṭṭu.	*I saw (something).*

Applicative verbs also change according to the noun or pronoun subject. SRVO and RVSO verbs

have the same suffixes for pronoun subjects, but differ for noun subjects. It is not possible for the receiver to follow the verb. For examples, ~~SOVR~~ and ~~OVSR~~ word orders are not possible.

Applicative verb form changes for subject (on past verbs)

SRVO	RVSO	[check all]
Aŋ **men** yätkä tiiŋ**gene** kuukcu.	Aŋ yätkä tiiŋ**gi** **men** kuukcu.	*person heard drum f ch.*
Aŋ **me** yätkä tiiŋ**gene** kuukcu.	Aŋ yätkä tiiŋ**gi** **me** kuukcu.	*people heard drum f ch.*
Aŋ **ika** yätkä tiiŋ**gänä** kuukcu.	Aŋ yätkä tiiŋ**gänä** **ika** kuukcu.	*I heard drum for chief.*
Aŋ **ïkï** yätkä tiiŋ**gini** kuukcu.	Aŋ yätkä tiiŋ**gini** **ïkï** kuukcu.	*You (sg) h drum for ch.*
Aŋ **ike** yätkä tiiŋ**gene** kuukcu.	Aŋ yätkä tiiŋ**gene** **ike** kuukcu.	*(S)he heard drum for ch.*
Aŋ **ïkïï** yätkä tïïŋ**gïnï** kuukcu.	Aŋ yätkä tiiŋ**gïnï** **ïkïï** kuukcu.	*We (two) h drum for ch.*
Aŋ **ïkïïn** yätkä tïïŋ**gïnïn** kuukcu.	Aŋ yätkä tiiŋ**gïnïn** **ïkïïn** kuukcu.	*We (and you) h d for ch*
Aŋ **ikoon** yätkä tiiŋ**gonon** kuukcu.	Aŋ yätkä tiiŋ**gonon** **ikoon** kuukcu	*We (not you) h d for ch*
Aŋ **ikee** yätkä tiiŋ**gene** kuukcu.	Aŋ yätkä tiiŋ**gene** **ikee** kuukcu.	*You (pl) h drum for ch.*
Aŋ **iken** yätkä tiiŋ**gi** kuukcu.	Aŋ yätkä tiiŋ**gi** **iken** kuukcu.	*They heard drum for ch.*

The subject suffixes for SRVO and RVSO verbs are the same as for SOV and OVS verbs except for the letters **-jk-** and an extra vowel in the suffix.

Subject suffixes of transitive and applicative (past) verbs

	SOV	SRVO	OVS	RVSO	
men	**-ne**	**-jkene**	<u>-i</u>	<u>-jki</u>	*person*
me	**-ne**	**-jkene**	**-i**	**-jki**	*people (?)*
ika	**-nä**	**-jkänä**	**-nä**	**-jkänä**	*I*
ïkï	**-ni**	**-jkini**	**-ni**	**-jkini**	*you (sg)*
ike	**-ne**	**-jkene**	**-ne**	**-jkene**	*(s)he*
ïkïï	**-nï**	**-jkïnï**	**-nï**	**-jkïnï**	*we (two)*
ïkïïn	**-nïn**	**-jkïnïn**	**-nïn**	**-jkïnïn**	*we (and you)*
ikoon	**-non**	**-jkonon**	**-non**	**-jkonon**	*we (not you)*
ikee	**-ne**	**-jkene**	**-ne**	**-jkene**	*you (pl)*
iken	**-i**	**-jki**	**-i**	**-jki**	*they*

There are also changes in the verb when done to different receivers, and several of these receiver suffixes are different than the subject suffixes.

Applicative verb form changes for receiver (on past verbs)

SRVO	RVSO	[check all]
Aŋ men **yätkä** tiiŋ**gene** kuukcu.	Aŋ **yätkä** tiiŋ**gi** men kuukcu.	*per heard drum **for chief.***
Aŋ men **yätïnni** tiiŋ**gene** kuukcu.	Aŋ **yätïnni** tiiŋ**gi** men kuukcu.	*per heard drum **for chiefs**.*
Aŋ men **ika** tiiŋ**gana** kuukcu.	Aŋ **ika** tiiŋ**gana** men kuukcu.	*per heard drum **for me**.*
Aŋ men **ïkï** tiiŋ**geney** kuukcu.	Aŋ **ïkï** tiiŋ**geney** men kuukcu.	*per h drum **for you(sg)**.*
Aŋ men **ike** tiiŋ**gi** kuukcu.	Aŋ **ike** tiiŋ**gi** men kuukcu.	*per h drum **for him/her**.*
Aŋ men **ïkïï** tïïŋ**gïnï** kuukcu.	Aŋ **ïkïï** tïïŋ**gïnï** men kuukcu.	*per h drum **for us(two)**.*

123

Aŋ men **ïkïïn** tïï**ŋgïnïn** kuukcu.	Aŋ **ïkïïn** tïï**ŋgïnïn** men kuukcu.	*per h drum **for us(and you)***
Aŋ men **ikoon** tiiŋ**gonon** kuukcu.	Aŋ **ikoon** tiiŋ**gonon** men kuukcu.	*per h drum **for us(not you)***
Aŋ men **ikee** tiiŋgene kuukcu.	Aŋ **ikee** tiiŋgene men kuukcu.	*person h drum **for you(pl)**.*
Aŋ men **iken** tiiŋgi kuukcu.	Aŋ **iken** tiiŋgi men kuukcu.	*person h drum **for them**.*

The receiver suffixes for SRVO and RVSO verbs are the same as the object suffixes for SOV and OVS verbs, except for the letter -**jk**- and an extra vowel in the suffix. This means that recievers for SRVO and RVSO verbs have the same use as objects for SOV and OVS verbs. (Words with the semantic role of recipient have the syntactic status of object.)

Object suffixes of transitive and applicative (past) verbs

	SOV	SRVO	SVO	RVSO	
men	-ne	-jkene	-i	-jki	*person*
me	-ne	-jkene	-i	-jki	*people*
ika	-na	-jkana	-na	-jkana	*me*
ïkï	-ney	-jkeney	-ney	-jkeney	*you (sg)*
ike	-i	-jki	-i	-jki	*him, her*
ïkïï	-nï	-jkïnï	-nï	-jkïnï	*us (two)*
ïkïïn	-nïn	-jkïnïn	-nïn	-jkïnïn	*us (and you)*
ikoon	-non	-jkonon	-non	-jkonon	*us (not you)*
ikee	-ne	-jkene	-ne	-jkene	*you (pl)*
iken	-i	-jki	-i	-jki	*them*

However, it is not possible (or is extremely rare) for the object of SRVO and RVSO verbs to be pronouns.

Applicative verbs with different objects (on past verbs)

SRVO	RVSO	*[check all]*
Aŋ men yätkä tiiŋ**gene** oon.	Aŋ yätkä tiiŋ**gi** men **oon**.	*And person heard **man** for chief.*
Aŋ men yätkä tiiŋ**gene** ook.	Aŋ yätkä tiiŋ**gi** men **ook**.	*person heard **men** for chief.*
~~Aŋ men yätkä tiiŋgene ika.~~	~~Aŋ yätkä tiiŋgi men ika.~~	~~*person heard me for chief.*~~
~~Aŋ men yätkä tiiŋgene ïkï.~~	~~Aŋ yätkä tiiŋgi men ïkï.~~	~~*person heard you(sg) for chief.*~~
~~Aŋ men yätkä tiiŋgene ike.~~	~~Aŋ yätkä tiiŋgi men ike.~~	~~*person heard him/her for chief.*~~
~~Aŋ men yätkä tiiŋgene ïkïï.~~	~~Aŋ yätkä tiiŋgi men ïkïï.~~	~~*person heard us(two) for chief.*~~
~~Aŋ men yätkä tiiŋgene ïkïïn.~~	~~Aŋ yätkä tiiŋgi men ïkïïn.~~	~~*person heard us(and you) f chief.*~~
~~Aŋ men yätkä tiiŋgene ikoon.~~	~~Aŋ yätkä tiiŋgi men ikoon.~~	~~*person heard us(not you) f chief.*~~
~~Aŋ men yätkä tiiŋgene ikee.~~	~~Aŋ yätkä tiiŋgi men ikee.~~	~~*person heard you(pl) for chief.*~~
~~Aŋ men yätkä tiiŋgene iken.~~	~~Aŋ yätkä tiiŋgi men iken.~~	~~*person heard them for chief.*~~

In transitive verbs, only with SVO can a subject be mentioned without an object. However with applicative verbs as shown below, a subject can also be mentioned without an object. This means the object after applicative verbs is optional and not a true object (it is not a core constituent of the

clause, but peripheral)[18]. Rather, the receiver takes the place of the object as the true object.

Objects before verbs are true objects; objects after verbs are optional

	Object mentioned		Object not mentioned	
SVO	Aŋ men tiiŋä kuukcu.	*And person heard drum.*	Aŋ men tiiŋä.	*And person heard (something).*
SRVO	Aŋ men yätkä tiiŋgene kuukcu.	*And person heard drum for chief.*	Aŋ men yätkä tiiŋgene.	*And person heard (something) for chief.*
RVSO	Aŋ yätkä tiiŋgi men kuukcu.	*And person heard drum for chief.*	Aŋ yätkä tiiŋgi men.	*And person heard (something) for chief.*

(6) Verb form changes for direction

A verb can change according to direction–whether the verb has normal (no) direction, is towards the speaker or is away from the speaker. Verbs with towards direction often have **-w-** in the suffix and verbs with an away direction often have **-c-** (or **-j-**) in the suffix.

Verbs do not have a root vowel change when an away direction suffix is added (such as **müge** 'catch', **müke** 'catch away'). However, when a towards direction suffix is added, the root vowel becomes long (such as **müge** 'catch', **müüge** 'catch towards'). Also, the vowels **a, aa** become **ää** (such as **ŋawe** 'throw', **ŋääwe** 'throw towards'), the vowels **e, ee** become **ii** (such as **ŋeeye** 'crunch', **ŋiiye** 'crunch towards') and the vowels **o, oo** become **uu** (such as **yoore** 'see', **yuure** 'see towards'). However, a short vowel stays short when the last root consonant is **p** (such as **tabe** 'touch', **täbbe** 'touch towards').

Root changes for towards direction in non-past transitive verbs

Change	Non-past	Non-past towards	
a–ää	Aŋ men gin bi ŋawe.	Aŋ men gin bi ŋääwe.	*throw[19]*
	Aŋ men gin bi tabe.	Aŋ men gin bi täbbe.	*touch*
e–ii	Aŋ men gin bi ḍege.	Aŋ men gin bi ḍiige. (?)	*tie*
o-uu	Aŋ men gin bi ole.	Aŋ men gin bi uule.	*push*
i–ii	Aŋ men gin bi ije.	Aŋ men gin bi iije.	*take*
u–uu	Aŋ men gin bi dude.	Aŋ men gin bi duude.	*carry*
ï–ïï	Aŋ men gin bi kïle.	Aŋ men gin bi kïïle.	*sharpen*
ü–üü	Aŋ men gin bi müge.	Aŋ men gin bi müüge.	*catch*
aa–ää	Aŋ men gin bi taañe.	Aŋ men gin bi tääñe.	*press*
ee–ii	Aŋ men gin bi ŋeeye.	Aŋ men gin bi ŋiiye.	*crunch*
oo-uu	Aŋ men gin bi yoore.	Aŋ men gin bi yuure.	*see*
ii-ii	Aŋ men gin bi tiiŋe.	Aŋ men gin bi tiiŋe.	*hear*
	And person will ___ thing.	*And person will ___ thing towards.*	

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[18] (Andersen 2018:84)
[19] The verbs 'throw, push' are taken from Andersen (2018:107)

In SOV word order, the transitive verb in past time **müŋŋe** 'caught' has no direction, **müügene** is towards the speaker, and **mükke** is away from the speaker. There are similar changes for direction with non-past and non-past progressive forms of this verb. Non-past towards and away verbs cannot be usghed without the future helping verb **bi**. So, non-past progressive forms are used for present tense[20].

Transitive SOV verb form changes for time, nature and direction

Past	Non-past	Non-past progressive	
Aŋ men gin **müŋŋe**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müge**.	Aŋ men gin **mügde**.	*normal*
Aŋ men gin **müügene**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müüge**.	Aŋ men gin **müügede**.	*towards*
Aŋ men gin **mükke**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müke**.	Aŋ men gin **mükcede**.	*away*
*. . person **caught** thing.*	*. . person **will catch** thing.*	*. person **is catching** thing.*	

The transitive verb in past time **tiiŋŋe** 'heard' has no direction, **tiiŋene** is towards the speaker, and **tiiŋjene** is away from the speaker. There are similar changes for direction with non-past and non-past progressive forms of this verb.

Transitive SOV verb form changes for time, nature and direction

Past	Non-past	Non-past progressive	
Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu **tiiŋŋe**.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu **bi tiiŋe**.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu **tiŋde**.	*normal*
Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu **tiiŋene**.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu **bi tiiŋe**.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu **tiiŋede**.	*towards*
Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu **tiiŋjene**.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu **bi tiiŋje**.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu **tiiŋjede**.	*away*
*And raven **heard** drum . .*	*And raven **will hear** drum .*	*And raven **hears** drum . .*	

In some progressive verbs with no (normal) direction (such as **tiŋde** 'is hearing'), the root vowel becomes short. However, root vowels do not become short in progressive verbs with towards or away direction (such as **tiiŋede** 'is hearing towards', **tiiŋjede** 'is hearing away').

(7) Verb form changes for number (pluralactional, multiplicative, repetitive)

Some verbs with root final consonant **p, t, c, k, r** or **l** can change according to whether the action happens <u>once</u> or is <u>repeated</u>. These verbs show repeated action by a short root vowel becoming long. If the root vowel is **a, e** or **o**, it changes to **ää, ii** and **uu** (for example, **kaje** 'bite once', **kääje** 'bite repeatedly'; **ḍege** 'tie once', **ḍiige** 'tie repeatedly'; **ole** 'push once', **uule** 'push repeatedly')[21].

Changes for number in SOV non-past verbs

Change	Once	Repeat

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[20] (Andersen 2018:89)
[21] (Andersen 2018:111)

a–ää	Aŋ men gin bi kaje.	Aŋ men gin bi kääje.	*bite*
e–ii	Aŋ men gin bi ḍege.	Aŋ men gin bi ḍiige.	*tie*
o-uu	Aŋ men gin bi ole.	Aŋ men gin bi uule.	*push*[22].
i–ii	Aŋ men gin bi lige.	Aŋ men gin bi liige.	*fold*
u-uu	Aŋ men gin bi yuge.	Aŋ men gin bi yuuge.	*kick*
ä–ää	Aŋ men gin bi näge.	Aŋ men gin bi nääge.	*kill*
ü–üü	Aŋ men gin bi müge.	Aŋ men gin bi müüge.	*catch*

And person will ___ thing.   And person will ___ thing repeatedly.

The following verbs have a form for repeated action and they have a different form for progressive action.

Verbs with both repeated and progressive forms

Root vowel	Non-past repeat	Non-past progressive	
a	Aŋ men gin bi kääje.	Aŋ men gin kajde. (?)	*bite*
e	Aŋ men gin bi ḍiige.	Aŋ men gin ḍegde.	*tie*
o	Aŋ men gin bi uule.	Aŋ men gin olde. (?)	*push*
i	Aŋ men gin bi liige.	Aŋ men gin ligde. (?)	*fold*
u	Aŋ men gin bi yuuge.	Aŋ men gin yugde. (?)	*kick*
ä	Aŋ men gin bi nääge.	Aŋ men gin nägde. (?)	*kill*
ü	Aŋ men gin bi müüge.	Aŋ men gin mügde.	*catch*

And person will ___ thing repeatedly.   And person is ___ing thing.

However, there are some verbs that cannot have a root vowel change for repeated action. Instead, they use the progressive form of the verb (with -**d**- in the suffix) to show repeated action (for example, **tabe** 'touch once', **tabde** 'is touching, touch repeatedly'; **tiiŋe** 'hear once', **tiŋde** 'is hearing, hear repeatedly'). All verbs with root final consonant **m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y** always use the progressive form to show repeated action.

Progressive verbs used for repeated actions (SOV non-past verbs)

Change	Once (non-past)	Repeat/progressive (non-past)	
a–a	Aŋ men gin bi tabe.	Aŋ men gin bi tabde.	*touch*
u–u	Aŋ men gin bi dude.	Aŋ men gin bi dudde.	*carry*
aa–aa	Aŋ men gin bi laawe.	Aŋ men gin bi laawde.	*raise*
ii–i	Aŋ men gin bi tiiŋe.	Aŋ men gin bi tiŋde.	*hear*
üü–ü	Aŋ men gin bi ḍüüre.	Aŋ men gin bi ḍürde.	*carry*

And person will ___ thing.   And person will ___ thing repeatedly/
will be ___ing thing.

For verbs like **müge** 'catch' that have a form for repeated action, when the action happens once, the verb has a short vowel for normal action (such as **müŋŋe** 'caught') and away action (such as **mükke** 'caught away'), regardless of the time or nature of the action, although the verb has a long vowel

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[22] The verbs 'push, fold, kick, kill' are taken from Andersen (2018:112)

for towards direction (such as **müügene** 'caught towards'). When the action is repeated, it has a long vowel for normal, towards and away action (such as **müüŋŋe** 'caught repeatedly', **müügene** 'caught repeatedly towards', **müükke** 'caught repeatedly away').

Transitive SOV verb form changes for time, nature, direction and number

	Past	Non-past	Non-past progressive	
Once	Aŋ men gin **müŋŋe**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müge**.	Aŋ men gin **mügde**.	*normal*
	Aŋ men gin **müügene**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müüge**.	Aŋ men gin **müügede**.	*towards*
	Aŋ men gin **mükke**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müke**.	Aŋ men gin **mükcede**.	*away*
Repeat	Aŋ men gin **müüŋŋe**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müüge**.	Aŋ men gin **müügde**.	*normal*
	Aŋ men gin **müügene**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müüge**.	Aŋ men gin **müügede**.	*towards*
	Aŋ men gin **müükke**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müüke**.	Aŋ men gin **müükcede**.	*away*
	. . person **caught** *thing.*	*. . person* **will catch** *thing.*	*. person* **is catching** *thing.*	

For verbs like **tiiŋŋe** 'hear' that do not have a form for repeated action, the progressive form is used when the meaning is for more than one action.

Transitive SOV verb form changes for time, nature, direction and number

	Past	Non-past	Non-past progressive	
Once	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiiŋŋe.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu **bi** tiiŋe.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiŋde.	*normal*
	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiiŋene.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu **bi** tiiŋe.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiiŋede.	*here*
	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiiŋjene.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu **bi** tiiŋje.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiiŋjede.	*away*
Repeat/ Progr	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiŋdene.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiŋde.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiŋde.	*normal*
	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiŋdene.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiiŋede.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiiŋede.	*here*
	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiŋdene. (?)	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiiŋjede.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiiŋjede.	*away*
	And raven **heard** *drum . .*	*And raven* **(will) hear** *drum .*	*And raven* **hears** *drum . .*	

(8) Verb form changes for types of clauses

A verb can change according to the type of clause–whether it is a <u>main clause</u> that can stand alone as a sentence, or a <u>dependent clause</u> that depends on another clause to be a complete sentence, such as a clause introduced with **ogo** 'that' or other dependent connectors. Verbs often show they are in a dependent clause by changing to a final long vowel **ee** or **ïï** or short vowel **o**.

In SOV word order, the transitive verb in past time is **müŋŋe** 'caught' in a main clause, and is

müŋŋee in a dependent clause introduced by **ogo** 'that' such as in **Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne** *ogo* **men gin müüŋŋee** 'Chief told man *that* person caught thing'. There are similar changes for types of clauses with non-past and non-past progressive forms of this verb.

Transitive SOV verb form changes for type of clause

	Past	Non-past	Non-past progressive	
Main				
Once	Aŋ men gin **müŋŋe**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müge**.	Aŋ men gin **mügde**.	*normal*
	Aŋ men gin **müügene**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müüge**.	Aŋ men gin **müügede**.	*towards*
	Aŋ men gin **mükke**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müke**.	Aŋ men gin **mükcede**.	*away*
Repeat	Aŋ men gin **müüŋŋe**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müüge**.	Aŋ men gin **müügde**.	*normal*
	Aŋ men gin **müügene**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müüge**.	Aŋ men gin **müügede**.	*towards*
	Aŋ men gin **müükke**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müüke**.	Aŋ men gin **müükcede**.	*away*
	. . person **caught** *thing*.	*. . person* **will catch** *thing*.	*. person* *is catching* *thing*.	
Dependent				
	Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo**. . .		*Chief told man that . . .*	
Once	Aŋ men gin **müŋŋee**.	Aŋ men gin **bi mügee**.	Aŋ men gin **mügdee**.	*normal*
	Aŋ men gin **müügenee**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müügee**.	Aŋ men gin **müügedee**.	*towards*
	Aŋ men gin **mükkee**.	Aŋ men gin **bi mükee**.	Aŋ men gin **mükcedee**.	*away*
Repeat	Aŋ men gin **müüŋŋee**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müügee**.	Aŋ men gin **müügdee**.	*normal*
	Aŋ men gin **müügenee**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müügee**.	Aŋ men gin **müügedee**.	*towards*
	Aŋ men gin **müükkee**.	Aŋ men gin **bi müükee**.	Aŋ men gin **müükcedee**.	*away*
	person **caught** *thing*.	*person* **will catch** *thing*.	*person* *is catching* thing.	

Verbs in an **ogo** dependent clause with SOV order have a final long vowel **ee**, verbs in a **ogo** dependent clause with OVS order have a final long vowel **ïï**, and verbs in an **ogo** dependent clause with SVO order have a short vowel **o**.

Transitive verb form changes for type of clause

	Past	Non-past	Non-past progressive
SOV			
Main	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiiŋŋe.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu **bi tiiŋe**.	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu tiŋde.
Dep.	ogo gaaggaak kuukcu tiiŋŋee.	ogo gaaggaak kuukcu **bi tiiŋee**.	ogo gaaggaak kuukcu tiŋdee.
OVS			
Main	Aŋ kuukcu tiiŋi gaaggaak.	Aŋ kuukcu **bi tiiŋä** gaaggaak.	Aŋ kuukcu tiŋtä gaaggaak.
Dep.	ogo kuukcu tïïŋŋïï gaaggaak.	ogo kuukcu **bi tïïŋïï** gaaggaak. (?)	ogo kuukcu tïŋdïï gaaggaak.
SVO			

Main	Aŋ gaaggaak tiiŋŋä kuukcu.	Aŋ gaaggaak bi tïïŋï kuukcu.	Aŋ gaaggaak tiŋit kuukcu.
Dep.	ogo gaaggaak tiiŋŋo kuukcu.	ogo gaaggaak bi tiiŋo kuukcu.	ogo gaaggaak tiiŋdo kuukcu.
	*. . raven **heard** drum.*	*. . raven **will hear** drum.*	*. . raven **hears** drum.*

Verbs introduced by dependent connectors **ogo** 'that', **wääna** 'when', **nääŋka** 'becauses', **ina ken** 'that is why' usually have the same forms in SOV order, but often have different forms in other word orders.

Dependent suffixes after various dependent connectors
SOV	. . . ogo men gin tiiŋŋee.	. . . *that person **heard** thing.*
	Aŋ wääna men gin tiiŋŋee da kä ye,	*And when person **heard** thing, . .*
	Ina ken men gin tiiŋŋee da.	*that is why person **heard** thing.*
	. . . nääŋka men gin tiiŋŋee da kä ye.	. . . *because person **heard** thing.*
OVS	. . . ogo gin tïïŋïï men.	. . . *that person **heard** thing.*
	Aŋ wääna gin tiiŋi daa men ye,	*And when person **heard** thing, . .*
	Ina ken gin tiiŋene daa kä men.	*that is why person **heard** thing.*
	. . . nääŋka gin tiiŋŋee men ye.	. . . *because person **heard** thing.*
SVO	. . . ogo men tiiŋŋo gin.	. . . *that person **heard** thing.*
	. . . nääŋka men tiiŋŋee gin ye.	. . . *because person **heard** thing.*

(9) Verb form changes for use as a noun or adjective

A verb can also change when it is used as a noun or adjective. This is called a <u>verbal noun</u> or <u>verbal adjective</u>. Verbal nouns can be used as a subject, object or possessor, just as nouns are used in these ways, and can be singular or plural. Verbal adjectives can be used as adjectives to describe nouns.

The SVO verb in past time **mükkü** 'caught' has a different form than the singular verbal noun **müüŋŋü** 'catching'. They are also used differently. The verb **mükkü** tells the action of the subject **men** 'person', and the verbal noun **müüŋŋü** possesses the noun **näntä** 'place'.

Verb form changes for use as noun
SVO verb	Aŋ men **mükkü** gin.	*And person **caught** thing.*
Sing. verbal noun	Aŋ men näntä **müüŋŋü** gin yoorre.	*And person saw place of **catching** something.*

The non-past progressive SVO verb **tiŋit** 'is hearing' has a different form than the verbal adjective **tiiŋon** 'hearing'. The verb **tiŋit** tells the action of the subject **men** 'person', and the verbal adjective **tiiŋon** describes the noun **män** 'person of'.

Verb form changes for use as adjective
SVO verb	Aŋ men **tiŋit** gin.	*Person is **hearing** thing.*

130

| Adjective | Aŋ yätkä män **tiiŋon** yoorre. | *Chief saw a person of **hearing**.* |

Verbs with helping verbs

In addition to the verb form changes, verbs can also have a helping verb. A <u>helping verb</u> is a word that introduces a verb and shows the time or duration of the verb. These include **bi** 'will' (future, irrealis) and **ken** 'is' (continuing). The helping verb **bi** 'will' comes before a non-past or non-past progressive verb to clearly show the time is future—after the time of speaking. Occassionally, it comes before past verbs to show uncertainty. The helping verb **ken** (continuing) comes before past, non-past, or non-past progressive verbs to show the action takes place over time and not at once. However, verb forms do not change according to whether a helping verb is used. All helping verbs can be used with any word order.

Helping verbs with transitive verbs for change in word order and time [check all]

<u>SO</u>V	past	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u>.*
	continuous past	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **ken tiiŋŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **was hearing** <u>drum</u>.*
	continuous non-past	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **ken tiiŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **is hearing** <u>drum</u>.*
	future	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **bi tiiŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **will hear** <u>drum</u>.*
	continuous future (?)	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **ken bi tiiŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **will be hearing** <u>drum</u>.*
<u>SV</u><u>O</u>	past	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> **tiiŋŋä** <u>kuukcu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u>.*
	continuous past	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> **ken tiiŋŋä** <u>kuukcu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **was hearing** <u>drum</u>.*
	continuous non-past	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> **ken tïïŋï** <u>kuukcu</u>. (?)	*And <u>raven</u> **is hearing** <u>drum</u>.*
	future	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> **bi tïïŋï** <u>kuukcu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **will hear** <u>drum</u>.*
	continuous future (?)	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> **ken bi tïïŋï** <u>kuukcu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **will be hearing** <u>drum</u>.*
<u>O</u>V<u>S</u>	past	Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋi** <u>gaaggaak</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u>.*
	continuous past	Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **ken tiiŋi** <u>gaaggaak</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **was hearing** <u>drum</u>.*
	continuous non-past	Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **ken tiiŋä** <u>gaaggaak</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **is hearing** <u>drum</u>.*
	future	Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **bi tiiŋä** <u>gaaggaak</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **will hear** <u>drum</u>.*
	continuous future (?)	Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **ken bi tiiŋä** <u>gaaggaak</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **will be hearing** <u>drum</u>.*

The future and continuous helping verbs do not change according to the subject.

Helping verbs with different subjects

Non-past	Continuous	
Men **bi** üŋü.	Men **ken** üüŋïdï.	*Person*
Ika **bi** üüŋü.	Ika **ken** üüŋüdü.	*I*
Ïkï **bi** üüŋü.	Ïkï **ken** üüŋüdü.	*You (sg)*
Ike **bi** üŋü.	Ike **ken** üüŋïdï.	*(S)he*
Ïkïï **bi** üüŋï.	Ïkïï **ken** üüŋïtï.	*We (two)*

Ïkïïn **bi** üüŋïn.	Ïkïïn **ken** üüŋïtïn.	*We (and you)*
Ikoon **bi** üüŋon.	Ikoon **ken** üüŋodon.	*We (not you)*
Ikee **bi** üüŋe.	Ikee **ken** üüŋede.	*You (pl)*
Iken **bi** üŋü.	Iken **ken** üüŋïdï.	*They*
will go	*is, are going*	

Verb suffixes

In the last lesson, we learned about verb form changes. When verb forms change for these eight reasons, there is a different <u>suffix</u>, or ending letters on the verb. In this lesson, there is a list of Jumjum verb suffixes, the sentences where verbs with these suffixes occur, and the vowel and consonant changes that are possible when these suffixes are added. There are suffixes listed for transitive, intransitive, applicative verbs, subject and object changes for verbs, and also for verbal nouns and adjectives. We learn more about these suffixes in following lessons. In this lesson, we are just making a list of all the suffixes for reference. The following abbreviations are used.

SOV	subject-object-verb	SG	singular
SVO	subject-verb-object	PL	plural
OVS	object-verb-subject	C	clause type
SRVO	subject-beneficiary-verb-object	D	direction
SOVL	subject-object-verb-location	PT	past
EVSO	experiencer-verb-subject-object	PR	progressive
EV	experiencer-verb	NP	non-past
SV (MT)	subject-verb (motion)	AW	away
SV (ST)	subject-verb (state)	TW	towards
VN	verbal noun	NR	normal
PVN	person verbal noun	DP	dependent
VA	verbal adjective	MN	main

<u>Verb Suffix List</u>

The following is a list of verb suffixes on verbs in various word orders and clauses, with different number, direction and time. After this list of suffixes, there are example verbs with these suffixes in sentences. As explained in the last section (page 11), a slash / means there is more than one suffix for the same way of using verbs, where one suffix is for verbs with some final consonants, and the other suffix is for verbs with other final consonants.

Order	Clause	Direction	Past	Non-past	Past Progressive	Non-past Progressive
SOV	main	normal	-ne	-e	-dene	-de
		towards	-wene	-we	-wene (?)	-wede
		away	-ñe	-ce	-ccene/-cene	-ccede/-cede

	depend	normal	-nee	-ee	-denee	-dee
		towards	-wenee	-wee	-wenee (?)	-wedee
		away	-ñee	-cee	-ccenee/-cenee	-ccedee/-cedee
OVS	main	normal	-i	-kä	-di	-ttä
		towards	-wi	-änä	-wini (?)	-pätä/-ätä
		away	-ci	-cänä	-ccini/-cini(?)	-ccätä
	depend	normal	-nïï	-ïï	-dïnïï (?)	-dïï
		towards	-wïnïï	-wïï	-wïnïï (?)	-wïdïï
		away	-ñïï	-ccïï/-cïï	-ccïnïï/-cïnïï	-ccïdïï/-cïdïï
SVO	main	normal	-ñä	-cï/-yï	-din	-it
		towards	-pin/-yin	-cä/-yä	-cit/-yit	-pïdï/-yïdï
		away	-ccin/-cin	-ccï/-cï	-ccin/-cin(?)	-ccïdï/-cïdï
	depend	normal	-ño	-co/-yo	-dono	-do
		towards	-pono/-yono	-co/-yo	-tto/-to	-podo/-yodo
		away	-ccono/-cono	-cco/-co	-ccono/-cono(?)	-ccodo/-codo
SRVO/ SOVL	main	normal	-jkene	-jke	-jkedeeda	-jkede
	depend	normal	-jkenee	-jkee		-jkedee
RVSO/ OVSL	main	normal	-jki	-jkänä		-ckätä
	depend	normal	-jkïnïï	-jkïï		-jkïdïï
EVSO	main	normal	-ñene	-cene/-yene		-tte
		towards	-pene/-yene(?)			-yede
		away	-ccene/-cene	-cce/-ce (?)		-ccete
EV	depend	normal	-ñïï	-cïnïï/-yïnïï(?)		-dïï (?)
		towards	-pïnïï/-yïnïï			-pïdïï/-yïdïï(?)
		away	-ccïnïï/-cïnïï(?)	-ccïï/-cïï		-ccïdïï/-cïdïï
SV(MT)	main	normal	-cin/-yin	-cï/-yï	-cin/-yin	-cïdï/-yïdï
		towards	-win	-wï	-win	-wïdï
		away	-ccin/-cin	-ccï/-cï	-ccin/-cin	-ccïdï/-cïdï
	depend	normal	-cono/-yono	-co/-yo	-cono/-yono	-codo/-yodo
		towards	-wono	-wo	-wono	-wodo
		away	-ccono/-cono	-cco/-co	-ccono/-cono	-ccodo/-codo
SV (ST)	main	normal	-nä	-Ø	-din	-it
		towards		-cä/-yä		-dïdï
		away	-ñä	-wä		-aŋ (?)
	depend	normal	-no	-Ø	-dono	-do
		away		-co/-yo		-dodo (?)
		normal	-ño	-wo		
SRV/ SLV	main	normal	-cene/-yene	-ce/-ye	-dene	-cete/-yete
		towards	-wene	-we		-wete

133

		away	-ccene/-cene	-cce/-ce (?)		-ccete/-cete (?)
	depend	normal	-cenee/-yenee(?)	-cee/-yee (?)	-denee(?)	-cetee/-yetee(?)
		towards	-wenee (?)	-wee		-wetee (?)
		away	-ccenee/-cenee(?)	-ccee/-cee		-ccetee/-cetee(?)
RVS/ LVS	main	normal	-ci/-yi	-cäna/-yänä		-cätä/-yätä
		towards	-wi	-wänä		-wätä
	depend	normal	-cïï/-yïï (?)			
		towards	-wïï			
SVR/ SVL	main	normal		-jï (?)		
		towards	-jkin/-gin	-jkä/-gä		-jkïdï/-gïdï (?)
	depend	towards	-jkïnïï/-gïnïï			-jkïdïï/-gïdïï (?)
SVE	main	normal	-cene/-yene (?)	-cene/-yene(?)		-cete/-yete (?)
		towards	-wene	-wene		-wete
EV	depend	towards	-wïnïï			-wïtïï (?)

<u>Subject suffixes on intransitive verbs</u>

	motion			state					
	Past	Non-past	N-pt prog	Past	N-pt	Past away	Non-pt towards	N-pt prog away	
men	-cin/yin	-cï/yï	-yïdï	-nä	-Ø	-ñä	-cä/yä	-aŋ	*person*
me	-cin/yin	-cï/yï	-yïdï	-nä	-Ø	-ñä	-cä/yä	-äŋer	*people*
ika	-cänä/yänä	-cä/yä	-yädä	-nä	-ä	-ñä	-cä/yä	-äŋer	*I*
ïkï	-cïnï/yïnï	-ccï/cï	-yädä	-nä	-ä	-ñi	-cä/yä	-aŋ	*you (sg)*
ike	-cin/yin	-cï/yï	-yïdï	-nä	-Ø	-ñä	-cä/yä	-ïŋer	*(s)he*
ïkïï	-cïnï/yïnï	-cï/yï	-yïtï	-nï	-ï	-ñï	-cï/yï	-ïnŋer	*we(two)*
ïkïïn	-cïnïn/yïnïn	-cin/yin	-yïtïn	-nïn	-ïn	-ñïn	-cïn/yïn	-onŋer	*we(you)*
ikoon	-conon/yonon	-con/yon	-yodon	-non	-on	-ñon	-con/yon	-eŋer	*we(-you)*
ikee	-cene/yene	-ce/ye	-yede	-ne	-e	-ñe	-ce/ye	-aŋ	*you (pl)*
iken	-cin/yin	-cï/yï	-yïdï	-kin	-ok	-ñä	-cä/yä	-aŋ	*they*

<u>Transitive subject suffixes with singular noun object</u>

	Past			Non-past, progressive			
	SOV	OVS	SVO away	SOV here	OVS here	SVO away	
men	-ne	<u>-i</u>	-ñä	-de	<u>-ttä</u>	-cit	*person*
me	-ne	-i	-ñä	-de	-ttä	-cit	*people (?)*
ika	-nä	-nä	-ñä	-dä	-dä	-ttä	*I*
ïkï	-ni	-ni	-ñi	-dä	-dä	-ttä	*you (sg)*
ike	-ne	-ne	-ñä	-de	-de	-cit	*(s)he*
ïkïï	-nï	-nï	-ñï	-ttï	-ttï	-ttï	*we (two)*
ïkïïn	-nïn	-nïn	-ñïn	-ttïn	-ttïn	-ttïn	*we (and you)*

134

ikoon	-non	-non	-ñon	-don	-don	-tton	*we (not you)*
ikee	-ne	-ne	-ñe	-de	-de	-tte	*you (pl)*
iken	-i	-i	-ñä	-ttä	-ttä	-cit	*they*

For other subject-object suffixes on transitive verbs see the lesson *Transitive verb form changes with subjects and objects.*

	Singular		Plural	
	Transitive	Intransitive	Transitive	Intransitive
Verbal noun	-nä	-nä	-din	-kkä
Person verbal noun	-gonde ?	-gonde ?	-kkonde ?	-kkonde ?
Verbal adjective	-con/-yon	-con/-on, -on -aŋ	-cin/-yin	-cin/-in, -in ? -kken

Dependent verb suffixes compared [check all]

		Main	Dependent ogo	Dependent wääna	Dependent ina ken	Dependent näŋko	Dependent nääŋka
SOV	PT	-ne	-nee	-nee	-nee		-nee
	NP	-e	-ee	-ee	-ee	-ee	
	NP.PR	-de	-dee	-dee	-dee	-dee	-dee
OVS	PT	-i	-nïï	-i	-ene		-nee
	NP	-kä	-ïï	-jke	-jke	-jke	
	NP.PR	-ttä	-dïï	-tte	-tte	-jkede	-dee
SVO	PT	-ñä	-ño	-ñe			-nee
	NP	-cï/-yï	-co/-yo			-dee	
	NP.PR	-it	-do			-dee	-dee
MT	PT	-cin/-yin	-cono/-yono	-ne			
	NP	-cï/-yï	-co/-yo	-e			
	NP.PR	-cïdï/-yïdï	-codo/-yodo	-de			
ST	PT	-nä	-no	-nee			
	NP	-Ø	-Ø	-ee			
	NP.PR	-ñä	-ño	-dee			

Specific verbs and sentences

Most of the same verb suffixes listed above are shown below on specific verbs. The sentences for these verbs and suffixes are also listed.

SOV (1) Aŋ men gin tiiŋ<u>ŋe</u>.   *Person <u>heard</u> thing.*
    (2) Aŋ men gin bi <u>tiiŋe</u>.   *Person will <u>hear</u> thing.*
    (3) Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo** men gin tiiŋ<u>ŋee</u>.   *Chief told man **that** person <u>heard</u> thing.*
    (4) Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo** men gin bi <u>tiiŋee</u>.   *Chief told m **that** pers will <u>hear</u> thing.*

The following verb forms of 'touch' and 'hear' in the columns with (1, 2, 3, 4) below can take the place of the underlined verb in the sentences with corresponding (1, 2, 3, 4) above.

Order	C	D	Past (1)		Non-past (2)		Non-past progressive (1)	
SOV	MN	NR	-ne tamme	tiiŋe	-e tabe	tiiŋe	-de tabde	tiŋde
		TW	-wene täbbene	tiiŋene	-we		-wede täbbede	tiiŋede
		AW	-ñe tappe	tiiŋe (?)	-ce tape	tiiŋje	-ccede/-cede tapcede	tiiŋjede
	C	D	Past (3)		Non-past (4)		Non-past progressive (3)	
	DP	NR	-nee tammee	tiiŋee	-ee tabee	tiiŋee	-dee tabdee	tiŋdee
		TW	-wenee täbbenee	tiiŋenee	-wee täbbee	tiiŋee	-wedee täbbedee	tiiŋedee
		AW	-ñee tappee	tiiŋee(?)	-cee tapee	tiiŋjee	-ccedee/-cedee tapcedee	tiiŋjedee
			touch	*hear*	*touch*	*hear*	*touch*	*hear*

OVS
(5) Aŋ gin tiiŋi men.   *Person heard thing.*
(6) Aŋ gin bi tiiŋä men.   *Person will hear thing.*
(7) Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo** gin tïïŋïï men.   *Chief told m **that** person heard thing.*
(8) Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo** gin bi tïïŋïï men.   *Ch told m **that** person will hear thing.*

Order	C	D	Past (5)		Non-past (6)		Non-past progressive (5)	
OVS	MN	NR	-i tabi	tiiŋi	-kä tapä	tiiŋgä	-ttä taptä	tiŋtä
		TW	-wi täbbi	tiiŋi	-änä täbänä	tiiŋänä	-pätä/-ätä täppätä	tiiŋätä
		AW	-ci tapi	tiiŋji	-cänä tapänä	tiiŋjänä	-ccätä tapcätä	tiiŋcätä
	C	D	Past (7)		Non-past (8)		Non-past progressive (7)	
	DP	NR	-nïï tammïï	tïïŋïï	-ïï tabïï	tïïŋïï	-dïï tabdïï	tiŋdïï
		TW	-wïnïï täbbïnïï	tïïŋïnïï	-wïï täbbïï	tïïŋïï	-wïdïï täbbïdïï	tïïŋïdïï
		AW	-ñïï tappïï	tïïŋïï(?)	-cïï/-cïï tapcï	tïïŋjïï	-ccïdïï/-cïdïï tapcïdïï	tïïŋjïdïï
			touch	*hear*	*touch*	*hear*	*touch*	*hear*

136

SVO (9) Aŋ men <u>tiiŋŋä</u> gin.   *Person <u>heard</u> thing.*
(10) Aŋ men bi <u>tïïŋï</u> gin.   *Person will <u>hear</u> thing.*
(11) Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo** men <u>tiiŋŋo</u> gin.   *Chief told man **that** person <u>heard</u> thing.*
(12) Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo** men bi <u>tiiŋo</u> gin.   *Ch told m **that** person will <u>hear</u> thing.*

Order	C	D	Past (9)		Non-past (10)		Non-past progressive (9)	
SVO	MN	NR	<u>-ñä</u> täppä	tiiŋŋä	<u>-cï/-yï</u> täpï	tïïŋï	<u>-it</u> täbit	tiŋit
		TW	<u>-pin/-yin</u> täppin	tiiŋin	<u>-cä/-yä</u> tapä (?)	tiŋä	<u>-pïdï/-yïdï</u> täppïdï	tïïŋïdï
		AW	<u>-ccin/-cin</u> täpcin	tiiŋjin	<u>-ccï/-cï</u> täpcï	tïïŋjï	<u>–ccïdï/-cïdï</u> täpcïdï	tïïŋjïdï

	C	D	Past (11)		Non-past (12)		Non-past progressive (11)	
	DP	NR	<u>-ño</u> täppo	tiiŋŋo	<u>-co/-yo</u> täpo	tiiŋo	<u>-do</u> tabdo	tiŋdo
		TW	<u>-pono/-yono</u> täppono	tiiŋono	<u>-co/-yo</u> täpo	tiiŋo	<u>-podo/-yodo</u> täppodo	tiiŋodo
		AW	<u>-ccono/-cono</u> täpcono	tiiŋjono	<u>-cco/-co</u> täpco	tiiŋjo	<u>-ccodo/-codo</u> täpcodo	tiiŋjodo
			touch	*hear*	*touch*	*hear*	*touch*	*hear*

SRVO/
SOVL (13) Aŋ men yätkä <u>tiiŋgene</u> gin.   *Person <u>heard</u> thing for chief.*
Aŋ men gin <u>tiiŋgene</u> nänţä piik.   *Person <u>heard</u> thing in water place.*
(14) Aŋ men yätkä bi <u>tiiŋge</u> gin.   *Person will <u>hear</u> thing for chief.*
Aŋ men gin bi <u>tiiŋge</u> nänţä piik.   *Person will <u>hear</u> thing in water place.*
Aŋ gaaggaak oon kiinne   *Raven told man . . .*
(15) . . . **ogo**, men yätkä <u>tiiŋgenee</u> gin.   *. . . **that**, person <u>heard</u> thing for chief.*
. . . **ogo**, men gin <u>tiiŋgenee</u> nänţä piik.   *. . . **that**, person <u>heard</u> thing in water place.*
(16) . . . **ogo**, men yätkä bi <u>tiiŋgee</u> gin.   *. . . **that**, person will <u>hear</u> thing for chief.*
. . . **ogo**, men gin bi <u>tiiŋgee</u> nänţä piik.   *. . . **that**, person will <u>hear</u> thing in water place.*

Order	C	D	Past (13)		Non-past (14)		Non-past progressive (13)	
SRVO/ SOVL	MN	NR	<u>-jkene</u> täpkene	tiiŋgene	<u>-jke</u> täpke	tiiŋge	<u>-jkede</u> täpkede	tiiŋgede
	C	D	Past (15)		Non-past (16)		Non-past progressive (15)	

137

			-jkenee		**-jkee**	**-jkedee**	
	DP	NR	täp**kenee**	tiiŋ**genee**	täp**kee**	täp**kedee**	tiiŋ**gedee**
			touch	*hear*	*touch*	*hear*	*hear*

<table>
<tr><td>RVSO/
OVSL</td><td>(17)</td><td colspan="2">Aŋ yätkä <u>tiiŋgi</u> men gin.</td><td>*Person <u>heard</u> thing for chief.*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td colspan="2">Aŋ gin <u>tiiŋgi</u> men nänṭa piik.</td><td>*Person <u>heard</u> thing in water place.*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>(18)</td><td colspan="2">Aŋ yätkä bi <u>tiiŋgänä</u> men gin.</td><td>*Person will <u>hear</u> thing for chief.*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td colspan="2">Aŋ gin bi <u>tiiŋgänä</u> men nänṭa piik.</td><td>*Person will <u>hear</u> thing in water place.*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td colspan="2">Aŋ gaaggaak oon kiinne</td><td>*Raven told man . . .*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>(19)</td><td colspan="2">. . . **ogo**, yätkä <u>tiiŋgïnïï</u> men gin.</td><td>. . . ***that***, *person <u>heard</u> thing for chief.*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td colspan="2">. . . **ogo**, gin <u>tïïŋgïnïï</u> men nänṭa piik.</td><td>. . . ***that***, *person <u>heard</u> thing in water place.*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>(20)</td><td colspan="2">. . . **ogo**, yätkä bi <u>tïïŋgïï</u> men gin.</td><td>. . . ***that***, *person will <u>hear</u> thing for chief.*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td colspan="2">. . . **ogo**, gin bi <u>tïïŋgïï</u> men nänṭa piik.</td><td>. . . ***that***, *person will <u>hear</u> thing in water place.*</td></tr>
</table>

Order	C	D	Past (17)		Non-past (18)		Non-past progressive (17)	
RVSO/ OVSL	MN	NR	**-jki** täp**ki**	tiiŋ**gi**	**-jkänä** täp**känä**	tiiŋ**gänä**	**-ckätä** täp**kätä**	tiiŋ**kätä**
	C	D	Past (19)		Non-past (20)		Non-past progressive (19)	
	DP	NR	**-jkïnïï** täp**kïnïï**	tiiŋ**gïnïï**	**-jkïï** täp**kïï**	tïïŋ**gïï**	**-jkïdïï** täp**kïdïï**	tïïŋ**idïï**
			touch	*hear*	*touch*	*hear*	*touch*	*hear*

<table>
<tr><td>EVSO</td><td>(21)</td><td>Aŋ gin (gerger) <u>tiiŋŋene</u> men gin (uullu).</td><td>*Person used thing (harp) to <u>hear</u> thing (song).*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>(22)</td><td>Aŋ gin bi <u>tiiŋene</u> men gin.</td><td>*Person will use thing to <u>hear</u> thing.*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>Aŋ gaaggaak oon kiinne</td><td>*Raven told man . . .*</td></tr>
<tr><td>EV</td><td>(23)</td><td>. . . **ogo**, gin <u>tïïŋïnïï</u> ko men gin.</td><td>. . . ***that***, *person used thing to <u>hear</u> thing.*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>(24)</td><td>. . . **ogo**, gin bi <u>tïïŋjïï</u> ko men gin</td><td>. . . ***that***, *person will use thing to <u>hear</u> thing.*</td></tr>
</table>

Order	C	D	Past (21)		Non-past (22)		Non-past progressive (21)	
			<u>**-ñene**</u>		<u>**-cene/-yene**</u>		<u>**-tte**</u>	
EVSO	MN	NR	täp**pene**	tiiŋ**ŋene**	täp**ene**	tiiŋ**ene**	täp**te**	tiiŋ**te**(?)
			<u>**-ccene/-cene**</u>		<u>**-cce/-ce**</u> (?)		<u>**-ccete**</u>	
		AW	täp**cene**	tiiŋ**jene**	tap**ce**	tiiŋ**je**	täp**cete**	tiiŋ**cete**
	C	D	Past (23)		Non-past		Non-past progressive (23)	

138

Order	C	D	(24)					
EV	DP	NR	**-ñïï**		**cïnïï/-yïnïï (?)**		**-dïï (?)**	
			täp**pïï**	tïïŋ**ïï**	tap**ïnïï**	tïïŋ**ïnïï**	tab**dïï**	tïŋ**dïï**
			-ccïnïï/-cïnïï(?)		**-ccïï/-cïï**		**-ccïdïï/-cïdïï**	
		AW	täp**cïnïï**	tïïŋ**jïnïï**	täp**cïï**	tïïŋ**jïï**	täp**cïdïï**	tïïŋ**jïdïï**
			touch	*hear*	*touch*	*hear*	*touch*	*hear*

(25) Aŋ men üüŋ<u>in</u>.   *Person <u>went</u>.*
(26) Aŋ men bi üŋ<u>ü</u>.   *Person will <u>go</u>.*
(27) Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo** men üŋ<u>ono</u>. *Chief told man **that** person <u>went</u>.*
(28) Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo** men bi üŋ<u>o</u>. *Chief told man **that** person will <u>go</u>.*

Order	C	D	Past (25)		Non-past (26)		Non-past progressive (25)	
SV (MT)	MN	NR	**-cin/-yin**		**-cï/-yï**		**-cïdï/-yïdï**	
			ñap**in** (?)	üŋ**in**(?)	ñap**ï**	üŋ**ï**(?)	ñap**ïdï**	üŋ**ïdï**(?)
			-win		**-wï**		**-wïdï**	
		TW	ñäb**bin**	üü**ŋïn**	ñäb**bï** (?)	üü**ŋï**	ñäb**bïdï**	üü**ŋïdï**
			-ccin/-cin		**-ccï/-cï**		**-ccïdï/-cïdï**	
		AW	ñap**cin**	üŋ**jïn**(?)	ñap**cï** (?)	üŋ**jï**	ñap**cïdï**	üŋ**jïdï** (?)
	C	D	Past (27)		Non-past (28)		Non-past progressive (27)	
	DP	NR	**-cono/-yono**		**-co/-yo**		**-codo/-yodo**	
			ñap**ono**	üŋ**ono**	ñap**o**	üŋ**o**	ñap**odo**	üŋ**odo**
			-wono		**-wo**		**-wodo**	
		TW	ñäb**bono**	üü**ŋono**	ñab**bo**	üü**ŋo**	ñäb**bodo**	üü**ŋodo**
			-ccono/-cono		**-cco/-co**		**-ccodo/-codo**	
		AW	git**cono**	üŋ**jono**	git**co**	üŋ**jo**	git**codo**	üŋ**jodo**
			be hap/ give bir	*go*	*be happy/ give birth*	*go*	*be happy/ give birth*	*go*

(29) Aŋ men <u>yaaññä</u>.   *Person is bad.*
(30) Aŋ men bi <u>yaac</u>.   *Person will <u>be bad</u>.*
(31) Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo** men <u>yaaño</u>.   *Chief told man **that** person <u>is bad</u>.*
(32) Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo** men bi <u>yaajo</u>. *Chief told man **that** pers will <u>be bad</u>.*

Order	C	D	Past (29)	Non-past (30)	Non-past progressive (29)

			Past (31)		Non-past (32)		Non-past progressive (31)	
SV (ST)	MN	NR	**-nä** yaaññä	ŋerrä	**-Ø** yaac	tüw	**-it** yaajit	tüwï
		TW			**-cä/yä** yaacä	üŋü	**-dïdï** ḍagdïdï	tüwdïdï
		AW	**-ñä** yaaccä	ŋeṭṭä	**-wä** yäjä	tüwü	**-aŋ (?)** yaajaŋ	ŋeraŋ
	C	D	Past (31)		Non-past (32)		Non-past progressive (31)	
	DP	NR	**-no** yaañño	ŋerro(?)	**-Ø** yaac	tüw	**-do** üüŋdo	tüwdo
		AW	**-ño** ñappo	ŋeṭṭo(?)	**-wo** yäjo (?)	tüwo (?)		
			be bad/ be hap	*be good*	*be bad*	*die/go*	*be bad/arrive/go*	*die/be good*

SRV
SLV
(33) Aŋ men yätkä üüŋene.   *Person went for chief.*
Aŋ men nänṭä piik üüŋene.   *Person went to water place.*
(34) Aŋ men yätkä bi üüŋe.   *Person will go for chief.*
Aŋ men nänṭä piik bi üüŋe.   *Person will go to water place.*

Order	C	D	Past (33)		Non-past (34)		Non-past progressive (33)	
SRV/ SLV	MN	NR	**-cene/-yene** ḍääkene(?)	üüŋene	**-ce/-ye** ḍääke (?)	üüŋe	**-cete/-yete** ḍääkete	üüŋete(?)
		TW	**-wene** ḍäägene	üüŋene	**-we** ḍääge	üüŋe	**-wete** ḍäägete (?)	üüŋete(?)
		AW	**-ccene/- cene** ḍäkcene(?)	üüŋjene	**–cce/-ce (?)** ḍäkce (?)	üüŋje	**-ccete/-cete (?)** ḍäkcete (?)	üüŋjete(?)
			arrive	*go*	*arrive*	*go*	*arrive*	*go*

RVS
LVS
(37) Aŋ yätkä üüŋï men.   *Person went for chief.*
Aŋ nänṭä piik üüŋï men.   *Person went to water place.*
(38) Aŋ yätkä bi üüŋünü men.   *Person will go for chief.*
Aŋ nänṭä piik bi üüŋünü men.   *Person will go to water place.*

Order	C	D	Past (37)		Non-past (38)		Non-past progressive (37)	
RVS/ LVS	MN	NR	**-cï/-yï** ḍaaki(?)	üüŋï	**-cänä/-yänä** ḍimänä (?)	üüŋünü	**-cätä/-yätä** ḍääkätä	üüŋütü
			arrive	*go*	*fall*	*go*	*arrive*	*go*

SVR
SVL
(40) Aŋ men üŋgïn yätkä.   *Person went for chief.*
Aŋ men üŋgïn nänṭä piik.   *Person went to water place.*

(41) Aŋ men bi <u>üŋgü</u> yätkä.   *Person will go for chief.*
      Aŋ men bi <u>üŋgü</u> näntạ piik.   *Person will go to water place.*

Order	C	D	Past (40)		Non-past (41)		Non-past progressive (40)	
SVR/			<u>-jkin-gin</u>		<u>-jkä/-gä</u>		<u>-jkïdï/-gïdïï</u>	
SVL	MN	TW	bülk<u>ïn</u>	üŋg<u>in</u>	bülk<u>ü</u>	üŋg<u>ü</u>	bülk<u>ïdï</u>	üŋg<u>ïdï</u>
			return	*go*	*return*	*go*	*return*	*go*

<u>SVE</u> (43) Aŋ gin <u>üüŋene</u> men.   *Pers <u>used thing to go</u>./Person <u>went by help of</u> thing.*
     (44) Aŋ gin bi <u>üüŋene</u> men.   *Per <u>will use thing to go</u>./Pers <u>will go by help of</u> thg.*
           Aŋ gaaggaak oon kiinne   *Raven told man . . .*
<u>EV</u> (45) . . . ogo, gin <u>üüŋïnïï</u> ko men.   *. . . that, person <u>used thing to go</u>./*
                                                   person <u>went by the help of</u> thing.

Order	C	D	Past (43)		Non-past (44)		Non-past progressive (43)	
SVE	MN	TW	<u>-wene</u>		<u>-wene</u>		<u>-wete</u>	
			ḍaag<u>ene</u>	üüŋ<u>ene</u>	ḍaag<u>ene</u>	üüŋ<u>ene</u>	ḍaag<u>ete</u> (?)	üüŋ<u>ete</u>(?)
	C	D	Past (45)					
EV	DP	TW	<u>-wïnïï</u>				<u>-wïtïï</u> (?)	
			ḍääg<u>ïnïï</u>	üüŋ<u>ïnïï</u>			ḍääg<u>ïtïï</u>	üüŋ<u>ïtïï</u>
			arrive	*go*	*arrive*	*go*	*arrive*	*go*

<u>VN.SG</u> (46) Aŋ men ättä kä <u>tiiŋ̣ŋä</u>.   *A person came with <u>hearing</u>.*
             Aŋ yätkä <u>tiiŋ̣ŋä</u> gin yoorre.   *Chief saw <u>hearing</u> of thing.*
             Aŋ men näntä <u>tiiŋ̣ŋä</u> gin yoorre.   *And person saw place of <u>hearing</u>*
                                                              something.

             Aŋ yätkä men yaana <u>yaaññä</u> ye   *Chief saw person who <u>is bad</u>.*
             yoorre.
             Aŋ men gin <u>yääññä</u> yoorre.   *Person saw thing of <u>badness</u>.*
<u>VN.PL</u> (47) Aŋ men ättä kä <u>tiiŋdin</u>.   *A person came with <u>hearings</u>.*
             Aŋ yätkä <u>tiiŋdin</u> gin yoorre.   *Chief saw <u>hearings</u> of thing.*
             Aŋ men nänkä <u>tiiŋdin</u> gin yoorre. *And person saw places of <u>hearing</u>*
                                                              something.

             Aŋ yätkä me yaaka <u>yaackä</u> ye   *Chief saw people who <u>are bad</u>.*
             yoorre.
             Aŋ men waak <u>yaackä</u> yoorre.   *Person saw things of <u>badness</u>.*
<u>PVN</u> (48) Aŋ men <u>yaajgonde</u> yoorre.   *A person saw <u>bad person</u>.*
<u>VA.SG</u> (49) Aŋ men yaana a <u>tiiŋon</u> ye, ŋeraŋ. *A person who <u>hearing</u>, is good.*
             Aŋ yätkä män <u>tiiŋon</u> yoorre.   *Chief saw a person of <u>hearing</u>.*
<u>VA.PL</u> (50) Aŋ yätkä mä <u>tiiŋin</u> yoorre.   *Chief saw people of <u>hearing</u>.*

Verbal nouns and adjectives	Transitive		Intransitive	
Verbal noun singular (46)	<u>-nä</u> tam**mä**	tiiŋ**ä**	<u>-nä</u> yaañ**ñä**	üüŋ**ŋü**
Verbal noun plural (47)	<u>-din</u> täb**din**	tiiŋ**din**	<u>-kkä</u> yaac**kä**	
Person verbal noun singular (48)	<u>-gonde</u> (?) tab**gonde**	tiiŋ**gonde**	<u>-gonde</u> (?) yääj**gonde**	üüŋ**gonde**
Verbal adjective singular (50)	<u>-con/-yon</u> täp**on**	tiiŋ**on**	<u>-on</u> yaaj**on**	tüw**on**
Verbal adjective plural (49)	<u>-cin/-yin</u> täp**in**	tiiŋ**in**	<u>-in</u> (?) —-	tiiŋ**in**
	touch	*hear*	*be bad*	*go, die, arrive*

Sound changes with verb suffixes

We have learned eight reasons for a verb form change. And we have learned the suffixes for each verb form change. However, the consonants and vowels of a suffix can also change according to the last consonant or vowel of the root verb, and the last root vowel and consonant can also change. First we learn about vowel changes of verb roots, then we learn about vowel changes when suffixes are attached, and finally we learn about consonant changes when suffixes are attached.

Verb root changes in sound

The verb root vowel can change between one form and another. It can change from light to heavy, or from heavy to light, from long to short, or from short to long, from one vowel to another, a combination of these changes, or none of these changes.

Root vowel changes in verbs

light to heavy	a/ä	ka**ji**	*bite (OVS past, evidence, once, normal)*	käc**ä**	*bite (OVS non-past progressive, evidence, once, normal)*
heavy to light	ää/aa	g**ää**ni	*cut (OVS past, evidence, once, here)*	g**aa**nji	*cut (OVS past, evidence, once, away)*
long to short	üü/ü	ḍ**üü**rre	*carry (SOV past, evidence, once, normal)*	ḍ**ü**rdene	*carry (SOV past, evidence, repeat, here)*
short to long	ä/ää	<u>k**ä**cä</u>	<u>*bite (OVS non-past progressive, evidence, once, normal)*</u>	<u>k**ää**cä</u>	<u>*bite (OVS non-past progressive, evidence, repeat, away)*</u>
different vowel	oo/uu	y**oo**ri	*see (OVS past, evidence, once, normal)*	y**uu**ri	*see (OVS past, evidence, once, here)*
combination	ii/e	ṭ**ii**mmä	*carry (SVO past,*	ṭ**e**mdin	*carry (SVO past,*

142

			evidence, once, normal)		evidence, repeat, here)
<u>no change</u>	**a/a**	tabi	*touch (OVS past, evidence, once, normal)*	tabdi	*touch (OVS past, evidence, repeat, here)*

<u>Vowel changes when verb suffixes are attached</u>

When suffixes are attached to verbs, the vowel of the suffix can change or the vowel of the root can change.

Suffixes with vowel **i** (such as –**i,** –**ci, -di,** etc.) become heavy **ï** when attached to a verb with heavy vowel **ï** or **ü** in the last syllable of the root (such as **kïle/kïlï** 'sharpens/sharpened' or **müge/mügï** 'catches/caught'). They do not become heavy when there is any other last root vowel.

Vowel changes for suffixes with vowel **i**

Last root vowel	SOV non-past -**e**	OVS past -**i**	
a	tabe	tab**i**	*touch*
o	yoore	yoor**i**	*see*
e	jebe	jeb**i**	*beat*
i	ije	ij**i**	*take*
u	dude	dud**i**	*carry*
ï	kïle	kïl**ï**	*sharpen*
ü	müge	müg**ï**	*catch*

Suffixes with vowel **ä** (such as –**ä,** –**ci, -di,** etc.) instead have the vowel **u** when attached to a verb with **o** or **u** in the last syllable of the root (such as **yoore/yoorgu** 'sees' or **dude/dutu̠** 'carries'). The suffix vowel becomes **ü** when attached to a verb with **ü** in the last syllable of the root (such as **müge/mükü̠** 'catches').

Vowel changes for suffixes with vowel **ä**

Last root vowel	SOV non-past -**e**	OVS non-past -**kä**	
a	tabe	tap**ä**	*touch*
e	jebe	jep**ä**	*beat*
i	ije	ïc**ä**	*take*
ä	kaje	käc**ä**	*bite*
ï	kïle	kïl**gä**	*sharpen*
o	yoore	yoor**gu**	*see*
u	dude	dut**u**	*carry*
ü	müge	mük**ü**	*catch*

When a suffix with heavy vowel -**ï** attaches to verbs with light root vowels **i** or **u**, the root vowels become heavy (as in **ije/ïññïï** 'takes/took', **dude/dü̠ṇṇïï** 'carries/carried').

143

Vowel changes for suffixes with vowel ï

Last root vowel	SOV non-past -e	OVS past subor -nïï	
a	tabe	tammïï	*touch*
o	yoore	yoorrïï	*see*
e	jebe	jemmïï	*beat*
i	ije	ïññïï	*take*
u	dude	dünṉïï	*carry*
ï	kïle	kïllïï	*sharpen*
ü	müge	müṉṉïï	*catch*

Consonant changes when verb suffixes are attached

When suffixes are attached to verbs, the final consonant of the root can change, or the first consonant of the suffix can change, or both can change. The following charts show the changes when consonants are joined. The **bold** consonants on the left side of the arrow (→) change to the bold consonants on the right side of the arrow.

When a suffix with beginning vowel is joined to a verb with final consonants **p, t, c, k**, these change to **b, d, j, g**. When a suffix with **w** is joined to the consonants **p, t, c, k**, these change to **bb, d, j, g**. When a suffix with **w** is joined to **m**, these consonants become **mm**. When a suffix with **y** is joined to **w** or **y**, these consonants become **j**. There are no changes for any other final consonants of the root when a vowel or **w** or **y** is joined.

Chart 1 of consonant changes

Root final	Changes	SOV.NP -e	Changes	OVS.PT.TW -wi	Changes	EVSO.NP.PR.TW -yede	
p	p → b	tabe	pw → bb	täbbi	py → p	täpede	*touch*
t	t → d	dude	tw → d	duudi	ty → t	dutede	*carry*
c	c → j	ije	cw → j	iiji	cy → c	icede	*take*
k	k → g	müge	kw → g	müügï	ky → k	mükede	*catch*
r	r	yoore	rw → r	yuuri	ry → r	yurede	*see*
l	l	kïle	lw → l	kïïlï	ly → l	kïlede	*sharpen*
m	m	ṭeeme	mw → mm	ṭiimmi	my → m	ṭiimede	*carry (on head)*
n	n	gaane	nw → n	gääni	ny → n	gäänede	*gather (grass)*
ñ	ñ	taañe	ñw → ñ	tääñi	ñy → ñ	tääñede	*press*
ŋ	ŋ	tiiŋe	ŋw → ŋ	tiiŋi	ŋy → ŋ	tiiŋede	*hear*
w	w	maawe	ww → w	määwi	wy → j	määjede	*look for*
y	y	ŋeeye	yw → y	ŋiiyi	yy → j	ŋijede	*chew, crunch*

When a suffix beginning with **n** follows any consonant, it becomes more like that consonant. For example in ta**mm**e 'touched' the **n** of the suffix –**ne** becomes more like the verb final **p** that **n**

follows. The final consonant **p** also becomes more like the **n** of the suffix –**ne**. The result is that **pn** becomes **mm** in **tamme** 'touched'. The other verbs below have other changes in consonants. There are similar but different consonant changes for suffixes beginning with **ñ**. There are other consonant changes for suffixes beginning with **k**.

Chart 2 of consonant changes

Root	Changes	SOV.PT	Changes	SVO.PT	Changes	OVS.NP	
final		-ne		-ñä		-kä	
p	pn → mm	tamme	pñ → pp	täppä	pk → p	tapä	*touch*
t	tn → ṇṇ	duṇṇe	tñ → ṭṭ	duṭṭu	tk → t	dutu	*carry*
c	cn → ññ	iññe	cñ → cc	iccä	ck → c	icä	*take*
k	kn → ŋŋ	müŋŋe	kñ → kk	mükkü	kk → k	mükü	*catch*
r	rn → rr	yoorre	rñ → ṭṭ	yuṭṭu	rk → rg	yoorgu	*see*
l	ln → ll	kïlle	lñ → ṭṭ	kïṭṭä	lk → lg	kïlgä	*sharpen*
m	mn → mm	ṭeemme	mñ → mm	ṭiimmä	mk → mg	ṭeemgä	*carry (on head)*
n	nn	gaanne	nñ → nn	gäännä	nk → ng	gaangä	*gather (grass)*
ñ	ñn → ññ	taaññe	ññ	tääññä	ñk → ñg	taañgä	*press*
ŋ	ŋn → ŋŋ	tiiŋŋe	ŋñ → ŋŋ	tiiŋŋä	ŋk → ŋg	tiiŋgä	*hear*
w	wn	maawne	wñ → ññ	määññä	wk → wg	maawgä	*look for*
y	yn	ŋeeyne	yñ → ññ	ŋiññä	yk → yg	ŋeeygä	*chew, crunch*

The consonant changes for suffixes beginning with **c** (below) are similar to those for suffixes beginning with **k** (above). There are different consonant changes for suffixes beginning with **p** and **cc**. In the chart below, a slash / means there is more than one suffix for the same way of using verbs, where one suffix is for verbs with some final consonants, and the other suffix is for verbs with other final consonants. For example, **-pin** is the SVO past towards suffix for verbs with final consonants **p, t, c, k, r, l, m** and –**yin** is the SVO past towards suffix for verbs with the final consonants **n, ñ, ŋ, r, l, w, y**. For some consonants joined together, there is more than one possible change. For example, the consonants **lc** become **lj** in **kïljï** 'sharpen away' but **lc** becomes **ṭ** in **kïṭä** 'will sharpen towards' as seen in chart 6 below. Similarly, **rp** changes to both **ṭ** and **r**, and **lp** changes to both **ṭ** and **l**.

Chart 3 of consonant changes

Root	Changes	OVS.PT.AW	Changes	SVO.PT.TW	Changes	OVS.PR.AW	
final		-ci		-pin/-yin		-ccätä	
p	pc → p	tapi	pp → pp	täppin	pcc → pc	tapcätä	*touch*
t	tc → t	duti	tp → t	duutin	tcc → tc	dutcutu	*carry*
c	cc → c	ici	cp → c	iicin	ccc → cc	iccätä	*take*
k	kc → k	mükï	kp → k	müükïn	kcc → kc	mükcütü	*catch*
r	rc → ṭ	yooṭi	rp → ṭ, r	yuuṭin	rcc → rc	yoorcutu	*see*
l	lc → lj, ṭ	kïljï	lp → ṭ, l	kïïṭin	lcc → lc	kïlcätä	*sharpen*
m	mc → mj	ṭeemji	mp → mm	ṭiimmin	mcc → mc	ṭeemcätä	*carry (head)*
n	nc → nj	gaanji	ny → n	gäänin	ncc → nc	gaancätä	*gather (grass)*

145

ñ	ñc → ñj	taañji	ñy → ñ	tääñin	ñcc → ñc	taañcätä	*press*
ŋ	ŋc → ŋj	tiiŋji	ŋy → ŋ	tiiŋin	ŋcc → ŋc	tiiŋcätä	*hear*
w	wc → jj	maajji	wy → j	määjin	wcc → cc	maaccätä	*look for*
y	yc → jj	ŋeejji	yy → j	ŋiijjin	ycc → cc	ŋeeccätä	*chew, crunch*

The consonant changes for suffixes beginning with **tt** (below) are similar to those for suffixes beginning with **cc** (above). There are different consonant changes for suffixes beginning with **ck** and **jk**. The consonants **rtt** become **tt** in **yoottu** 'sees' but **rtt** becomes **rt** in **yurto** 'sees' in chart 6 below.

Chart 4 of consonant changes

Root	Changes	OVS.NP.PR	Changes	RVSO.NP.PR	Changes	RVSO.NP	
final		-ttä		-ckätä		-jkänä	
p	ptt → pt	taptä	pck → pk	täpkätä	pjk → pk	täpkänä	*touch*
t	ttt → tt	duttu	tck → tk	dutkutu	tjk → tk	dutkunu	*carry*
c	ctt → ct	mor ictä	cck → ck	ickätä	cjk → ck	ickänä	*take*
k	ktt → kt	müktü	kck → kk	mükkütü	kjk → kk	mükkünü	*catch*
r	rtt → tt,rt	yoottu	rck → rk	yurkutu	rjk → rk	yurkunu	*see*
l	ltt→ lt	mor kïltä	lck→ lk	kïlkätä	ljk→ lk	kïlkänä	*sharpen*
m	mtt → mt	ṭemtä	mck → mk	ṭiimkätä	mjk → mg	ṭiimgänä	*carry (head)*
n	ntt → nt	mor gaantä	nck → nk	gäänkätä	njk → ng	gäängänä	*gather*
ñ	ñtt → ñt	mor taañtä	ñck → ñk	tääñkätä	ñjk → ñg	tääñgänä	*press*
ŋ	ŋtt → ŋt	tiŋtä	ŋck → ŋk	tiiŋkätä	ŋjk → ŋg	tiiŋgänä	*hear*
w	wtt → wt	mor maawtä	wck → ck	määckätä	wjk → jg	määjgänä	*look for*
y	ytt → yt	mor ŋeeytä	yck → ck	ŋickätä	yjk → jg	ŋijgänä	*chew*

The consonant changes for suffixes beginning with **d** are similar to those for suffixes beginning with **j**. The consonant changes for more than one suffix for the same verb form are also listed below.

Chart 5 of consonant changes

Root	Change	SOV.NP.PR	Change	EV.NP.1t	Change	SVO.PT.AW	
final		-de		-jï		-ccin/-cin	
p	pd→ bd	tabde	pj → bj	tabjï	pcc → pc	täpcin	*touch*
t	td → dd	dudde	tj → dj	düdjï	tcc → tc	dutcin	*carry*
c	cd → jd	mor ijde	cj → jj	ïjjï	ccc → cc	iccin	*take*
k	kd → gd	mügde	kj → gj	mügjï	kcc → kc	mükcïn	*catch*
r	rd→ rd, dd	yoorde	rj	yoorjï	rcc → rc	yurcin	*see*
l	ld	mor kïlde	lj	kïljï	lcc → lc	kïlcïn	*sharpen*
m	md	ṭemde	mj	ṭeemjï	mc → mj	ṭiimjin	*carry*
n	nd	mor gaande	nj	gaanjï	nc → nj	gäänjin	*gather*
ñ	ñd	mor taañde	ñj	taañjï	ñc → ñj	tääñjin	*press*
ŋ	ŋd	tiŋde	ŋj	tïïŋjï	ŋc → ŋj	tiiŋjin	*hear*

w	wd	**mor** maawde	wj	maawjï	wc → jj	määjjin	*look for*
y	yd	**mor** ŋeeyde	yj	ŋeeyjï	yc → jj	ŋijjin	*chew*

The consonant changes for suffixes beginning with **t** (below) are similar to those for suffixes beginning with **c** (above).

Chart 6 of consonant changes

Root	Change	SVO.NP.TW	Change	SVO.DP.PT.PR	Changes	OVS.NP.PR.TW	
final		-cä/-yä		-tto/-to		-pätä/-ätä	
p	pc → p	täpä	ptt → pt	täpto	pp → pp	täppätä	*touch*
t	tc → t	dutu	ttt → tt	dutto	tp → t	duututu	*carry*
c	cc → c	icä	ctt → ct	**mor** icto	cp → c	iicätä	*take*
k	kc → k	mükü	ktt → kt	mükto	kp → k	müükütü	*catch*
r	rc → ṭ	yuṭu	rtt → rt,tt,ṭ	yurto	rp → r, ṭ	yuurutu	*see*
l	lc → ṭ,lj	kïṭä	ltt → lt	**mor** kïlto	lp → l, ṭ	kïïlätä	*sharpen*
m	my → m	ṭimä	mt → md	ṭimdo	mp → mm	ṭiimmätä	*carry*
n	ny → n	gänä	nt → nd	**mor** gäändo	n	gäänätä	*gather*
ñ	ñy → ñ	täñä	ñt → ñd	**mor** tääñdo	ñ	tääñätä	*press*
ŋ	ŋy → ŋ	tiŋä	ŋt → ŋd	tiŋdo	ŋ	tiiŋätä	*hear*
w	wy → j	mäjä	wt → jd	**mor** määjdo	w	määwätä	*look for*
y	yy → j	ŋijä	yt → jd	**mor** ŋijdo	y	ŋiiyätä	*chew*

In the following lessons, we will learn about each way verb forms change.

Transitive SOV verb suffixes

In the lesson *Verb form changes*, we learned a verb may change for nine reasons. These include a change in clause participant, time, nature, word order, person, direction, number, type of clause, or use. When a verb changes for any of these reasons, it has a different <u>suffix</u>, or ending letters of the verb. We also learned that SOV and OVS verb forms are the same except when their subjects and objects are nouns. In the lesson *Sound changes with verb suffixes,* we learned the consonant and vowels of the suffix can also change according to the last consonant or vowel of the root, and the last root vowel and consonant can also change.

In this lesson we learn the different suffixes of SOV verbs for changes in time, nature, number, direction and type of clause. SOV verbs are the most common transitive verbs and are used to show both the subject and object are old topics or indefinite. In following lessons, we learn the suffixes of transitive verbs with OVS and SVO word orders.

Below are suffixes of SOV verbs with changes for tense, nature, direction, and clause. Next, we will see examples of verbs with these suffixes and how the suffixes change with the last root letters.

147

Transitive SOV suffixes

Order	Clause	Direction	Past	Non-past	Past Progressive	Non-past Progressive
SOV	main	normal	-ne	-e	-dene	-de
		towards	-wene	-we	-wene (?)	-wede
		away	-ñe	-ce	-ccene/-cene	-ccede/-cede
	depend	normal	-nee	-ee	-denee	-dee
		towards	-wenee	-wee	-wenee (?)	-wedee
		away	-ñee	-cee	-ccenee/ -cenee	-ccedee/ -cedee

The verb root changes for progressive nature, towards direction and repeated action.

Root vowel changes in specific verb forms

	Progresives, no direction	Towards	Repeat
How common	In a few verbs	In nearly all verbs	In some verbs
What happens	Root vowels → short	Root vowels → long a, aa → ää e, ee → ii o, oo →uu	Root vowels → long a, aa → ää e, ee → ii o, oo →uu
When	-d is the first letter of the suffix	Nearly always	Depends on the verb; Some verbs instead use the progressive form to show repeated actions

The sentences (1-2) have different time, but both have SOV verbs in a main clause. The verb **tiiŋŋe** 'heard' in (1) with suffix –**ne** has past tense, and the verb **tiiŋe** 'hears' in (2) with suffix -**e** follows **bi** 'will' and is non-past.

SOV (1) Aŋ men gin <u>tiiŋŋe</u>.   *Person <u>heard</u> thing.*
(2) Aŋ men gin bi <u>tiiŋe</u>.   *Person will <u>hear</u> thing.*

The past verbs below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentence (1) above. The non-past verbs can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentence (2). The past verbs have the suffix –**ne**. This suffix changes to –**me**, -**ṇe**, -**ñe**, -**ŋe**, -**re**, -**le** according to the final consonant of the root verb. When the non-past suffix –**e** attaches, the final root consonants **p**, **t**, **c**, **k** become **b**, **d**, **j**, **g**.

SOV verbs

Final consonant	Cons change	SOV Past (1)	Cons change	SOV Non-past (2)	
		-ne		-e	
p	pn → mm	tam**me**	p → b	ta**b**e	*touch*
t	tn → ṇṇ	du**ṇṇe**	t → d	du**d**e	*carry, take*

148

c	cn → ññ	iññe	c → j	ije	*take*
k	kn → ŋŋ	müŋŋe	k → g	müge	*catch*
r	rn → rr	yoorre	r	yoore	*see*
l	ln → ll	kïlle	l	kïle	*sharpen*
m	mn → mm	ṭeemme	m	ṭeeme	*carry (on head)*
n	nn	gaanne	n	gaane	*gather (grass)*
ñ	ñn → ññ	taaññe	ñ	taañe	*press*
ŋ	ŋn → ŋŋ	tiiŋŋe	ŋ	tiiŋe	*hear*
w	wn	maawne	w	maawe	*look for*
y	yn	ŋeeyne	y	ŋeeye	*crunch, chew*

The progressive verbs below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentence (1) above. They are shown with the non-past verbs repeated from the above table for ease of comparison. The past progressive verbs have the suffix **-dene** and the non-past progressive verbs have the suffix -**de**. When these suffixes are attached, the final root consonants **p, t, c, k** become **b, d, j, g**. Some verbs do not have a form that can be used for past progressive action. These have a dash —— in the chart below. Some of the non-past progressive verbs can only be said after **mor** 'just, still', and then have the meaning of recent past. The root vowels in the progressive forms ṭemde 'carrying' and tiŋde 'hearing' are shortened from long vowels in the non-progressive non-past forms.

SOV progressive verbs

Final consonant	SOV Non-past (2)	Vow change	Cons change	SOV Past **prog** (1)	SOV Non-past **prog** (1)	
	-e			-dene	-de	
p	tabe		pd → bd	tabdene	tabde	*touch*
t	dude		td → dd	duddene	dudde	*carry, take*
c	ije		cd → jd	ijdene	mor ijde	*take*
k	müge		kd → gd	mügdene	mügde	*catch*
r	yoore		rd	yoordene[23]	yoorde[24]	*see*
l	kïle		ld	—-	mor kïlde	*sharpen*
m	ṭeeme	ee → e	md	ṭemdene	ṭemde	*carry (on head)*
n	gaane		nd	—-	mor gaande	*gather (grass)*
ñ	taañe		ñd	—-	mor taañde	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋe	ii → i	ŋd	tiŋdene	tiŋde	*hear*
w	maawe		wd	—-	mor maawde	*look for*
y	ŋeeye		yd	—-	mor ŋeeyde	*crunch, chew*

The past towards verbs below have the suffix -**wene** and the non-past progressive towards verbs have the suffix -**wede**. These suffixes cause the sound changes shown below. The non-past (with normal direction) verbs are repeated for comparison. The root vowels in all towards verbs below

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[23] Or **yooddene**
[24] Or **yoodde**

become long, with the exception of **täbbene** 'touch'. Also, the vowels **a, aa** become **ää**, the vowels **e, ee** become **ii**, and the vowels **o, oo** become **uu**. Although the root vowels in some past and non-past progressive verbs shorten (such as in **ṭemde** 'carrying' and **tiŋde** 'hearing' above), root vowels do not shorten in progressive towards verbs (such as **ṭiimmede** 'carrying towards' and **tiiŋede** 'hearing towards' below).

SOV towards verbs

Final consonant	SOV Non-past (2)	Vow change	Cons change	SOV Past towards (1)	SOV Non-past prog towards (1)	
	-e			-wene	-wede	
p	tabe	a → ä	pw → bb	täbbene	täbbede	*touch*
t	dude	u → uu	tw → d	duudene	duudede	*carry, take*
c	ije	i → ii	cw → j	iijene	iijede	*take*
k	müge	ü → üü	kw → g	müügene	müügede	*catch*
r	yoore	oo → uu	rw → r	yuurene	yuurede	*see*
l	kïle	ï → ïï	lw → l	kïïlene	kïïlede	*sharpen*
m	ṭeeme	ee → ii	mw → mm	ṭiimmene	ṭiimmede	*carry (on head)*
n	gaane	aa → ää	nw → n	gäänene	gäänede	*gather (grass)*
ñ	taañe	aa → ää	ñw → ñ	tääñene	tääñede	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋe	ii	ŋw → ŋ	tiiŋene	tiiŋede	*hear*
w	maawe	aa → ää	ww → w	määwene	määwede	*look for*
y	ŋeeye	ee → ii	yw → y	ŋiiyene	ŋiiyede	*crunch, chew*

The past away verbs below have the suffix -**ñe** and the non-past away verbs have the suffix -**ce**. These suffixes cause the sound changes shown below. There are no root vowel changes for away verbs like there is for towards verbs.

SOV away verbs

Final cons	SOV Non-past (2)	Cons change	SOV Past away (1)	Cons change	SOV Non-past away (2)	
	-e		-ñe		-ce	
p	tabe	pñ → pp	tappe	pc → p	tape	*touch*
t	dude	tñ → tt	ḍutte	tc → t	dute	*carry, take*
c	ije	cñ → cc	icce	cc → c	ice	*take*
k	müge	kñ → kk	mükke	kc → k	müke	*catch*
r	yoore	rñ → tt	yootte	rc → t	yooṭe	*see*
l	kïle	lñ → tt	kïtte	lc → lj	kïlje	*sharpen*
m	ṭeeme	mñ → mm	ṭeemme (?)	mc → mj	ṭeemje	*carry (on head)*
n	gaane	nñ → nn	gaanne (?)	nc → nj	gaanje	*gather (grass)*
ñ	taañe	ññ	taaññe (?)	ñc → ñj	taañje	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋe	ŋñ → ŋŋ	tiiŋŋe (?)	ŋc → ŋj	tiiŋje	*hear*

| w | maawe | wñ → ññ | maaññe (?) | wc → jj | maajje | *look for* |
| y | ŋeeye | yñ → ññ | ŋeeññe (?) | yc → jj | ŋeejje | *crunch, chew* |

The past progressive away verbs below have the suffix -**ccene/-cene** and the non-past progressive away verbs have the suffix -**ccede/-cede**. A slash / means there is more than one suffix for the same way of using verbs, where one suffix is for verbs with some final consonants, and the other suffix is for verbs with other final consonants. For example, -**ccede** is the SOV non-past progressive away suffix for verbs with final consonants **p, t, c, k, r** and –**cede** is the SOV non-past progressive away suffix for verbs with the final consonants **l, m, n, ñ, ŋ, r, l, w, y**. Root vowels do not shorten in progressive away verbs (such as ṭeemjede 'carrying away' and tiiŋjede 'hearing away' below).

SOV progressive away verbs

Final cons	SOV Non-past (2)	Cons change	SOV Past prog **away** (1)	SOV Non-past prog **away** (1)	
	-e		-ccene/-cene	-ccede/-cede	
p	tabe	pcc → pc	tapcene (?)	tapcede	*touch*
t	dude	tcc → tc	ḍutcene (?)	dutcede	*carry, take*
c	ije	ccc → cc	iccene (?)	iccede	*take*
k	müge	kcc → kc	mükcene (?)	mükcede	*catch*
r	yoore	rcc → rc	yoorcene (?)	yoorcede	*see*
l	kïle	lc → lj	kïljene	kïljede	*sharpen*
m	ṭeeme	mc → mj	ṭeemjene	ṭeemjede	*carry (on head)*
n	gaane	nc → nj	gaanjene	gaanjede	*gather (grass)*
ñ	taañe	ñc → ñj	taañjene	taañjede	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋe	ŋc → ŋj	tiiŋjene	tiiŋjede	*hear*
w	maawe	wc → jj	maajjene	maajjede	*look for*
y	ŋeeye	yc → jj	ŋeejjene	ŋeejjede	*crunch, chew*

In the lesson *Verb form changes*, we learned that verbs with repeated action have the same suffixes as verbs with the action happening once. However, some verbs have a repeat form with long root vowel where **a, aa** becomes **ää**, the vowels **e, ee,** become **ii**, and **o, oo** becomes **uu** (such as **müŋŋe** 'caught once', **müüŋŋe** 'caught repeatedly'). But verbs with root-final **m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y** use the progressive forms for repeat verbs (such as **tiiŋŋe** 'heard once', **tiŋdene** 'heard repeatedly, was hearing') Below, past and non-past progressive forms are given for comparison with past repeat, non-past repeat and non-past progressive repeat forms.

SOV repeat verb forms

Final consonant	SOV Past (1)	Vow chang	SOV Past **repeat** (1)	SOV Non-past **repeat** (2)	SOV Non-past prog **repeat** (1)	SOV Non-past Prog (1)	[check all]
	-ne		-ne	-e	-de	-de	

p	jemme	e→ii	jiimme	jiibe	jiibde	jebde	*hit*[25]
t	dunne	u→uu	duunne	duude	duudde	dudde	*carry*
c	kañ ñe	a→ää	kääññe	kääje	kääjde	kajde	*bite*
k	münne	ü→üü	müünne	müüge	müügde	mügde	*catch*
r	erre	e→ii	iirre	iire	iirde	erde	*cut*
l	olle	o→uu	uulle	uule	uulde	olde	*push*
m	ṭeemme	ee→e	ṭemdene	ṭemde	ṭemde	ṭemde	*carry*
n	gaanne	—-		mor gaande	mor gaande	mor gaande	*gather*
ñ	taaññe	—-		mor taañde	mor taañde	mor taañde	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋŋe	ii→i	tiŋdene	tiŋde	tiŋde	tiŋde	*hear*
w	laawne		laawdene	laawde	laawde	laawde	*raise*
y	ŋeeyne	—-		mor ŋeeyde	mor ŋeeyde	mor ŋeeyde	*chew*

The sentences (3-4) have different time, but both have SOV verbs in a dependent clause that begins with **ogo** 'that'. The verb **tiiŋŋee** 'heard' in (3) with suffix –**nee** has past time, and the verb **tiiŋee** 'hears' in (4) with suffix -**ee** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

SOV	(3)	Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo** men gin tiiŋŋee.	*Chief told man **that** person heard thing.*
	(4)	Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo** men gin bi tiiŋee.	*Chief told m **that** person will hear thing.*

The dependent verbs below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentence (3) above. The past (non-dependent) verbs are shown for comparison. The only difference in forms is that SOV dependent verbs have a long final vowel (with falling tone) and non-dependent verbs have a short final vowel (with low tone).

SOV verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final consonant	SOV Past (1)	Cons change	SOV Past **subor** (3)	Vow change	Cons change	SOV Non-past prog **subor** (3)	
	-ne		-nee			-dee	
p	tamme	pn → mm	tammee		pd→ bd	tabdee	*touch*
t	dunne	tn → nn	dunnee		td → dd	duddee	*carry*
c	iññe	cn → ññ	iññee		cd → jd	mor ijdee	*take*
k	münne	kn → ŋŋ	müŋŋee		kd → gd	mügdee	*catch*
r	yoorre	rn → rr	yoorree		rd	yoordee	*see*
l	kïlle	ln → ll	kïllee		ld	mor kïldee	*sharpen*
m	ṭeemme	mn → mm	ṭeemmee	ee → e	md	ṭemdee	*carry*
n	gaanne	nn	gaannee		nd	mor gaandee	*gather*
ñ	taaññe	ñn → ññ	taaññee		ñd	mor taañdee	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋŋe	ŋn → ŋŋ	tiiŋŋee	ii → i	ŋd	tiŋdee	*hear*

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[25] The data for 'hit, bite, cut, push' are taken from Andersen (2018:112)

| w | maawne | wn | maawnee | wd | mor maawdee | *look for* |
| y | ŋeeyne | yn | ŋeeynee | yd | mor ŋeeydee | *crunch* |

Dependent towards verbs are shown below and compared with non-dependent towards verbs. Again the only difference between dependent and non-dependent forms is the final vowel.

SOV towards verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final consonant	SOV Past towards (1)	Cons change	SOV Past towards **subor** (3)	SOV Non-past prog towards **subor** (3)	
	-wene		-wenee	-wedee	
p	täbbene	pw → bb	täbbenee	täbbedee	*touch*
t	duudene	tw → d	duudenee	duudedee	*carry, take*
c	iijene	cw → j	iijenee	iijedee	*take*
k	müügene	kw → g	müügenee	müügedee	*catch*
r	yuurene	rw → r	yuurenee	yuuredee	*see*
l	kïïlene	lw → l	kïïlenee	kïïledee	*sharpen*
m	ṭiimmene	mw → mm	ṭiimmenee	ṭiimmedee	*carry (on head)*
n	gäänene	nw → n	gäänenee	gäänedee	*gather (grass)*
ñ	tääñene	ñw → ñ	tääñenee	tääñedee	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋene	ŋw → ŋ	tiiŋenee	tiiŋedee	*hear*
w	määwene	ww → w	määwenee	määwedee	*look for*
y	ŋiiyene	yw → y	ŋiiyenee	ŋiiyedee	*crunch, chew*

Dependent away verbs are shown below and compared with non-dependent away verbs.

SOV away verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final consonant	SOV Past away (1)	change	SOV Past away **subor** (3)	change	SOV Non-past prog away **subor** (3)	
	-ñe		-ñee		-ccedee/ -cedee	
p	tappe	pñ → pp	tappee	pcc → pc	tapcedee	*touch*
t	ḍutte	tñ → tt	ḍuttee	tcc → tc	dutcedee	*carry, take*
c	icce	cñ → cc	iccee	ccc → cc	iccedee	*take*
k	mükke	kñ → kk	mükkee	kcc → kc	mükcedee	*catch*
r	yooṭṭe	rñ → ṭṭ	yooṭṭee	rcc → rc	yoorcedee	*see*
l	kïṭṭe	lñ → ṭṭ	kïṭṭee	lc → lj	kïljedee	*sharpen*
m	ṭeemme (?)	mñ → mm	ṭeemmee (?)	mc → mj	ṭeemjedee	*carry (on head)*
n	gaanne (?)	nñ → nn	gaannee (?)	nc → nj	gaanjedee	*gather (grass)*
ñ	taaññe (?)	ññ	taaññee (?)	ñc → ñj	taañjedee	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋŋe (?)	ŋñ → ŋŋ	tiiŋŋee (?)	ŋc → ŋj	tiiŋjedee	*hear*

| w | maaññe (?) | wñ → ññ | maaññee (?) | wc → jj | maajjedee | look for |
| y | ŋeeññe (?) | yñ → ññ | ŋeeññee (?) | yc → jj | ŋeejjedee | crunch, chew |

Dependent repeat verbs with a long root vowel are shown below and compared with non-dependent repeat verbs. Verbs with root-final **m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y** use progressive forms for repeated actions.

SOV repeat verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	SOV Past repeat (1)	Vow chang	SOV Past repeat **subor** (3)	SOV Non-past repeat **subor** (4)	SOV Non-past prog repeat **subor** (3)	[check all]
	-ne		-nee	-ee	-dee	
p	jiim**me**	e→ii	jiim**mee**	jii**bee**	jii**bdee**	hit[26]
t	duun**ne**	u→uu	duun**nee**	duu**dee**	duu**ddee**	carry
c	kää**ññe**	a→ää	kää**ññee**	kää**jee**	kää**jdee**	bite
k	müü**ŋŋe**	ü→üü	müü**ŋŋee**	müü**gee**	müü**gdee**	catch
r	iir**re**	e→ii	iir**ree**	ii**ree**	iir**dee**	cut
l	uul**le**	o→uu	uul**lee**	uu**lee**	uul**dee**	push
m	ṭem**dene**	ee→e	ṭem**denee**	ṭem**dee**	ṭem**dee**	carry
n	—-		—-	mor gaan**dee**	mor gaan**dee**	gather
ñ	—-		—-	mor taañ**dee**	mor taañ**dee**	press
ŋ	tiŋ**dene**	ii→i	tiŋ**denee**	tiŋ**dee**	tiŋ**dee**	hear
w	laaw**dene**		laaw**denee**	laaw**dee**	laaw**dee**	raise
y	—-		—-	mor ŋeey**dee**	mor ŋeey**dee**	chew

As mentioned in the lesson *Verb form changes,* SOV verbs are used when both the subject and object are old topics and definite (a specific one of the noun known from a previous mention or otherwise known to the listeners). When the subject or object is the same as in the previous clause, the verb can be used without subject or object nouns (or pronouns).

In *Bääm 10-13,* the SOV verb **kiinne** 'told' has the subject **Gaaggaak** 'Raven' and the object **Bääm** 'Dove'. These nouns are mentioned in the previous clause, but not in the clause **aŋ kiinne ogo** 'he told him'. The same verb form **kiinne** 'told' is used in *Bääm 10-13* (without subject or object mentioned) as in *Leeñ 17* (with subject and object mentioned).

(Bääm 10-13) (Verb only)
Aŋ Bääm booc, aŋ yiipkene.
Aŋ yoori Gaaggaak, aŋ äätin Bääm nüütkene,
aŋ **kiinne** ogo, "Ŋana ïkï booju,
gin yaanna batta a len, a lämmä kä pet."

And Dove was afraid, and threw (a chick) down.
And Raven saw it and came and informed Dove,
*and he **told** him, "Don't you be afraid,*
that thing is not an axe, it is just mud."

However, when a subject or object is different than in the previous clause, or to show importance

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26 The data for 'hit, bite, cut, push' are taken from Andersen (2018:112)

to the subject or object, a noun is used.

In *Leeñ 17*, the SOV verb **kiinne** 'told' has the subject **Wiiw** 'Fox' and the object **Liik** 'Elephants'. These are the same subject and object as in the previous clauses, but the nouns are used to show importance to what Fox tells the Elephants, since it allows him to deceive them into eating the meat of their feet.

(Leeñ 15-17) (Subject and object nouns)

aŋ Leeñ yaana a caagon ye cïcam ŋaaljede ïñï,	*and the elephant that was fat, he peeled deeply,*
aŋ yaana bämaŋ ye, ken paaje ñaalok.	*and the one that was thin, he peeled shallowly.*
Aŋ Wiiw Liik **kiinne** ogo,	*And Fox told the Elephants,*
"Ääte nïïnkä kä ŋaṭükel."	*"Return in days that seven."*

Transitive SOV suffixes on verbs in stories are shown below with the following abbreviations:

SOV	subject-object-verb order	PT	past	RP	repeat
SVO	subject-verb-object order	PR	progressive	NR	normal
OVS	object-verb-subject order	NP	non-past	NR	here
MT	motion	DP	dependent	AW	away
ST	state				

Suffixes are in **bold**, and root verbs are shown below each suffix.

PT.SOV.NR		-ne	
Bääm 3	taac	**taaññe**	*he asked him*
Leeñ 4	taac	**taaññe**	*he asked him*
Bääm 12	kiin	**kiinne**	*he told him*
Bääm 24	kiin	Wiiw **kiinne**	*he told Fox*
Leeñ 17	kiin	Wiiw Liik **kiinne**	*Fox told Elephants*
Geel 34	kiin	Wiiw Geel **kiinne**	*Fox told Lion*
Bääm 21	mük	**müŋŋe**	*he caught him*
Bääm 48	mük	**müŋŋe**	*he caught him*
Geel 37	mük	winṇan **müŋŋe** kä	*he caught rope*
Bääm 30	kañ	**kaññe**	*he found him*
Leeñ 18	am	Wiiw yäŋgä Liik kïïgen **amme**	*Fox ate meat of Elephants' feet*
Leeñ 29	ur	**urre**	*he gathered it*
Leeñ 35	yoor	Liik **yoorre** mätï	*he saw Elephants drinking*
Leeñ 42	paac	yaana **paaññe** LOC	*who he peeled him*
Geel 8	tiiŋ	Wiiw jiik yaakka **tiiŋŋe**	*Fox heard these words*
Äwñä 5	er	**erre** pok ?	*he slaughtered it (in mouths?)*
Äwñä 14	koow	waak yeeke **koowne**	*he took his things*
Iin 14	paat	yaan yeene **paaṇṇe** ŋoygin	*he plastered anus of his bull*

155

Iin 22	ḍiil	Iin daa yore **ḍiille**	*Hyena **quieted** himself*

NP.SOV.NR	-e		
Bääm 8	en	Bääm **ene**	*he **was threatening** Dove*
Geel 3	en	meken muure **ene**	*he **was threatening** all others*
Bääm 29	maaw	Wiiw attä Gaaggaak **maawe**	*Fox went **looking for** Raven*
Leeñ 14	paac	Liik **paaje** LOC	*he **was peeling** Elephants*
Leeñ 16	paac	ken **paaje** ñaalok	*he **was peeling** it shallowly*
Leeñ 23	cük	Wiiw gäykä **cüge** LOC	*Fox **was moving** skins*
Geel 4	jep	**jiibe**	*he **was repeat. beating** them*
Geel 6	baat	Geel wäättana ṭulgu **baade**	*Lion **was loving** girls*
Iin 34	yal	mana daa ṭäkänä Jooŋ **yale** yok	*anyone God wants to **turn***
Iin 42	tül	I waŋge **tüle** week	*but **wipe** eyes crying*

NP.PR.SOV.NR	-de		
Bääm 14	kiin	Bääm **kiinde**	*he **was telling** Dove*
Bääm 53	kol	Wiiw **kolde**	*he **was refusing** Fox*
Geel 4	yäm	dürjï **yämde** LOC	*he **was threatening** youth*
Iin 59	ŋaap	I oja walkä **ŋaabde**	*and he **hung** gourds*

PT.SOV.TW	-wene		
Geel 40	laaw	ïnte **lääwene** ñaalok	*he **raised** his hand up*
Äwñä 13	miik	guuŋ yeene **miigene**	*he **found** his dog*

NP.PR.SOV.TW	-wede		
Geel 40	nüüt	**nüüdede** ïñï	*he **was showing** him down*

PT.SOV.AW	-ñe		
Bääm 18	jep	Wiiw len lämmä **jeppe** LOC	*Fox **beat** mud axe*
Iin 64	ḍek	wina Wiiw oja Geel **ḍekke**	*then Fox just **tied** Lion*
Bääm 41	tük	päk **tükke** ïñï	*he **sprinkled** out grain*
Leeñ 29	paat	**paatte** LOC	*he **spread** it*
Geel 12	ŋïïp	**ŋïïppe** LOC	*he **greeted** them*
Iin 18	taac	Geel **taacce**	*Lion **asked***
Iin 20	reec	ike mene **reecce** ŋïngïn	*he **denied** idea of his friend*
Iin 52	yoor	Wiiw oja **yooṭṭe**	*he just **saw** Fox*
Iin 58	luuk	Geel **luukke**	*Lion **replied** to him*

NP.SOV.AW	-ce		
Iin 23	ŋäy	i **ŋäjje**	*but he **knows***

NP.SOV.AW?	-cce		
Iin 49	tuc	mäkalaŋ ŋocce **tucce**	*person again **sent***

PT.PR.SOV.AW	-ccene/ -cene		
Yaam 21	wääk	määngä yooko yoken **wääkcene**	*so that our women **must rest** their bodies*
Leeñ 41	aay	**aajjene** <u>woo</u> wiiy	*they **crossed** <u>over</u> river*
Äwñä 4	maŋ	guuŋ yeene **mañjene** <u>ïñï</u> üntük	*he **left** his dog <u>outside</u>*
Äwñä 7	üül	kääl tüke **üüljene** ?	*it (something) **closed** door*
Iin 53	ṭol	i ḍoŋe **ṭoljene** LOC	*when he **changed** his direction*

NP.PR.SOV.AW	-ccede/ -cede		
Yaam 14	taañ	yïmgä **taañjede** <u>ïñï</u> LOC	*it **presses** blood <u>down</u>*
Leeñ 16	ŋaal	cïcam **ŋaaljede** <u>ïñï</u>	*knife **was peeling** it <u>down</u>*

PT.SOV.DP.NR	-nee		
Kiñuk 10	kiin	iin durñe menen **kiinnee**	*young hyena **told** other*
Kiñuk 19	kiin	iin mooye menen **kiinnee**	*older hyena **told** other*
Pïïṇṇä 6	kiin	me **kiinnee**	*he **told** people*
Pïïṇṇä 9	kiin	Pïïṇṇä ken me **kiinnee**	*Wasp **told** people*
Kiñuk 26	taac	iin durñe menen **taaññee**	*young hyena **asked** other*
Pïïṇṇä 10	mük	Pïïṇṇä **müŋŋee**	*he **caught** Wasp*
Pïïṇṇä 11	ḍek	**ḍeŋŋee** LOC?	*he **tied** him*
Pïïṇṇä 12	tuup ?	Pïïṇṇä **tuummee**	*he **cursed** Wasp*

NP.SOV.DP.NR	-ee		
Pïïṇṇä 14	mük	**müügee** ko	*he **catches** it ?*
Iin 25	jaay	wääna Iin yoorree da batta **jaayee**	*when Hyena saw he not **speak***

NP.PR.SOV.DP.NR	-dee		
Kiñuk 34	kiin	iin durñe menen **kiindee**	*young hyena **told** other*

PT.SOV.DP.TW	-wenee		
Pïïṇṇä 7	wäät	men **wäädenee** jïkkïï me	*he **found** people burried person*

PT.SOV.DP.AW	-ñee		
Kiñuk 3	büük	**büükkee** LOC	*he **heaped** it*
Kiñuk 23	rääk	killäŋ **rääkkee** jï <u>woo</u>	*he **cleaned** <u>out</u> whistle*
Kiñuk 25	puuc	killäŋ **puuccee** küüttee	*he **tried** to blow whistle*
Kiñuk 25	küüt	killäŋ puuccee **küüttee**	*he tried to **blow** whistle*
Kiñuk 29	küüt	men killäŋ **küüttee**	*person **blew** whistle*

Kiñuk 32	mïït	men killäŋ **mïttee** <u>ïñï</u>	*person **blew** whistle <u>down</u>*
NP.SOV.DP.AW	-cee		
Iin 7	ṭäk	da kä **ṭäkee** kä giidä	*that he with **wanting** with birth*
Iin 11	ṭäk	i **ṭäkee** kä ärrä naañ menen	*but he **wanted** with take cow*
PT.PR.SOV.DP.AW	-ccenee /-cenee		
Kiñuk 4	tuñ	ḍoŋe **tuñjenee** LOC	*he **burned** himself*
NP.PR.SOV.DP.AW	-ccedee /-cedee		
Iin 50	iiŋ	ike **iiŋcedee** buruŋgu	*he **put on** clothes?*

Exercise 28

Underline twice all SOV verbs. Underline once subjects and objects of these verbs.

(Yaam 21)
Näŋko <u>määngä</u> yooko <u>yoken</u>
<u>**wääkcene**</u> woo,

Because of this, <u>our women</u> (should) <u>rest</u> their bodies.

(Kiñuk 10)
Aŋ iin durñe menen kiinnee ogo,
"Ŋeeyjï ko ïw."

And the young hyena said to the other, "We can eat it chared."

(Kiñuk 28-29)
Aŋ wääna wükcïnïï ko ko ḍeeḍaŋ ye,
men killäŋ ŋoccee küüttee
tügge ko yewwe ogo, *tiit tiit!*

And when they went a little further, the person again blew the whistle two times, tweet tweet!

(Bääm 18)
Aŋ Wiiw len lämmä jeppe ti jaan ti,
aŋ jiccin woo.

And Fox beat the mud axe on the tree, then ran away.

(Leeñ 17-18)
Aŋ Wiiw Liik kiinne ogo,
"Ääte nïïnkä kä ŋaṭükel."
Aŋ Wiiw yäŋgä Liik kïïgen amme.

And Fox told the Elephants, "Return in days that seven." And Fox ate the meat of the elephants' feet.

(Leeñ 23-24)
Aŋ Wiiw gäykä cüge yokïn,
aŋ kuuyin woo, aŋ yore jecce woo.

And Fox was moving the skins of their bodies, and jumped out, and he ran away.

(Geel 6)
Aŋ Geel wäättana ṭulgu baade pare küüttaŋ.

And afterwards, Lion was only one loving girls.

(Geel 8)
Aŋ Wiiw jiik yaakka tiiŋŋe,   *And Fox heard about those words,*
(Geel 34)
Aŋ Wiiw Geel kiinne ogo,   *And Fox told Lion,*
(Piïŋŋä 9)
Piïŋŋä ken me kiinnee ogo,   *Wasp told the people that*
ïkï ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan.   *you said (to do) this.*

Transitive OVS verb suffixes

In the lesson *Verb form changes*, we learned that OVS verb forms are the same as SOV forms, except when their subjects and objects are nouns. In this lesson, we only learn about OVS verb forms for noun subjects and objects. Below are suffixes of OVS verbs with changes for time, type of clause, and direction. Next, we will see examples of verbs with these suffixes and how the suffixes change with the last root letters.

Transitive OVS suffixes

Order	Clause	Direction	Past	Non-past	Past Progressive	Non-past Progressive
OVS	main	normal	-i	-kä	-di	-ttä
		towards	-wi	-änä	-wini (?)	-pätä/-ätä
		away	-ci	-cänä	-ccini/-cini (?)	-ccätä
	depend	normal	-nïï	-ïï	-dïnïï (?)	-dïï
		towards	-wïnïï	-wïï	-wïnïï (?)	-wïdïï
		away	-ñïï	-ccïï/-cïï	-ccïnïï/-cïnïï	-ccïdïï/-cïdïï

The sentences (5-6) have different time, but both have OVS verbs in a main clause. The verb **tiiŋi** 'heard' in (5) with suffix –**i** has past time, and the verb **tiiŋä** 'hears' in (6) with suffix –**kä** has non-past time.

OVS   (5)   Aŋ gin <u>tiiŋi</u> men.   *Person <u>heard</u> thing.*
         (6)   Aŋ gin bi <u>tiiŋä</u> men.   *Person will <u>hear</u> thing.*

The OVS verbs below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentences (5-6) above. The past verbs have the suffix -**i** and the non-past verbs have the suffix -**kä**. These suffixes cause the sound changes shown below in bold.

OVS verbs

Final cons	Cons change	OVS Past (5)	Cons change	OVS Non-past (6)	
		-i		-kä	

159

p	p → b	tabi	pk → p	tapä	*touch*
t	t → d	dudi	tk → t	dutu	*carry, take*
c	c → j	iji	ck → c	icä	*take*
k	k → g	mügï	kk → k	mükü	*catch*
r	r	yoori	rk → rg	yoorgu	*see*
l	l	kïlï	lk → lg	kïlgä	*sharpen*
m	m	ṭeemi	mk → mg	ṭeemgä	*carry*
n	n	gaani	nk → ng	gaangä	*gather (grass)*
ñ	ñ	taañi	ñk → ñg	taañgä	*press*
ŋ	ŋ	tiiŋi	ŋk → ŋg	tiiŋgä	*hear*
w	w	maawi	wk → wg	maawgä	*look for*
y	y	ŋeeyi	yk → yg	ŋeeygä	*chew, crunch*

As with SOV verbs, some OVS verbs do not have a form that can be used for past progressive action. These have a dash —— in the chart below. Some of the non-past progressive verbs can only be said after **mor** 'just, still', and then have the meaning of recent past. The non-past (non-progressive) verbs are repeated for comparison. The root vowels in the progressive forms **ṭemtä** 'carrying' and **tiŋtä** 'hearing' are shortened from long vowels in the non-progressive forms.

OVS progressive verbs

Final cons	OVS Past (5)	Vow change	Cons change	OVS Past **prog** (5)	Cons change	OVS Non-past **prog** (5)	
	-i			**-di**		**-ttä**	
p	tabi		pd→ bd	tabdi	ptt → pt	taptä	*touch*
t	dudi		td → dd	duddi	ttt → tt	duttu	*carry, take*
c	iji		cd → jd	ijdi	ctt → ct	mor ictä	*take*
k	mügï		kd → gd	mügdï	ktt → kt	müktü	*catch*
r	yoori		rd → dd	yuurdi	rtt → tt,rt	yoottu	*see*
l	kïlï		ld	——	ltt→ lt	mor kïltä	*sharpen*
m	ṭeemi	ee → e	md	ṭemdi	mtt → mt	ṭemtä	*carry*
n	gaani		nd	gaandi	ntt → nt	mor gaantä	*gather (grass)*
ñ	taañi		ñd	——	ñtt → ñt	mor taañtä	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋi	ii → i	ŋd	tiŋdi	ŋtt → ŋt	tiŋtä	*hear*
w	maawi		wd	——	wtt → wt	mor maawtä	*look for*
y	ŋeeyi		yd	——	ytt → yt	mor ŋeeytä	*chew, crunch*

Below, towards verbs are compared with past verbs (with normal direction). The root vowels in all towards verbs below become long, with the exception of **täbbene** 'touch'. Also, the vowels **a, aa** become **ää**, the vowels **e, ee** become **ii,** and the vowels **o, oo** become **uu.**

OVS towards verbs

Final	OVS		OVS	OVS	

cons	Past (5)	Vow change	Cons change	Past towards (5)	Cons change	Non-past towards (6)	
	-i			-wi		-änä	
p	tabi	a → ä	pw → bb	täbbi	p → b	täbänä	*touch*
t	dudi	u → uu	tw → d	duudi	t → d	duudunu	*carry, take*
c	iji	i → ii	cw → j	iiji	c → j	iijänä	*take*
k	mügï	ü → üü	kw → g	müügï	k → g	müügünü	*catch*
r	yoori	oo → uu	rw → r	yuuri	r	yuurunu	*see*
l	kïlï	ï → ïï	lw → l	kïïlï	l	kïïlänä	*sharpen*
m	ṭeemi	ee → ii	mw → mm	ṭiimmi	m	ṭiimänä	*carry*
n	gaani	aa → ää	nw → n	gääni	n	gäänänä	*gather*
ñ	taañi	aa → ää	ñw → ñ	tääñi	ñ	tääñänä	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋi	ii	ŋw → ŋ	tiiŋi	ŋ	tiiŋänä	*hear*
w	maawi	aa → ää	ww → w	määwi	w	määwänä	*look for*
y	ŋeeyi	ee → ii	yw → y	ŋiiyi	y	ŋiiyänä	*crunch*

Below, progressive towards verbs are compared with past verbs and have the same root vowel changes as above.

OVS progressive towards verbs

Final cons	OVS Past (5)	Vow change	Cons change	OVS Past prog towards (5)	Cons change	OVS Non-past prog towards (5)	
	-i			-wini (?)		-pätä/-ätä	
p	tabi	a → ä	pw → bb	täbbini	pp → pp	täppätä	*touch*
t	dudi	u → uu	tw → d	duudini	tp → t	duututu	*carry*
c	iji	i → ii	cw → j	iijini	cp → c	iicätä	*take*
k	mügï	ü → üü	kw → g	müügïnï	kp → k	müükütü	*catch*
r	yoori	oo → uu	rw → r	yuurini	rp → r, ṭ	yuurutu	*see*
l	kïlï	ï → ïï	lw → l	kïïlïnï	lp → l, ṭ	kïïlätä	*sharpen*
m	ṭeemi	ee → ii	mw → mm	ṭiimmini	mp → mm	ṭiimmätä	*carry*
n	gaani	aa → ää	nw → n	gäänini	n	gäänätä	*gather*
ñ	taañi	aa → ää	ñw → ñ	tääñini	ñ	tääñätä	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋi	ii	ŋw → ŋ	tiiŋini	ŋ	tiiŋätä	*hear*
w	maawi	aa → ää	ww → w	määwini	w	määwätä	*look for*
y	ŋeeyi	ee → ii	yw → y	ŋiiyini	y	ŋiiyätä	*crunch*

Below, away verbs are compared with past verbs. There are no root vowel changes for away verbs.

OVS away verbs

Final cons	OVS Past (5)	Cons	OVS Past	OVS Non-past	Cons	OVS Non-past	

		change	away (5)	away (6)	change	prog away (5)	
	-i		-ci	-cänä		-ccätä	
p	tabi	pc → p	tapi	tapänä	pcc → pc	tapcätä	*touch*
t	dudi	tc → t	duti	dutunu	tcc → tc	dutcutu	*carry, take*
c	iji	cc → c	ici	icänä	ccc → cc	iccätä	*take*
k	mügï	kc → k	mükï	mükünü	kcc → kc	mükcütü	*catch*
r	yoori	rc → ṭ	yooṭi	yooṭunu	rcc → rc	yoorcutu	*see*
l	kïlï	lc → lj	kïljï	kïljänä	lcc→ lc	kïlcätä	*sharpen*
m	ṭeemi	mc → mj	ṭeemji	ṭeemjänä	mcc → mc	ṭeemcätä	*carry (on head)*
n	gaani	nc → nj	gaanji	gaanjänä	ncc → nc	gaancätä	*gather (grass)*
ñ	taañi	ñc → ñj	taañji	taañjänä	ñcc → ñc	taañcätä	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋi	ŋc → ŋj	tiiŋji	tiiŋjänä	ŋcc → ŋc	tiiŋcätä	*hear*
w	maawi	wc → jj	maajji	maajjänä	wcc → cc	maaccätä	*look for*
y	ŋeeyi	yc → jj	ŋeejji	ŋeejjänä	ycc → cc	ŋeeccätä	*crunch, chew*

OVS repeat verbs are shown below in comparison with OVS past and non-past progressive verbs. A repeat verb form has a long root vowel where **a, aa** becomes **ää,** **e, ee,** becomes **ii,** and **o, oo** becomes **uu** (such as **mügï** 'caught once', **müügï** 'caught repeatedly'). Verbs with root-final **m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y** use the progressive forms for repeat verbs (such as **tiiŋi** 'heard once', **tiŋdi** 'heard repeatedly, was hearing').

OVS repeat verbs

Final cons	OVS Past (5)	Vow chang	OVS Past repeat (5)	OVS Non-past repeat (6)	OVS Non-past prog repeat (5)	OVS Non-past Prog (5)	[check all]
	-i		-i	-kä	-ttä	-ttä	
p	jebi	e→ii	jiibi	jiipä	jiiptä	jeptä	*hit*[27]
t	dudi	u→uu	duudi	duutu	duuttu	duttu	*carry*
c	kaji	a→ää	kääji	käácä	kääctä	kactä	*bite*
k	mügï	ü→üü	müügï	müükü	müüktü	müktü	*catch*
r	eri	e→ii	iiri	iirgä	iirtä	ertä	*cut*
l	oli	o→uu	uuli	uulgu	uultu	oltu	*push*
m	ṭeemi	ee→e	ṭemdi	ṭemtä	ṭemtä	ṭemtä	*carry*
n	gaani		gaandi	mor gaantä	mor gaantä	mor gaantä	*gather*
ñ	taañi		—-	mor taañtä	mor taañtä	mor taañtä	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋi	ii→i	tiŋdi	tiŋtä	tiŋtä	tiŋtä	*hear*
w	laawi		—-	laawtä	laawtä	laawtä	*raise*
y	ŋeeyi		—-	mor ŋeeytä	mor ŋeeytä	mor ŋeeytä	*chew*

The sentences (7-8) have different time, but both have OVS verbs in a dependent clause that begins with **ogo** 'that'. The verb **tïiŋŋïï** 'heard' in (7) with suffix –**nïï** has past time, and the verb **tïŋïï** 'will hear' in (8) with suffix –**ïï** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

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[27] The data for 'hit, bite, cut, push' are taken from Andersen (2018:112)

OVS (7)   Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo**, gin ẗiiŋ̈ïï men.   *Chief told m **that**, person <u>heard</u> thing.*
     (8)   Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo**, gin bi ẗiiŋ̈ïï men.   *Ch told m **that**, person will <u>hear</u> thing.*

Dependent past and non-past progressive verbs are shown below. Past (non-dependent) verbs are shown for comparison. The heavy dependent suffixes -**nïï** and -**dïï** cause the roots with vowels **i, ii** or **u, uu** to become heavy.

OVS verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	OVS Past (5)	Cons change	OVS Past subor (7)	Vow change	Cons change	OVS Non-past prog subor (7)	
	-i		-nïï			-dïï	
p	tabi	pn → mm	tammïï		pd→ bd	tabdïï	*touch*
t	dudi	tn → ṉṉ	dünṉïï		td → dd	düddïï	*carry*
c	iji	cn → ññ	iññïï		cd → jd	mor ïjdïï	*take*
k	mügï	kn → ŋŋ	münŋïï		kd → gd	mügdïï	*catch*
r	yoori	rn → rr	yoorrïï		rd	yooddïï	*see*
l	kïlï	ln → ll	killïï		ld	mor kïldïï	*sharpen*
m	ṭeemi	mn → mm	ṭeemmïï	ee → e	md	ṭemdïï	*carry*
n	gaani	nn	gaannïï		nd	mor gaandïï	*gather*
ñ	taañi	ñn → ññ	taaññïï		ñd	mor taañdïï	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋi	ŋn → ŋŋ	ẗiiŋŋïï	ii → i	ŋd	tiŋdïï	*hear*
w	maawi	wn	maawnïï		wd	mor maawdïï	*look for*
y	ŋeeyi	yn	ŋeeynïï		yd	mor ŋeeydïï	*crunch*

Dependent towards verbs are shown below and compared with non-dependent towards verbs. Again the heavy dependent suffixes cause the roots with vowels **i, ii** or **u, uu** to become heavy.

OVS towards verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	OVS Past towards (5)	Cons change	OVS Past towards subor (7)	OVS Non-past prog towards subor (7)	
	-wi		-wïnïï	-wïdïï	
p	täbbi	pw → bb	täbbïnïï	täbbïdïï	*touch*
t	duudi	tw → d	düüdïnïï	düüdïdïï	*carry, take*
c	iiji	cw → j	iijïnïï	iijïdïï	*take*
k	müügï	kw → g	müügïnïï	müügïdïï	*catch*
r	yuuri	rw → r	yüürïnïï	yüürïdïï	*see*
l	kïïlï	lw → l	kïïlïnïï	kïïlïdïï	*sharpen*
m	ṭiimmi	mw → mm	ṭiimmïnïï	ṭiimmïdïï	*carry (on head)*
n	gääni	nw → n	gäänïnïï	gäänïdïï	*gather (grass)*
ñ	tääñi	ñw → ñ	tääñïnïï	tääñïdïï	*press*

ŋ	tiiŋi	ŋw → ŋ	tïïŋinïï	tïïŋidïï	hear
w	määwi	ww → w	määwinïï	määwidïï	look for
y	ŋiiyi	yw → y	ŋïïyinïï	ŋïïyidïï	crunch, chew

Dependent away verbs are shown below and compared with non-dependent away verbs.

OVS away verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	OVS Past **away** (5)	Cons change	OVS Past away **subor** (7)	Cons change	OVS Non-past away **subor** (8)	
	-ci		-ñïï		-ccïï/-cïï	
p	tapi	pñ → pp	tappïï	pcc → pc	tapcï	*touch*
t	duti	tñ → tt	düttïï	tcc → tc	dütcï	*carry, take*
c	ici	cñ → cc	ïccïï	ccc → cc	ïccï	*take*
k	mükï	kñ → kk	mükkïï	kcc → kc	mükcï	*catch*
r	yooṭi	rñ → ṭṭ	yooṭṭïï	rcc → rc	yoorcï	*see*
l	kïljï	lñ → ṭṭ	kïṭṭïï	lcc → lc	kïlcï	*sharpen*
m	ṭeemji	mñ → mm	ṭeemmïï (?)	mc → mj	ṭeemjïï	*carry (on head)*
n	gaanji	nñ → nn	gaannïï (?)	nc → nj	gaanjïï	*gather (grass)*
ñ	taañji	ññ	taaññïï (?)	ñc → ñj	taañjïï	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋji	ŋñ → ŋŋ	tïïŋŋïï (?)	ŋc → ŋj	tïïŋjïï	*hear*
w	maajji	wñ → ññ	maaññïï (?)	wc → jj	maajjïï	*look for*
y	ŋeejji	yñ → ññ	ŋeeññïï (?)	yc → jj	ŋeejjïï	*crunch, chew*

Dependent progressive away verbs are shown below and compared with non-dependent away verbs.

OVS progressive away verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	OVS Non-past prog away (5)	Cons change	OVS Past prog away **subor** (7)	OVS Non-past prog away **subor** 7)	
	-ccätä		-ccïnïï/ -cïnïï	-ccïdïï/ -cïdïï	
p	tapcätä	pcc → pc	tapcïnïï (?)	tapcïdïï	*touch*
t	dutcutu	tcc → tc	dütcïnïï (?)	dütcïdïï	*carry, take*
c	iccätä	ccc → cc	ïccïnïï (?)	ïccïdïï	*take*
k	mükcütü	kcc → kc	mükcïnïï (?)	mükcïdïï	*catch*
r	yoorcutu	rcc → rc	yoorcïnïï (?)	yoorcïdïï	*see*
l	kïlcätä	lcc → lc	kïlcïnïï (?)	kïlcïdïï	*sharpen*
m	ṭeemcätä	mc → mj	ṭeemjïnïï	ṭeemjïdïï	*carry (on head)*
n	gaancätä	nc → nj	gaanjïnïï	gaanjïdïï	*gather (grass)*
ñ	taañcätä	ñc → ñj	taañjïnïï	taañjïdïï	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋcätä	ŋc → ŋj	tïïŋjïnïï	tïïŋjïdïï	*hear*

w	maaccätä	wc → jj	maajjïnïï	maajjïdïï	look for
y	ŋeeccätä	yc → jj	ŋeejjïnïï	ŋeejjïdïï	crunch, chew

Dependent repeat verbs with a long root vowel are shown below and compared with non-dependent repeat verbs. Verbs with root-final **m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y** use the progressive forms for repeated actions. Heavy dependent suffixes cause the roots with vowels **i, ii** or **u, uu** to become heavy.

OVS repeat verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	OVS Past repeat (5)	Vow chang	Cons change	OVS Past repeat **subor** (7)	OVS Non-past repeat **subor** (8)	OVS Non-past prog repeat **subor** (7)	[check all]
	-i			-nïï	-ïï	-dïï	
p	jiibi	e→ii	pn → mm	jïïmmïï	jïïbïï	jïïbdïï	*hit*[28]
t	duudi	u→uu	tn → nn	düünnïï	düüdïï	düüddïï	*carry*
c	kääji	a→ää	cn → ññ	kääññïï	kääjïï	kääjdïï	*bite*
k	müügï	ü→üü	kn → ŋŋ	müüŋŋïï	müügïï	müügdïï	*catch*
r	iiri	e→ii	rn → rr	ïïrrïï	ïïrïï	ïïddïï	*cut*
l	uuli	o→uu	ln → ll	üüllïï	üülïï	üüldïï	*push*
m	ṭemdi	ee→e		ṭemdïnïï	ṭemdïï	ṭemdïï	*carry*
n	gaandi			gaandïnïï	mor gaandïï	mor gaandïï	*gather*
ñ	——			——	mor taañdïï	mor taañdïï	*press*
ŋ	tiŋdi	ii→i		tïŋdïnïï	tiŋdïï	tiŋdïï	*hear*
w	—-			—-	mor maawdïï	mor maawdïï	*raise*
y	——			——	mor ŋeeydïï	mor ŋeeydïï	*chew*

As mentioned in the lesson *Verb form changes,* OVS verbs are used when the subject is a new topic (mentioned for the first time or what is currently talked about) or indefinite (any one of the noun and not a specific one in the mind of the listeners). When a subject is different than in the previous clause, or to show importance to the subject or object, a noun is used in the OVS clause. [check]

In *Bääm 21-23*, **Gaaggaak** 'Raven' is the subject of the OVS non-past progressive verb **kiintä** 'is telling him'. The OVS verb **kiintä** shows that the subject is the topic and what is currently talked about. The subject noun **Gaaggaak** is used because it is a different subject than in the previous clause.

(Bääm 21-23) (different subject is topic)

Aŋ Gaaggaak kuuyin ïñï, aŋ müŋŋe.	*And Raven flew down and he (Fox) caught him.*
Aŋ **kiintä** Gaaggaak ogo,	*And Raven **was telling** him,*
"Ŋana ika kajdaa, yeepca ñaalok."	*"Don't bite me, throw me up."*

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[28] The data for 'hit, bite, cut, push' are taken from Andersen (2018:112)

Aŋ **yeepi** ñaalok <u>Wiiw</u>, aŋ por ḍimmin ïñï.   *And Fox **threw** him up, and he just fell down.*

Also in *Bääm 21-23*, **Wiiw** 'Fox' is the subject of the OVS past verb **yeepi** 'threw'. This OVS verb shows that **Wiiw** what is currently talked about, again a different subject than the previous clause.

Transitive OVS suffixes on verbs in stories are shown below in **bold**, and root verbs are shown below each suffix.

PT.OVS.NR	-i		
Bääm 4	kiin	**kiini** Bääm	*Dove **told** him*
Bääm 32	kiin	**kiini** Gaaggaak	*Raven **told** him*
Bääm 33	kiin	**kiini** Wiiw	*Fox **told** him*
Leeñ 7	kiin	**kiini** Leeñ	*Elephant **told** him*
Geel 32	kiin	**kiini** Geel	*Lion **told** him*
Leeñ 19	kiin	Wiiw **kiini**	*they **told** Fox*
Leeñ 37	kiin	**kiini**	*they **told** him*
Bääm 11	yoor	**yoori** Gaaggaak	*raven **saw** it*
Bääm 42	yoor	**yoori** Gaaggaak	*raven **saw** it*
Leeñ 29	yoor	**yoori** Liik	*Elephants **saw** him*
Bääm 59	taac	**taaji** Wiiw	*Fox **asked** him*
Leeñ 30	taac	**taaji**	*they **asked** him*
Leeñ 4	tiiŋ	**tiiŋi** Leeñ	*Elephant **heard** him*
Leeñ 6	luuk	**luugi** Wiiw	*Fox **replied** to him*
Geel 13	luuk	**luugi** ṭulgu	*girls **replied** to him*

NP.OVS.NR	-kä		
Yaam 1	ñor	kimkä ken **ñorgu** me	*people **bend** branches*
Bääm 27	kir	**kirgä** Wiiw	*Fox **insults** him*
Leeñ 11	bäär	**bäärgä**	*they **call** him*
Leeñ 13	bäär	**bäärgä** Wiiw	*Fox **calls** them*
Iin 54	bäär	**bäärgä** Geel	*Lion **calls** him*
Geel 20	boon	**boongu** jok ṭulgu	*heart of girls **doubt** him*
Geel 44	pam	ïnken **pamgä**	*they **clap** their hands*
Äwñä 13	keey	ike **keeygä** <u>woo</u>	*he **waited for** him <u>outside</u>*
Iin 38	är	aŋ **ärgä** Iin ogo	*and Hyena is **forcing** it that*

NP.PR.OVS.NR	-ttä		
Yaam 6	ṭeem	a daa **ṭemtä**	*that they **carry** them*
Yaam 11	ṭeem	naana **ṭemtä** määngä LOC	*when women **carry** it*
Bääm 22	kiin	**kiintä** Gaaggaak	*Raven **tells** him*
Geel 20	kiin	**kiintä**	*they **say** to him*

PT.OVS.AW	-ci		

Bääm 23	yeep	**yeepi** <u>naalok</u> Wiiw	*Fox **threw** him <u>up</u>*
Bääm 25	yeep	**yeepi** Wiiw	*Fox **threw** him*
Geel 38	yoor	**yooṭi** ṭulgu	*girls **saw** him*
Äwñä Int	üül	Albe **üüljï** tuggïn kääl äwñä	*cave of porcupine **traps** Albe*
Iin 57	taac	**taaci** Geel	*Lion **asked** him*

NP.OVS.AW?	-jï		
Bääm 64	taac	**taajjï** Wiiw	*Fox **would ask** him*
Iin 70	är	<u>ogo</u> waak me ŋana **ärjï** me	*<u>that</u> people not **take** peoples' things*

NP.OVS.AW	-cänä		
Iin 5	yät	daa **yätänä** menen	*the other would **help** (him)*
Iin 29	ook	jiik yaakka yoken **ookunu**	*they will **solve** these matters*
Iin 34	ṭäk	mana daa **ṭäkänä** Jooŋ yale yok	*anyone God **wants** to change*
Iin 63	ŋäy	Oon kalaŋ por **ŋäjjänä** me	*people really **knows** certain person*

NP.OVS.AW?	-jänä		
Yaam 2	ḍek	**ḍiigjänä** me <u>ĩñï</u>	*people **rep. tie** them <u>down</u>*

NP.PR.OVS.AW	-ccätä		
Yaam 8	ŋaap	äṭäŋgä **ŋaapcätä** me LOC	*people **hang** chicken*

PT.OVS.DP.NR	-nïï		
Kiñuk 7	kañ	men **kaññïï** LOC	*they **found** person*
Kiñuk 13	dut	**düṇṇïï**	*they **lifted** him*
Kiñuk 21	dut	**düṇṇïï** iin durñe LOC	*young hyena **carried** him*
Kiñuk 13	ic	**ïññïï**	*they **took** him*
Kiñuk 27	kiin	**kïïnnïï** menen	*the other **told** him*
Kiñuk 35	kiin	**kïïnnïï** menen	*the other **told** him*
Pïïṇṇä 8	kiin	**kïïnnïï** me	*people **told** him*
Pïïṇṇä 3	kiin	**kïïnnïï** Jooŋ	*God **told** him*

NP.OVS.DP.NR	-ïï (wïï)		
Kiñuk 4	aar	**aarïï** maañ	*fire **burned** him*

NP.PR.OVS.DP.NR	-dïï		
Bääm 67	kañ	<u>ogo</u> waak <u>a</u> **kañdïï** me ye	*<u>that</u> things <u>as</u> people **find***

PT.OVS.DP.TW	-wïnïï		
Kiñuk 8	dut	**düüḍinïï** <u>woo</u>	*they **carried** him <u>out</u>*
Kiñuk 18	dut	**düüḍinïï** <u>woo</u>	*they **lifted** him <u>out</u>*

PT.OVS.DP.AW	-ñïï		
Kiñuk 13	büüc	**büüccïï** LOC	*they **soaked** him*
Kiñuk 33	yeep	**yeeppïï** <u>woo</u> iygä	*hyenas **threw** him off*
Pïïṇṇä 2	tuc	pïïṇṇä **ken tüccïï** me	*people **sent** Wasp*
Pïïṇṇä 7	jïk	men wäädenee **jïkkïï** me	*he found people **burried** person*

NP.OVS.DP.AW	-ccïï/-cïï		
Pïïṇṇä 6	jïk	men **jïkcï** me <u>ïñï</u>	*people **should bury** person <u>down</u>*

Although nearly all transitive verbs have either SOV, SVO or OVS order, the following verb seems to have VSO order.

In *Yaam 3,* the verb **paargä** 'wrap' has the suffix –**kä** which is used for non-past OVS verbs with normal direction. However, in this sentence, it has VSO word order.

NP.VSO.NR	-kä		
Yaam 3	paar	**paargä** me yok	*people **wrap** body*

Exercise 29

<u>Underline twice</u> all OVS verbs. <u>Underline once</u> subjects and objects of these verbs.

(Yaam 1)
Yaam a koy tïṇṇä ke ḍogleñ, *Basket is red tree or another tree,*
<u>kimkä</u> ken <u>**ñorgu**</u> <u>me</u>. *<u>people</u> are <u>**bending**</u> <u>branches</u> (to make them).*
(Yaam 2)
Aŋ ḍiigjänä me ïñï kä wingä, *People tie them down with ropes*
aŋ näkä nïïnkä kä ḍäk. *for days that three.*
(Yaam 7-8)
äṭäŋgä ŋaapcätä me yaam ṭuŋke ti. *people hang chickens on the horns of the basket.*
(Yaam 11-12)
naana ṭemtä määngä witken ti, *when women carry it on their heads,*
(Kiñuk 4)
Aŋ aarïï maañ kockon, aŋ ïwno. *And fire burned him badly, he became chared.*
(Kiñuk 21)
Aŋ düṇṇïï iin durñe ḍoŋe ti, *And young hyena carried him on his neck,*
(Kiñuk 27)
Aŋ kïïnnïï menen ogo, *And the other told him,*
"A ḍïïn ken week jaan wic." *"It is a bird crying up in a tree."*
(Kiñuk 33)
Aŋ yeeppïï woo iygä ogo gom, *And the hyenas threw off (person) thud,*

aŋ iygä buurcono woo,	*and the hyenas ran away,*
(Bääm 4)	
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo,	*And Dove told him,*
"Ika tïïcä merkä yeeki."	*"I am caring for my children."*
(Bääm 10-13)	
Aŋ Bääm booc, aŋ yiipkene.	*And Dove was afraid, and threw (a chick) down.*
Aŋ yoori Gaaggaak, aŋ äätin Bääm nüütkene.	*And Raven saw it and came and informed Dove.*
(Bääm 22)	
Aŋ kiintä Gaaggaak ogo,	*And Raven was telling him,*
"Ŋana ika kajdaa, yeepca ñaalok."	*"Don't bite me, throw me up."*
(Bääm 23)	
Aŋ yeepi ñaalok Wiiw, aŋ por ḍimmin ïñï.	*And Fox threw him up, and he just fell down.*
(Bääm 27)	
Aŋ kirgä Wiiw ogo, *miic, miic, miic.*	*And Fox was insulting him, arf, arf, arf.*
(Bääm 59)	
Aŋ taaji Wiiw ogo, "Aŋ ïkïï bi atï ogoo?"	*And Fox asked him, "How will we go?"*
(Bääm 64)	
Aŋ yoku taajjï Wiiw,	*And Fox wanted to ask him (something),*
aŋ äkkene, aŋ Bääm pääynä.	*and released him, and Dove flew away.*
(Bääm 66-67)	
Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï ogo,	*Also story is this, tells us that, (when)*
waak a kañdïï me ye, ŋana boonjï me.	*people find things, should be enough for people.*
(Leeñ 4)	
Aŋ tiiŋi Leeñ, aŋ taaññe ogo,	*And Elephant heard him, and asked him,*
(Leeñ 6)	
Aŋ luugi Wiiw ogo, "A waygä kïïgï."	*Fox replied to him, "These are shoes of feet."*
(Leeñ 13)	
Aŋ bäärgä Wiiw ogo, "Mäŋkalaŋ käjä äräk."	*Fox was calling, "Someone may enter inside."*
(Geel 20)	
Aŋ boongu jok ṭulgu,	*And the girls were doubting him,*
aŋ kiintä ogo, "Ocu, ocu, ocu!	*and they were saying to him, "Ha, ha, ha!*
(Geel 38)	
aŋ yooṭi ṭulgu, i taabit Geel,	*and the girls saw him, and he was riding Lion,*
(Pïïṇṇä 2)	
Aŋ Pïïṇṇä ken tüccïï me ogo,	*And people were sending Wasp,*
"Ato Jooŋ nüütkee."	*"You go inform God."*
(Pïïṇṇä 5-7)	
Aŋ pïïṇṇä wääna ḍukcenee ko ti me ti ye,	*Then when wasp returned to people,*
me kiinnee ogo, men jïkcï me ïñï.	*he told people that, people (should) bury person.*
Aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye,	*And when God arrived,*
men wäädenee jïkkïï me ïñï.	*he found that people had buried person.*

Transitive SVO (Antipassive) verb suffixes

In the lesson *Verb from changes*, we learned that SVO (antipassive) verbs have about the same subject person suffixes as intransitive verbs and not the same suffixes as SOV and OVS verbs. It is not possible (or is extremely rare) for SVO verbs to have pronoun objects. And with SVO verbs, a noun object is optional and not a true object (it is not a core constituent). This shows that SVO verbs are more like intransitive verbs than transitive. Also, most SVO verbs have a root vowel change where **a, aa** become **ä, ää**, the vowels **e, ee** become **i, ii** and the vowels **o, oo** become **u, uu**, and the vowels of some verbs are shortened. Only SVO progressive verbs with no (normal) direction do not have this root vowel change. This means that most SVO verbs can only have the root vowels **i, u, ï, ü, ä**.

Below are suffixes of SVO verbs with changes for time, type of clause, and direction. Next, we will see examples of verbs with these suffixes and how the suffixes change with the last root letters.

SVO (antipassive) verb suffixes

Order	Clause	Direction	Past	Non-past	Past progressive	Non-past progressive
SVO	main	normal	-ñä	-cï/-yï	-din	-it
		towards	-pin/-yin	-cä/-yä	-cit/-yit	-pïdï/-yïdï
		away	-ccin/-cin	-ccï/-cï	-ccin/-cin (?)	-ccïdï/-cïdï
	depend	normal	-ño	-co/-yo	-dono	-do
		towards	-pono/-yono	-co/-yo	-tto/-to	-podo/-yodo
		away	-ccono/-cono	-cco/-co	-ccono/-cono (?)	-ccodo/-codo

The sentences (9-10) have different time, but both have SVO verbs in a main clause. The verb **tiiŋŋä** 'heard' in (9) with suffix –ñä has past time, and the verb **tïïŋï** 'will hear' in (10) with suffix -ï follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

SVO (9)   Aŋ men tiiŋŋä gin.   *Person heard thing.*
       (10) Aŋ men bi tïïŋï gin.   *Person will hear thing.*

The SVO verbs below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentences (9-10) above. SOV non-past verbs are shown for comparision. Again, most SVO verbs have a root vowel change where **a, aa** become **ä, ää**, the vowels **e, ee** become **i, ii** and the vowels **o, oo** become **u, uu**, and some vowels are shortened. The SVO non-past verbs have the suffix –cï on verbs with last root consonants **p, t, c, k, r, l**, and the suffix –yï on verbs with the last root consonants **m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y**. These heavy suffixes cause the root vowels **i, ii, u, uu** to become **ï, ïï, ü, üü**.

SVO verbs

Final consonant	SOV Non-past	Vow	Cons	SVO Past (9)	Cons	SVO Non-past	

	(2)	change	change		change	(10)	
	-e			-ñä		-cï/-yï	
p	tabe	a → ä	pñ → pp	täppä	pc → p	täpï	*touch*
t	dude	u	tñ → tt	duttu	tc → t	dütï	*carry, take*
c	ije	i	cñ → cc	iccä	cc → c	ïcï	*take*
k	müge	ü	kñ → kk	mükkü	kc → k	mükï	*catch*
r	yoore	oo → u	rñ → ṭṭ	yuṭṭu	rc → ṭ	yüṭï	*see*
l	kïle	ï	lñ → ṭṭ	kïṭṭä	lc → ṭ	kïṭï	*sharpen*
m	ṭeeme	ee → ii	mñ → mm	ṭiimmä	my → m	ṭïïmï	*carry (on head)*
n	gaane	aa → ää	nñ → nn	gäännä	ny → n	gäänï	*gather (grass)*
ñ	taañe	aa → ää	ññ	tääññä	ñy → ñ	tääñï	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋe	ii	ŋñ → ŋŋ	tiiŋŋä	ŋy → ŋ	tïïŋï	*hear*
w	maawe	aa → ää	wñ → ññ	määññä	wy → j	määjï	*look for*
y	ŋeeye	ee → i	yñ → ññ	ŋiññä	yy → j	ŋïjï	*crunch, chew*

SVO progressive past and non-past verbs are shown below in comparison with SOV non-past and SVO past verbs. The SVO progressive verbs do not have a root vowel change for SVO like the SVO past (where a → ä, e → i, o → u, some vowels shorten). Instead they have root vowel changes for progressive (some vowels shorten). So, they have the same root vowels as SOV verbs, except that, the root vowels in ṭemdin 'was carrying' and tiŋdin 'was hearing' become short.

SVO progressive verbs

Final cons	SOV Non-past (2)	SVO Past (9)	Vow change	Cons change	SVO Past **prog** (9)	SVO Non-past **prog** (9)	
	-e	-ñä			-din	-it	
p	tabe	täppä		pd→ bd	tabdin	p → b	tabit	*touch*
t	dude	duttu		td → dd	duddin	t → d	dudit	*carry*
c	ije	iccä		cd → jd	ijdin	c → j	ijit kamat	*take*
k	müge	mükkü		kd → gd	mügdin	k → g	mügït	*catch*
r	yoore	yuṭṭu		rd → dd	yooddin	r	—-	*see*
l	kïle	kïṭṭä		ld	—-	l	—-	*sharpen*
m	ṭeeme	ṭiimmä	ee → e	md	ṭemdin	m	ṭemit	*carry*
n	gaane	gäännä		nd	—-	n	—-	*gather*
ñ	taañe	tääññä		ñd	ṭañdin	ñ	—-	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋe	tiiŋŋä	ii → i	ŋd	tiŋdin	ŋ	tiŋit	*hear*
w	maawe	määññä		wd	—-	w	—-	*look for*
y	ŋeeye	ŋiññä		yd	—-	y	—-	*crunch*

SVO towards verbs are shown below in comparison with SOV non-past and SVO past verbs. These towards verbs have the same vowel changes for SVO (a → ä, e → i, o → u, some vowels shorten) as other SVO verbs, but they also have long vowels (except for the verb täppin 'touch towards') to show they are towards verbs. The heavy suffixes pïdï/-yïdï cause the root vowels i, ii, u, uu to

become ï, ïï, ü, üü.

SVO towards verbs (with lengthend root vowels)

Final cons	SOV Non-past (2)	SVO Past (9)	Vow change	Cons change	SVO Past towards (9)	SVO Non-past prog towards (9)	
	-e	-ñä			-pin/-yin	-pïdï/-yïdï	
p	tabe	täppä	a → ä	pp → pp	täppin	täppïdï	*touch*
t	dude	duttu	u → uu	tp → t	duutin	düütïdï	*carry*
c	ije	iccä	i → ii	cp → c	iicin	ïicïdï[29]	*take*
k	müge	mükkü	ü → üü	kp → k	müükïn	müükïdï	*catch*
r	yoore	yuṭṭu	oo→uu	rp → ṭ	yuutin	yüüṭïdï	*see*
l	kïle	kïṭṭä	ï → ïï	lp → ṭ	kïïṭïn	kïïṭïdï	*sharpen*
m	ṭeeme	ṭiimmä	ee → ii	mp → mm	ṭiimmin	ṭiimmïdï	*carry*
n	gaane	gäännä	aa → ää	ny → n	gäänin	gäänïdï	*gather*
ñ	taañe	tääññä	aa → ää	ñy → ñ	tääñin	tääñïdï	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋe	tiiŋŋä	ii	ŋy → ŋ	tiiŋin	tïïŋïdï	*hear*
w	maawe	määññä	aa → ää	wy → j	määjin	määjïdï	*look for*
y	ŋeeye	ŋiññä	ee → ii	yy → j	ŋiijin	ŋïïjïdï	*crunch*

Other SVO towards verbs are shown below in comparison with SOV non-past and SVO past verbs. These towards verbs have the same root vowel changes for SVO (a → ä, e → i, o → u, some vowels shorten) as other SVO verbs, but do not have long vowels as other towards verbs (for an unknown reason). Instead, the SVO past progressive towards verbs (with suffixes -**cit/-yit**) have the same root vowel changes as SVO past verbs, where only the root vowels of **yuṭit** 'was seeing towards' and **ŋijit** 'was crunching towards' are shortened. In the SVO non-past towards verbs with suffixes -**cä/-yä**, all root vowels are shortened (for an unknown reason[30]).

SVO towards verbs (without lengthend root vowels)

Final cons	SOV Non-past (2)	SVO Past (9)	Vow chang	Cons change	SVO Non-past towards (10)	Vow change	SVO Past prog towards (9)	
	-e	-ñä			-cä/-yä		-cit/-yit	
p	tabe	täppä	a→ä	pc → p	täpä (?)	a → ä	täpit	*touch*
t	dude	duttu	u	tc → t	dutu	u	dutit	*carry*
c	ije	iccä	i	cc → c	icä	i	mor icit	*take*
k	müge	mükkü	ü	kc → k	mükü	ü	mükït	*catch*
r	yoore	yuṭṭu	oo→u	rc → ṭ	yuṭu	oo → u	yuṭit	*see*
l	kïle	kïṭṭä	ï	lc → ṭ	kïṭä	ï	mor kïṭït	*sharpen*
m	ṭeeme	ṭiimmä	ee→i	my→m	ṭimä	ee → ii	ṭiimit	*carry*

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[29] The meaning of **ïicïdï** is 'escort' instead of 'take'.

[30] The dependent forms of these non-past towards verbs with suffixes -**co/-yo** have long vowels as expected for towards verbs.

n	gaane	gäännä	aa→ä	ny → n	gänä	aa → ää	mor gäänit	*gather*
ñ	taañe	tääññä	aa→ä	ñy → ñ	täñä	aa → ää	mor tääñit	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋe	tiiŋŋä	ii	ŋy → ŋ	tiŋä	ii	tiiŋit	*hear*
w	maawe	määññä	aa→ä	wy → j	mäjä	aa → ää	mor määjit	*look for*
y	ŋeeye	ŋiññä	ee→i	yy → j	ŋijä	ee → i	mor ŋijit	*crunch*

SVO away verbs are shown below in comparison with SOV non-past and SVO past verbs. These away verbs have the vowel changes for SVO (a → ä, e → i, o → u, some vowels shorten) like the SVO past verbs. The heavy suffixes -ccï/cï and -ccïdï/-cïdï cause the root vowels i, ii, u, uu to become heavy.

SVO away verbs

Final cons	SOV Non-past (2)	SVO Past (9)	Vow change	Cons change	SVO Past away (9)	SVO Non-past away (10)	SVO Non-past prog away (9)	
	-e	-ñä			-ccin/-cin	-ccï/cï	-ccïdï/-cïdï	
p	tabe	täppä	a → ä	pcc → pc	täpcin	täpcï	täpcïdï	*touch*
t	dude	duttu	u	tcc → tc	dutcin	dütcï	dütcïdï	*carry*
c	ije	iccä	i	ccc → cc	iccin	ïccï	ïccïdï[31]	*take*
k	müge	mükkü	ü	kcc → kc	mükcin	mükcï	mükcïdï	*catch*
r	yoore	yuṭṭu	oo → u	rcc → rc	yurcin	yürcï	yürcïdï	*see*
l	kïle	kïṭṭä	ï	lcc → lc	kïlcin	kïlcï	kïlcïdï	*sharpen*
m	ṭeeme	ṭiimmä	ee → ii	mc → mj	ṭiimjin	ṭïïmjï	ṭïïmjïdï	*carry*
n	gaane	gäännä	aa → ää	nc → nj	gäänjin	gäänjï	gäänjïdï	*gather*
ñ	taañe	tääññä	aa → ää	ñc → ñj	tääñjin	tääñjï	tääñjïdï	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋe	tiiŋŋä	ii	ŋc → nj	tiiŋjin	tïïŋjï	tïïŋjïdï	*hear*
w	maawe	määññä	aa → ää	wc → jj	määjjin	määjjï	määjjïdï	*look for*
y	ŋeeye	ŋiññä	ee → i	yc → jj	ŋijjin	ŋïjjï	ŋïjjïdï	*crunch*

SVO repeat verbs are shown below in comparison with SOV past and SVO past and non-past progressive verbs. A repeat verb form has a long root vowel where a, aa becomes ää, the vowels e, ee, become ii, and o, oo becomes uu (such as mükkü 'caught once', müükkü 'caught repeatedly'). Verbs with root-final m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y use the progressive forms for repeat verbs (such as tiiŋŋä 'heard once', tiŋdin 'heard repeatedly, was hearing').

SVO repeat verbs

Final Cons	SOV Past (2)	SVO Past (9)	Vow chang	SVO Past repeat (9)	SVO Non-past repeat (10)	SVO Non-past prog repeat (9)	SVO Non-past prog (9)	[check all]
	(a)	(b)		(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	
	-ne	-ñä		-ñä	-cï/-yï	-it	-it	

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[31] The meaning of ïïccïdï is 'escort'; the meaning of ïccïdï is 'give out'.

p	jemme	jippä	e→ii	jiippä	jïïpï	jiibit	jebit	*hit[32]*
t	dunṇe	duttu	u→uu	duuttu	düütï	duudit	dudit	*carry*
c	kaññe	käccä	a→ää	kääccä	kääcï	kääjit	kajit	*bite*
k	münŋe	mükkü	ü→üü	müükkü	müükï	müügït	mügït	*catch*
r	erre	iṭṭä	e→ii	iiṭṭä	ïïṭï	—–	—–	*cut*
l	olle	uṭṭu	o→uu	uuṭṭu	üüṭï	—–	—–	*push*
m	ṭeemme	ṭiimmä	ee→e	ṭemdin	ṭemit	ṭemit	ṭemit	*carry*
n	gaanne	gäännä		—–	—–	—–	—–	*gather*
ñ	taaññe	tääññä		ṭañdin	—–	—–	—–	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋŋe	tiiŋŋä	ii→i	tiŋdin	tiŋit	tiŋit	tiŋit	*hear*
w	laawne	lääññä		—–	—–	—–	—–	*raise*
y	ŋeeyne	ŋiññä		—–	—–	—–	—–	*chew*

Above, we see three different root processes: in column (a) there is no root vowel change, in column (b) the root vowel changes for SVO (a → ä, e → i, o → u, some vowels shorten), in (c-e) the root vowel changes for repeated action (a, aa → ää, e, ee → ii, o, oo → uu, some vowels shorten), and in (f) the root vowel changes for progressive (some vowels shorten).

The sentences (11-12) have different time, but both have SVO verbs in a dependent clause that begins with **ogo** 'that'. The verb **tiiŋŋo** 'heard' in (11) with suffix –**no** has past time, and the verb **tiiŋo** 'hears' in (12) with suffix -**o** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

SVO	(11)	Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo**, men tiiŋŋo gin.	*Chief told man **that**, person heard thing.*
	(12)	Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo**, men bi tiiŋo gin.	*Ch told m **that**, person will hear thing.*

Dependent past and non-past verbs are shown below. Past (non-dependent) verbs are shown for comparison. The dependent verbs have the same root vowel changes for SVO (a → ä, e → i, o → u, some vowels shorten) as the non-dependent verbs.

SVO verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	SVO Past (9)	Vow change	Cons change	SVO Past subor (11)	Cons change	SVO Non-past subor (12)	
	-ñä			-ño		-co/-yo	
p	täppä	a → ä	pñ → pp	täppo	pc → p	täpo	*touch*
t	duttu	u	tñ → tt	dutto	tc → t	duto	*carry, take*
c	iccä	i	cñ → cc	icco	cc → c	ico	*take*
k	mükkü	ü	kñ → kk	mükko	kc → k	müko	*catch*
r	yuṭṭu	oo → u	rñ → ṭṭ	yuṭṭo	rc → ṭ	yüṭo	*see*
l	kïṭṭä	ï	lñ → ṭṭ	kïṭṭo	lc → ṭ	kïṭo	*sharpen*
m	ṭiimmä	ee → ii	mñ → mm	ṭiimmo	my → m	ṭiimo	*carry (on head)*
n	gäännä	aa → ää	nñ → nn	gäänno	ny → n	gääno	*gather (grass)*

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[32] The data for 'hit, bite, cut, push' are taken from Andersen (2018:112)

ñ	tääññä	aa → ää	ññ	tääñño	ñy → ñ	tääño	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋŋä	ii	ŋñ → ŋŋ	tiiŋŋo	ŋy → ŋ	tiiŋo	*hear*
w	määññä	aa → ää	wñ → ññ	määñño	wy → j	määjo	*look for*
y	ŋiññä	ee → i	yñ → ññ	ŋiñño	yy → j	ŋijo	*crunch, chew*

Dependent progressive past and non-past verbs are shown below in comparison with past and past progressive (non-dependent) verbs. The dependent verbs have no root vowel changes for SVO, just like the non-dependent progressive SVO verbs. However, they have root vowel changes for progressive (some vowels shorten) such as the short vowels in **ṭemdono** 'was carrying' and **tiŋdono** 'was hearing'.

SVO progressive verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final consonant	SVO Past (9)	SVO Past prog (9)	Vow change	Cons change	SVO Past prog **subor** (11)	SVO Non-past prog **subor** (11)	
	-ñä	**-din**			**-dono**	**-do**	
p	täppä	tabdin		pd→ bd	tabdono	tabdo	*touch*
t	duttu	duddin		td → dd	duddono	duddo	*carry, take*
c	iccä	ijdin		cd → jd	ijdono	ijdo kamat	*take*
k	mükkü	mügdïn		kd → gd	mügdono	mügdo	*catch*
r	yuṭṭu	yooddin		rd → dd	—-	—-	*see*
l	kïṭṭä	—-		ld	—-	—-	*sharpen*
m	ṭiimmä	ṭemdin	ee → e	md	ṭemdono	ṭemdo	*carry (on head)*
n	gäännä	—-		nd	—-	—-	*gather (grass)*
ñ	tääññä	ṭañdin		ñd	ṭañdono	—-	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋŋä	tiŋdin	ii → i	ŋd	tiŋdono	tiŋdo	*hear*
w	määññä	—-		wd	—-	—-	*look for*
y	ŋiññä	—-		yd	—-	—-	*crunch, chew*

Dependent towards verbs are shown below in comparison with past towards (non-dependent) verbs. All have root vowel changes for SVO (a → ä, e → i, o → u) and towards (root vowels become long). The non-past towards dependent verbs have long root vowels even though the non-past towards (non-dependent) verbs do not have root long vowels. In this way, the non-past towards dependent verbs are different than the non-past (no direction) dependent verbs above, even though they both have the suffixes -**co/-yo**.

SVO towards verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses (with lengthened root vowels)

Final cons	SVO Past Towards	Vow change	Cons change	SVO Past towards	SVO Non-past prog		SVO Non-past towards	

175

	(9)			subor (11)	towards subor (11		subor (12)	
	-pin/ -yin			-pono/ -yono	-podo/ -yodo		-co/ -yo	
p	täppin	a → ä	pp → pp	täppono	täppodo	pc → p	täpo	*touch*
t	duutin	u → uu	tp → t	duutono	duutodo	tc → t	duuto	*carry*
c	iicin	i → ii	cp → c	iicono	iicodo	cc → c	iico	*take*
k	müükïn	ü → üü	kp → k	müükono	müükodo	kc → k	müüko	*catch*
r	yuuțin	oo→uu	rp → ț	yuuțono	yuuțodo	rc → ț	yuuțo	*see*
l	kïïțin	ï → ïï	lp → ț	kïïțono	kïïțodo	lc → ț	kïïțo	*sharpen*
m	țiimmin	ee → ii	mp → mm	țiimmono	țiimmodo	my → m	țiimo	*carry*
n	gäänin	aa → ää	ny → n	gäänono	gäänodo	ny → n	gääno	*gather*
ñ	tääñin	aa → ää	ñy → ñ	tääñono	tääñodo	ñy → ñ	tääño	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋin	ii	ŋy → ŋ	tiiŋono	tiiŋodo	ŋy → ŋ	tiiŋo	*hear*
w	määjin	aa → ää	wy → j	määjono	määjodo	wy → j	määjo	*look for*
y	ŋiijin	ee → ii	yy → j	ŋiijono	ŋiijodo	yy → j	ŋiijo	*crunch*

The past progressive towards dependent verbs are shown below in comparison with non-dependent verbs. These dependent towards verbs have root vowel changes for SVO (a → ä, e → i, o → u), but do not have long root vowels for towards, just as the past progressive towards (non-dependent) verbs do not have long root vowels.

SVO towards verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses (without lengthened root vowels)

Final cons	SVO Past towards (9)	SVO Past prog towards (9)	SVO Past prog towards subor (11)		
	-pin/-yin	-cit/-yit	-tto/-to		
p	täppin	täpit	ptt → pt	täpto	*touch*
t	duutin	dutit	ttt → tt	dutto	*carry*
c	iicin	mor icit	ctt → ct	mor icto	*take*
k	müükïn	mükït	ktt → kt	mükto	*catch*
r	yuuțin	yuțit	rtt → rt,tt	yurto	*see*
l	kïïțin	mor kïțït	ltt → lt	mor kïlto	*sharpen*
m	țiimmin	țiimit	mt → md	țimdo	*carry*
n	gäänin	mor gäänit	nt → nd	mor gäändo	*gather*
ñ	tääñin	mor tääñit	ñt → ñd	mor tääñdo	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋin	tiiŋit	ŋt → ŋd	tiŋdo	*hear*
w	määjin	mor määjit	wt → jd	mor määjdo	*look for*
y	ŋiijin	mor ŋijit	yt → jd	mor ŋijdo	*crunch*

Dependent away verbs are shown below in comparision with past away (non-dependent) verbs. Again, the dependent verbs have the same root vowel changes for SVO (a → ä, e → i, o → u, some vowels shorten) as the non-dependent verbs.

SVO away verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	SVO Past away (9)	Cons change	SVO Past away subor (11)	SVO Non-past away subor (12)	SVO Non-past prog away subor (11)	
	-ccin/-cin		-ccono/ -cono	-cco/-co	-ccodo/ -codo	
p	täpcïn	pcc → pc	täpcono	täpco	täpcodo	*touch*
t	dutcin	tcc → tc	dutcono	dutco	dutcodo	*carry*
c	iccin	ccc → cc	iccono	icco	iccodo	*take*
k	mükcïn	kcc → kc	mükcono	mükco	mükcodo	*catch*
r	yurcin	rcc → rc	yurcono	yurco	yurcodo	*see*
l	kïlcïn	lcc → lc	kïlcono	kïlco	kïlcodo	*sharpen*
m	ṭiimjin	mc → mj	ṭiimjono	ṭiimjo	ṭiimjodo	*carry*
n	gäänjin	nc → nj	gäänjono	gäänjo	gäänjodo	*gather*
ñ	tääñjin	ñc → ñj	tääñjono	tääñjo	tääñjodo	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋjin	ŋc → ŋj	tiiŋjono	tiiŋjo	tiiŋjodo	*hear*
w	määjjin	wc → jj	määjjono	määjjo	määjjodo	*look for*
y	ŋijjin	yc → jj	ŋijjono	ŋijjo	ŋijjodo	*crunch*

SVO repeat verbs with a long root vowel are shown below in comparison with non-dependent repeat verbs. Verbs with root-final **m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y** use progressive forms for repeated actions.

SVO repeat verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final Cons	SVO Past repeat (9)	Vow chang	SVO Past repeat subor (11)	SVO Non-past repeat subor (12)	SVO Non-past prog repeat subor (11)	[check all]
	-ñä		-ño	-co/-yo	-do	
p	jiippä	e→ii	jiippo	jiipo	jiibdo	*hit*[33]
t	duuttu	u→uu	duutto	duuto	duuddo	*carry*
c	kääccä	a→ää	kääcco	kääco	kääjdo	*bite*
k	müükkü	ü→üü	müükko	müüko	müügdo	*catch*
r	iiṭṭä	e→ii	iiṭṭo	iiṭo	—-	*cut*
l	uuṭṭu	o→uu	uuṭṭo	uuṭo	—-	*push*
m	ṭemdin	ee→e	ṭemdono	ṭemdo	ṭemdo	*carry*
n	—-		—-	—-	—-	*gather*
ñ	ṭañdin		ṭañdono	—-	—-	*press*
ŋ	tiŋdin	ii→i	tiŋdono	tiŋdo	tiŋdo	*hear*
w	—-		—-	—-	—-	*raise*
y	—-		—-	—-	—-	*chew*

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[33] The data for 'hit, bite, cut, push' are taken from Andersen (2018:112)

As mentioned in the lesson *Verb form changes,* SVO verbs are used when the object is a new topic (mentioned for the first time or what is currently talked about) or indefinite (any one of the noun and not a specific one in the mind of the listeners). When an object is different than in the previous clause, or to show importance to the object or subject, a noun is used in the OVS clause. [check]

In Leeñ 27-28, **ḍuk** 'gum' is the object of the SVO past verb **käññä** 'found'. This SVO verb is used because this is the first mention in the story of the noun **ḍuk** and it is not yet a specific one in the mind of the listeners.

(Leeñ 27-28) (indefinite object)
I Wiiw lüüt, i yaaw ogo, "Wee, wee, wee!" *And Fox was running and yelling, "Ha, ha, ha!"*
Aŋ lüüttü tï pääm ŋoy, aŋ **käññä** ḍuk, *And he ran under the mountain, and **found** gum,*

Transitive SVO suffixes on verbs in stories are shown below in **bold**, and root verbs are shown below each suffix.

PT.SVO.NR	**-ñä**		
Bääm 2	kañ	**käññä** Bääm	*he **found** Dove*
Leeñ 28	kañ	**käññä** ḍuk	*he **found** gum*
Äwñä 2	kañ	**käññä** kääl äwñä	*he **found** porcupine cave*
Bääm 6	näŋ	Wiiw attä **näŋŋä** len lämmä	*Fox went and **made** axe of mud*
Äwñä 4	maaw	**määññä**	*he **looked for** it*
Äwñä 5	näk	**näkkä** äwñä kä	*he **felt** porcupine*
Geel 34	taap	Wiiw **taappä** LOC	*Fox **rode** him*

NP.SVO.NR	**-cï/-yï**		
Bääm 6	yaak	Bääm **yaakï**	*Dove **was refusing** him*
Äwñä 11	am	Albe batta **ämï**	*Albe did not **eat** it*
Leeñ 34	mät	**mätï** piik	*to they **drink** water*
Leeñ 35	mät	Liik yoorre **mätï** piik muure	*he saw Elephants **drinking** all water*
Geel 47	nüüt	wiiwa yaanni **nüütï**	*this story **shows***
Iin 70	nüüt	Yaan wiiwa yaanni **nüütï**	*This story **teaches***
Äwñä 3	maaw	käälok **määjï** äwjï	*he entered cave **looking for** porc.*
Äwñä 6	ṭäk	ike **ṭäkï** kääjïdï woo	*he **was wanting** to go out*
Äwñä 12	mät	batta **mätï** ke	*he **was** not **drinking** it*
Yaam 15	yoor	baata **yüṭï**	*they do not **see** them*
Iin 4	kaay	mäŋkalaŋ daa **kääjï** nïïnkä	*so that everyone can **graze** days*
Iin 8	kaay	mäŋkalaŋ daa **kääjï** nïïnkä	*so that everyone can **graze** days*

PT.PR.SVO.NR	**-din**		
Yaam 9	ḍüür	määngä **ḍürdïn** wakkä yaakka ḍirä	*women **carry** these many things*

178

PT.PR.SVO.NR ?	-gin		
Geel 46	luuk	waak muureen **luggin**	*all animals **agreed** it*

NP.PR.SVO.NR	-it		
Yaam 7	bak	naana me **bagit** LOC	*when people **move** it*
Bääm 7	ät	**ädit** len lämmä	*he **was carrying** an axe of mud*
Bääm 17	ät	**ädit** ṭoŋ ke lacan mooye	*he **is carrying** spear and big stick*
Geel 38	taap	**taabit** Geel	*he **was riding** Lion*

PT.SVO.TW	-pin/-yin		
Bääm 39	ääc	**ääcin** kücam	*he **brought** skin bag*
Äwñä 9	näk	ike **nääkin** nïïnkä	*he **spent** days*
Bääm 62	gïm	Wiiw **gïmmïn**	*Fox **accepted** him*
Bääm 45	gïm	Bääm **gïmmïn**	*Dove **accepted** him*
Geel 15	gïm	ṭulgu **gïmmïn**	*girls **accepted** him*
Iin 10	gïm	aŋ Iin **gïmmïn**	*and Hyena **accepted** him*
Iin 56	gïm	I ike wäättana **gïmmïn** ogo	*after that he **agreed** saying*

NP.SVO.TW	-cä/-yä		
Yaam 2	näk	**näkä** nïïnkä kä	*it **was feeling** days*
Bääm 1	näk	Wiiw **näkä** käñ	*Fox **was feeling** hunger*
Iin 45	bäär	Geel **bäärä**	*Lion **is calling** him*

PT.SVO.AW	-ccin/-cin		
Bääm 49	taac	a Wiiw ken **tääccin**	*Fox **asked** him*
Iin 33	luuk	mäbaan **luukcin**	*people **replied***
Iin 43	tuc	Geel **tuccin** mäŋkaläŋ	*Lion **sent** someone*

NP.SVO.AW	-ccï/-cï		
Leeñ 43	aay	ken ike **aajjï** woo wiiy	*he **was crossing** over river*

NP.SVO.AW?	-ce		
Bääm 47	am	ogo ike **ämje** päk	*so that he **will eat** grain*

NP.PR.SVO.AW	-ccïdï/-cïdï		
Geel 11	ük	atï **ükcïdï** LOC	*he goes to **evaluate** it*
Iin 57	keey	i me **kïïjjïdï** ïkï aŋan	*while people **wait for** you like that*

PT.SVO.DP.NR	-ño		
Kiñuk 2	kañ	**käñño** kääl bilgiñ̃i	*he **found** bat cave*

Kiñuk 23	lik	men **likko** rawcan	*person **broke** twig*

PT.PR.SVO.DP.NR ?	**-dïïn**		
Leeñ 44	naŋ	ogo ŋana me **naŋdïïn** nääŋkä yaacken	*people should not **make** bad actions*

NP.PR.SVO.DP.NR	**-do**		
Kiñuk 22	eŋ	men **eŋdo** killäŋ LOC	*person **was wearing** whistle*

PT.SVO.DP.TW	**-pono/ -yono**		
Kiñuk 2	gaan	atto **gäänono** luum ïwïn	*he went **collected** dry grass*
Kiñuk 8	lik	iin durñe **liikono** woo gine ṭuule	*young hyena **rep. broke** off small piece*

PT.SVO.DP.AW	**-ccono/ -cono**		
Kiñuk 11	kol	iin mooye **kulcono**	*older hyena **refused** him*
Pïïṇṇä 8	taac	**tääccono**	*he **asked** them*

Exercise 30

Underline twice all SVO verbs. Underline once subjects and objects of these verbs.

(Yaam 2)
Aŋ ḍiigjänä me ïñï kä wingä,
aŋ **näkä** nïïnkä kä ḍäk.

People tie them down with ropes
*it **spending** days that three.*

(Yaam 9)
Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte määngä ḍürdïn
wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,

And since a basket enables women
to carry these many things,

(Kiñuk 1-2)
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ atto kiñuk pare,
aŋ käñño kääl bilgiññi.
Aŋ atto gäänono luum ïwïn,

Long ago, a man went on a hunt alone,
and found a cave of bats.
He went to collect dry grass,

(Kiñuk 8-9)
Aŋ düüdïnïï woo, aŋ iin durñe liikono woo
gine ṭuule gunne ti näkkenee.

They carried him outside, young hyena broke
small piece from his side.

(Kiñuk 22-23)
Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ ḍoŋe ti,
aŋ wääna kaaññïï ko jaan ŋoy ye,
men likko rawcan,

The person was wearing a whistle around neck,
and when (they) passed under a tree,
the man broke off a twig,

(Bääm 1)
Ñomuk ku on, Wiiw näkä käñ,

A long time ago, Fox felt hunger and went out

aŋ attä laay woo luummuk.	*roaming in grassland.*
(Bääm 6-7)	
Aŋ Bääm yaakï,	*Then Dove was refusing*
aŋ Wiiw attä näŋŋä len lämmä.	*and Fox went and made an axe of mud.*
Aŋ ḍuukin, i ädit len lämmä.	*And (he) returned carrying an axe of mud.*
(Bääm 16-17)	
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Tääyä ïñï kä bïraŋ,	*And Dove told him, "Cut it down quickly,*
mäŋkalaŋ ïya äätä, ädit ṭoŋ ke lacan mooye."	*person is coming carrying spear and big stick."*
(Leeñ 35-36)	
aŋ Wiiw attä wiirok,	*Fox went to the river,*
aŋ Liik yoorre mätï piik muure,	*and saw Elephants drinking all the water,*
(Leeñ 42-43)	
A Leeñ mooye yaana paaññe kïïgïn ye,	*It was the big Elephant, whose feet were peeled,*
ken ike aajjï woo wiiy.	*he was crossing the river.*
(Leeñ 43-44)	
Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïïn nüütkïdïn ogo	*This story tells us that*
ŋana me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken.	*people should not do bad actions.*
(Geel 38)	
aŋ yooṭi ṭulgu, i taabit Geel,	*and the girls saw him, and he was riding Lion,*
(Äwñä 3)	
Aŋ kaaccä käälok määjï äwjï,	*And he entered cave looking for porcupine,*
(Äwñä 9)	
Aŋ ike nääkin nïïnkä kä yewwe käälok.	*And he spent days that two in the cave.*

Applicative verbs from transitive verbs

An <u>applicative verb</u> can have a receiver, location or experiencer, and has a change in verb suffix. A receiver shows the benefit of the verb, a location shows the place of the verb, and an experiencer shows what is used by the verb. In this lesson, we learn about applicative verbs that come from transitive verbs. After the lessons on intransitive verbs, we learn about applicative verbs that come from intransitive verbs.

In the lesson *Verb form changes*, we learned that SOV transitive verbs become SRVO/SOVL applicative verbs when a receiver or location is added, OVS verbs become RVSO/OVSL verbs when a receiver or location is added, and SOV verbs become EVSO when an experiencer is added. The subject person suffixes for SRVO and RVSO applicative verbs are the same as for SOV and OVS transitive verbs, except for the letter -**g**- and an extra vowel in the receiver suffix. And, the receiver person suffixes for SRVO and RVSO verbs are the same as the object suffixes for SOV and OVS verbs, except for the letter -**g**-. It is not possible (or is extremely rare) for SRVO and RVSO verbs to have pronoun objects. So, with SRVO and RVSO verbs, a noun object is optional and not a true object (it is not a core constituent).

Also, most applicative verbs, like SVO verbs, have a root vowel change where **a, aa** become **ä, ää**, the vowels **e, ee** become **i, ii** and the vowels **o, oo** become **u, uu**, and the vowels of some verbs are shortened. This means that most applicative verbs can only have the root vowels **i, u, ï, ü, ä**.

Below, the SOV transitive verb in past time **tiiŋŋe** 'heard' changes to the SRVO verb **tiiŋgene** 'heard for' with suffix -**jkene** when the receiver **bääm** 'dove' is added. The receiver is added in the place of the object, and the object moves to after the verb. And the SOV verb changes to the SOVL verb **tiiŋgene** 'heard in' also with suffix -**jkene** when the location **näntä piik** 'water place' is added following the verb. The same verb form is used for both SRVO and SOVL sentences. There are similar changes for SOV non-past and non-past progressive verbs when a receiver or location is added.

Transitive SOV changes to SRVO and SOVL applicative verbs with added receiver or location

past	S<u>O</u>V	Aŋ gaaggaak <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u>.*
	SRV<u>O</u>	Aŋ gaaggaak bääm **tiiŋgene** <u>kuukcu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u> for dove.*
	S<u>O</u>VL	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋgene** näntä piik.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u> in water place.*
non-past	S<u>O</u>V	Aŋ gaaggaak <u>kuukcu</u> **bi tiiŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **will hear** <u>drum</u>.*
	SRV<u>O</u>	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> bääm **bi tiiŋge** <u>kuukcu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **will hear** <u>drum</u> for dove.*
	S<u>O</u>VL	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> bääm **bi tiiŋge** näntä piik.	*And <u>raven</u> **will hear** <u>drum</u> in water place.*
non-past prog	S<u>O</u>V	Aŋ gaaggaak <u>kuukcu</u> **tiŋde**.	*And <u>raven</u> **hears** <u>drum</u>.*
	SRV<u>O</u>	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> bääm **tiiŋgede** <u>kuukcu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **hears** <u>drum</u> for dove.*
	S<u>O</u>VL	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> bääm **tiiŋgede** näntä piik.	*And <u>raven</u> **hears** <u>drum</u> in water place.*

Below, the OVS transitive verb in past time **tiiŋi** 'heard' changes to the RVSO verb **tiiŋgi** 'heard for' with suffix -**jki** when the receiver **bääm** 'dove' is added. The receiver is added in the place of the object, and the object moves to after the verb. And the OVS verb changes to the OVSL verb **tiiŋgi** 'heard in' also with suffix -**jki** when the location **näntä piik** 'water place' is added following the verb. The same verb form is used for both RVSO and OVSL sentences. There are similar changes for OVS non-past and non-past progressive verbs when a receiver or location is added.

Transitive SVO changes to RVSO and OVSL applicative verbs with added receiver and location

past	<u>O</u>VS	Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋi** gaaggaak.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u>.*
	RVS<u>O</u>	Aŋ bääm **tiiŋgi** gaaggaak <u>kuukcu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u> for dove.*
	<u>O</u>VS<u>L</u>	Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋgi** <u>gaaggaak</u> näntä piik.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u> in water place.*
non-past	<u>O</u>VS	Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **bi tiiŋgä** gaaggaak.	*And <u>raven</u> **will hear** <u>drum</u>.*
	RVS<u>O</u>	Aŋ bääm **bi tiiŋgänä** <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **will hear** <u>drum</u> for dove.*
	<u>O</u>VS<u>L</u>	Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋgänä** <u>gaaggaak</u> näntä piik.	*And <u>raven</u> **will hear** <u>drum</u> in water place.*
non-past	<u>O</u>VS	Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **tiŋtä** gaaggaak.	*And <u>raven</u> **hears** <u>drum</u>.*

prog	RV<u>SO</u>	Aŋ bääm **tiiŋkätä** <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **hears** <u>drum</u> for dove.*
	<u>O</u>V<u>S</u>L	Aŋ <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋkätä** <u>gaaggaak</u> näntä piik.	*And <u>raven</u> **hears** <u>drum</u> in water place.*

Below, the SOV transitive verb in past time **tiiŋŋe** 'heard' changes to the EVSO verb **tiiŋŋene** 'used to hear/heard with' with suffix -**ñene** when the experiencer **gerger** 'harp' is added. The experiencer is added in the place of the subject, and the subject and object move to after the verb. There are similar changes for SOV non-past and non-past progressive verbs when an experiencer is added.

Transitive SOV changes to EVSO applicative verb with added experiencer

past	<u>SO</u>V	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **tiiŋŋe**.	*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>drum</u>.*
	EV<u>SO</u>	Aŋ gerger **tiiŋŋene** <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>uullu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **used** harp **to hear** <u>song</u>.*
			*And <u>raven</u> **heard** <u>song</u> **with** harp.*
non-past	<u>SO</u>V	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>kuukcu</u> **bi** tiiŋe.	*And <u>raven</u> **will hear** <u>drum</u>.*
	EV<u>SO</u>	Aŋ gerger **tiiŋene** <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>uullu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **uses** harp **to hear** <u>song</u>.*
			*And <u>raven</u> **hears** <u>song</u> **with** harp.*
non-past prog	SOV	Aŋ <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>uullu</u> **tiŋde**.	*And <u>raven</u> **is hearing** <u>song</u>.*
	EV<u>SO</u>	Aŋ gerger **tiiŋte** <u>gaaggaak</u> <u>uullu</u>.	*And <u>raven</u> **is using** harp **to hear** <u>song</u>./*
			*And <u>raven</u> **is hearing** <u>song</u> **with** harp.*

SRVO/SOVL verbs have similar suffixes to SOV verbs, RVSO/OVVL verbs have similar suffixes to OVS verbs, EVSO verbs have similar suffixes to SOV verbs, and EV dependent verbs have similar suffixes to OVS dependent verbs. However, none of these matches have all the same suffixes.

Applicative verbs (from transitive verbs) compared with transitive verbs

		SRVO			SOV	
past	-**jkene**	Men yätkä **tiiŋgene** gin.	*Person **heard** thing for chief.*	-**ne**	Men gin **tiiŋŋe**.	*Person **heard** thing.*
non-past	-**jke**	Men yätkä **tiiŋge**.	*Person **hears** thing for chief.*	-**e**	Men yätkä **tiiŋe**.	*Person **hears** thing.*
		RVSO			OVS	
past	-**jki**	Yätkä **tiiŋgi** men gin.	*Person **heard** thing for chief.*	-**i**	Gin **tiiŋi** men.	*Person **heard** thing.*
non-past	-**jkänä**	Yätkä **tiiŋgänä** men gin.	*Person **hears** thing for chief.*	-**kä**	Gin **tiiŋgä** men.	*Person **hears** thing.*
		EVSO			SOV	
past	-**ñene**	<u>Gerger</u> **tiiŋŋene** men <u>uullu</u>.	*Person **used** <u>harp</u> **to hear** <u>song</u>.*	-**ne**	Men gin **tiiŋŋe**.	*Person **heard** thing.*
non-past prog towards	-**yede**	<u>Gerger</u> **tiiŋede** men <u>uullu</u>.	*Person **is using** <u>harp</u> **to hear** <u>song</u> here.*	-**wede**	Men gin **tiiŋede**.	*Person **heard** thing **here**.*

183

		EV			OVS	
		Yätkä oon kiinne . . .	*Chief told man . . .*		Yätkä oon kiinne . . .	*Chief told man . . .*
subor past towards	-pïnïï/ -yïnïï	. . . ogo, <u>gerger</u> tïïŋïnïï ko men <u>uullu</u>.	*that, person* **used** <u>*harp*</u> *to hear* <u>*song*</u> *here.*	-wïnïï	. . ogo, uullu tïïŋïnïï men.	*that, person* **heard** *song here.*
subor non-past away	-ccïï/ -cïï	. . . ogo, <u>gerger</u> tïïŋjïï ko men <u>uullu</u>.	*that, person* **uses** <u>*harp*</u> *to hear* <u>*song*</u> *away.*	-ccïï/ -cïï	. . ogo, uullu tïïŋjïï men.	*that, person* **hears** *song away.*

Below are suffixes of applicative verbs with changes for time, type of clause, and direction. Next, we will see examples of verbs with these suffixes and how the suffixes change with the last root letters.

Applicative verbs from transitive verbs

Order	Clause	Direction	Past	Non-past	Past Progressive	Non-past Progressive
SRVO/ SOVL	main	normal towards away	-jkene	-jke	-jkedeeda	-jkede
	depend	normal towards away	-jkenee	-jkee		-jkedee
RVSO/ OVSL	main	normal towards away	-jki	-jkänä		-ckätä
	depend	normal towards away	-jkïnïï	-jkïï		-jkïdïï
EVSO	main	normal towards away	-ñene -pene/-yene (?) -ccene/-cene	-cene/-yene -cce/-ce (?)		-tte -yede -ccete
EV	depend	normal towards away	-ñïï -pïnïï/-yïnïï -ccïnïï/-cïnïï (?)	-cïnïï/-yïnïï (?) -ccïï/-cïï		-dïï (?) -pïdïï/-yïdïï (?) -ccïdïï/-cïdïï

The sentences in (13-14) all have SRVO or SOVL applicative verbs in a main clause. The SRVO verb **tiiŋgene** 'heard' in (13a) is the same as the SOVL verb **tiiŋgene** 'heard' in (13b). Both have the suffix –**jkene** and past time. The SRVO and SOVL verb **tiiŋge** 'hear' in (14a-b) with suffix -**jke** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

<u>SRVO</u> (13a) Aŋ men yätkä tiiŋgene gin.   *Person <u>heard</u> thing for chief.*
<u>SOVL</u>   (b) Aŋ men gin tiiŋgene nänţä piik.   *Person <u>heard</u> thing in water place.*

184

SRVO (14a) Aŋ men yätkä bi <u>tiiŋge</u> gin. *Person will <u>hear</u> thing for chief.*
SOVL (b) Aŋ men gin bi <u>tiiŋge</u> näṇṭa piik. *Person will <u>hear</u> thing in water place.*

The SRVO and SOVL applicative from transitive verbs below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentences (13-14) above. SOV non-past and SVO past verbs are shown for comparision. Applicative verbs have a root vowel change where **a, aa** become **ä, ää**, the vowels **e, ee** become **i, ii** and the vowels **o, oo** become **u, uu**, and some vowels are shortened. These are the same root vowel changes as in SVO verbs.

SRVO and SOVL verbs

Final cons	SOV Non-past (2)	SVO Past (9)	Vow change	Cons change	SRVO/ SOVL Past (13)	SRVO/ SOVL Non-past (14)	SRVO/ SOVL Non-past prog (13)	
	-e	-ñä			-jkene	-jke	-jkede	
p	tabe	täppä	a → ä	pjk → pk	täpkene	täpke	täpkede	*touch*
t	dude	duttu	u	tjk → tk	dutkene	dutke	dutkede	*carry*
c	ije	iccä	i	cjk → ck	ickene	icke	ickede	*take*
k	müge	mükkü	ü	kjk → kk	mükkene	mükke	mükkede	*catch*
r	yoore	yuṭṭu	oo → u	rjk → rk	yurkene	yurke	yurkede	*see*
l	kïle	kïṭṭä	ï	ljk→ lk	kïlkene	kïlke	kïlkede	*sharpen*
m	ṭeeme	ṭiimmä	ee → ii	mjk → mg	ṭiimgene	ṭiimge	ṭiimgede	*carry*
n	gaane	gäännä	aa → ää	njk → ng	gäängene	gäänge	gäängede	*gather*
ñ	taañe	tääññä	aa → ää	ñjk → ñg	tääñgene	tääñge	tääñgede	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋe	tiiŋŋä	ii	ŋjk → ŋg	tiiŋgene	tiiŋge	tiiŋgede	*hear*
w	maawe	määññä	aa → ää	wjk → jg	määjgene	määjge	määjgede	*look for*
y	ŋeeye	ŋiññä	ee → i	yjk → jg	ŋijgene (?)	ŋijge (?)	ŋijgede (?)	*crunch*

SRVO and SOVL repeat verbs are shown below in comparison with SOV past and SRVO/SOVL past and non-past progressive verbs. A repeat verb form has a long root vowel where **a, aa** becomes **ää**, the vowels **e, ee,** become **ii**, and **o, oo** becomes **uu** (such as **mükkene** 'caught once', **müükkene** 'caught repeatedly'). Verbs with root-final **m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y** use the progressive forms for repeat verbs (such as **tiiŋge** 'hear once', **tiiŋgede** 'hear repeatedly, is hearing').

SRVO and SOVL repeat verbs

Final Cons	SOV Past (2)	SRVO/ SOVL Past (13)	Vow chang	SRVO/ SOVL Past repeat (13)	SRVO/ SOVL Non-past repeat (14)	SRVO/ SOVL Non-past prog repeat (13)	SRVO/ SOVL Non-past prog (13)	[check all]
	(a)	(b)		(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	
	-ne	-jkene		-jkene	-jke	-jkede	-jkede	

p	jemme	jipkene	e→ii	jiipkene	jiipke	jiipkede	jipkede	*hit*[34]
t	dunņe	dutkene	u→uu	duutkene	duutke	duutkede	dutkede	*carry*
c	kaññe	käckene	a→ää	kääckene	kääcke	kääckede	käckede	*bite*
k	münņe	mükkene	ü→üü	müükkene	müükke	müükkede	mükkede	*catch*
r	erre	irkene	e→ii	iirkene	iirke	iirkede	irkede	*cut*
l	olle	ulkene	o→uu	uulkene	uulke	uulkede	ulkede	*push*
m	ţeemme	ţiimgene	ee→e	ţiimgene	ţiimgede	ţiimgede	ţiimgede	*carry*
n	gaanne	gäängene	——		gäängede	gäängede	gäängede	*gather*
ñ	taaññe	tääñgene		tääñgene	tääñgede	tääñgede	tääñgede	*press*
ŋ	tiiņņe	tiingene	ii→i	tiingene	tiingede	tiingede	tiingede	*hear*
w	laawne	lääjgene	——		lääjgede	lääjgede	lääjgede	*raise*
y	ŋeeyne	ŋijgene	——		ŋijgede	ŋijgede	ŋijgede	*chew*

The sentences in (15-16) all have SRVO or SOVL applicative verbs in a **ogo** 'that' dependent clause. The verb **tiiŋgenee** 'heard' in (15a-b) with suffix –**jkenee** has past time, and the verb **tiiŋgee** 'hear' in (16a-b) with suffix -**jkee** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

		Aŋ gaaggaak oon kiinne	*Raven told man . . .*
<u>SRVO</u>	(15a)	. . . ogo, men yätkä <u>tiiŋgenee</u> gin.	*. . . that, person <u>heard</u> thing for chief.*
<u>SOVL</u>	(b)	. . . ogo, men gin <u>tiiŋgenee</u> nänţä piik.	*. . . that, person <u>heard</u> thing in water place.*
<u>SRVO</u>	(16a)	. . . ogo, men yätkä bi <u>tiiŋgee</u> gin.	*. . . that, person will <u>hear</u> thing for chief.*
<u>SOVL</u>	(b)	. . . ogo, men gin bi <u>tiiŋgee</u> nänţä piik.	*. . . that, person will <u>hear</u> thing in water place.*

Dependent past, non-past and non-past progressive verbs are shown below. Past (non-dependent) verbs are shown for comparison.

<u>SRVO and SOVL verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses</u>

Final cons	SRVO/ SOVL Past (13)	Cons change	SRVO/ SOVL Past **subor** (15)	SRVO/ SOVL Non-past **subor** (16)	SRVO/ SOVL Non-past prog **subor** (15)	
	-jkene		-jkenee	-jkee	-jkedee	
p	täpkene	pjk → pk	täpkenee	täpkee	täpkedee	*touch*
t	dutkene	tjk → tk	dutkenee	dutkee	dutkedee	*carry, take*
c	ickene	cjk → ck	ickenee	ickee	ickedee	*take*
k	mükkene	kjk → kk	mükkenee	mükkee	mükkedee	*catch*
r	yurkene	rjk → rk	yurkenee	yurkee	yurkedee	*see*
l	kïlkene	ljk→ lk	kïlkenee	kïlkee	kïlkedee	*sharpen*
m	ţiimgene	mjk → mg	ţiimgenee	ţiimgee	ţiimgedee	*carry (on head)*
n	gäängene	njk → ng	gäängenee	gäängee	gäängedee	*gather (grass)*
ñ	tääñgene	ñjk → ñg	tääñgenee	tääñgee	tääñgedee	*press*
ŋ	tiingene	ŋjk → ŋg	tiingenee	tiingee	tiingedee	*hear*

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[34] The data for 'hit, bite, cut, push' are taken from Andersen (2018:112)

| w | määjgene | wjk → jg | määjgenee | määjgee | määjgedee | *look for* |
| y | ŋijgene (?) | yjk → jg | ŋijgenee (?) | ŋijgee (?) | ŋijgedee (?) | *crunch, chew* |

The sentences in (17-18) all have SRVO or SOVL applicative verbs in a main clause. The verb **tiiŋgi** 'heard' in (17a-b) with suffix –**jki** has past time. The verb **tiiŋgänä** 'hear' in (18a-b) with suffix -**jke** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

RVSO   (17a)   Aŋ yätkä <u>tiiŋgi</u> men gin.   *Person <u>heard</u> thing for chief.*
OVSL   (b)   Aŋ gin <u>tiiŋgi</u> men nänṭä piik.   *Person <u>heard</u> thing in water place.*
RVSO   (18a)   Aŋ yätkä bi <u>tiiŋgänä</u> men gin.   *Person will <u>hear</u> thing for chief.*
OVSL   (b)   Aŋ gin bi <u>tiiŋgänä</u> men nänṭä piik.   *Person will <u>hear</u> thing in water place.*

The RVSO and OVSL applicative verbs below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentences (17-18) above. SVO past verbs are shown for comparision. These applicative verbs have the same root vowel changes as SVO verbs.

RVSO and OVSL verbs

Final cons	SVO Past (9)	Vow change	Cons change	RVSO/ OVSL Past (17)	RVSO/ OVSL Non-past (18)		RVSO/ OVSL Non-past prog (17)	
	-ñä			-jki	-jkänä		-ckätä	
p	täppä	a → ä	pjk → pk	täpki	täpkänä	pck → pk	täpkätä	*touch*
t	duttu	u	tjk → tk	dutki	dutkunu	tck → tk	dutkutu	*carry*
c	iccä	i	cjk → ck	icki	ickänä	cck → ck	ickätä	*take*
k	mükkü	ü	kjk → kk	mükkï	mükkünü	kck → kk	mükkütü	*catch*
r	yuttu	oo →u	rjk → rk	yurki	yurkunu	rck → rk	yurkutu	*see*
l	kïṭṭä	ï	ljk→ lk	kïlkï	kïlkänä	lck→ lk	kïlkätä	*sharpen*
m	ṭiimmä	ee→ii	mjk →mg	ṭiimgi	ṭiimgänä	mck →mk	ṭiimkätä	*carry*
n	gäännä	aa→ää	njk → ng	gäängi	gäängänä	nck → nk	gäänkätä	*gather*
ñ	tääññä	aa→ää	ñjk → ñg	tääñgi	tääñgänä	ñck → ñk	tääñkätä	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋŋä	ii	ŋjk → ŋg	tiiŋgi	tiiŋgänä	ŋck → ŋk	tiiŋkätä	*hear*
w	määññä	aa→ää	wjk → jg	määjgi	määjgänä	wck → ck	määckätä	*look for*
y	ŋiññä	ee → i	yjk → jg	ŋijgi	ŋijgänä	yck → ck	ŋickätä	*crunch*

The sentences in (19-20) all have SRVO or SOVL applicative verbs in a **ogo** 'that' dependent clause. The verb **tiiŋginïï** 'heard' in (19a-b) with suffix –**jkïnïï** has past time, and the verb **tiiŋgïï** 'hear' in (20a-b) with suffix –**jkïï** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

              Aŋ gaaggaak oon kiinne   *Raven told man . . .*
RVSO   (19)   . . . ogo, yätkä <u>tiiŋginïï</u> men gin.   *. . . that, person <u>heard</u> thing for chief.*
OVSL   . . . ogo, gin <u>tïïŋgïnïï</u> men nänṭä piik.   *. . . that, person <u>heard</u> thing in water place.*
RVSO   (20)   . . . ogo, yätkä bi <u>tïïŋgïï</u> men gin.   *. . . that, person will <u>hear</u> thing for chief.*
OVSL   . . . ogo, gin bi <u>tïïŋgïï</u> men nänṭä piik.   *. . . that, person will <u>hear</u> thing in water place.*

Dependent past, non-past and non-past progressive verbs are shown below. Past (non-dependent) verbs are shown for comparison. The heavy suffixes **-jkïnïï**, **-jkïdïï** and **-jkïï** cause the root vowels i, ii, u, uu to become ï, ïï, ü, üü.

RVSO and OVSL verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	RVSO/ OVSL Past (17)	Cons change	RVSO/ OVSL Past **subor** (19)	RVSO/ OVSL Non-past **subor** (20)	RVSO/ OVSL Non-past prog **subor** (19)	
	-jki		-jkïnïï	-jkïï	-jkïdïï	
p	täpki	pjk → pk	täpkïnïï	täpkïï	täpkïdïï	*touch*
t	dutki	tjk → tk	dütkïnïï	dütkïï	dütkïdïï	*carry, take*
c	icki	cjk → ck	ïckïnïï	ïckïï	ïckïdïï	*take*
k	mükkï	kjk → kk	mükkïnïï	mükkïï	mükkïdïï	*catch*
r	yurki	rjk → rk	yürkïnïï	yürkïï	yürkïdïï	*see*
l	kïlki	ljk→ lk	kïlkïnïï	kïlkïï	kïlkïdïï	*sharpen*
m	ṭiimgi	mjk → mg	ṭïïmgïnïï	ṭïïmgïï	ṭïïmgïdïï	*carry (on head)*
n	gäängi	njk → ng	gäängïnïï	gäängïï	gäängïdïï	*gather (grass)*
ñ	tääñgi	ñjk → ñg	tääñgïnïï	tääñgïï	tääñgïdïï	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋgi	ŋjk → ŋg	tïïŋgïnïï	tïïŋgïï	tïïŋgïdïï	*hear*
w	määjgi	wjk → jg	määjgïnïï	määjgïï	määjgïdïï	*look for*
y	ŋïjgi (?)	yjk → jg	ŋïjgïnïï (?)	ŋïjgïï (?)	ŋïjgïdïï (?)	*crunch, chew*

The sentences in (21-22) both have EVSO applicative verbs in a main clause. The verb **tiiŋŋene** 'hear' in (21) with suffix –**ñene** has past time, and the verb **tiiŋene** 'hear' in (22) with suffix -**yene** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

EVSO (21) Aŋ gin (gerger) tiiŋŋene men gin (uullu). *Pers used thing (harp) to hear thing (song).*
      (22) Aŋ gin bi tiiŋene men gin. *Person will use thing to hear thing.*

The EVSO applicative verbs below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentences (21-22) above. These applicative verbs have the same root vowel changes as SVO verbs.

EVSO verbs

Final cons	Vow change	Cons change	EVSO Past (21)		EVSO Non-past (22)		EVSO Non-past prog (22)	
			-ñene		-cene/ -yene		-tte	
p	a → ä	pñ → pp	täppene	pc → p	täpene	ptt → pt	täpte	*touch*
t	u	tñ → tt	duttene	tc → t	dutene	ttt → tt	dutte	*carry*
c	i	cñ → cc	iccene	cc → c	icene	ctt → ct	icte	*take*
k	ü	kñ → kk	mükkene	kc → k	mükene	ktt → kt	mükte	*catch*

188

Final cons								
r	oo →u	rñ → ṭṭ	yuṭṭene	rc → ṭ	yuṭene	rtt → ṭ	yurte	*see*
l	ï	lñ → ṭṭ	kïṭṭene	lc → ṭ	kïṭene	ltt → lt	kïlte	*sharpen*
m	ee→ii	mñ → mm	ṭiimmene	my → m	ṭiimene	mtt → mt	ṭiimte (?)	*carry*
n	aa→ää	nñ → nn	gäännene	ny → n	gäänene	ntt → nt	gäänte (?)	*gather*
ñ	aa→ää	ññ	tääññene	ñy → ñ	tääñene	ñtt → ñt	tääñte (?)	*press*
ŋ	ii	ŋñ → ŋŋ	tiiŋŋene	ŋy → ŋ	tiiŋene	ŋtt → ŋt	tiiŋte (?)	*hear*
w	aa→ää	wñ → ññ	määññene	wy → j	määjene	wtt → tt	määtte (?)	*look for*
y	ee → i	yñ → ññ	ŋiññene	yy → j	ŋijene	ytt → tt	ŋitte (?)	*crunch*

EVSO towards verbs are shown below in comparison with SOV non-past and EVSO past verbs. The past towards verbs have the same vowel changes for applicative (a → ä, e → i, o → u, some vowels shorten) as other applicative verbs, but they also have long vowels (except for the verb **täppene** 'touched towards') to show they are towards verbs. However, the non-past progressive towards verbs do not have the long vowel change for toward verbs (for an unknown reason).

EVSO towards verbs

Final cons	SOV Non-past (2)	EVSO Past (21)	Vow change	Cons change	EVSO Past towards (21)	EVSO Non-past prog towards (21)		
	-e	-ñene			-pene/ -yene (?)		-yede	
p	tabe	täppene	a → ä	pp → pp	täppene	py → p	täpede	*touch*
t	dude	duttene	u → uu	tp → t	duutene	ty → t	dutede	*carry*
c	ije	iccene	i → ii	cp → c	iicene	cy → c	icede	*take*
k	müge	mükkene	ü → üü	kp → k	müükene	ky → k	mükede	*catch*
r	yoore	yuttene	oo→uu	rp → ṭ	yuuṭene	ry → r	yurede	*see*
l	kïle	kïṭṭene	ï → ïï	lp → ṭ	kïïṭene	ly → l	kïlede	*sharpen*
m	ṭeeme	ṭiimmene	ee →ii	mp→ mm	ṭiimmene	my→ m	ṭiimede	*carry*
n	gaane	gäännene	aa→ää	ny → n	gäänene	ny → n	gäänede	*gather*
ñ	taañe	tääññene	aa→ää	ñy → ñ	tääñene	ñy → ñ	tääñede	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋe	tiiŋŋene	ii	ŋy → ŋ	tiiŋene	ŋy → ŋ	tiiŋede	*hear*
w	maawe	määññene	aa → ää	wy → j	määjene	wy → j	määjede	*look for*
y	ŋeeye	ŋiññene	ee → ii	yy → j	ŋiijene	yy → j	ŋijede	*crunch*

EVSO away verbs are shown below in comparison with SOV non-past and EVSO past verbs. These away verbs have the vowel changes for applicative verbs (a → ä, e → i, o → u, some vowels shorten) like the EVSO past verbs.

EVSO away verbs

Final cons	SOV Non-past (2)	EVSO Past (21)	Vow change	Cons change	EVSO Past away (21)	EVSO Non-past prog away (21)	
	-e	-ñene			-ccene/	-ccete	

			-cene				
p	tabe	täppene	a → ä	pcc → pc	täpcene	pcc → pc	täpcete	*touch*
t	dude	duttene	u	tcc → tc	dutcene	tcc → tc	dutcete	*carry*
c	ije	iccene	i	ccc → cc	iccene	ccc → cc	iccete	*take*
k	müge	mükkene	ü	kcc → kc	mükcene	kcc → kc	mükcete	*catch*
r	yoore	yuṭṭene	oo →u	rcc → rc	yurcene	rcc → rc	yurcete	*see*
l	kïle	kïṭṭene	ï	lcc → lc	kïlcene	lcc→ lc	kïlcete	*sharpen*
m	ṭeeme	ṭiimmene	ee→ii	mc → mj	ṭiimjene	mcc → mc	ṭiimcete	*carry*
n	gaane	gäännene	aa→ää	nc → nj	gäänjene	ncc → nc	gääncete	*gather*
ñ	taañe	tääññene	aa→ää	ñc → ñj	tääñjene	ñcc → ñc	tääñcete	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋe	tiiŋŋene	ii	ŋc → ŋj	tiiŋjene	ŋcc → ŋc	tiiŋcete	*hear*
w	maawe	määññene	aa→ää	wc → jj	määjjene	wcc → cc	määccete	*look for*
y	ŋeeye	ŋiññene	ee → i	yc → jj	ŋijjene	ycc → cc	ŋiccete	*crunch*

The sentences in (23-24) both have EV applicative verbs in a **ogo** 'that' dependent clause. The verb **tïïŋïnïï** 'heard' in (23) with suffix **–pïnïï** has past time, and the verb **tïïŋjïï** 'hear' in (24) with suffix **–cïï** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

		Aŋ gaaggaak oon kiinne	*Raven told man . . .*
EV	(23)	. . . ogo, gin tïïŋïnïï ko men gin.	*. . . that, person used thing to <u>hear</u> thing.*
	(24)	. . . ogo, gin bi tïïŋjïï ko men gin.	*. . . that, person will use thing to <u>hear</u> thing.*

EV dependent past and non-past progressive verbs are shown below. EVSO past (non-dependent) verbs are shown for comparison. The heavy suffixes **-ñïï** and **-dïï** cause the root vowels **i, ii, u, uu** to become **ï, ïï, ü, üü**.

EV verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	EVSO Past (21)	Cons change	EV Past subor (23)	EV Non-past prog subor (23)		
	-ñene		-ñïï	-dïï (?)		
p	täppene	pñ → pp	täppïï	pd→ bd		tabdïï	*touch*
t	duttene	tñ → tt	düttïï	td → dd		düddïï	*carry, take*
c	iccene	cñ → cc	ïccïï	cd → jd	mor	ïjdïï	*take*
k	mükkene	kñ → kk	mükkïï	kd → gd		mügdïï	*catch*
r	yuṭṭene	rñ → ṭṭ	yüṭṭïï	rd → rt		yürtïï	*see*
l	kïṭṭene	lñ → ṭṭ	kïṭṭïï	ld	mor	kïldïï	*sharpen*
m	ṭiimmene	mñ → mm	ṭïïmmïï	md		ṭïïmdïï	*carry (on head)*
n	gäännene	nñ → nn	gäännïï	nd	mor	gäändïï	*gather (grass)*
ñ	tääññene	ññ	tääññïï	ñd	mor	tääñdïï	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋŋene	ŋñ → ŋŋ	tïïŋŋïï	ŋd		tïŋdïï	*hear*
w	määññene	wñ → ññ	määññïï	wc	mor	määjdïï (?)	*look for*
y	ŋiññene	yñ → ññ	ŋiññïï	yc	mor	ŋïjdïï (?)	*crunch, chew*

Dependent towards verbs are shown below in comparison with past towards (non-dependent) verbs. All have root vowel changes for applicative (**a → ä, e → i, o → u**) and towards (root vowels become long).

EV towards verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent claus

Final cons	EVSO Past towards (21)	Vow change	Cons change	EV Past towards subor (23)	EV Non-past prog towards subor (23)	
	-pene/-yene (?)			-pïnïï/-yïnïï	-pïdïï/-yïdïï (?)	
p	täppene	a → ä	pp → pp	täppïnïï	täppïdïï	*touch*
t	duutene	u → uu	tp → t	düütïnïï	düütïdïï	*carry*
c	iicene	i → ii	cp → c	ïïcïnïï	ïïcïdïï	*take*
k	müükene	ü → üü	kp → k	müükïnïï	müükïdïï	*catch*
r	yuuṭene	oo→uu	rp → ṭ	yüüṭïnïï	yüüṭïdïï	*see*
l	kïïṭene	ï → ïï	lp → ṭ	kïïṭïnïï	kïïṭïdïï	*sharpen*
m	ṭiimmene	ee → ii	mp → mm	ṭïïmmïnïï	ṭïïmmïdïï	*carry*
n	gäänene	aa → ää	ny → n	gäänïnïï	gäänïdïï	*gather*
ñ	tääñene	aa → ää	ñy → ñ	tääñïnïï	tääñïdïï	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋene	ii	ŋy → ŋ	ṭïïŋïnïï	ṭïïŋïdïï	*hear*
w	määjene	aa → ää	wy → j	määjïnïï	määjïdïï	*look for*
y	ŋiijene	ee → ii	yy → j	ŋïïjïnïï	ŋïïjïdïï	*crunch*

EV dependent away verbs are shown below in comparision with EVSO past away (non-dependent) verbs. Again, the dependent verbs have the same root vowel changes for applicative (**a → ä, e → i, o → u,** some vowels shorten) as the non-dependent verbs.

EV away verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	EVSO Past away (21)	Cons change	EV Past away subor (23)	EV Non-past away subor (24)	EV Non-past prog away subor (23)	
	-ccene/ -cene		-ccïnïï/-cïnïï (?)	-ccïï/-cïï	-ccïdïï/-cïdïï	
p	täpcene	pcc → pc	täpcïnïï	täpcïï	täpcïdïï	*touch*
t	dutcene	tcc → tc	dütcïnïï	dütcïï	dütcïdïï	*carry*
c	iccene	ccc → cc	ïccïnïï	ïccïï	ïccïdïï	*take*
k	mükcene	kcc → kc	mükcïnïï	mükcïï	mükcïdïï	*catch*
r	yurcene	rcc → rc	yürcïnïï	yürcïï	yürcïdïï	*see*
l	kïlcene	lcc → lc	kïlcïnïï	kïlcïï	kïlcïdïï	*sharpen*
m	ṭiimjene	mc → mj	ṭïïmjïnïï	ṭïïmjïï	ṭïïmjïdïï	*carry*
n	gäänjene	nc → nj	gäänjïnïï	gäänjïï	gäänjïdïï	*gather*
ñ	tääñjene	ñc → ñj	tääñjïnïï	tääñjïï	tääñjïdïï	*press*
ŋ	tiiŋjene	ŋc → ŋj	ṭïïŋjïnïï	ṭïïŋjïï	ṭïïŋjïdïï	*hear*
w	määjjene	wc → jj	määjjïnïï	määjjïï	määjjïdïï	*look for*

191

| y | ŋijjene | yc → jj | ŋïjjïnïï | ŋïjjïï | ŋïjjïdïï | crunch |

Applicative suffixes on verbs in stories are shown below in **bold**, and root verbs are shown below each suffix.

PT.SRVO.NR	**-jkene**		
Bääm 10	yeep	**yiipkene**	he **threw** it for him
Bääm 11	nüüt	äätin Bääm **nüütkene**	he came and **informed** Dove (caused to be shown)
Bääm 42	nüüt	Bääm **nüütkene**	he **informed** Dove
Leeñ 8	nüüt	Leeñ attä meken **nüütkene**	Elephant went **informed** others
Bääm 64	äk	**äkkene**	he **released** him
Leeñ 36	taac	**tääckene** LOC	he **asked** it from them
Geel 10	lääk	**lääkkene**	He **loosened** from them
Iin 62	rüt	Geel Wiiw **rütkene**	Lion **rejected** Fox

PT.SOVL.NR	**-jkene**		
Bääm 20	ṭar	Gaaggaak **ṭarkene** nänṭa piik	he **hid** from Raven in water place
Äwñä 10	kup	kääl tüke **kupkene**	cave door **opened**

NP.SRVO.NR	**-jke**		
Yaam 16	näk	**nääkke** pillä LOC	it **makes** them rep. **feel** pain

PT.SRVO.DP.NR	**-jkenee**		
Kiñuk 3	tuñ	**tuñgenee** maañ	he **burn** fire for it
Kiñuk 9	näk	**näkkenee**	he **tasted** it (he caused himself to **feel** it)
Pïïṇṇä 3	nüüt	Jooŋ **nüütkenee**	he **informed** God

NP.PR.SRVO.DP.NR	**-jkedee**		
Leeñ 9	näŋ	Wiiw me **näŋgedee** waygä	Fox **makes** shoes for people
Leeñ 15	ŋaal	**ŋäälkedee** waygä	he **was peeling** shoes for them

PT.RVSO.NR	**-jki**		
Geel 14	taac	**tääcki** ti Wiiw	Fox **asked** them

NP.EVSO.NR	**-tte**		
Yaam 5	ṭeem	ken **ṭemte** määngä wakkä LOC	women use it to **carry** things
Yaam 7	ḍüür	**ḍürte** merkä	they use it to **carry** children
Yaam 9	lïïl	a yaam ken **lïïlte** määngä	they make basket to **enables** women
Geel 37	üüt	Geel **üütte** ti nänṭä ŋiil	he used Lion to **run** to dancing plac

Exercise 31

Underline twice all applicative verbs. Underline once subjects, objects, receivers and experiencers of these verbs.

(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ a yaam ken **liïlte** määngä ḍürdïn
wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,

*And since a basket **enables** women*
to carry these things that are many,

(Yaam 16-17)
Aŋ ŋucana nääkke pillä ḍuuggen ti ke
ŋätken ti bäätcïdï ïñï ke teygen ti.

And it also makes them feel pain (hurts) in necks
and in their backs going down to their hips.

(Kiñuk 2-3)
Aŋ atto gäänono luum ïwïn,
aŋ büükkee käälok, aŋ tuñgenee maañ.

He went to collect dry grass,
heaped it in cave, and he made fire burn it.

(Kiñuk 8-9)
Aŋ düüdïnïï woo, aŋ iin durñe liikono woo
gine ṭuule gunne ti, näkkenee.

They carried him outside, young hyena broke off
piece from side, he made himself feel it (taste).

(Bääm 10-11)
Aŋ Bääm booc, aŋ yiipkene.
Aŋ yoori Gaaggaak, aŋ äätin Bääm nüütkene.

Dove was afraid, he threw it (chick) for him.
Raven saw it, came made Dove see it (informed)

(Bääm 20)
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ
Wiiw ättä Gaaggaak ṭärkene nänṭa piik.

Another day,
Fox came and hide from Raven in place of water.

(Bääm 39)
Aŋ Wiiw jone yaaññä,
aŋ ättä ääcin kücam cäygene jï päk.

And Fox's heart became angry, and he went and
made sit (had) an animal skin bag full of grain.

(Bääm 64)
Aŋ yoku taajjï Wiiw,
aŋ äkkene, aŋ Bääm pääynä.

And Fox wanted to ask him (something),
and released it for him, and Dove flew away.

(Leeñ 8-9)
Aŋ Leeñ ättä meken nüütkene ogo,
"Wiiw me näŋgedee waygä ka."

Elephant went and made others see it (informed)
"Fox makes shoes for people."

(Leeñ 14-15)
Aŋ Wiiw juwin Liik paaje kïïgïn ogo,
ŋäälkedee waygä,

Fox got up and was peeling Elphants in their feet
saying that, he was peeling shoes for them,

(Leeñ 36)
Aŋ tääckene ti ogo, "Ikee ate wa?"

He asked it from them, "Where are you going?"

(Geel 10-11)
Aŋ juwin ḍoŋe lääkkene ogo kar,

He got up and loosened (left) from them,

(Pïïnṇä 3)
Aŋ wääna attee ko ye, Jooŋ nüütkenee.

when he went, he made God see it (informed).

193

Intransive motion verb suffixes

An <u>intransitive verb</u> has a subject but no object or receiver. Intransitive verbs can be motions, states or changes.

Motion intransitive verbs have different suffixes (ending letters) than state or change intransitive verbs.

Differences in suffixes for motion and state/change verbs

	Motion			State/change		
Past	-cin/-yin	Men üüŋïn.	*Person went.*	-nä	Men tüwnü.	*Person died.*
Non-past	-cï/-yï	Men bi üüŋï.	*Person will go.*	-Ø	Men bi tüw.	*Person will die.*
Non-past prog	-cïdï/-yïdï	Men üüŋïdï.	*Person is going.*	-it	Men tüwït.	*Person is dying.*

However, some intransitive verbs can be either a motion or state verb. That is, some of the same verbs can take both motion and state verb suffixes.

Verbs with both motion and state/change suffixes

	Motion		State/change		
Non-past	-cï/-yï	Men bi gïtï. Men bi weekï.	-Ø	Men bi giit. Men bi week.	*Person will give birth.* *Person will cry.*
Past away	-ccin/-cin	Men ñapcin. Men bülcïn.	-ñä	Men ñappä. Men büṭṭü.	*Person was happy away.* *Person returned away.*
Non-past prog towards	-wïdï	Men ḍäägïdï. Men ḍimmïdï.	-dïdï	Men ḍagdïdï. Men ḍïïmdïdï.	*Person is arriving here.* *Person is falling here.*

In this lesson, we learn about the suffixes of motion verbs. In the next lesson, we learn about the suffixes of state and change verbs.

Below are suffixes of motion verbs with changes for time, type of clause, number and direction. Next, we will see examples of verbs with these suffixes and how the suffixes change with the last root letters.

Motion SV suffixes

Order	Clause	Direction	Past	Non-past	Past Progressive	Non-past Progressive
SV	main	normal	-cin/-yin	-cï/-yï	-cin/-yin	-cïdï/-yïdï
		towards	-win	-wï	-win	-wïdï
		away	-ccin/-cin	-ccï/-cï	-ccin/-cin	-ccïdï/-cïdï
	depend	normal	-cono/-yono	-co/-yo	-cono/-yono	-codo/-yodo
		towards	-wono	-wo	-wono	-wodo

| | away | -ccono/-cono | -cco/-co | -ccono/-cono | -ccodo/-codo |

The sentences (25-26) have SV motion verbs in a main clause. The verb üüŋin 'heard' in (25) with suffix –win has past time, and the verb üüŋü 'will hear' in (26) with suffix –wä follows bi 'will' and has non-past time.

SV (MT)   (25)   Aŋ men üüŋin.   *Person went.*
           (26)   Aŋ men bi üŋü.   *Person will go.*

The SV motion verbs below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentences (25-26) above. The past verbs have the suffix -cin/-yin, the non-past verbs have the suffix -cï/-yï, and the non-past progressive verbs have the suffix -cïdï/-yïdï. These suffixes cause the sound changes shown below in bold. The heavy suffixes -cï/-yï, -cïdï/-yïdï cause the roots with vowels i, ii or u, uu to become heavy. The suffixes below are only attach to a few verbs. [Cross out those below that do not exist.]

Motion verbs

Final cons	Cons change	Motion Past (25)	Motion Non-past (26)	Motion Non-past prog	
		-cin/-yin	-cï/-yï	-cïdï/-yïdï	
p	pc → p	ñap**in** (?)	ñap**ï**	ñap**ïdï** (?)	*be happy*
t	tc → t	git**in** (?)	gït**ï**	gït**ïdï** (?)	*give birth*
		lüüt**ïn** (?)	lüüt**ï**	lüüt**ïdï** (?)	*run*
c	cc → c	yac**in** (?)	yac**ï**	yac**ïdï** (?)	*be bad*
k	kc → k	week**in** (?)	week**ï**	week**ïdï** (?)	*cry*
		ḍak**in** (?)	ḍak**ï**	ḍak**ïdï** (?)	*arrive*
		wüük**ïn**	wük**ï**	wüük**ïdï**	*go, scoot*
r	rc → ṭ	ŋeṭ**in** (?)	ŋeṭ**ï**	ŋeṭ**ïdï** (?)	*be good*
		jooṭ**in** (?)	jooṭ**ï** (?)	jooṭ**ïdï** (?)	*go down*
l	lc → ṭ	ŋeeṭ**in** (?)	ŋeeṭ**ï**	ŋeeṭ**ïdï** (?)	*dance*
		büṭ**in** (?)	büṭ**ï** (?)	büṭ**ïdï** (?)	*return*
m	my → m	küüm**ïn** (?)	küüm**ï**	küüm**ïdï** (?)	*be full*
		ḍim**in** (?)	ḍim**ï**	ḍim**ïdï** (?)	*fall*
n	ny → n	pen**in** (?)	pen**ï** (?)	pen**ïdï** (?)	*be angry*
		boon**in** (?)	boon**ï**	boon**ïdï** (?)	*be weak*
ŋ	ŋy → ŋ	üŋ**in** (?)	üŋ**ï** (?)	üŋ**ïdï** (?)	*go*
w	wy → j	tüj**ïn** (?)	tüj**ï**	tüj**ïdï** (?)	*die*
y	yy → j	cääj**in** (?)	cääj**ï**	cääj**ïdï** (?)	*sit, stay*
		kooj**in**	kooy**ï** (?)	kooj**ïdï**	*land, fly*

Below, towards verbs are compared with past verbs (with normal direction). The root vowels in most towards verbs below become long. Also, the vowels **a, aa** become **ää**, the vowels **e, ee** become **ii**, and the vowels **o, oo** become **uu**.

195

Motion towards verbs

Final cons	Motion Past (25)	Vow chang	Cons change	Motion Past towards (25)	Motion Non-past towards (26)	Motion Non-past prog towards (25)	
	-cin/-yin			-win	-wï (?)	-wïdï	
p	ñapin (?)	a → ä	pw → bb	ñäbbin	ñäbbï (?)	ñäbbïdï	*be happy*
t	gitin (?)	i → ii	tw → d	giidin (?)	gïïdï (?)	gïïdïdï (?)	*give birth*
	lütïn (?)	ü→üü		lüüdïn	lüüdï (?)	lüüdïdï	*run*
c	yaacin (?)	aa→ää	cw → j	yääjin	yääjï (?)	yääjïdï	*be bad*
k	weekin (?)	ee→ii	kw → g	wiigin (?)	wïïgï (?)	wïïgïdï (?)	*cry*
	ḍakin (?)	a→ ää		ḍäägin	ḍäägï	ḍäägïdï	*arrive*
	wüükïn	üü		wüügin (?)	wüügï (?)	wüügïdï (?)	*go, scoot*
r	ŋetịn (?)	e → ii	rw → r, ṭ	ŋiirin (?)	ŋïïrï	ŋïïrïdï	*be good*
	joorin (?)	oo→uu		juurin	jüürï	jüürïdï	*go down*
l	ŋeetịn (?)	ee → ii	lw → l, ṭ	ŋiilin (?)	ŋïïlï	ŋïïlïdï	*dance*
	bülin (?)	ü →üü		büüṭïn	—	büüṭïdï	*return*
m	küümïn (?)	üü	mw→mm	küümmïn(?)	küümmï(?)	küümmïdï(?)	*be full*
	ḍimin (?)	i		ḍimmin	ḍimmï	ḍimmïdï	*fall*
n	penin (?)	e → ii	nw → n	piinin (?)	pïïnï (?)	pïïnïdï	*be angry*
	boonin (?)	oo→uu		buunin (?)	büünï	büünïdï	*be weak*
ŋ	üŋin (?)	ü→ üü	ŋw → ŋ	üüŋïn	üüŋï	üüŋïdï	*go*
w	tüjïn (?)	ü→ üü	ww → w	tüüwïn	tüüwï	tüüwïdï	*die*
y	cääjin (?)	ää	yw → y	—-	—	—-	*sit, stay*
	kooyin (?)	oo→uu		kuuyin	küüyï	küüyïdï	*land, fly*

Below, away verbs are compared with past verbs. There are no root vowel changes for away verbs.

Motion away verbs

Final cons	Motion Past (25)	Cons change	Motion Past away (25)	Motion Non-past away (26)	Motion Non-past prog away (25)	
	-cin/-yin		-ccin/-cin	-ccï/–cï	-ccïdï/-cïdï	
p	ñapin (?)	pcc → pc	ñapcin	ñapcï (?)	ñapcïdï	*be happy*
t	gitin (?)	tcc → tc	gitcin	gïtcï (?)	gïtcïdï	*give birth*
c	yaacin (?)	ccc → cc	—-	yaaccï (?)	yaaccïdï	*be bad*
	weekin (?)		weekcï (?)	weekcï (?)	weekcïdï (?)	*cry*
k	ḍakin (?)	kcc → kc	—-	ḍakcï (?)	ḍakcïdï	*arrive*
r	ŋetịn (?)	rcc → rc, rj	ŋercin (?)	ŋercï (?)	ŋercïdï	*be good*
	jooṭin (?)		joorjin	joorjï	joorjïdï	*go down*
l	ŋeetịn (?)	lcc → lc, lj	ŋeeljin (?)	ŋeeljï	ŋeeljïdï	*dance*
	büṭin (?)		bülcïn	bülcï	bülcïdï	*return*
m	küümïn (?)	mc → mj	küümjïn (?)	küümjï (?)	küümjïdï (?)	*be full*
	ḍimin (?)		ḍimjin (?)	ḍimjï (?)	ḍimjïdï	*fall*

196

n	penin (?)	nc → nj	penjin (?)	penjï	penjïdï (?)	*be angry*
	boonin (?)		boonjin (?)	boonjï	boonjïdï (?)	*be weak*
ŋ	üŋin (?)	ŋc → nj	üŋjïn (?)	üŋjï	üŋjïdï (?)	*go*
w	tüjïn (?)	wc → jj	tüjjïn	tüjjï	tüjjïdï	*die*
y	cääjin (?)	yc → jj	cääjjin	cääjjï	cääjjïdï	*sit, stay*
	kooyin (?)		koojjin	koojjï (?)	koojjïdï (?)	*land, fly*

Repeat verbs are shown below in comparison with past and non-past progressive verbs. A repeat verb form has a long root vowel where **a, aa** becomes **ää**, **e, ee**, becomes **ii**, and **o, oo** becomes **uu** (such as **gitin** 'gave birth once', **giitin** 'gave birth repeatedly'). Verbs with root-final **m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y** use the progressive forms for repeat verbs (such as **üŋï** 'go once', **üŋïdï** 'go repeatedly, is going').

Motion repeat verbs

Final Cons	Motion Past (30)	Vow chang	Motion Past **repeat** (1)	Motion Non-past **repeat** (2)	Motion Non-past prog **repeat** (1)	Motion Non-past prog (5)	[check all]
	-cin/-yin		-cin/-yin	-cï/-yï	-cïdï/-yïdï	-cïdï/-yïdï	
p	ñapin	a→ää	ñääpin	ñääpï	ñääpïdï	ñapïdï	*be happy*
t	gitin	i→ii	giitin	gïïtï	gïïtïdï	gïtïdï	*give birth*
c	yaacin	aa→ää	yääcin	yääcï	yääcïdï	yaacïdï	*be bad*
k	weekin	ee→ii	wiikin	wïïkï	wïïkïdï	weekïdï	*cry*
r	ŋetin	e→ii	ŋiitin	ŋïïtï	ŋïïtïdï	ŋetïdï	*be good*
l	ŋeetin	ee→ii	ŋiitin	ŋïïtï	ŋïïtïdï	ŋeetïdï	*dance*
m	küümïn		küümïn	küümïdï	küümïdï	küümïdï	*be full*
n	boonin		boonin	boonïdï	boonïdï	boonïdï	*be weak*
ŋ	üŋïn		üŋïn	üŋïdï	üŋïdï	üŋïdï	*go*
w	tüjïn		tüjïn	tüjïdï	tüjïdï	tüjïdï	*die*
y	cääjin		cääjin	cääjïdï	cääjïdï	cääjïdï	*sit, stay*

The sentences (27-28) have SV motion verbs in a dependent clause that begins with **ogo** 'that'. The verb **üüŋono** 'went' in (27) with suffix –**yono** has past time, and the verb **üüŋo** 'hears' in (28) with suffix -**yo** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

SV (MT) (27) Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo**, men üŋono. *Chief told man **that**, person went.*
          (28) Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo**, men bi üŋo. *Chief told man **that**, person will go.*

Dependent past and non-past progressive verbs are shown below. Past (non-dependent) verbs are shown for comparison.

Motion verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	Motion Past (25)	change	Motion Past	Motion Non-past	Motion Non-past prog	[check all]

197

	-cin/-yin		subor (27) -cono/-yono	subor (28) -co/-yo	subor (27) -codo/-yodo	
p	ñapin (?)	pc → p	ñapono	ñapo	ñapodo	*be happy*
t	gitin (?)	tc → t	gitono	gito	gitodo	*give birth*
c	yaacin (?)	cc → c	yaacono	yaaco	yaacodo	*be bad*
k	ḍakin (?)	kc → k	ḍakono	ḍako	ḍakodo	*arrive*
r	jooṭin (?)	rc → ṭ	jooṭono	jooṭo	jooṭodo	*go down*
l	büṭin (?)	lc → ṭ,lj	büṭono	büṭo	büṭodo	*return*
m	ḍimin (?)	my → m	ḍimono	ḍimo	ḍimodo	*fall*
n	penin (?)	ny → n	penono	peno	penodo	*be angry*
ŋ	üŋïn (?)	ŋy → ŋ	üŋono	üŋo	üŋodo	*go*
w	tüjïn (?)	wy → j	tüjono	tüjo	tüjodo	*die*
y	kooyin (?)	yy → j	koojono	koojo	koojodo	*sit, stay*

Dependent towards verbs are shown below and compared with non-dependent towards verbs.

Motion towards verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	Motion Past towards (25)	change	Motion Past towards **subor** (27)	Motion Non-past towards **subor** (28)	Motion Non-past prog towards **subor** (27)	
	-win		-wono	-wo	-wodo	
p	ñäbbin	pw → bb	ñäbbono	ñabbo	ñäbbodo	*be happy*
t	giidin (?)	tw → d	giidono (?)	giido (?)	giidodo (?)	*give birth*
c	yääjin	cw → j	yaajono	yääjo	yaajodo	*be bad*
k	ḍäägin	kw → g	ḍaagono	ḍäägo	ḍäägodo	*arrive*
r	juurin	rw → r, ṭ	juuṭono	juuṭo	juuṭodo	*go down*
l	büüṭïn	lw → l, ṭ	büüṭono	büüṭo	biiṭodo	*return*
m	ḍimmin	mw → mm	ḍimmono	ḍimmo	ḍimmodo	*fall*
n	piinin (?)	nw → n	piinono (?)	piino (?)	piinodo	*be angry*
ŋ	üüŋïn	ŋw → ŋ	üüŋono	üüŋo	üüŋodo	*go*
w	tüüwïn	ww → w	tüüwono (?)	tüüwo (?)	tüüwodo (?)	*die*
y	—-	yw → y	—-	cääyo	—-	*sit, stay*

Dependent away verbs are shown below and compared with non-dependent away verbs.

Motion away verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	Motion Past away (25)	change	Motion Past away **subor** (27)	Motion Non-past away **subor** (28)	Motion Non-past prog away **subor** (27)	
	-ccin/-cin		-ccono/-cono	-cco/–co	-ccodo/-codo	
p	ñapcin	pcc → pc	—-	—-	—-	*be happy*

t	gitcin	tcc → tc	gitcono	gitco	gitcodo	*give birth*
c	—	ccc → cc	—	yaacco (?)	yaaccodo (?)	*be bad*
k	—	kcc → kc	ḍukcono	ḍukco	ḍukcodo	*return (arrive)*
r	joorjin	rc → rj, ṭ	joorjono	joorjo (?)	joorjodo	*go down*
l	bülcïn	lcc → lc	bülcono	bülco	bülcodo	*return*
m	ḍimjin (?)	mc → mj	ḍimjono	ḍimjo	ḍimjodo	*fall*
n	penjin (?)	nc → nj	penjono (?)	penjo (?)	penjodo (?)	*be angry*
ŋ	ünjïn	ŋc → nj	ünjono	ünjo	ünjodo	*go*
w	tüjjïn	wc → jj	tüjjono	tüjjo	tüjjodo	*die*
y	cääjjin	yc → jj	cääjjono	cääjjo	cääjjodo	*sit, stay*

Dependent repeat verbs with a long root vowel are shown below and compared with non-dependent repeat verbs. Verbs with root-final **m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y** use the progressive forms for repeated actions.

Motion repeat verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	Motion Past repeat (25)	Vow chang	Motion Past repeat **subor** (27)	Motion Non-past repeat **subor** (28)	Motion Non-past prog repeat **subor** (27)	[check all]
	-cin/-yin		-cono/-yono	-co/-yo	-codo/-yodo	
p	ñääpin	a→ää	ñääpono	ñääpo	ñääpodo	*hit*[35]
t	giitin	i→ii	giitono	giito	giitodo	*carry*
c	yääcin	aa→ää	yääcono	yääco	yääcodo	*bite*
k	wiikin	ee→ii	wiikono	wiiko	wiikodo	*catch*
r	ŋiiṭin	e→ii	ŋiiṭono	ŋiiṭo	ŋiiṭodo	*cut*
l	ŋiiṭin	ee→ii	ŋiiṭono	ŋiiṭo	ŋiiṭodo	*push*
m	küümïn		küümono	küümodo	küümodo	*carry*
n	boonin		boonono	boonodo	boonodo	*gather*
ŋ	ünïn		ünono	ünodo	ünodo	*hear*
w	tüjïn		tüjono	tüjodo	tüjodo	*raise*
y	cääjin		cääjono	cääjodo	cääjodo	*chew*

When a subject is different than in the previous clause, or to show importance, a noun subject is used. In *Geel 44-45*, the motion verb **kuuyin** 'jumped' has the subject **Wiiw** 'Fox'. **Wiiw** is a different subject than **ṭulgu** 'girls' in the previous clause.

(Geel 44-45) (Subject noun)
An ṭulgu murru gïtï kä yaalgä, i ïnken pamgä.   *Girls came running with laughter, clapped hands.*
An <u>Wiiw</u> <u>**kuuyin**</u> iñï,   *And <u>Fox</u> <u>**jumped**</u> down,*
an wäättana ŋeel ke ṭulgu küüttaŋ.   *and then only he was dancing with the girls.*

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[35] The data for 'hit, bite, cut, push' are taken from Andersen (2018:112)

However, when the subject is the same as in the previous clause, the verb can be used without a subject noun or pronoun. The same verb form is used regardless of whether the subject noun or pronoun is mentioned.

In *Leeñ 23-24,* the motion verb **kuuyin** 'jumped' has the subject **Wiiw** 'Fox'. This noun is mentioned in the previous clause, but not in the clause **aŋ kuuyin woo** 'and he jumped out'. The same verb form **kuuyin** 'jumped' is used in *Leeñ 23-24* (without mentioned subject) as in *Geel 44-45* (with mentioned subject).

(Leeñ 23-24) (Verb only)
Aŋ Wiiw gäykä cüge yokïn,   *And Fox was moving the skins of their bodies,*
aŋ **kuuyin** woo, aŋ yore jecce woo.   *and he **jumped** out, and he ran away.*

Motion suffixes on verbs in stories are shown below in **bold**, and root verbs are shown below each suffix.

PT.MT.NR	**-cin/-yin**		
Äwñä 14	ḍuuk	**ḍuukin** LOC	*he returned*
Bääm 7	ḍuuk	**ḍuukin**	*he returned*
Bääm 11	äät	**äätin**	*he came*
Bääm 14	äät	**äätin**	*he came*
Leeñ 19	äät	Liik **äätin**	*Elephants came*

NP.MT.NR	**-cï/-yï**		
Geel 11	äät	**atï**	*he went*
Yaam 4	wäät	**wäätï** a	*it becomes*

NP.PR.MT.NR	**-cïdï/-yïdï**		
Iin 52	dääm	i **däämjïdï** päyjï	*while looking along the way*

PT.MT.TW	**-win**		
Bääm 21	kuuy	Gaaggaak **kuuyin** iñï	*Raven flew down*
Leeñ 23	kuuy	**kuuyin** woo	*he jumped out*
Geel 45	kuuy	Wiiw **kuuyin** iñï	*Fox jumped down*
Leeñ 10	juw	**juwin**	*they arose*
Leeñ 14	juw	Wiiw **juwin**	*Fox arose*
Geel 23	juw	ŋiil **juwin** LOC	*dance arose*
Äwñä 8	kaac	**kääjin** woo	*he went out*
Äwñä 10	kaac	Albe **kääjin** woo	*Albe went out*
Bääm 23	ḍim	**ḍimmin** iñï	*he fell down*
Iin 31	ïïc	ike ken **ïïjïn** kä jiik	*he started with speaking*
Iin 48	jüm	Geel jone **jümmïn**	*heart of Lion was bored*

NP.MT.TW	**-wï**		
Iin 28	ḍul	mäbaan **ḍülï** witkin	*people **gather** together*

NP.PR.MT.TW	**-wïdï**		
Äwñä 6	kaac	ike ṭäkï **kääjïdï** <u>woo</u>	*he was wanting to **go** <u>out</u>*

PT.MT.AW	**-ccin/** **-cin**		
Bääm 18	jic	**jiccin** <u>woo</u>	*he **ran** <u>away</u>*
Bääm 5	jaay	Wiiw **jaajjin**	*Fox **said***
Leeñ 12b	jaay	Wiiw **jaajjin**	*Fox **said** to them*
Leeñ 31	jaay	**jaajjin**	*he **said** to them*
Geel 16	jaay	Wiiw **jaajjin** LOC	*Fox **said***
Bääm 63	week	Bääm **weekcin**	*Dove **cried***
Bääm 19	yir	**yircin** <u>woo</u>	*they **laughed** it <u>out</u>*
Bääm 47	kooy	Bääm **koojjin** <u>ïñï</u>	*Dove **landed** <u>down</u>*
Iin 47	ḍuuk	men **ḍukcin**	*person **returned***
Iin 48	cääy	me **cääjjin**	*people **waited***

NP.MT.AW	**-ccï/-cï**		
Iin 27	boy	dalä nänṭä **bojjï**	*you let the place **become light***

NP.PR.MT.AW	**-ccïdï/** **-cïdï**		
Yaam 17	bäät	**bäätcïdï** <u>ïñï</u> ke	*pain **going** <u>down</u>*
Geel 7	wük	yaana ŋuca **wükcïdï** LOC	*who could **pass***
Geel 8	kaac	toorok batta **kaaccïdï** LOC	*badness **was** not **entering***

PT.MT.DP.NR	**-cono/** **-yono**		
Pïïṇṇä 10	püüt	Jooŋ jone **püütono**	*God's heart **became upset***

NP.MT.DP.NR	**-co/-yo**		
Kiñuk 7	määr	jone mor **määṭo**	*his heart was still **beating***
Kiñuk 14	kaac	**kaaco**	*they **were entering***
Kiñuk 15	ḍuuk	**ḍuuko** <u>woo</u>	*they **were returning** <u>out</u>*
Kiñuk 24	äät	iin mooye oja ken **ääto** <u>ñomuk</u>	*proud old hyena **went** <u>ahead</u>*
Iin 44	äät	ogo **ääto** täññaaŋŋi	*that he **come** right now*

PT.MT.DP.TW	**-wono**		
Kiñuk 31	juw	**juwono**	*they **arose***

NP.MT.DP.TW	**-wo**		

Pïïṇṇä 12	giit	ŋana **giido**	*he **would** not **give birth***

<u>NP.MT.DP.TW ?</u> **-wo**

Geel 27	ñap	ŋiil batta **bi ñabo**	*dance **will** not **be good***

<u>NP.PR.MT.DP.TW</u> **-wodo**

Kiñuk 17	piic	men waŋge **piijodo**	*person's eyes **were reviving***

<u>PT.MT.DP.AW</u> **-ccono/**
                  -cono

Kiñuk 33	buur	iygä **buurcono** <u>woo</u>	*hyenas **ran** <u>away</u>*
Kiñuk 36	ḍuuk	aŋ **ḍukcono** paa	*and he **returned** to his house*
Kiñuk 18	joor	äŋ **joorjono**	*sun **went down***
Kiñuk 30	dääm	**däämjono**	*they **looked***

<u>NP.MT.DP.AW</u> **-cco/-co**

Kiñuk 14	cääy	**cääjjo** ko	*they **were sitting***
Kiñuk 15	cääy	ŋuca **cääjjo** ko	*again they **were sitting***
Kiñuk 16	büül	**bülco** tabjï	*they **were returning** to touch him*
Kiñuk 17	wük	daa äŋ waŋe **wükco**	*when sun **was scooting***

<u>Exercise 32</u>

<u>Underline twice</u> all motion verbs. <u>Underline once</u> the subjects of these verbs.

(Yaam 16-17)
Aŋ ŋucana nääkke <u>pillä</u> ḍuuggen ti ke
ŋätken ti **<u>bäätcïdï</u>** iñï ke teygen ti.
It also makes them feel pain (hurt) in their necks
*and in their backs **going** down to their hips.*

(Kiñuk 7)
Aŋ men kaññïï käälok ogo ïwon,
i jone mor määṭo.
And they found person in cave that was chared,
and his heart was still beating.

(Kiñuk 17)
Aŋ naana daa äŋ waŋe wükco ye,
i men waŋge piijodo.
And when the sun's face moved on, then the
person's eyes began to revive.

(Kiñuk 18)
Aŋ wääna dääṇṇee ko ye, düüdïnïï woo,
i äŋ joorjono.
When he became soft, they carried him out
(from water), as the sun went down.

(Kiñuk 33)
Aŋ yeeppïï woo iygä ogo gom,
aŋ iygä buurcono woo,
And the hyenas threw off (person) thud,
and the hyenas ran away,

(Bääm 6)
Aŋ Bääm yaakï,
aŋ Wiiw attä näṇṇä len lämmä.
Then Dove was refusing
and Fox went and made an axe of mud.

(Bääm 21)
Aŋ Gaaggaak kuuyin ïñï, aŋ müŋŋe.   *And Raven flew down and he (Fox) caught him.*
(Bääm 47-48)
Aŋ Bääm koojjin ïñï ogo ike ämje päk,   *And Dove came down to eat the grain,*
(Leeñ 14-15)
Aŋ Wiiw juwin Liik paaje kïïgïn ogo,   *Fox got up and was peeling Elphants in their feet*
ŋäälkedee waygä,   *saying that, he was peeling shoes for them,*
(Geel 14-15)
Aŋ tääcki ti Wiiw ogo, "Ajïñe ogo, ikee   *Then Fox asked them, "Is it true that you are*
jaayje ogo Geel ken ogo oon pare ya?"   *saying that Lion is the only man?"*
Aŋ ṭulgu gïmmïn ogo, "Ee."   *And the girls agreed, "Yes."*
(Geel 8-9)
Aŋ Wiiw jiik yaakka tiiŋŋe, aŋ toorok batta   *Fox heard about this matter, and badness did not*
kaaccïdï wiñe ti, aŋ jone batta ñabaŋ.   *enter his head, and his heart was not happy.*
(Geel 26-27)
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, 'Ïkïï atcï,'   *People are sending me to say, 'Let's go',*
naana ïkïï baawgï tï ye, ŋiil batta bi ñabo ñap.   *if we both are absent, dance will not be good.*
(Geel 45)
Aŋ Wiiw kuuyin ïñï,   *And Fox jumped down,*
aŋ wäättana ŋeel ke ṭulgu küüttaŋ.   *and then only he was dancing with the girls.*
(Geel 46)
Aŋ wäättana waak muureen luggin   *Afterwards, all the animals acknowledged*
kä owkïtïn Wiiw.   *the strength of Fox.*
(Äwñä 9-10)
Aŋ ike nääkin nïïnkä kä yewwe käälok.   *And he spent two days in the cave.*
Aŋ wäättana kääl tüke kupkene,   *And afterwards the cave door opened,*
aŋ wäättana Albe kääjin woo.   *and then Albe went out.*

Intransitive state and change verb suffixes

In the previous lesson, we learned that <u>intransitive verbs</u> are motions, states and changes. State and change verbs have different suffixes than motion verbs, although some verbs can have both motion suffixes and state/change suffixes. We previously learned about the suffixes for motion verbs. In this lesson, we learn about the suffixes for state and change verbs.

Below are suffixes of state verbs with changes for time, type of clause and direction. Next, we will see examples of verbs with these suffixes and how the suffixes change with the last root letters. For empty spaces in the table, state/change verbs use motion suffixes.

<u>State and change SV suffixes</u>

Order	Clause	Direction	Past	Non-past	Past progressive	Non-past progressive

SV (ST)	main	normal	-nä	-Ø	-din	-it
		towards		-cä/-yä		-dïdï
		away	-ñä	-wä		-aŋ (?)
	depend	normal	-no	-Ø	-dono	-do
		towards		-co/-yo		-dodo (?)
		away	-ño	-wo		

The sentences (29-30) have SV state verbs in a main clause. The verb **yaaññä** 'was bad' in (29) with suffix –**nä** has past time, and the verb **yaac** 'will be bad' in (30) with no suffix Ø follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

SV (ST) (29)   Aŋ men <u>yaaññä</u>.   *Person was bad.*
         (30)   Aŋ men bi <u>yaac</u>.   *Person will <u>be bad</u>.*

The SV state verbs below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentences (29-30) above. The past verbs have the suffix -**nä**, the non-past verbs have no suffix shown by the symbol -**Ø**, the past progressive verbs have the suffix -**din**, and the non-past progressive verbs have the suffix -**it**. These suffixes cause the sound changes shown below in bold.

State verbs

Final cons	Cons change	State Past (29)	State Non-past (30)	Cons change	State Past prog (29)	Cons change	State Non-past prog (29)	
		-nä	-Ø		-din		-it	
p	pn → mm	—	—	pd→ bd	—	p → b	—	*be happy*
t	tn → nn	giinṇä	giit	td → dd	—	t → d	giidit	*give birth*
c	cn → ññ	yaaññä	yaac	cd → jd	—	c → j	yaajit	*be bad*
k	kn → ŋŋ	weeŋŋä	week	kd → gd	weegdin(?)	k → g	weegit (?)	*cry*
		—	—		ḍagdin		—	*arrive*
r	rn → rr	ŋerrä	ŋer	rd→ rd, dd	ŋerdin (?)	r	—	*be good*
		—	joor		—		joorit	*go down*
l	ln → ll	ŋeellä	ŋeel	ld	ŋeeldïn (?)	l	mor ŋeelit	*dance*
		—	—		büldïn		—	*return*
m	mn → mm	küümmü	küüm	md	kümdin(?)	m	----	*be full*
		ḍimmä	ḍim		ḍiimdin		----	*fall*
n	nn	pennä	pen	nd	pendin (?)	n	----	*be angry*
ŋ	ŋn → ŋŋ	—	—	ŋd	üüŋgïn	ŋ	—	*go*
w	wn	tüwnü	tüw	wd	tüwdïn	w	tüwït	*die*
y	yn	cääynä	cääy	yd	cääydin (?)	y	cääyit	*sit, stay*
		—	kooy		koydin (?)		kooyit	*land, fly*

Below, towards verbs are compared with past verbs (with normal direction). Unlike other towards verbs, the root vowels in these towards verbs usually do not change.

State towards verbs

Final cons	State Past (29)		State Non-past towards (30)	State Non-past prog towards (29)	
	-nä		-cä/-yä	-dïdï	
p	—	pc → p	ñapä (?)	—	*be happy*
t	giinnä	tc → t	gitä	—	*give birth*
c	yaaññä	cc → c	yaacä	—	*be bad*
k	weennä	kc → k	weekä (?)	weegdïdï (?)	*cry*
	—		ḍakä (?)	ḍagdïdï	*arrive*
r	ŋerrä	rc → ṭ	ŋeṭä (?)	—	*be good*
	—		jooṭu (?)	—	*go down*
l	ŋeellä	lc → ṭ	ŋeelä (?)	—	*dance*
	—		buṭu	—	*return*
m	küümmü	my → m	küümü (?)	küümdïdï (?)	*be full*
	ḍimmä		ḍimä (?)	ḍïïmdïdï	*fall*
n	pennä	ny → n	penä (?)	pïïndïdï	*be angry*
ŋ	—	ŋy → ŋ	üŋü	üüŋgïdï	*go*
w	tüwnü	wy → j	tüjü (?)	tüwdïdï	*die*
y	cääynä	yy → j	cääjä (?)	—	*sit, stay*
	—		kooju (?)	koydïdï	*land, fly*

Below, away verbs are compared with past verbs. There are no root vowel changes for past away verbs, but there are root vowel changes for non-past away verbs.

State away verbs

Final cons	State Past (29)	change	State Past away (29)	change	State Non-past away (30)	
	-nä		-ñä		-wä	
p	—	pñ → pp	ñappä	pw → bb	ñäbbä	*be happy*
t	giinnä	tñ → tt	—	tw → d	gidä (?)	*give birth*
c	yaaññä	cñ → cc	yaaccä	cw → j	yäjä	*be bad*
k	weennä	kñ → kk	weekkä (?)	kw → g	wiigä (?)	*cry*
	—		ḍakkä		ḍägä	*arrive*
r	ŋerrä	rñ → ṭṭ	ŋeṭṭä	rw → r, ṭ	ŋirä (?)	*be good*
	—		jooṭṭu		juru	*go down*
l	ŋeellä	lñ → ṭṭ	—	rw → l, ṭ	ŋiilä (?)	*dance*
	—		büṭṭü		bülü (?)	*return*
m	küümmü	mñ → mm	—	mw → mm	küümmü (?)	*be full*
	ḍimmä		—		ḍimmä	*fall*
n	pennä	nñ → nn	—	nw → n	pinä (?)	*be angry*

ŋ	—-	ŋñ → ŋŋ	üüŋü	ŋw → ŋ	üŋü	*go*
w	tüw**nü**	wñ → ññ	—-	ww → w	tüw**ü**	*die*
y	cääy**nä**	yñ → ññ	—	yw → y	—	*sit, stay*
	—-		—-		—	*land, fly*

Repeat verbs are shown below in comparison with past and non-past progressive verbs. A repeat verb form has a long root vowel where **a, aa** becomes **ää**, **e, ee,** becomes **ii**, and **o, oo** becomes **uu** (such as **ŋerrä** 'danced once', **ŋiillä** 'danced repeatedly'). Verbs with root-final **m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y** use the progressive forms for repeat verbs (such as **cääynä** 'sat once', **cääydin** 'sat repeatedly, was sitting').

State repeat verbs

Final Cons	State Past (29)	Vow chang	State Past **repeat** (29)	State Non-past **repeat** (30)	State Non-past prog **repeat** (29)	State Non-past prog (29)	[check all]
	-**nä**		-**nä**	-Ø	-**it**	-**it**	
p	—-	a→ää	—-	—	—	—	*be happy*
t	giiṇ**ṇä**	i→ii	giiṇ**ṇä**	giit	giid**it**	giid**it**	*give birth*
c	yaañ**ñä**	aa→ää	yääñ**ñä**	yääc	yääj**it**	yaaj**it**	*be bad*
k	ween**ŋä**	ee→ii	wiin**ŋä**	wiik	wiig**it**	weeg**it**	*cry*
r	ŋe**rrä**	e→ii	ŋii**rrä**	ŋiir	—-	—-	*be good*
l	ŋee**llä**	ee→ii	ŋii**llä**	ŋiil	mor ŋiil**it**	mor ŋeel**it**	*dance*
m	küüm**mü**		küm**din**	—-	—-	—-	*be full*
n	pen**nä**		piin**din**	—-	—-	—-	*be angry*
ŋ	—-		üüŋ**gï̈n**	—-	—-	—-	*go*
w	tüw**nü**		tüw**dïn**	tüw**ï̈t**	tüw**ï̈t**	tüw**ï̈t**	*die*
y	cääy**nä**		cääy**din**	cääy**it**	cääy**it**	cääy**it**	*sit, stay*

The sentences (31-32) have SV motion verbs in a dependent clause that begins with **ogo** 'that'. The verb **yaañño** 'was bad' in (31) with suffix –**no** has past time, and the verb **yaajo** 'will be bad' in (32) with suffix -**wo** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

SV (ST)   (31)   Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo**, men <u>yaañño</u>.   *Chief told man **that**, person is bad.*

           (32)   Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne **ogo**, men bi <u>yaajo</u>.   *Chief told man **that**, pers will be bad.*

Dependent past and non-past progressive verbs are shown below. Past (non-dependent) verbs are shown for comparison.

State verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	State Past (29)	change	State Past **subor** (31)	State Non-past prog **subor** (31)	

	-nä		-no	-do		
p	—	pn → mm	—	pd→ bd	—	*be happy*
t	giiṇṇä	tn → ṇṇ	—	td → dd	mor giiddo (?)	*give birth*
c	yaaññä	cn → ññ	yaañño	cd → jd	—	*be bad*
k	weeṇṇä	kn → ŋŋ	weeŋŋo (?)	kd → gd	mor weegdo (?)	*cry*
r	ŋerrä	rn → rr	ŋerro (?)	rd→ rd	—	*be good*
l	ŋeellä	ln → ll	ŋeello (?)	ld	mor ŋeeldo (?)	*dance*
m	ḍimmä	mn → mm	ḍimmo		—	*fall*
n	pennä	nn	penno (?)	nd	mor pendo (?)	*be angry*
ŋ	—	ŋn → ŋŋ	—	ŋd	üüŋdo	*go*
w	tüwnü	wn	tüwno	wd	mor tüwdo	*die*
y	cääynä	yn	caayno	yd	mor cääydo	*sit, stay*

Dependent towards verbs are shown below and compared with non-dependent towards verbs.

State away verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	State Past away (29)	change	State Past away subor (31)	State Non-past away subor (31)		
	-ñä		-ño	-wo		
p	ñappä	pñ → pp	ñappo	pw → bb	ñäbbo (?)	*be happy*
t	—	tñ → tt	gitto	tw → d	gido (?)	*give birth*
c	yaaccä	cñ → cc	yaacco (?)	cw → j	yäjo (?)	*be bad*
k	ḍakkä	kñ → kk	ḍaakko		ḍägo (?)	*arrive*
r	ŋettä	rñ → ṭṭ	ŋetto (?)	rw → r, ṭ	ŋero (?)	*be good*
l	—	lñ → ṭṭ	ŋeetto (?)	rw → l, ṭ	ŋeelo (?)	*dance*
m	—	mñ → mm	—		ḍimmo (?)	*fall*
n	—	nñ → nn	—	nw → n	piino (?)	*be angry*
ŋ	üüŋü	ŋñ → ŋŋ	—	ŋw → ŋ	üŋo (?)	*go*
w	—	wñ → ññ	—	ww → w	tüwo (?)	*die*
y	—	yñ → ññ	—	yw → y	—	*sit, stay*

Dependent repeat verbs with a long root vowel are shown below and compared with non-dependent repeat verbs. Verbs with root-final **m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y** use the progressive forms for repeated actions.

State repeat verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	State Past repeat (29)	Vow chang	State Past repeat subor (31)	State Non-past repeat subor (32)	State Non-past prog repeat subor (31)	[check all]
	-nä		-no	-Ø	-do	
p	—	a→ää	—	—	—	*be happy*
t	giiṇṇä	i→ii	giiṇṇo	giit	mor giiddo	*give birth*

c	yääññä	aa→ää	yääño	yääc	—	*be bad*
k	wiiŋä	ee→ii	wiiŋo	wiik	mor wiig**do**	*cry*
r	ŋiir**r**ä	e→ii	ŋiir**r**o	ŋiir	—	*be good*
l	ŋiillä	ee→ii	ŋiillo	ŋiil	mor ŋiil**do**	*dance*
m	küm**din**		küüm**mo**	—-	—-	*be full*
n	piin**din**		pen**no**	—-	—-	*be angry*
ŋ	üüŋgïn		—-	üüŋ**do**	üüŋ**do**	*go*
w	tüw**dïn**		tüw**no**	tüw**do**	tüw**do**	*die*
y	cääy**din**		caay**no**	cääy**do**	cääy**do**	*sit, stay*

State suffixes on verbs in stories are shown below in **bold**, and root verbs are shown below each suffix.

PT.ST.NR	**-nä**		
Bääm 39	yaac	Wiiw jone **yaaññä**	*heart of Fox* **became angry**
Bääm 25	pääy	**pääynä** <u>naalok</u>	*he* **flew** <u>away</u>
Bääm 64	pääy	Bääm **pääynä**	*Dove* **flew**
Geel 44	mur	ṭulgu **murru**	*girls* **came running**
Iin 13	giit	I oja deeŋ Iin **giiṇṇä**	*then cow of Hyena* **gave birth**
Iin 61	giit	wäyo **giiṇṇä** wïirïn	*my father* **gave birth** *in night*
Iin 51	pen	wina Geel **pennä**	*then Lion* **became angry**

NP.ST.NR	**-Ø**		
Yaam 19	beel	**beel** bata	*she* **resembles**
Kiñuk 26	week	ŋaaka ken **week**	*what* **is crying**
Kiñuk 27	week	ḍïïn ken **week** LOC	*bird* **is crying**
Bääm 26	week	**week**	*he* **was crying**
Bääm 1	laay	**laay** <u>woo</u>	*he* **was roaming**
Bääm 10	booc	Bääm **booc**	*Dove* **being afraid**
Bääm 30	cääy	**cääy** <u>ñaalok</u>	*he* **was sitting** <u>up</u>
Leeñ 30	cääy	**cääy**	*he* **sitting**
Leeñ 30	cääy	a ŋaani ina **cääy** yaanna	*who* **is this sitting**
Leeñ 2	ŋeel	Wiiw **ŋeel** kä	*Fox* **was dancing**
Geel 23	ŋeel	**ŋiil** juwin	**dance** *arose*
Geel 25	ŋeel	**ŋiil** yaŋkalaŋ juwin	*certain* **dance** *arose*
Geel 27	ŋeel	**ŋiil** batta bi ñabo ñap	**dance** *will not be good*
Geel 45	ŋeel	**ŋeel** ke	*he* **was dancing**
Geel 27	ñap	ŋiil batta bi ñabo **ñap**	*dance will not be* **good**
Leeñ 25	ŋañ	Liik yoji **ŋañ**	*Elephants not able* **to run**
Leeñ 27	lüüt	Wiiw **lüüt**	*Fo* **was running**
Leeñ 27	yaaw	**yaaw**	*he* **was yelling**
Iin 21	giit	Deeŋ yüünü **giit**?	*Your cow* **gave birth**?
Iin 62	giit	ken **giit**?	*he be* **give birth**?h

208

Iin 42	week	I waŋge tüle **week**	*while wiping his eyes,* ***crying***
Iin 47	jaay	Wiiw **jaay**	*Fox* ***said***
Iin 55	wään	i oja <u>a</u> **wään**	*but he just <u>as</u>* ***walked***

PT.NP.ST.NR?	**-dä**		
Geel 31	waak	Yori **waagdä**	*My body* ***feels like***

NP.ST.TW	**-cä/-yä**		
Bääm 17	äät	mäŋkalaŋ ïya **äätä**	*far away person* ***will come***
Iin 52	äät	i **äätä** wääna	*while he* ***was coming***
Geel 19	buur	**buṭu** <u>woo</u>	*it* ***comes*** *<u>out</u>*
Geel 28	boon	yori **boonu**	*my body* ***is sick***
Iin 18	ñap	Iin jone **ñapä**	*heart of hyena* ***was happy***

NP.PR.ST.TW	**-dïdï**		
Yaam 15	mïïl	määngä waŋgen **mïïldïdï**	*eyes of women* ***become dark***

PT.PR.ST.TW?	**-idini**		
Kiñuk 21	cüüy	**cüüyidïnï**	*he* ***revived***

PT.ST.AW	**-ñä**		
Bääm 19	ñap	juuggen **ñappä**	*their hearts* ***became happy***
Bääm 1	äät	**attä** laay <u>woo</u> luummuk	*he* ***went*** *<u>out</u> roaming grassland*
Bääm 6	äät	Wiiw **attä**	*Fox* ***went***
Bääm 20	äät	Wiiw **attä**	*Fox* ***went***
Bääm 28	äät	Wiiw **attä**	*Fox* ***went***
Leeñ 8	äät	Leeñ **attä**	*Elephant* ***went***
Leeñ 10	äät	**attä** muureen	*they all* ***went***
Bääm 8	yuut	**yuuttu** LOC	*he* ***stood***
Leeñ 28	lüüt	**lüüttü** LOC	*he* ***ran***
Bääm 40	kaac	**kaaccä** LOC	*he* ***entered***
Leeñ 41	kaac	**kaaccä** LOC	*he* ***entered***
Äwñä 3	kaac	**kaaccä** LOC	*he* ***entered***
Bääm 46	ḍääk	**ḍakkä** LOC	*they* ***arrived***
Iin 6	laac	deeŋ Iin **laaccä**	*Hyena's cow* ***became pregnant***

NP.ST.AW	**-wä**		
Leeñ 13	kaac	mäŋkalaŋ **käjä** <u>äräk</u>	*someone* ***may enter*** *<u>inside</u>*
Yaam 9	ḍir	wakkä yaakka **ḍirä**	*these things* ***may be many***

NP.PR.ST.AW	**-aŋ**		
Yaam 10	ŋer	gin **a ŋeraŋ**	*thing* ***is good***
Yaam 11	yaac	gin **a yaajaŋ**	*thing* ***is bad***

Yaam 20	yaac	aŋ aŋan **yaajaŋ**	*and this **is bad***
Bääm 28	yaac	I jone **yaajaŋ**	*but his heart **is bad***
Yaam 20	ŋer	batta **ŋeraŋ**	*(this) **is not good***
Kiñuk 31	ḍeeṭ	ko ko **ḍeeḍaŋ**	*with **be small***
Leeñ 16	bäm	yaana **bämaŋ** ye	*that who **is weak***
Geel 9	ñap	jone batta **ñabaŋ**	*his heart **was** not **happy***
Iin 69	ñap	i jone **ñabaŋ**	*while his heart **was happy***

PT.ST.DP.NR	**-no**		
Kiñuk 5	ïw	**ïwno**	*he **became dry***
Kiñuk 20	bun	äŋ **bunno**	*sun **went down***
Kiñuk 36	üt	men **ünṇo**	*person **survived***
Pïïṇṇä 1	tüw	mäŋkalaŋ **tüwno** LOC	*someone **died***
Iin 15	giit	ogo ken **giiṇṇo** da	*as though he **gave birth***

PT.ST.DP.AW	**-ño**		
Kiñuk 1	äät	mäŋkalaŋ **atto** LOC	*certain person **went***
Kiñuk 5	äät	iygä ko yewwe **atto** LOC	*two hyenas **went***
Kiñuk 30	yuut	iygä **yuutto** ïñï	*hyenas **stopped** <u>down</u>*

NP.PR.ST.DP.AW?	**-jeko**		
Kiñuk 16	daat	ke men **däädjeko**	*person **will become soft***

Exercise 33

<u>Underline twice</u> all state verbs. <u>Underline once</u> the subjects of these verbs.

(Yaam 9-12)
Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte määngä ḍürdïn
<u>wakkä</u> yaakka <u>ḍirä</u> ye,
aŋ a <u>gin</u> a **ŋeraŋ** yaam ti ye inni.
Aŋ <u>gin</u> a **yaajaŋ** yaam ti ye,
naana ṭemtä määngä witken ti
(Kiñuk 1)
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ atto kiñuk pare,
(Kiñuk 16)
Aŋ ŋuca bülco tabjï, kockon wina
ke men däädjeko.
(Kiñuk 27)
Aŋ kïïnnïï menen ogo,
"A ḍïïn ken week jaan wic."
(Kiñuk 29-30)
Men killäŋ ŋoccee küüttee tügge ko yewwe

And since a basket enables women
*to carry these <u>things</u> that **are many**,*
*this is a <u>thing</u> that **is good** about the basket.*
*And a <u>thing</u> that **is bad** about the basket is*
when women carry (it) on their heads

Long ago, a man went on a hunt alone,

Again were returning to touch him continuing
like this until the person became soft.

And the other told him,
"It is a bird crying up in a tree."

Person again blew the whistle two times, tweet

ogo, *tiit tiit,* aŋ iygä yuutto ïñï däämjono ŋäjäk. (Kiñuk 36)

tweet, and the hyenas stopped and looked back.

Aŋ men üṇṇo, aŋ ḍukcono paa. (Bääm 6)

And the person survived and returned to his house.

Aŋ Bääm yaakï, aŋ Wiiw attä näŋŋä len lämmä. (Bääm 10)

Then Dove was refusing and Fox went and made an axe of mud.

Aŋ Bääm booc, aŋ yiipkene. (Bääm 16-17)

Dove was afraid, and he threw it (chick) for him.

Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Tääyä ïñï kä bïraŋ, mäŋkalaŋ ïya äätä, ädit ṭoŋ ke lacan mooye." (Bääm 19)

And Dove told him, "Cut it down quickly, another person is coming carrying spear/stick."

Aŋ Gaaggaak iken ke Bääm juuggen ñappä, aŋ yircin woo. (Bääm 39)

And the hearts of Raven and Dove became happy, and they laughed.

Aŋ Wiiw jone yaaññä, (Bääm 64-65)

And Fox's heart became angry,

Aŋ Bääm pääynä, i week kä jone ñamme. (Leeñ 2)

Dove flew away, and was crying with sweet heart.

Aŋ Wiiw ŋeel kä waygä yek boṇṇan. (Leeñ 13)

And Fox was dancing with shoes of leather.

Aŋ bäärgä Wiiw ogo, "Mäŋkalaŋ käjä äräk." (Leeñ 27)

Fox was calling, "Someone may enter inside."

I Wiiw lüüt, i yaaw ogo, "Wee, wee, wee!" (Leeñ 29-30)

And Fox was running and yelling, "Ha, ha, ha!"

Aŋ yoori Liik cääy, aŋ taaji ogo, "A ŋaani ina cääy yaanna?" (noun) (Geel 8-9)

And Elephants saw he sitting, and asked him, "This is who sitting?"

Aŋ Wiiw jiik yaakka tiiŋŋe, aŋ toorok batta kaaccïdï wiñe ti, aŋ jone batta ñabaŋ. (Geel 31)

Fox heard about this matter, and badness did not enter his head, and his heart was not happy.

Yori waagdä ika batta bi lïïṭä wään ŋuca. (Geel 44)

My body feels like I will not be able to walk again.

Aŋ ṭulgu murru gïṭï kä yaalgä, i ïnken pamgä. (Pïïṇṇä 1-2)

Girls came running with laughter, clapped hands.

Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ tüwno baan yaŋkalaŋ ti, aŋ Pïïṇṇä ken tüccïï me ogo, (Pïïṇṇä 10)

Long ago in time past, someone died in a certain land, and people sent Wasp,

Aŋ Jooŋ jone püütono, aŋ Pïïṇṇä müŋŋee,

God's heart was upset, so he caught Wasp,

Applicative verbs from intransative verbs

In the lesson *Applicative verbs from transitive verbs,* we learned that an <u>applicative verb</u> can have a receiver, location or experiencer, and has a change in verb suffix. A receiver shows the benefit of the verb, a location shows the place of the verb, and an experiencer shows what is used by the verb. Most applicative verbs have a root vowel change where **a, aa** become **ä, ää**, the vowels **e, ee** become **i, ii** and the vowels **o, oo** become **u, uu**. These are the same root vowel changes as in SVO verbs. In this lesson, we learn about applicative verbs that come from intransitive verbs.

Although suffixes for motion and state verbs are different, the suffixes for applicative verbs from motion and state verbs are the same. Intransitive motion and state verbs can become SRV/SLV, RVS/LVS, SVR/SVL when a receiver or location is added. SRV/SLV verbs have similar suffixes as SOV verbs, RVS/LVS verbs have similar suffixes as OVS verbs, SVR/SVL verbs have similar suffixes as SVO verbs, SVE verbs have similar suffixes as SOV verbs, and EV dependent verbs have similar suffixes as OVS dependent verbs.

Below, the SV intransitive motion verb in past time **üüŋïn** 'went' changes to the SRV verb **üüŋene** 'went for' with suffix -**yene** when the receiver **oon** 'man' is added. And the SV verb changes to the SLV verb **üüŋene** 'went in' also with suffix -**yene** when the location **näntä piik** 'water place' is added. The same verb form is used for both SRV and SLV sentences. There are similar changes for intransitive non-past and non-past progressive verbs when a receiver or location is added.

Intransitive motion verb changes to SRV and SLV applicative with added receiver or location

past	SV	Aŋ <u>men</u> **üüŋïn**.	*And <u>person</u> **went**.*
	SRV	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **üüŋene**.	*And <u>person</u> **went** for man.*
	SLV	Aŋ <u>men</u> näntä piik **üüŋene**.	*And <u>person</u> **went** to water place.*
non-past	SV	Aŋ <u>men</u> **bi üüŋü**.	*And <u>person</u> **will go**.*
	SRV	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **bi üüŋe**.	*And <u>person</u> **will go** for man.*
	SLV	Aŋ <u>men</u> näntä piik **bi üüŋe**.	*And <u>person</u> **will go** to water place.*
non-past prog	SV	Aŋ <u>men</u> **üüŋïdï**.	*And <u>person</u> **is going**.*
	SRV	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **üüŋete**.	*And <u>person</u> **is going** for man.*
	SLV	Aŋ <u>men</u> näntä piik **üüŋete**.	*And <u>person</u> **is going** to water place.*

Below, the SV intransitive state verb in past time **giiṇṇä** 'gave birth' changes to the SRV verb **giitene** 'gave birth for' with suffix -**cene** when the receiver **oon** 'man' is added. And the SV verb changes to the SLV verb **giitene** 'gave birth in' also with suffix -**cene** when the location **näntä piik** 'water place' is added. The same verb form is used for both SRV and SLV sentences. There are similar changes for intransitive non-past and non-past progressive verbs when a receiver or location is added.

Intransitive state verb changes to SRV and SLV applicative verbs with added receiver or location

past	SV	Aŋ <u>men</u> **giiṇṇä**.	*And <u>person</u> **gave birth**.*
	SRV	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **giitene**.	*And <u>person</u> **gave birth** for man.*
	SLV	Aŋ <u>men</u> näntä piik **giitene**.	*And <u>person</u> **gave birth** in water place.*

non-past	SV	Aŋ <u>men</u> **bi giit**.	*And <u>person</u> **will give birth**.*
	SRV	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **bi giite**.	*And <u>person</u> **will give birth** for man.*
	SLV	Aŋ <u>men</u> näntä piik **bi giite**.	*And <u>person</u> **will give birth** in water place.*
non-past prog	SV	Aŋ <u>men</u> **giidit**.	*And <u>person</u> **is giving birth**.*
	SRV	Aŋ <u>men</u> oon **giitete**.	*And <u>person</u> **is giving birth** for man.*
	SLV	Aŋ <u>men</u> näntä piik **giitete**.	*And <u>person</u> **is giving birth** in water place.*

Although suffixes for motion and state verbs are different, the suffixes for applicative verbs from motion and state verbs are the same.

Applicative verbs from motion and state verbs

		Motion			State		
past	SV	-cin/ -yin	Men **üüŋïn**.	*Person **went**.*	-nä	Men **tüwnü**.	*Person **died**.*
	SRV	-cene/ -yene	Men yätkä **üüŋene**.	*Person **went** for chief.*	-cene/- yene	Men yätkä **tüüjene**.	*Person **died** for chief.*
non-past	SV	-cïdï/ -yïdï	Men **üüŋïdï**.	*Person **is going**.*	-it	Men **tüwït**.	*Person **is dying**.*
prog	SRV	-cete/ -yete	Men yätkä **üüŋete**.	*Person **is going** for chief*	-cete/- yete	Men yätkä **tüüjete**.	*Person **is dying** for chief.*

Below, the SV intransitive verb 'went' changes to RVS and LVS verbs in past, non-past and non-past progressive when a receiver or location is added.

Intransitive SV changes to RVS and LVS applicative verbs with added receiver or location

past	SV	Aŋ <u>men</u> **üüŋïn**.	*And <u>person</u> **went**.*
	RVS	Aŋ oon **üüŋï** <u>men</u>.	*And <u>person</u> **went** for man.*
	LV<u>S</u>	Aŋ näntä piik **üüŋï** <u>men</u>.	*And <u>person</u> **went** to water place.*
non-past	SV	Aŋ <u>men</u> **bi üüŋü**.	*And <u>person</u> **will go**.*
	RV<u>S</u>	Aŋ oon **bi üüŋünü** <u>men</u>.	*And <u>person</u> **will go** for man.*
	LV<u>S</u>	Aŋ näntä piik **bi üüŋünü** <u>men</u>.	*And <u>person</u> **will go** to water place.*
non-past prog	SV	Aŋ <u>men</u> **üüŋïdï**.	*And <u>person</u> **is going**.*
	RV<u>S</u>	Aŋ oon **üüŋütü** <u>men</u>.	*And <u>person</u> **is going** for man.*
	LV<u>S</u>	Aŋ näntä piik **üüŋütü** <u>men</u>.	*And <u>person</u> **is going** to water place.*

Below, the SV intransitive verb 'went' changes to SVR and SVL verbs in past, non-past and non-past progressive when a receiver or location is added.

Intransitive SV changes to SVR and SVL applicative verbs with added receiver or location

| past | SV | Aŋ <u>men</u> **üüŋïn**. | *And <u>person</u> **went**.* |
| | SV<u>R</u> | Aŋ <u>men</u> **üŋgïn** oon. | *And <u>person</u> **went** for man.* |

	SVL	Aŋ men **üŋgïn** näntä piik.	*And* <u>*person*</u> ***went*** *to water place.*
non-past	SV	Aŋ <u>men</u> **bi üüŋü**.	*And* <u>*person*</u> ***will go****.*
	SVR	Aŋ <u>men</u> **bi üŋgü** oon.	*And* <u>*person*</u> ***will go*** *for man.*
	SVL	Aŋ <u>men</u> **bi üŋgü** näntä piik.	*And* <u>*person*</u> ***will go*** *to water place.*
non-past prog	SV	Aŋ <u>men</u> **üüŋïdï**.	*And* <u>*person*</u> ***is going****.*
	SVR	Aŋ <u>men</u> **üŋgïdï** oon. (?)	*And* <u>*person*</u> ***is going*** *for man.*
	SVL	Aŋ <u>men</u> **üŋgïdï** näntä piik.(?)	*And* <u>*person*</u> ***is going*** *to water place.*

Below, the SV intransitive verb 'went' changes to SVE verbs in past, non-past and non-past progressive when the experiencer **gin** 'thing' is added.

Intransitive SV changes to SVE applicative verbs with added experiencer

past	SV	Aŋ <u>men</u> **üüŋïn**.	*And* <u>*person*</u> ***went****.*
	SVE	Aŋ gin **üüŋene** <u>men</u>.	<u>*Person*</u> ***used*** *thing* ***to go****./* <u>*Person*</u> ***went by help of*** *thing.*
non-past	SV	Aŋ <u>men</u> **bi üüŋü**.	*And* <u>*person*</u> ***will go****.*
	SVE	Aŋ gin **bi üüŋene** <u>men</u>.	*And* <u>*person*</u> ***will use*** *thing* ***to go****./* *And* <u>*person*</u> ***will go by help of*** *thing.*
non-past prog	SV	Aŋ <u>men</u> **üüŋïdï**.	*And* <u>*person*</u> ***is going****.*
	SVE	Aŋ gin **üüŋete** <u>men</u>.	*And* <u>*person*</u> ***is using*** *thing* ***to go****./* *And* <u>*person*</u> ***is going by help of*** *thing.*

SRV/SLV verbs have similar suffixes to SOV verbs, RVS/LVS verbs have similar suffixes to OVS verbs, SVR/SVL verbs have similar suffixes to SVO verbs, SVE verbs have similar suffixes to SOV verbs, and EV dependent verbs have similar suffixes to OVS dependent verbs. However, none of these matches have all the same suffixes.

Applicative verbs (from intransitive verbs) compared with transitive verbs

		SRV			SOV	
past prog	-dene	Men yätkä ḍagdene.	*Person **was arriving** for chief.*	-dene	Men gin mügdene.	*Person **was catching** thing.*
past towards	-wene	Men yätkä ḍaagene.	*Person **arrived here** for chief.*	-wene	Men gin müügene.	*Person **caught** thing **here**.*
		RVS			OVS	
past towards	-wi	Yätkä üüŋï men.	*Person **went here** for chief.*	-wi	Gin tiiŋi men.	*Person **heard** thing **here**.*
non-past towards	-wänä	Yätkä üüŋünü men.	*Person **goes here** for chief.*	-änä	Gin tiiŋänä men.	*Person **hears** thing **here**.*
		SVR			SVO	
past towards	-jkin/ -gin	Men **üŋgïn** yätkä.	*Person **went here** for chief.*	-pin/-yin	Men **tiiŋin** gin.	*Person **heard** thing **here**.*

non-past towards	-jkä/ -gä	Men **üŋgü** yätkä.	*Person goes **here** for chief.*	-cä/-yä	Men **tiŋä** gin.	*Person **hears** thing **here**.*
		SVE			SOV	
past towards non-past prog towards	-wene -wete	Men **juurene** gin. Men **juurete** gin.	*Person **used** thing **to descend here**.* *Person **is using** thing **to descend here**.*	-wene -wede	Men gin **tiiŋene**. Men gin **tiiŋede**.	*Person heard thing **here**.* *Person is hearing thing **here**.*
		EV			OVS	
subor past towards	-wïnïï	Yätkä oon kiinne . . . . . . ogo, gin üüŋ̣ïnïï ko men.	*Chief told man . . . . . . that, person **used** thing **to go** here.*	-wïnïï	Yätkä oon kiinne . . . . . . ogo, gin tïïŋïnïï men.	*Chief told man . . . that, person **heard** thing **here**.*

Below are suffixes of applicative verbs with changes for time, word order, type of clause, and direction. Next, we will see examples of verbs with these suffixes.

Order	Clause	Direction	Past	Non-past	Past progressive	Non-past prog
SRV/ SLV	main	normal towards away	-cene/-yene -wene -ccene/-cene	-ce/-ye -we -cce/-ce (?)	-dene	-cete/-yete -wete -ccete/-cete (?)
	depend	normal towards away	-cenee/-yenee (?) -wenee (?) -ccenee/-cenee (?)	-cee/-yee (?) -wee -ccee/-cee	-denee (?)	-cetee/-yetee (?) -wetee (?) -ccetee/-cetee (?)
RVS/ LVS	main	normal towards away	-ci/-yi -wi	-cäna/-yänä -wänä		-cätä/-yätä -wätä
	depend	normal towards away	-cïï/-yïï (?) -wïï			
SVR/ SVL	main	normal towards away	-jkin/-gin	-jï (?) -jkä/-gä		-jkïdï/-gïdï (?)
	depend	normal towards away	-jkïnïï/-gïnïï			-jkïdïï/-gïdïï (?)
SVE	main	normal towards away	-cene/-yene (?) -wene	-cene/-yene (?) -wene		-cete/-yete (?) -wete
EV	depend	normal towards	-wïnïï			-wïtïï (?)

away |

The sentences in (33-34) all have SRV or SLV applicative verbs in a main clause. The SRV verb **üüŋene** 'went' in (33a) is the same as the SLV verb **üüŋene** 'went' in (33b). Both have the suffix – **wene** and past time. The SRV and SLV verb **üüŋe** 'will go' in (34a-b) with suffix -**we** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

<u>SRV</u>   (33a)   Aŋ men yätkä <u>üüŋene</u>.   *Person <u>went</u> for chief.*
<u>SLV</u>   (b)   Aŋ men nänṭä piik <u>üüŋene</u>.   *Person <u>went</u> to water place.*
<u>SRV</u>   (34a)   Aŋ men yätkä bi <u>üüŋe</u>.   *Person will <u>go</u> for chief.*
<u>SLV</u>   (b)   Aŋ men nänṭä piik bi <u>üüŋe</u>.   *Person will <u>go</u> to water place.*

The SRV and SLV applicative from intransitive verbs below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentences (33-34) above. SV motion and state past verbs are shown for comparision. Applicative verbs have a root vowel change where **a, aa** become **ä, ää**, the vowels **e, ee** become **i, ii** and the vowels **o, oo** become **u, uu**. These are the same root vowel changes as in SVO verbs and applicative from transitive verbs, although some of applicative from intransitive verbs have root vowels that lengthen instead of shorten (for an unknown reason).

SRV and SLV verbs

Fin co	SV Motion Past (25)	SV State Past (29)	Vow change	Cons change	SRV/SLV Past (33)	SRV/SLV Non-past (34)	SRV/SLV Non-past prog (33)	
	-cin/-yin	**-nä**			**-cene/-yene**	**-ce/-ye**	**-cete/-yete**	
p	ñapin (?)	—-	a→ä	pc →p	—-	—-	—-	*be happy*
t	gitin (?)	giinṇä	i→ii	tc →t	giitene	giite	giitete	*give birth*
c	yaacin (?)	yaaññä	aa→ää	cc →c	yääcene (?)	—-	yääcete	*be bad*
k	ḍakin (?)	-----	a→ää	kc →k	ḍääkene (?)	ḍääke (?)	ḍääkete	*arrive*
r	jooṭin (?)	-----	oo→uu	rc →ṭ	juuṭene (?)	—-	juuṭete (?)	*go down*
l	büṭin (?)	-----	ü→üü	lc →ṭ	büüṭene	büüṭe (?)	büüṭete	*return*
m	ḍimin (?)	ḍimmä	i	my→m	ḍimene (?)	ḍime (?)	ḍimete (?)	*fall*
n	penin (?)	pennä	e→ii	ny →n	piinene (?)	piine (?)	piinete (?)	*be angry*
ŋ	üŋïn (?)	—-	ü→üü	ŋy →ŋ	üüŋene	üüŋe	üüŋete (?)	*go*
w	tüjïn (?)	tüwnü	ü→üü	wy →j	tüüjene (?)	—-	tüüjete (?)	*die*
y	cääjin (?)	cääynä	ää	yy → j	cääjene (?)	—-	cääjete (?)	*sit, stay*

SRV and SLV past progressive verbs are shown below in comparison with SV motion and state past progressive verbs. There is no root vowel change for applicative in these past progressive verbs.

SRV and SLV progressive verbs

Final cons	SV Motion Past (25)	SV State Past prog (29)	change	SRV/SLV Past **prog** (33)	

	-cin/-yin	-din	-dene		be good, happy
p	ñapin (?)	—–	pcc → pc	—–	be good, happy
t	gitin (?)	—–	tcc → tc	—–	give birth
c	yaacin (?)	—–	ccc → cc	—–	be bad
k	dakin (?)	dagdin	kcc → kc	dagdene	arrive
r	jootin (?)	-----	rcc → rc	joordene	go down
l	bütin (?)	büldïn	lcc → lc	büldene	return
m	dimin (?)	diimdin	mc → mj	dimdene (?)	fall
n	penin (?)	pendin (?)	nc → nj	pendene (?)	be angry
ŋ	üŋïn (?)	üüŋgïn	ŋc → ŋj	—–	go
w	tüjïn (?)	tüwdïn	wc → jj	tüwdene	die
y	cääjin (?)	cääydin (?)	yc → jj	—–	sit, stay

SRV and SLV towards verbs are shown below in comparison with SV motion verbs. The towards verbs have the same vowel changes for applicative (a → ä, e → i, o → u, some vowels shorten) as other applicative verbs, but they also have long vowels to show they are towards verbs.

SRV and SLV towards verbs

Final cons	SV Motion Past (25)	Vow change	change	SRV/SLV Past towards (33)	SRV/SLV Non-past towards (34)	SRV/SLV Non-past prog towards (33)	
	-cin/-yin			-wene	-we	-wete	
p	ñapin (?)	a→ä	pw → bb	—–	—–	—–	be good
t	gitin (?)	i→ii	tw → d	giidene (?)	giide (?)	giidete (?)	give birth
c	yaacin (?)	aa→ää	cw → j	yääjene	—–	yääjete (?)	be bad
k	dakin (?)	a→ää	kw → g	däägene	dääge	däägete (?)	arrive
r	jootin (?)	oo→uu	rw → r	juurene	—–	juurete	go down
l	bütin (?)	ü→üü	lw → l	büülene (?)	büüle	büülete (?)	return
m	dimin (?)	i	mw→mm	dimmene (?)	dimme (?)	dimmete (?)	fall
n	penin (?)	e→ii	nw → n	piinene (?)	piine (?)	piinete (?)	be angry
ŋ	üŋïn (?)	ü→üü	ŋw → ŋ	üüŋene	üüŋe	üüŋete (?)	go
w	tüjïn (?)	ü→üü	ww → w	tüüwene	—–	tüüwete	die
y	cääjin (?)	ää	yw → y	cääyene	—–	—–	sit, stay

SRV and SLV away verbs are shown below in comparison with SV and SRV past verbs. These away verbs have the vowel changes for applicative verbs (a → ä, e → i, o → u) like the SRV past verbs.

SRV and SLV away verbs

Fin co	SV Motion Past (25)	SRV/SLV Past (33)	SV State Past (29)	Vow change	Cons change	Past	SRV/SLV Non-past away (34)

	-cin/-yin	-cene/-yene	-nä	away (33)[36]		-ccene/-cene	-cce/-ce (?)	
p	ñapin (?)	—	—	a→ä	pcc→pc	ñäpcene	ñäpce	*be good*
t	gitin (?)	giitene	giiṇṇä	i	tcc →tc	gitcene	gitce	*give birth*
c	yaacin (?)	yääcene (?)	yaaññä	aa→ää	ccc →cc	yääccene (?)	yääcce	*be bad*
k	ḍakin (?)	ḍääkene (?)	-----	a→ä	kcc→kc	ḍäkcene (?)	ḍäkce	*arrive*
r	jootin (?)	juutene (?)	-----	oo→uu	rcc →rc	juurcene (?)	juurce	*go down*
l	büṭin (?)	büüṭene	-----	ü→ü	lcc →lc	bülcene	bülce	*return*
m	ḍimin (?)	ḍimene (?)	ḍimmä	i	mc→mj	ḍimjene (?)	ḍimje	*fall*
n	penin (?)	piinene (?)	pennä	e→ii	nc → nj	piinjene (?)	piinje	*be angry*
ŋ	üŋïn (?)	üüŋene	—	ü→üü	ŋc → ŋj	üüŋjene	üüŋje	*go*
w	tüjïn (?)	tüüjene (?)	tüwnü	ü→ü	wc → jj	tüjjene	tüjje	*die*
y	cääjin (?)	cääjene (?)	cääynä	ää	yc → jj	cääjjene	cääjje	*sit, stay*

The sentences in (35-36) all have SRV or SLV applicative verbs in a **ogo** 'that' dependent clause. The verb **üüŋee** 'went' in (35a-b) with suffix **–wee** has past time, and the verb **üüŋjee** 'will go' in (36a-b) with suffix **-cee** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

		Aŋ gaaggaak oon kiinne	*Raven told man . . .*
SRV	(35a)	. . . ogo, men yätkä <u>üüŋee</u>.	*. . . that, person <u>went for</u> chief.*
SLV	(b)	. . . ogo, men nänṭä piik <u>üüŋee</u>.	*. . . that, person <u>went</u> to water place.*
SRV	(36a)	. . . ogo, men yätkä bi <u>üüŋjee</u>.	*. . . that, person will <u>go for</u> chief.*
SLV	(b)	. . . ogo, men nänṭä piik bi <u>üüŋjee</u>.	*. . . that, person will <u>go</u> to water place.*

SRV and SLV dependent non-past towards and away verbs are shown below in comparison with SRV non-past towards verbs (non-dependent). Both have root vowel changes for applicative.

SRV and SLV verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	SRV/SLV Non-past (34)	Vow change	Cons change	SRV/SLV Non-past towards subor (36)		SRV/SLV Non-past away subor (36)	
	-ce/-ye			-wee		-ccee/-cee	
p	—	a→ä	pw → bb	—	pcc → pc	ñäpcee (?)	*be good*
t	giite	i	tw → d	—	tcc → tc	giitcee	*give birth*
c	—	aa→ää	cw → j	—	ccc → cc	—	*be bad*
k	ḍääke (?)	a→ä	kw → g	ḍäägee	kcc → kc	ḍääkcee (?)	*arrive*
r	—	oo→uu	rw → r	juuree	rc → ṭ	juurcee (?)	*go down*
l	büüṭe (?)	ü→ü	lw → 1	büülee	lc → ṭ	bülcee (?)	*return*
m	ḍime (?)	i	mw → mm	ḍimmee (?)	mc → mj	ḍimjee (?)	*fall*
n	piine (?)	e→ii	nw → n	piinee (?)	nc → nj	piinjee (?)	*be angry*

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[36] All mean 'together with (chief) in action' instead of 'action for benefit of (chief)'.

ŋ	üüŋe	ü→üü	ŋw → ŋ	üüŋee	ŋc → ŋj	üüŋjee	go
w	—	ü→ü	ww → w	—	wc → jj	—	die
y	—	ää	yw → y	—	yc → jj	—	sit, stay

The sentences in (37-38) all have RVS or LVS applicative verbs in a main clause. The RVS and LVS verb **üüŋï** 'went' in (37a-b) has suffix **–wï** and past time. The SRV and SLV verb **üüŋünü** 'will go' in (38a-b) with suffix **–wänä** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

RVS (37a) Aŋ yätkä <u>üüŋï</u> men.   *Person <u>went</u> for chief.*
LVS (b) Aŋ nänṭa piik <u>üüŋï</u> men.   *Person <u>went</u> to water place.*
RVS (38a) Aŋ yätkä bi <u>üüŋünü</u> men.   *Person will <u>go</u> for chief.*
LVS (b) Aŋ nänṭa piik bi <u>üüŋünü</u> men.   *Person will <u>go</u> to water place.*

The RVS and LVS applicative verbs below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentences (37-38) above and have the same vowel changes for applicative (a → ä, e → i, o → u). SV motion verbs are shown for comparison.

RVS and LVS verbs

Final cons	SV Motion Past (29)	Vow change	Cons change	RVS/LVS Past (37)	RVS/LVS Non-past (38)	RVS/LVS Non-past prog (37)	
	-cin/-yin			-ci/-yi	-cänä/-yänä	-cätä/-yätä	
p	ñapin (?)	a→ä	pc → p	—	—	—	be happy
t	gitin (?)	i	tc → t	—	—	—	give birth
c	yaacin (?)	aa→ää	cc → c	—	—	—	be bad
k	ḍakin (?)	a→ää	kc → k	ḍääki (?)	—	ḍääkätä	arrive
r	jooṭin (?)	oo→uu	rc → ṭ	—	—	—	go down
l	büṭin (?)	ü→ü	lc → ṭ	büṭi (?)	büṭünü (?)	büṭütü (?)	return
m	ḍimin (?)	i	my → m	ḍimi (?)	ḍimänä (?)	ḍimätä (?)	fall
n	penin (?)	e→ii	ny → n	piini (?)	piinänä (?)	piinätä (?)	be angry
ŋ	üŋin (?)	ü→üü	ŋy → ŋ	üüŋï	üüŋünü	üüŋütü	go
w	tüjïn (?)	ü→ü	wy → j	—	—	—	die
y	cääjin (?)	ää	yy → j	—	—	—	sit, stay

SRV and SLV towards verbs are shown below in comparison with SV motion verbs. The towards verbs have the same vowel changes for applicative (a → ä, e → i, o → u), but they also have long vowels to show they are towards verbs.

RVS and LVS towards verbs

Final cons	SV Motion Past (29)	Vow change	Con change	RVS/LVS Past **towards** (37)	RVS/LVS Non-past **towards** (38)	RVS/LVS Non-past prog **towards** (37)	
	-cin/-yin			-wi	-wänä	-wätä	

p	ñapin (?)	a→ä	pw → bb	—-	—-	—-	*be happy*
t	gitin (?)	i→ii	tw → d	—-	giide (?)	giidete (?)	*give birth*
c	yaacin (?)	aa→ää	cw → j	—-	—-	yääjete (?)	*be bad*
k	ḍakin (?)	a→ää	kw → g	ḍäägi (?)	ḍäägänä (?)	ḍäägätä (?)	*arrive*
r	jooṭin (?)	oo→uu	rw → r	juuri (?)	—-	—-	*go down*
l	büṭin (?)	ü→üü	lw → l	büülï	büülünü	büülütü	*return*
m	ḍimin (?)	i	mw→mm	ḍiimmi (?)	ḍiimmänä (?)	ḍiimmätä (?)	*fall*
n	penin (?)	e→ii	nw → n	piini (?)	piinänä (?)	piinätä (?)	*be angry*
ŋ	üŋïn (?)	ü→üü	ŋw → ŋ	üüŋï	üüŋünü	üüŋütü	*go*
w	tüjïn (?)	ü→üü	ww → w	—-	—-	—-	*die*
y	cääjïn (?)	ää	yw → y	—-	—-	—-	*sit, stay*

The sentences in (39) have RVS or LVS applicative verbs in a **ogo** 'that' dependent clause. The verb **üüŋïï** 'went' in (39a-b) with suffix –**wïï** has past time.

	Aŋ gaaggaak oon kiinne	*Raven told man . . .*
<u>RVS</u> (39a)	. . . ogo, yätkä üüŋïï men.	*. . . that, person <u>went for chief.</u>*
<u>LVS</u> (b)	. . . ogo, nänṭa piik üüŋïï men.	*. . . that, person <u>went</u> to water place.*

RVS and LVS dependent non-past towards verbs are shown below in comparison with RVS non-past towards verbs (non-dependent) and have root vowel changes for applicative.

RVS and LVS verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	RVS/LVS Past towards (37)	Vow change	Cons change	RVS/LVS Past towards **subor** (39)	
	-wi			**-wïï**	
p	—-	a→ä	pw → bb	—-	*be good, happy*
t	—-	i	tw → d	—-	*give birth*
c	—-	aa→ää	cw → j	—-	*be bad*
k	ḍäägi (?)	a→ää	kw → g	ḍäägïï	*arrive*
r	juuri (?)	oo→uu	rw → r	jüürïï	*go down*
l	büülï	ü→ü	lw → l	bülïï	*return*
m	ḍiimmi (?)	i	mw → mm	ḍïmmïï (?)	*fall*
n	piini (?)	e→ii	nw → n	pïïnïï (?)	*be angry*
ŋ	üüŋï	ü→üü	ŋw → ŋ	üüŋïï	*go*
w	—-	ü→ü	ww → w	—-	*die*
y	—-	ää	yw → y	—-	*sit, stay*

The sentences in (40-41) all have SVR or SVL applicative verbs in a main clause. The SVR and SVL verb **üŋgïn** 'went' in (40a-b) has suffix –**gin** and past time. The SVR and SVL verb **üŋgü** 'will go' in (41a-b) with suffix –**gä** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

<u>SVR</u> (40a) Aŋ men ü<u>ŋgï</u>n yätkä.   *Person <u>went for chief.</u>*

SVL   (b)   Aŋ men üŋg̈in nänṭa piik.   *Person <u>went</u> to water place.*
SVR   (41a)   Aŋ men bi üŋgü yätkä.   *Person will <u>go</u> for chief.*
SVL   (b)   Aŋ men bi üŋgü nänṭa piik.   *Person will <u>go</u> to water place.*

The SVR and SVL towards verbs below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentences (40-41) above and have root vowel changes for applicative.

SVR and SVL towards verbs

Final cons	SV Motion Past (29)	Vow change	change	SVR/SVL Past towards (40)	SVR/SVL Non-past towards (41)	
	-cin/-yin			**-jkin/-gin**	**-jkä/-gä**	
p	ñapin (?)	a→ä	pg→ bg	—	—	*be good, happy*
t	gitin (?)	i→ii	tg → dg	—	—	*give birth*
c	yaacin (?)	aa→ää	cg → jg	—	—	*be bad*
k	ḍakin (?)	a→ää	kg → gg	—	—	*arrive*
r	jooṭin (?)	oo→uu	rg→ rg	juurgin	juurgu	*go down*
l	büṭin (?)	ü	lg → lk (?)	bülkïn	bülkü	*return*
m	ḍimin (?)	i	mg	ḍimgin (?)	ḍimgä (?)	*fall*
n	penin (?)	e→ii	ng	piingin (?)	piingä (?)	*be angry*
ŋ	üŋïn (?)	ü	ŋg	üŋg̈in	üŋgü	*go*
w	tüjïn (?)	ü→üü	wg	—	—	*die*
y	cääjin (?)	ää	yg	cääygin	—	*sit, stay*

The sentences in (42) have SVR or SVL applicative verbs in a **ogo** 'that' dependent clause. The verb **üŋïnïï** 'went' in (42a-b) with suffix **–g̈inïï** has past time.

               Aŋ gaaggaak oon kiinne   *Raven told man . . .*
SVR   (42a)   . . . ogo, men üŋg̈inïï yätkä.   *. . . that, person <u>went</u> for chief.*
SVL   (b)   . . . ogo, men üŋg̈inïï nänṭa piik.   *. . . that, person <u>went</u> to water place.*

SVR and SVL dependent non-past towards verbs are shown below in comparison with SVR non-past towards verbs (non-dependent) and have root vowel changes for applicative.

SVR and SVL verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	SVR/SVL Past towards (40)	Vow change	Cons change	SVR/SVL Past towards subor (42)	
	-jkin/-gin			**-jkïnïï/-g̈inïï**	
p	—	a→ä	pjk → pk	napkïnïï	*be good, happy*
t	—	i→ii	tjk → tk	—	*give birth*
c	—	aa→ää	cjk → ck	yääckïnïï	*be bad*
k	—	a→ää	kjk → kk	ḍäkkïnïï (?)	*arrive*
r	juurgin	oo→uu	rg→ rg	jürg̈inïï	*go down*

221

l	bülkïn	ü	lg → rk ?	bülkïnïï	*return*
m	ḍimgin (?)	i	mg	ḍimgïnïï	*fall*
n	piingin (?)	e→ii	ng	pïingïnïï (?)	*be angry*
ŋ	üŋgïn	ü	ŋg	üŋgïnïï	*go*
w	——	ü→üü	wg	tüwgïnïï (?)	*die*
y	cääygin	ää	yg	—-	*sit, stay*

The sentences in (43-44) have SVE applicative verbs in a main clause. The SVE verb **üüŋene** 'went' in (43) has suffix –**yene** and past time. The SVE verb **üüŋene** 'will go' in (44) with suffix –**yene** follows **bi** 'will' and has non-past time.

<u>SVE</u> (43) Aŋ gin üüŋene men.   *Person <u>used</u> thing <u>to go.</u>/Person <u>went by help of</u> thing.*
  (44) Aŋ gin bi üüŋene men.   *Person <u>will use</u> thing <u>to go.</u>/Pers <u>will go by help of</u> thing.*

The SVE applicative verbs below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentences (43-44) above and have the same vowel changes for applicative (**a → ä, e → i, o → u**). SV motion verbs are shown for comparison. Past and non-past SVE verbs have the same form (although the tone could be different).

<u>SVE verbs</u>

Final cons	SV Motion Past (29)	Vow change	change	SVE Past (43)	SVE Non-past (44)	SVE Non-past prog (43)	
	-cin/-yin			-cene/-yene	-cene/-yene	-cete/-yete	
p	ñapin (?)	a→ä	pc → p	—-	—-	—-	*be happy*
t	gitin (?)	i	tc → t	giitene	giitene	giitete	*give birth*
c	yaacin (?)	aa→ää	cc → c	yääcene (?)	yääcene (?)	yääcete (?)	*be bad*
k	ḍakin (?)	a→ää	kc → k	ḍääkene (?)	ḍääkene (?)	ḍääkete	*arrive*
r	jootin (?)	oo→uu	rc → ṭ	juuṭene (?)	juuṭene (?)	juuṭete (?)	*go down*
l	büṭin (?)	ü→ü	lc → ṭ	buuṭene	büüṭene	büüṭete	*return*
m	ḍimin (?)	i	my → m	ḍimene (?)	ḍimene (?)	ḍimete (?)	*fall*
n	penin (?)	e→ii	ny → n	piinene (?)	piinene (?)	piinete (?)	*be angry*
ŋ	üŋïn (?)	ü→üü	ŋy → ŋ	üüŋene	üüŋene	üüŋete	*go*
w	tüjïn (?)	ü→ü	wy → j	tüüjene (?)	tüüjene (?)	tüüjete (?)	*die*
y	cääjin (?)	ää	yy → j	cääjene (?)	cääjene (?)	cääjete (?)	*sit, stay*

SVE towards verbs are shown below in comparison with SV motion verbs and have vowel changes for applicative, but also have long vowels to show they are towards verbs.

Final cons	SV Motion Past (29)	Vow change	Cons change	SVE Past **towards** (43)	SVE Non-past **towards** (44)	SVE Non-past prog **towards** (43)	
	-cin/-yin			-wene	-wene	-wete	

222

p	ñapin (?)	a→ä	pw → bb	—	—	—	*be happy*
t	gitin (?)	i→ii	tw → d	giidene (?)	giidene (?)	giidete (?)	*give birt*
c	yaacin (?)	aa→ää	cw → j	yääjene	yaajene	yääjete	*be bad*
k	ḍakin (?)	a→ää	kw → g	ḍäägene	ḍäägene	ḍaagete (?)	*arrive*
r	jooṭin (?)	oo→uu	rw → r	juurene	juurene	juurete	*go down*
l	büṭin (?)	ü→üü	lw → l	büülene (?)	büülene	büülete (?)	*return*
m	ḍimin (?)	i→ii	mw→mm	ḍiimmene (?)	ḍiimmene (?)	ḍiimmete (?)	*fall*
n	penin (?)	e→ii	nw → n	piinene (?)	piinene (?)	piinete (?)	*be angry*
ŋ	üŋïn (?)	ü→üü	ŋw → ŋ	üüŋene	üüŋene	üüŋete (?)	*go*
w	tüjïn (?)	ü→üü	ww → w	tüüwene	tüüwene	tüüwete	*die*
y	cääjïn (?)	ää	yw → y	cääyene	cääyene	—	*sit, stay*

The sentence in (45) has an EV applicative verb in a **ogo** 'that' dependent clause. The verb **üüŋïnïï** 'went' in (45) with suffix –**wïnïï** has past time.

		Aŋ gaaggaak oon kiinne	*Raven told man . . .*
EV	(45)	. . . ogo, gin <u>üüŋïnïï</u> ko men.	*. . . that, person <u>used thing to go</u>./*
			person <u>went by the help of</u> thing.

EV dependent past towards verbs are shown below in comparison with SVE past towards verbs (non-dependent) and have root vowel changes for applicative.

EV towards verbs in **ogo** 'that' dependent clauses

Final cons	SVE Past towards (43)	Vow change	Cons change	EV Past towards **subor** (45)	
	-wene			-wïnïï	
p	—	a→ä	pw → bb	ñäb**bïnïï**	*be happy*
t	giid**ene** (?)	i→ii	tw → d	giid**ïnïï** (?)	*give birth*
c	yääj**ene**	aa→ää	cw → j	yääj**ïnïï**	*be bad*
k	ḍääg**ene**	a→ää	kw → g	ḍääg**ïnïï**	*arrive*
r	juur**ene**	oo→uu	rw → r	jür**ïnïï**	*go down*
l	büül**ene** (?)	ü→üü	lw → l	büül**ïnïï** (?)	*return*
m	ḍimm**ene** (?)	i→ii	mw → mm	ḍimm**ïnïï**	*fall*
n	piin**ene** (?)	e→ii	nw → n	pïïn**ïnïï** (?)	*be angry*
ŋ	üüŋ**ene**	ü→üü	ŋw → ŋ	üüŋ**ïnïï**	*go*
w	tüüw**ene**	ü→üü	ww → w	tüüw**ïnïï**	*die*
y	cääy**ene**	ää	yw → y	cääy**ïnïï**	*sit, stay*

Applicative suffixes on verbs in stories are shown below in **bold**, and root verbs are shown below each suffix.

NP.SRV.NR	-ce/-ye

Geel 17	boon	ook ke dürjï muure **boone**	*all men and youth* **are weak**
Geel 43	boon	mana **boone**	*certain person* **is weak**

NP.PR.SRV.NR	**-cete/-yete**		
Yaam 18	ṭiint	määngä mäbaan **ṭiintete** kä	*Jumjum women* **are becoming old**

PT.PR.SRV.NR?	**-gene**		
Bääm 39	cääy	kücam **cäygene** jï päk	*he* **had** *grain in bag*

PT.SRV/SLV.AW	**-ccene/** **-cene**		
Yaam 22	päw?	**päjjene**	*they* **be healthy**
Yaam 22	beel	**beeljene** bata	*they* **become**
Leeñ 25	üüŋ	Liik **üüŋjene** küügü gïtï	*Elephants* **went** *through thorns*

NP.SRV/SLV.AW	**-cce/-ce**		
Pïïṇṇä 13	ŋal	ken Pïïṇṇä teye **ŋalje** ko	*Wasp's waist* **is thin**
Leeñ 24	jic	yore **jecce** woo	*his body (he)* **ran** away *there*

NP.PR.SRV.AW	**-ccete/** **-cete**		
Iin 13	wäät	nïïnnä yaana **wäätcete** kä ḍäk	*day* **became** *with three*

NP.SRV.DP.NR	**-cee/-yee**		
Pïïṇṇä 4	äät	ike **äätee**	*he* **comes**
Iin 47	äät	ike ina **äätee** yaanna	*he* **is coming** *like this*

PT.SRV.DP.TW	**-wenee**		
Pïïṇṇä 7	ḍääk	Jooŋ **ḍäägenee**	*God* **arrived**

PT.SRV.DP.AW	**-ccenee/** **-cenee**		
Pïïṇṇä 5	ḍuuk	**ḍukcenee**	*he* **returned**

PT.RVS/LVS.TW	**-wɨ**		
Leeñ 25	yoc	Liik **yoji** ŋañ	*Elephants were not* **able** *to run*
Geel 41	jaay	**jaayi** LOC	*he* **said** *it*

NP.RVS/LVS.TW	**-wänä**		
Geel 29	riic	yaanne yori **riijänä** kä	*my body* **was struggling**

NP.SVR.NR ?	**-jï**		
Bääm 67	boon	ŋana **boonjï** me	*it not* **be little** *for people*

PT.PR.SVE.AW?	-gene		
Iin 2	cääy	aŋ **cäygene** däk	*they **had** cows*

Exercise 34

Underline twice all applicative verbs. Underline once subjects, objects and receivers of these verbs.

(Yaam 18)
Ina ken <u>määngä mäbaan</u> <u>ţiintete</u>
kä bïraŋ yaanna,

*That is why the <u>Jumjum women</u>
<u>are becoming old</u> quickly,*

(Bääm 64-65)
Aŋ Bääm pääynä, i week kä jone ñamme.

Dove flew away, was crying with heart is sweet.

(Pïïnnä 13-14)
Ina ken Pïïnnä teye ŋalje ko ŋal yaanna,
aŋ müügee ko merkä meken yaakka.

*That is why Wasp's waist is thin like this,
and he catches the children of others.*

(Leeñ 23-24)
Aŋ Wiiw gäykä cüge yokïn,
aŋ kuuyin woo, aŋ yore jecce woo.

*And Fox was moving the skins of their bodies,
and jumped out, and himself ran away.*

(Leeñ 25)
Aŋ Liik üüŋjene küügü gïţï, aŋ Liik yoji ŋañ,

Elephants went in thorns, Elephants not able to run,

(Geel 16-17)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "Naana ook ke dürjï
muure boone juugin ogo bojgo ko Geel ye,

*And Fox said, "If all the men and youth
are weak in their hearts and afraid of Lion,*

(Geel 29)
Aŋ inni äätä ïkï ţï,
yaanne yori riijänä kä pet.

*When I came to you,
this my body was really struggling.*

(Geel 36-37)
Aŋ wääna ḑekke daa kä ḑoŋe ti ye,
winnan müŋŋe kä ïnte aam,
aŋ Geel üütte ti nänţä ŋiil.

*And when he tied it with to his neck,
he grabbed the rope with his left hand,
and Lion ran to the place of dancing.*

(Geel 43)
Por mana boone jok ye.

Certain person is weak.

(Pïïnnä 5-7)
Aŋ pïïnnä wääna ḑukcenee ko ti me ti ye,
me kiinnee ogo, men jïkcï me ïñï.
Aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḑäägenee ko ti ye,
men wäädenee jïkkïï me ïñï.

*Then when wasp returned to people,
he told people that, people (should) bury person.
And when God arrived,
he found that people had buried person.*

Intransitive verb form changes with subjects

Intransitive verbs have different suffixes according to which subject does the action. They have the same suffix for singular and plural noun subjects, but sometimes have different suffixes for 'they'

and other pronoun subjects. The subject suffixes on motion verbs are different than the subject suffixes on state and change verbs.

The motion past verb **üüŋïn** 'went' has the suffix –**in** for the noun subjects **men** 'person' **me** 'people' and pronoun subjects **ike** '(s)he', **iken** 'they' [check this]. The tone (the High or Low sound) on the verb is High, Low for both noun subjects and for the pronoun subject **ike** '(s)he'. However, the tone on the verb is Low, Low for the pronoun subject **iken** 'they'. So the tone of the suffix –**in** for the subject '(s)he' is different than the tone of the suffix –**in** for the subject 'they'.

Subject suffixes on motion verb **üüŋïn** 'went'

	Noun subjects		Pronoun subjects	
Singular subject	[– ‾ –] Men üüŋïn.	*Person went.*	[–– ‾ –] Ike üüŋïn.	*(S)he went.*
Plural subject	[– ‾ –] Me üüŋïn. (?)	*People went.*	[‾ – – –] Iken üüŋïn.	*They went.*

Below are subject suffixes of some motion and state verbs, with various times and direction. There are other subject suffixes of intransitive verbs, but these show some of the similarities and differences of subject suffixes from one verb to the next. Next, we will see examples of verbs with these suffixes.

Subject suffixes on intransitive verbs

	motion			state					
	Past	Non-past	N-pt prog	Past	N-pt	Past away	Non-pt towards	N-pt prog away	
men	-cin/yin	-cï/yï	-yïdï	-nä	-Ø	-ñä	-cä/yä	-aŋ	*person*
me	-cin/yin	-cï/yï	-yïdï	-nä	-Ø	-ñä	-cä/yä	-äŋer	*people*
ika	-cänä/yänä	-cä/yä	-yädä	-nä	-ä	-ñä	-cä/yä	-äŋer	*I*
ïkï	-cïnï/yïnï	-ccï/cï	-yädä	-nä	-ä	-ñi	-cä/yä	-aŋ	*you (sg)*
ike	-cin/yin	-cï/yï	-yïdï	-nä	-Ø	-ñä	-cä/yä	-ïŋer	*(s)he*
ïkïï	-cïnï/yïnï	-cï/yï	-yïtï	-nï	-ï	-ñï	-cï/yï	-ïnŋer	*we(two)*
ïkïïn	-cïnïn/yïnïn	-cïn/yïn	-yïtïn	-nïn	-ïn	-ñïn	-cïn/yïn	-onŋer	*we(you)*
ikoon	-conon/yonon	-con/yon	-yodon	-non	-on	-ñon	-con/yon	-eŋer	*we(-you)*
ikee	-cene/yene	-ce/ye	-yede	-ne	-e	-ñe	-ce/ye	-aŋ	*you (pl)*
iken	-cin/yin	-cï/yï	-yïdï	-kin	-ok	-ñä	-cä/yä	-aŋ	*they*

Below are example motion subject suffixes and state subject suffixes on the verb 'go' and 'good'.

Motion verbs subject suffixes			state verb subject suffixes	
Past	Non-past	Non-past progressive	Non-past towards	
[– ‾ –]	[– ‾ ‾ – –]	[– ‾ ‾ –]	[– ‾ ‾ –]	

Men üüŋïn. [– ‾ ‾ –]	Men bi ŋeţï ïñï. [– ‾ ‾ – ‾ –]	Men üüŋïdï. [– ‾ ‾ –]	Men bi üŋü. [– ‾ ‾ –]	*Person*
Me üüŋïn. (?) [–– ‾ ‾ –]	Me bi ŋeţï ïñï. (?) [–– ‾ ‾ – ‾ –]	Me üüŋïdï. (?) [–– ‾ ‾ –]	Me bi üŋü. (?) [–– ‾ ‾ ＼]	*People*
Ika üüŋünü. [–– ‾ ‾ –]	Ika bi ŋetä ïñï. [–– ‾ ‾ – ‾ –]	Ika üüŋüdü. [–– ‾ ‾ –]	Ika bi üüŋü. [–– ‾ ‾ ＼]	*I*
Ïkï üüŋïnï. [–– ‾ ‾ –]	Ïkï bi ŋercï ïñï. [–– ‾ ‾ – ‾ –]	Ïkï üüŋüdü. [–– ‾ ‾ –]	Ïkï bi üüŋü. [–– ‾ ‾ ＼]	*You (sg)*
Ike üüŋïn. [– ‾ ‾ –]	Ike bi ŋeţï ïñï. [– ＼ ‾ – ‾ –]	Ike üüŋïdï. [– ‾ ‾ –]	Ike bi üŋü. [– ‾ ‾ – –]	*(S)he*
Ïkïï üüŋïnï. [– ‾ ‾ –]	Ïkïï bi ŋeţï ïñï. [– ＼ ‾ – ‾ –]	Ïkïï üüŋïtï. [– ‾ ‾ –]	Ïkïï bi üüŋï. [– ‾ ‾ ＼]	*We (two)*
Ïkïïn üüŋïnïn. [– ‾ ‾ ‾ –]	Ïkïïn bi ŋeţïn ïñï. [– ＼ ‾ – ‾ ‾ –]	Ïkïïn üüŋïtïn. [– ‾ ‾ –]	Ïkïïn bi üüŋïn. [– ‾ ‾ ‾ ＼]	*We (and you)*
Ikoon üüŋonon. [– ‾ ‾ –]	Ikoon bi ŋeton ïñï. [– ＼ ‾ – ‾ –]	Ikoon üüŋodon. [– ‾ ‾ –]	Ikoon bi üüŋon. [– ‾ ‾ ＼]	*We (not you)*
Ikee üüŋene. [‾ – – –]	Ikee bi ŋeţe ïñï. [‾ – ‾ ‾ – ‾ –]	Ikee üüŋede. [‾‾ – – –]	Ikee bi üüŋe. [‾‾ – – –]	*You (pl)*
Iken üüŋïn. [‾ – – –]	Iken bi ŋeţï ïñï. [‾ – ‾ ‾ – ‾ –]	Iken üüŋïdï. [‾‾ – – –]	Iken bi üŋü. [‾‾ – – –]	*They*
went	*will be good*	*goes*	*will go*	

Below are example state and change subject suffixes on the verbs 'sit' and 'be good'.

Subject suffixes for state and change verbs

Past	Non-past	Past away	Non-past progressive towards	
[– ‾ ＼] Men cääynä.	[– ‾ ＼] Men bi cääy.	[– – ‾ ＼] Men ŋeţţä woo.	[– – –] Men ŋeraŋ.	*Person*
[– ‾ ＼] Me cääynä. (?)	[– ‾ ＼] Me bi cääy. (?)	[– ‾ ＼] Me ŋeţţä woo. (?)	[– – –] Me ŋeraŋ. (?)	*People*
[–– ‾ ＼] Ika cääynä.	[–– ‾ ‾ –] Ika bi cääyä.	[–– ‾ – ＼] Ika ŋeţţä woo.	[–– – ‾ ＼] Ika ŋeräŋer.	*I*
[–– ‾ ＼] Ïkï cääyni.	[–– ‾ –] Ïkï bi cääyä.	[–– – ‾ ＼] Ïkï ŋeţţi woo.	[–– – ‾ ＼] Ïkï ŋeräŋer.	*You (sg)*
[–– ‾ ＼] Ike cääynä.	[–– ‾ ＼] Ike bi cääy.	[–– – ‾ ＼] Ike ŋeţţä woo.	[–– – – –] Ike ŋeraŋ.	*(S)he*
[– ‾ ＼] Ïkïï cääynï.	[–＼ ‾ –] Ïkïï bi cääyï.	[–＼ ‾ – ＼] Ïkïï ŋeţţi woo.	[– – ‾ ＼] Ïkïï ŋeriŋer.	*We (two)*
[– ‾ ＼] Ïkïïn cääynïn.	[–＼ ‾ –] Ïkïïn bi cääyïn.	[–＼ ‾ – ＼] Ïkïïn ŋeţţïn woo.	[– – ‾ ＼] Ïkïïn ŋeriŋŋer.	*We (and you)*
[– ‾ ‾ ＼] Ikoon cääynon.	[–＼ ‾ –] Ikoon bi cääyon.	[–＼ ‾ – ＼] Ikoon ŋeţţon woo.	[– – ‾ ＼] Ikoon ŋeronŋer.	*We (not you)*
[– ‾ ‾ ＼]	[–＼ ‾ ‾ –]	[–＼ ‾ – ＼]	[– ‾ – ‾ ＼]	

227

Ikee cääyne.	Ikee bi cääye.	Ikee ŋetṭe woo.	Ikee ŋereŋer.	You (pl)
[⎺⎺ – –]	[⎺– ⎺⎺ –]	[⎺– – ⎺ ˋ]	[⎺– – –]	
Iken cääygin.	Iken bi cääyok.	Iken ŋetṭä woo.	Iken ŋeraŋ.	They
sat	will sit	was good	am good	

Subject suffixes on motion verbs in stories are shown below in **bold**, and root verbs are shown below each suffix. Suffixes for '(s)he' and 'they' subjects are included with noun subjects in the lesson *Motion verbs*.

PT.MT.NR.1s	-		
	cänä/yänä		
Geel 29	riiy	**riijänä** kä pet	*I was really **struggling***

NP.MT.NR.1s	**-cä/yä**		
Geel 29	äät	inni **äätä** LOC	*When I **came***
Iin 58	äät	Ika **atä** piitti LOC	*I am **going***

NP.MT.NR.2s	**-cci/ci**		
Leeñ 40	kaac	**kaacci** LOC	*you(sg) **enter***

NP.MT.NR.1t	**-cï/yï**		
Bääm 34	äät	ïkïï batta **atï** LOC	*we(two) not **go***
Bääm 38	äät	ïkïï bi **atï**	*we(two) **will go***
Bääm 59	äät	ïkïï bi **atï**	*we(two) **will go***

NP.MT.NR.1i	**-cïn/yïn**		
Leeñ 9	äät	**atïn**	*we (and you) **go***

NP.MT.NR.2p	**-ce/ye**		
Leeñ 36	äät	ikee **ate** LOC	*you(pl) **go***
Leeñ 17	äät	**ääte**	*you(pl) **go back***

NP.PR.MT.NR.1s	-		
	cädä/yädä		
Bääm 33	äät	ika **äätädä** ïkï ken maaweni	*I **come** looking for you*

NP.PR.MT.TW.2s?	**-kädä**		
Iin 60	um	A piik ŋaaka ken **umgudu?**	*Is water what you(sg) **go** to?*

NP.MT.AW.1s	**-ccä/cä**		
Bääm 61	week	ika **bi weekcä**	*I **will cry***

NP.MT.AW.1t	**-ccï/-cï**		

| Geel 30 | büül | ïkïï bi **bülcï** | *we(two)* **will return** |
| Geel 26 | äät | ïkïï **atcï** | *we(two)* **will go** |

NP.MT.AW.2S?	-ccey/- cey		
Iin 45	äät	Ïkï par **atcey**	*You just* **go**

PT.MT.DP.TW.1e	-wonon		
Leeñ 12	ḍääk	ikoon **ḍäägonon**	*we (not you)* **arrived**

NP.MT.DP.NR.1s	-coo/-yoo		
Iin 46	äät	ogo ika ina **äätoo**	*ogo that I* **am coming**

NP.MT.DP.NR.2s	-co/yo		
Pïïṇṇä 2	äät	**ato**	*you(sg)* **will go**
Pïïṇṇä 4	äät	**ato**	*you(sg)* **will go**

Subject suffixes on state and change verbs in stories are shown below in **bold**, and root verbs are shown below each suffix.

PT.ST.NR.3p	-kin		
Bääm 46	pääy	**päygin**	*they* **flew**

NP.ST.NR.2s	-cä/yä		
Bääm 38	äät	**atä**	*you(sg)* **will go**
Geel 21	äät	**atä**	*you(sg)* **will go**
Iin 44	äät	**atä**	*you(sg)* **will go**
Iin 57	äät	Ïkï **atä** wa	*where are you(sg)* **going**

NP.ST.NR.3p	-ok		
Yaam 13	let	ṭïṭägenene **ledok** bata	*tops of their heads* **grow**
Leeñ 3	week	**wegok** LOC	*they* **were making sound**
Leeñ 5	week	ŋaakani ken eŋdä **wegok** LOC	*what are you wearing* **making sound**
Leeñ 26	week	**wegok** LOC	*they* **were crying**
Leeñ 24	ojiy	Wiiw **ojiyok** Liik	*Elephants* **chased** *Fox*
Geel 1	cääy	wakkä luum jïñe **cäyok** LOC?	*wild animals* **were living**
Geel 3	toor	nääŋke **toorok**	*his actions* **are bad**
Geel 5	booc	dürjï wäättana **bojok** kä	*then youth* **were afraid**
Leeñ 1	ŋeel	waak luum jïñe **ŋelok** LOC?	*wild animals* **were dancing**

229

NP.ST.NR.2p	-e		
Leeñ 12b	yuut	**yuude**	*you(pl)* **wait**
PT.ST.AW.1s	**-ñä**		
Bääm 55	äät	ika **attä** laayä	*I* **went** *roaming*
PT.ST.AW.1t	**-ñï**		
Bääm 61	ḍääk	naana ïkïï **ḍakkï** LOC	*when we(two)* **arrive**
NP.ST.AW.1s	**-wä**		
Bääm 55	laay	ika attä **laayä**	*I went* **roaming**
Geel 18	booc	ika batta **booju**	*I am not* **afraid**
NP.ST.AW.2s	**-wä**		
Geel 21	booc	**booju** kä	*you (sg)* **are afraid**
Bääm 12	booc	ŋana ïkï **booju**	*you(sg) don't* **be afraid**
Bääm 54	yuut	**yuudu**	*you(sg)* **wait**
NP.PR.ST.DP.NR.2s?	**-jey**		
Geel 48	ak	ïkï **agjey** oon parü	*you(sg)* **are** *the only man*
NP.PR.ST.NR.1t?	**-kï**		
Geel 27	baaw	naana ïkïï **baawgï** LOC	*if we(two)* **are absent**
NP.PR.ST.NR.2p?	**-je**		
Geel 14	jaay	ikee **jaayje**	*you(pl)* **are saying**
NP.PR.ST.DP.NR.3p?	**-go**		
Geel 17	booc	ogo **bojgo** ko	*that they* **are afraid**
PT.ST.DP.NR.2s?	**-ceneey**		
Pïïṇṇä 9	jaay	ogo ïkï ken **jaajjeneey**	*that you (sg)* **said**

Exercise 35

Underline twice all motion, state and change verbs with subject suffixes. Underline once all subject
pronouns.

(Yaam 13)
määngä witken wec,   *heads of women are bald, and tops of their heads*
aŋ tïtägenen ledok bata kiidgä aŋan.   *grow like (that of) that guinea fowl.*
(Bääm 12-13)
Ŋana ïkï booju,   *Don't you be afraid,*

gin yaanna batta a len, a lämmä kä pet.
(Bääm 37-38)
Ika batta bi lïïṭa wään, ika agä raac täññaŋ.
Aŋ atä parü, ïkïï bi atï tïṇṇäk.
(Bääm 54-56)
Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por, ïkï nüütkeni.
Ika attä h aŋ ika käññä
kabal ṭuule a caagon kockon a tüwon,
(Bääm 61)
Aŋ naana ïkïï ḍakkï tï ye, ika bi weekcä ogo,
(Leeñ 1-2)
Ñomuk ku on yuungu yakkalaŋ ti,
waak luum jiñe ŋelok ṭuuŋ.
(Leeñ 9)
Wiiw me näŋedee waygä ka, aŋ atïn
näŋgïn tok.
(Leeñ 12)
Wiiw, ikoon ḍäägonon.
(Leeñ 12b)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo,
"Yuude por, cïcam kïlkä."
(Leeñ 17-18)
Aŋ Wiiw Liik kiinne ogo,
"Ääte nïïnkä kä ŋaṭükel."
(Leeñ 24-25)
Aŋ Wiiw ojiyok Liik,
aŋ Liik üüŋjene küügü gïtï, aŋ Liik yoji ŋañ.
(Leeñ 36)
Aŋ tääckene ti ogo, "Ikee ate wa?"
(Leeñ 39-40)
"Ika batta lïïltä aaydin piik."
Aŋ kiini Leeñ ogo, "Kaacci ŋäñi ti."
(Geel 1-3)
Ñomuk ku on, wakkä luum jiñe cäyok
nänṭä keellä, baan yaŋkalaŋ jï.
Aŋ Geel bilti ke meken,
aŋ nääŋke toorok bilti, meken muure ene,
(Geel 14-15)
A jiñe ogo, ikee jaayje ogo
Geel ken ogo oon pare ya?"
(Geel 26-27)
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, 'ïkïï atcï',
naana ïkïï baawgï tï ye, ŋiil batta bi ñabo ñap.

that thing is not an axe, it is just mud.

I will not be able to go, (since) I am now sick.
You go alone, we both will go tomorrow.

Do not eat me, you just wait, I will inform you.
I went roaming, and I found
a very fat young dead sheep,

And when we arrive, I will cry,

Long ago in certain years,
things in grass were dancing the horn dance.

Fox makes shoes for people, so let we go (to him)
and he will make them for us.

Fox, we have arrived.

And Fox said,
"Just you wait, I am sharpening a knife."

And Fox told the Elephants,
"Return in days that seven."

And Elephants chased Fox,
Elephants went through thorns, Elephants not run.

He asked it from them, "Where are you going?"

"I am not able to cross the water."
And Elephant told him, "You enter on my back."

Long ago in past time, wild animals were living
in the same place, in certain country.
And Lion was there with the others, he did actions
that be bad that be there, threatening all others,

Is it true that you are saying that
Lion is the only man?

And people are sending me to say, 'Let we go',
if we both are absent, dance will not be good.

(Geel 29-31)
Aŋ inni äätä ïkï tï,   *When I came to you,*
yaanne yori, riijänä kä pet.   *this my body, I was really struggling.*
Aŋ täññani ïkïï bi bülcï müürï ogoo? *And now how will we two return?*
Yori waagdä ika batta bi lïïṭä wään ŋuca. *My body feels like I will not be able to walk again*
(Pïïnnä 2)
Aŋ Pïïṇṇä ken tüccïï me ogo,   *And people were sending Wasp,*
"Ato Jooŋ nüütkee."   *"You go inform God."*
(Pïïnnä 9)
Pïïṇṇä ken me kiinnee ogo,   *Wasp told the people that*
ïkï ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan.   *you said (to do) this.*

Transitive verb form changes with subjects and objects

Transitive verbs have different suffixes according to which subject does the action, or to which object the action is done. Each transitive verb suffix represents a different subject and object combination. It is often difficult to know which letters of the suffix are for the subject and which are for the object. The subject and object suffixes on SOV and OVS verbs are different than the suffixes on SVO verbs.

The SOV past verb **tiiŋŋe** 'heard' has the suffix **–ne** for all combinations of singular and plural noun subjects and objects.

Noun subjects and objects for SOV past verb **tiiŋŋe** 'heard'

Tiinok men oon tiiŋŋe.	. . . *person heard **man**.*
Tiinok men ook tiiŋŋe.	. . . *person heard **men**.*
Tiinok me oon tiiŋŋe.	. . . ***people** heard man. (?)*
Tiinok me ook tiiŋŋe.	. . . ***people** heard men.*

However, this verb often has the suffix **–i** when either the subject or object is the pronoun **ike** '(s)he, him, her' or **iken** 'they, them'.

Pronoun subjects and objects for SOV past verb **tiiŋŋe** 'heard'

Tiinok **ike** oon tiiŋŋe.	. .*(s)he heard man.*	Tiinok men **ike** tiiŋi.	. .*person heard **him**.*
Tiinok **ike** ook tiiŋŋe.	. *(s)he heard men. (?)*	Tiinok men **iken** tiiŋi.	. .*person heard **them**. (?)*
Tiinok **iken** oon tiiŋi.	. .*they heard man.*	Tiinok me **ike** tiiŋi.	. .*people heard him/her. (?)*
Tiinok **iken** ook tiiŋi.	. .*they heard men.*	Tiinok me **iken** tiiŋi.	. .*people heard **them**. (?)*
Tiinok **ike** ike tiiŋi.	. *(s)he heard him/her.*	Tiinok **ike** iken tiiŋi.	. .*(s)he heard **them**. (?)*

232

Tiinok **iken ike** tiiŋi.	. .*they heard him/her.*	Tiinok **iken iken** tiiŋi.	. .*they heard them.*

The OVS past verb **tiiŋi** 'heard' has the suffix –**i** for all combinations of singular and plural noun subjects and objects.

Noun subjects and objects for OVS past verb **tiiŋi** 'heard'

Tiinok oon tiiŋi men.	. . . *person heard **man**.*
Tiinok ook tiiŋi men.	. . . *person heard **men**.*
Tiinok oon tiiŋi me.	. . . ***people** heard man.*
Tiinok ook tiiŋi me.	. . . ***people** heard men. (?)*

The OVS past verb has the suffix –**i** when either the subject or object is the pronoun **ike** '(s)he, him, her' or **iken** 'they, them'. Most of the combinations below have the same suffix -**i** as these combinations with an SOV verb. This suffix shows that the object comes before the verb.

Pronoun subjects and objects for OVS past verb **tiiŋi** 'heard'

Tiinok oon tiiŋi **ike**.	. .*(s)he heard man. (?)*	Tiinok **ike** tiiŋi men.	. .*person heard **him**. (?)*
Tiinok ook tiiŋi **ike**.	. .*(s)he heard men. (?)*	Tiinok **iken** tiiŋi men.	. .*person heard **them**. (?)*
Tiinok oon tiiŋi **iken**.	. .*they heard man.*	Tiinok **ike** tiiŋi me.	. .*people heard **him**. (?)*
Tiinok ook tiiŋi **iken**.	. .*they heard men. (?)*	Tiinok **iken** tiiŋi me.	. .*people heard **them**. (?)*
Tiinok **ike** tiiŋi **ike**.	. .*(s)he heard **him/her**. (?)*	Tiinok **iken** tiiŋi **ike**.	. .*(s)he heard **them**. (?)*
Tiinok **ike** tiiŋi **iken**.	. .*they heard **him/her**. (?)*	Tiinok **iken** tiiŋi **iken**.	. .*they heard **them**. (?)*

Also, it is common for neighter the subject nor object to be mentioned. OVS clauses without a mentioned subject or object are the same as SOV clauses without a mentioned subject or object. For example, when neither the subject nor object are mentioned, SOV and OVS past verbs both have the suffix -**ne** for the subject '(s)he' and -**i** for the subject 'they'.

Not mentioned subjects and objects for SOV and OVS past verb 'heard'

Tiinok tiiŋŋe.	. . . *(s)he heard **him/her**.*
Tiinok tiiŋŋe.	. . . *(s)he heard **them**. (?)*
Tiinok tiiŋi.	. . . *they heard **him/her**.*
Tiinok tiiŋi.	. . . *they heard **them**. (?)*

The SVO past verb **tiiŋŋä** 'heard' has the suffix –**ñä** for the combinations of singular and plural noun subjects and objects.

Noun subjects and objects for SVO (antipassive) past verb **tiiŋŋä** 'heard'

Tiinok men tiiŋŋä oon.	. . . *person heard **man**.*
Tiinok men tiiŋŋä ook.	. . . *person heard **men**.*
Tiinok me tiiŋŋä oon.	. . . ***people** heard man.*

Tiinok me tiiŋŋä ook.   . . . *people* heard men.

The SVO (antipassive) past verb can have the suffix **–ñä** when the subject is either the pronoun **ike** '(s)he, him, her' or **iken** 'they, them'. This suffix shows that the object follows the verb. It is not possible (or it is extremely rare) for the object of an SVO verb to be a pronoun. A line through words means the words are not correct.

Pronoun subjects and objects for SVO (antipassive) past verb **tiiŋŋä** 'heard'

~~Tiinok men tiiŋŋä ike.~~	. *person* heard **him**.	Tiinok **ike** tiiŋŋä oon.	. *(s)he* heard man.
~~Tiinok men tiiŋŋä iken.~~	. *person* heard **them**.	Tiinok **ike** tiiŋŋä ook.	. *(s)he* heard men. (?)
Tiinok **iken** tiiŋŋä oon.	*they* heard man. (?)	~~Tiinok me tiiŋŋä ike.~~	*people* heard **him/her**.
Tiinok **iken** tiiŋŋä ook.	*they* heard men. (?)	~~Tiinok me tiiŋŋä iken.~~	*people* heard **them**.
~~Tiinok ike tiiŋŋä ike.~~	*(s)he* heard **him/her**.	~~Tiinok ike tiiŋŋä ikem.~~	*(s)he* heard **them**.
~~Tiinok iken tiiŋŋä ike.~~	*they* heard **him/her**.	~~Tiinok iken tiiŋŋä iken.~~	*they* heard **them**.

When neither the subject nor object are mentioned, SVO past verbs have the suffix -**ñä**.

Not mentioned subjects and objects for SVO (antipassive) past verb **tiiŋŋä** 'heard'

Tiinok tiiŋŋä.	. . . *(s)he* heard **him/her**.
Tiinok tiiŋŋä.	. . . *(s)he* heard **them**. (?)
Tiinok tiiŋŋä.	. . . *they* heard **him/her**. (?)
Tiinok tiiŋŋä.	. . . *they* heard **them**.

When only one noun or pronoun comes before a transitive verb with SOV or OVS suffix, it is always an object. A subject can only occur before a verb with SOV or OVS suffix if the object is also before the verb[37]. OVS clauses without a subject are the same as SOV clauses without a subject.

Only a noun or pronoun object for SOV or OVS past verb 'heard' (no subject mentioned)		*A noun or pronoun subject is not possible alone before an SOV verb.*	
Tiinok **oon** tiiŋŋe.	. . . *(s)he* heard **man**.	~~Tiinok men tiiŋŋe.~~	. .*person heard him/her.*
Tiinok **ook** tiiŋŋe.	. . . *(s)he* heard **men**.	~~Tiinok men tiiŋŋe.~~	. .*person heard them.*
Tiinok **oon** tiiŋi.	. . . *they* heard **man**.	~~Tiinok me tiiŋi.~~	. .*people heard him/her.*
Tiinok **ook** tiiŋi.	. . . *they* heard **men**. (?)	~~Tiinok me tiiŋi.~~	. .*people heard them.*
Tiinok **ike** tiiŋi.	. . . *(s)he* heard **him**.	~~Tiinok ike tiiŋi.~~	. .*(s)he heard him/her.*
Tiinok **iken** tiiŋi.	. . . *(s)he* heard **them**. (?)	~~Tiinok ike tiiŋi.~~	. .*(s)he heard them.*
Tiinok **ike** tiiŋi.	. . . *they* heard *(s)he*. (?)	~~Tiinok iken tiiŋi.~~	. .*they heard him/her.*
Tiinok **iken** tiiŋi.	. . . *they* heard **them**. (?)	~~Tiinok iken tiiŋi.~~	. .*they heard them.*

However, a single noun or pronoun subject can occur before a transitive verb with an SVO (antipassive) suffix.

Only a noun or pronoun subject for the SVO (antipassive) past verb **tiiŋŋä** 'heard'

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[37] (Andersen 2018:83)

Tiinok **men** tiiŋä.	. . . **person** heard him/her.
Tiinok **men** tiiŋä.	. . . **person** heard them. (?)
Tiinok **me** tiiŋä.	. . . **people** heard him/her.
Tiinok **me** tiiŋä.	. . . **people** heard them. (?)
Tiinok **ike** tiiŋä.	. . . **(s)he** heard him/her. (?)
Tiinok **ike** tiiŋä.	. . . **(s)he** heard them. (?)
Tiinok **iken** tiiŋä.	. . . **they** heard him/her. (?)
Tiinok **iken** tiiŋä.	. . . **they** heard them. (?)

When a noun or pronoun comes after a verb with OVS suffix, it must be the subject. An object noun can only occur after a verb with an SVO (antipassive) suffix. An object pronoun cannot occur after any verb.

Only a noun or pronoun subject for OVS past verb **tiiŋi** 'heard' (no object mentioned)		Only a noun or pronoun object for SVO (antipassive) past verb **tiiŋä** 'heard' (no subject mentioned)	
Tiinok tiiŋi **men**.	. . **person** heard him/her.	Tiinok tiiŋä **oon**.	. . (s)he heard **man**.
Tiinok tiiŋi **men**.	. . **person** heard them. (?)	Tiinok tiiŋä **ook**.	. . (s)he heard **men**. (?)
Tiinok tiiŋi **me**.	. . **people** heard him/her.	Tiinok tiiŋä **oon**.	. . they heard **man**. (?)
Tiinok tiiŋi **me**.	. . **people** heard them. (?)	Tiinok tiiŋä **ook**.	. . they heard **men**. (?)
Tiinok tiiŋi **ike**.	. . **(s)he** heard him/her. (?)	~~Tiinok tiiŋä ike.~~	. . (s)he heard **him/her**.
Tiinok tiiŋi **ike**.	. . **(s)he** heard them. (?)	~~Tiinok tiiŋä iken.~~	. . (s)he heard **them**.
Tiinok tiiŋi **iken**.	. . **they** heard him/her. (?)	~~Tiinok tiiŋä ike.~~	. . they heard **him/her**.
Tiinok tiiŋi **iken**.	. . **they** heard them. (?)	~~Tiinok tiiŋä iken.~~	. . they heard **them**.

Now we compare other pronoun subjects of transitive verbs. Below are subject suffixes on the transitive past verb **yoorre** 'saw' in SOV, OVS and SVO orders. Although there are different subjects, all have the same object **gin** 'something'. All SOV and OVS verb forms have the same suffixes for pronoun subjects; the suffixes are only different for noun subjects. However, all SVO verb forms have different suffixes than all SOV and OVS verb forms.

Transitive subject suffixes with object **gin** 'something' on past verbs

SOV	OVS	SVO away	
[̄ – ̄ – –]	[̄ ̄ ̄ –]	[̄ – – – –]	
Aŋ **men** gin <u>yoorre</u>.	Aŋ gin <u>yoori</u> **men**.	Aŋ **men** <u>yuttu</u> gin.	*Person saw something.*
[̄ – ̄ –]	[̄ ̄ ̄ –]	[̄ – – – –]	
Aŋ **me** gin <u>yoorre</u>. (?)	Aŋ gin <u>yoori</u> **me**.	Aŋ **me** <u>yuttu</u> gin.	*People saw something.*
[̄ –– ̄ ̄ ＼]	[̄ ̄ – – ––]	[̄ ̄– – ̄ ＼]	
Aŋ **ika** gin <u>yoorru</u>.	Aŋ gin <u>yoorru</u> **ika**.	Aŋ **ika** <u>yuttu</u> gin.	*I saw something.*
[̄ –– ̄ –]	[̄ ̄ ––]	[̄ ＼– – ̄ ＼]	
Aŋ **ïkï** gin <u>yoorri</u>.	Aŋ gin <u>yoorri</u> **ïkï**.	Aŋ **ïkï** <u>yutti</u> gin.	*You (sg) saw something.*
[̄ –– ̄ –]	[̄ ̄ ––]	[̄ ＼– – ̄ ＼]	
Aŋ **ike** gin <u>yoorre</u>.	Aŋ gin <u>yoorre</u> **ike**.	Aŋ **ike** <u>yuttu</u> gin.	*(S)he saw something.*
[̄ –＼ ̄ ̄ ＼]	[̄ ̄ ̄ –＼]	[̄ –＼ ̄ – ＼]	

235

SOV here	OVS here	SVO away	
Aŋ ïkïï gin yoorrï.	Aŋ gin yoorrï ïkïï.	Aŋ ïkïï yüttï gin.	*We (two) saw something.*
[⌐ _` ¯ ¯ `] Aŋ ïkïïn gin yoorrïn.	[⌐ ¯ ¯ _ _`] Aŋ gin yoorrïn ïkïïn.	[⌐ _` ¯ _ `] Aŋ ïkïïn yüttïn gin.	*We (and you) saw some*
[⌐ _` ¯ ¯ `] Aŋ ikoon gin yoorron.	[⌐ ¯ ¯ _ _`] Aŋ gin yoorron ikoon.	[⌐ _` ¯ _ `] Aŋ ikoon yutton gin.	*We (not you) saw some*
[⌐ _` ¯ ¯ `] Aŋ ikee gin yoorre.	[⌐ ¯ ¯ _ _`] Aŋ gin yoorre ikee.	[⌐ _` ¯ _ `] Aŋ ikee yutte gin.	*You (pl) saw something.*
[⌐ ¯ ¯ ¯ _] Aŋ iken gin yoori.	[⌐ ¯ ¯ ¯ _] Aŋ gin yoori iken.	[⌐ ¯ _ _ `] Aŋ iken yuttu gin.	*They saw something.*

Below are subject suffixes on the transitive non-past progressive verb **yoodde** 'saw' in SOV, OVS and SVO orders, which differ in direction. Again, all SOV and OVS verb forms have the same suffixes for pronoun subjects; they only differ for noun subjects. However, all SVO verb forms have different suffixes than all SOV and OVS forms.

Non-past progressive transitive verbs

SOV here	OVS here	SVO away	
[⌐ _ ¯ _ _] Aŋ men gin yoodde.	[⌐ ¯ ¯ _ _] Aŋ gin yoottu men.	[⌐ ¯ _ _ _] Aŋ men yutit gin.	*Person sees something.*
[⌐ __ ¯ _ _] Aŋ ika gin yooddu.	[⌐ ¯ ¯ ` __] Aŋ gin yooddu ika.	[⌐ ¯_ ¯ ¯ _] Aŋ ika yurtu gin.	*I see something.*
[⌐ __ ¯ _ _] Aŋ ïkï gin yooddu.	[⌐ ¯ ¯ __] Aŋ gin yooddu ïkï.	[⌐ ¯_ _ _ _] Aŋ ïkï yurtu gin.	*You (sg) see something.*
[⌐ __ ¯ _ _] Aŋ ike gin yoodde.	[⌐ ¯ ¯ __] Aŋ gin yoodde ike.	[⌐ ¯_ _ _ _] Aŋ ike yutit gin.	*(S)he sees something.*
[⌐ _` ¯ _ `] Aŋ ïkïï gin yoottï.	[⌐ ¯ ¯ ¯ _`] Aŋ gin yoottï ïkïï.	[⌐ _` ¯¯ _] Aŋ ïkïï yürtï gin.	*We (two) see something.*
[⌐ _` ¯ ¯ `] Aŋ ïkïïn gin yoottïn.	[⌐ ¯ ¯ _`] Aŋ gin yoottïn ïkïïn.	[⌐ _` ¯ ¯ _] Aŋ ïkïïn yürtïn gin.	*We (and you) see some*
[⌐ _` ¯ ¯ `] Aŋ ikoon gin yooddon.	[⌐ ¯ ¯ _ _`] Aŋ gin yooddon ikoon.	[⌐ _` ¯ ¯ _] Aŋ ikoon yurton gin.	*We (not you) see some*
[⌐ _` ¯ ¯ `] Aŋ ikee gin yoodde.	[⌐ ¯ ¯ ¯ _`] Aŋ gin yoodde ikee.	[⌐ _ ¯ ¯ _ _] Aŋ ikee yurte gin.	*You (pl) see something.*
[⌐ _` ¯ ¯ `] Aŋ iken gin yoottu.	[⌐ ¯ ¯ _ _`] Aŋ gin yoottu iken.	[⌐ ¯_ __ _] Aŋ iken yutit gin.	*They see something.*

The subject suffixes listed below are those attached to the transitive verbs in various word orders above. The SVO past away suffixes below are identical with the past away intransitive subject suffixes shown in the previous lesson.

236

Transitive subject suffixes with singular noun object

	Past			Non-past, progressive			
	SOV	OVS	SVO away	SOV here	OVS here	SVO away	
men	-ne	<u>-i</u>	-ñä	-de	<u>-ttä</u>	-cit	*person*
me	-ne	-i	-ñä	-de	-ttä	-cit	*people (?)*
ika	-nä	-nä	-ñä	-dä	-dä	-ttä	*I*
ïkï	-ni	-ni	-ñi	-dä	-dä	-ttä	*you (sg)*
ike	-ne	-ne	-ñä	-de	-de	-cit	*(s)he*
ïkïï	-nï	-nï	-ñï	-ttï	-ttï	-ttï	*we (two)*
ïkïïn	-nïn	-nïn	-ñïn	-ttïn	-ttïn	-ttïn	*we (and you)*
ikoon	-non	-non	-ñon	-don	-don	-tton	*we (not you)*
ikee	-ne	-ne	-ñe	-de	-de	-tte	*you (pl)*
iken	-i	-i	-ñä	-ttä	-ttä	-cit	*they*

Below are object suffixes on the transitive past verb **tiiŋŋe** 'heard' in SOV, OVS and SVO orders. Although there are different objects, all have the same subject **men** 'person'. All SOV and OVS verb forms have the same suffixes for pronoun objects; the suffixes are only different for noun objects. However, SVO verb forms have different suffixes for noun objects than SOV and OVS verb forms, and SVO verbs cannot have pronoun objects.

Transitive object suffixes with subject **men** 'person' on past verbs

SOV	OVS	SVO	
Aŋ men **oon** tiiŋŋe.	Aŋ **oon** tiiŋi men.	Aŋ men tiiŋŋä **oon**.	*And person heard **man**.*
Aŋ men **ook** tiiŋŋe.	Aŋ **ook** tiiŋi men.	Aŋ men tiiŋŋä **ook**.	*. . person heard **men**.*
Aŋ men **ika** tiiŋŋa.	Aŋ **ika** tiiŋŋa men.	~~Aŋ men tiiŋŋä ika~~.	*person heard **me**.*
Aŋ men **ïkï** tiiŋŋey.	Aŋ **ïkï** tiiŋŋey men.	~~Aŋ men tiiŋŋä ïkï.~~	*person heard **you(sg)**.*
Aŋ men **ike** tiiŋi.	Aŋ **ike** tiiŋi men.	~~Aŋ men tiiŋŋä ike.~~	*person heard **him/her**.*
Aŋ men **ïkïï** tïïŋŋï.	Aŋ **ïkïï** tïïŋŋï men.	~~Aŋ men tiiŋŋä ïkïï.~~	*person heard **us(two)**.*
Aŋ men **ïkïïn** tïïŋŋïn.	Aŋ **ïkïïn** tïïŋŋïn men.	~~Aŋ men tiiŋŋä ïkïïn.~~	*per heard **us(and you)***
Aŋ men **ikoon** tiiŋŋon.	Aŋ **ikoon** tiiŋŋon men.	~~Aŋ men tiiŋŋä ikoon.~~	*per heard **us(not you)***
Aŋ men **ikee** tiiŋŋe.	Aŋ **ikee** tiiŋŋe men.	~~Aŋ men tiiŋŋä ikee.~~	*person heard **you(pl)**.*
Aŋ men **iken** tiiŋi.	Aŋ **iken** tiiŋi men.	~~Aŋ men tiiŋŋä iken.~~	*person heard **them**.*

The object suffixes listed below are those attached to the transitive verbs above.

Transitive object suffixes with singular noun subject

		oon	ook	ika	ïkï	ike	ïkïï	ïkïïn	ikoon	ikee	iken
Past	SOV	-ne	-ne	-na	-ney	-i	-nï	-nïn	-non	-ne	-i
	OVS	-i	-i	-na	-ney	-i	-nï	-nïn	-non	-ne	-i
	SVO	-ñä	-ñä	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		man	*men*	*me*	*you (sg)*	*him, her*	*us (2)*	*us (& you)*	*us (not you)*	*you (pl)*	*them*

237

The verb suffixes show that an object is treated differently when it follows the verb than when it comes before the verb. In fact, a subject can only be mentioned without an object with SVO verb forms. This shows that a true object comes before the verb, and an object after the verb is optional (it is not a core constituent of the clause, but peripheral)[38].

Subject without object

SOV	Aŋ ika oon yoorru.	*I saw man.*	~~Aŋ ika yoorru.~~	*~~I saw.~~*
OVS	Aŋ oon yoorru ika.	*I saw man.*	~~Aŋ yoorru ika.~~	*~~I saw.~~*
SVO	Aŋ ika yuṭṭu oon.	*I saw a man.*	Aŋ ika yuṭṭu.	*I saw (something).*

Below are subject and object suffixes of SOV verbs. The suffixes are for the subject pronouns on the left and the object pronouns on the top. Each suffix represents a different subject and object combination. It is often difficult to know which letters of the suffix are for the subject and which are for the object. However, the suffixes with object **ike** '(s)he' are the same as the suffixes with object **iken** 'they'. The long dash ----- shows a combination of subject and object that is not possible.

SOV past verb subject and object suffixes (-**ne**)

		object									
		oon	ook	ika	ïkï	ike	ïkïï	ïkïïn	ikoon	ikee	iken	
	men	-ne	-ne	-na	-ney	-i	-nï	-nïn	-non	-ne	-i	*person (?)*
	me	-ne	-ne									*people (?)*
	ika	-nä		——	-neni	-nä	——	——	——	-ne	-nä	*I*
	ïkï	-ni		-naa	——	-ni	——	——	-noon	——	-ni	*you (sg)*
	ike	-ne		-na	-ney	-i	-nï	-nïn	-non	-ne	-i	*(s)he*
	ïkïï	-nï		——	——	-nï	——	——	——	——	-nï	*we (two)*
Subject	ïkïïn	-nïn		——	——	-nïn	——	——	——	——	-nïn	*we (and you)*
	ikoon	-non		——	-ini	-non	——	——	——	-ene	-non	*we (not you)*
	ikee	-ne		-na	——	-ne	——	——	-non	——	-ne	*you (pl)*
	iken	-i	-i	-nana	-nini	-i	-nïnï	-nïnïn	-nonon	-nene	-i	*they*
		man	*men (?)*	*me*	*you (sg)*	*him, her*	*us (2)*	*us (& you)*	*us (not you)*	*you (pl)*	*them*	

SOV non-past subject and object suffixes (-**e**) (taken from Andersen 2018)

	object	

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[38] (Andersen 2018:84)

Subject	oon	ook	ika	ïkï	ike	ïkïï	ïkïïn	ikoon	ikee	iken	
men	-e										*person (?)*
me											*people (?)*
ika			—	-eni	-ä	—	—	—	-e	-ä	*I*
ïkï			-ca	—	-ä	—	—	-con	—	-ä	*you (sg)*
ike			-a	-ey	-kä	-ï	-ïn	-on	-e	-kä	*(s)he*
ïkïï			—	—	-ï	—	—	—	—	-ï	*we (two)*
ïkïïn			—	—	-kïn	—	—	—	—	-ïn	*we (and you)*
ikoon			—	-ki	-kon	—	—	—	-ke	-on	*we (not you)*
ikee			-a	—	-e	—	—	-on	—	-e	*you (pl)*
iken			-ka	-ki	-kä	-kï	-kïn	-kon	-ke	-kä	*they*
	man	*men (?)*	*me*	*you (sg)*	*him, her*	*us (2)*	*us (& you)*	*us (not you)*	*you (pl)*	*them*	

SOV non-past progressive subject and object suffixes (**-de**)

Subject	Object									
	oon	ika	ïkï	ike	ïkïï	ïkïïn	ikoon	ikee	iken	
men	-de	-da	-dey	-ttä	-dï	-dïn	-don	-de	-ttä	*person [check]*
ika	-dä	—	-deni	-dä	—	—	—	-de	-dä	*I*
ïkï	-dä	-daa	—	-dä	—	—	-doon	—	-dä	*you (sg)*
ike	-de	-da	-dey	-ttä	-dï	-dïn	-don	-de	-ttä	*(s)he*
ïkïï	-ttï	—	—	-ttï	—	—	—	—	-ttï	*we (two)*
ïkïïn	-ttïn	—	—	-ttïn	—	—	—	—	-ttïn	*we (and you)*
ikoon	-don	—	-tti	-don	—	—	—	-tte	-don	*we (not you)*
ikee	-de	-da	—	-de	—	—	-don	—	-de	*you (pl)*
iken	-ttä	-tta	-tti	-ttä	-ttï	-ttïn	-tton	-tte	-ttä	*they*
	man	*me*	*you (sg)*	*him, her*	*us (2)*	*us (& you)*	*us (not you)*	*you (pl)*	*them*	

SOV past with towards direction subject and object suffixes (**-wene**) (taken from Andersen 2018)

Subject	object									
	oon	ika	ïkï	ike	ïkïï	ïkïïn	ikoon	ikee	iken	
men	**-wene**									*person (?)*
me										*people (?)*
ika		—	**-weweni**	-wänä	—	—	—	-we	-wänä	*I*

239

	man	me	you (sg)	him, her	us (2)	us (& you)	us (not you)	you (pl)	them	
ïkï	-wanaa	—	-wini	—	—	-wowoon	—	—	-wini	*you (sg)*
ike	-wana wewey	-	-wi	-winï	-winïn		-wonon	-we	-wi	*(s)he*
ïkïï	—	—	-wïnï	—	—	—	—	—	-wïnï	*we (two)*
ïkïïn	—	—	-wïnïn	—	—	—	—	—	-wïnïn	*we (and you)*
ikoon	—	—	-wini	-wonon	—	—	—	-wene	-wonon	*we (not you)*
ikee	-wana	—	—	-wene	—	—	-wonon	—	-wene	*you (pl)*
iken	-wana	-wini	-wi	-winï	-winïn		-wonon	-wene	-wi	*they*
	man	*me*	*you (sg)*	*him, her*	*us (2)*	*us (& you)*	*us (not you)*	*you (pl)*	*them*	

SOV non-past with towards direction (-we) (taken from Andersen 2018)

Subject		object									
	oon	ook	ika	ïkï	ike	ïkïï	ïkïïn	ikoon	ikee	iken	
men	-we										*person (?)*
me											*people (?)*
ika			——	-weni	-wä	——	——	——	-we	-wä	*I*
ïkï			-waa	——	-wä	——	——	-woon	——	-wä	*you (sg)*
ike			-wa	-wey	-änä	-wï	-wïn	-won	-we	-änä	*(s)he*
ïkïï			——	——	-wï	——	——	——	——	-wï	*we (two)*
ïkïïn			——	——	-wïn	——	——	——	——	-wïn	*we (and you)*
ikoon			——	-wini	-won	——	——	——	-wene	-won	*we (not you)*
ikee			-wa	——	-we	——	——	-won	——	-we	*you (pl)*
iken			-cana	-wini	-änä	-wïnï	-wïnïn	-wonon	-wene	-änä	*they*
	man	*men (?)*	*me*	*you (sg)*	*him, her*	*us (2)*	*us (& you)*	*us (not you)*	*you (pl)*	*them*	

SOV past with away direction (**-ñe**) (taken from Andersen 2018)

		oon	ook	ika	ikï	ike	ikïï	ikïïn	ikoon	ikee	iken	
	men	-ñe										*person (?)*
	me											*people (?)*
Subject	ika			——	-ñeni	-ñä	——	—–	——	-ñe	-ñä	*I*
	ikï			-ñaa	——	-ñä	——	——	-ñoon	——	-ñä	*you (sg)*
	ike			-ña	-ñey	-ci	-ñï	-ñïn	-ñon	-ñe	-ci	*(s)he*
	ikïï			——	——	-ñï	——	——	——	——	-ñï	*we (two)*
	ikïïn			——	——	-ñïïn	——	——	——	——	-ñïïn	*we (and you)*
	ikoon			——	-cini	-ñon	——	——	——	-cene	-ñon	*we (not you)*
	ikee			-ña	——	-ñe	——	——	-ñon	——	-ñe	*you (pl)*
	iken			-cana	-cini	-ci	-cïnï	-cïnïn	-conon	-cene	-ci	*they*
		man	*men (?)*	*me*	*you (sg)*	*him, her*	*us (2)*	*us (& you)*	*us (not you)*	*you (pl)*	*them*	

SOV non-past with away direction (**-ce**) (taken from Andersen 2018)

		oon	ook	ika	ikï	ike	ikïï	ikïïn	ikoon	ikee	iken	
	men	-ce										*person (?)*
	me											*people (?)*
Subject	ika			——	-ceni	-cä	——	——	——	-ce	-cä	*I*
	ikï			-caa	——	-cä	——	——	-coon	——	-cä	*you (sg)*
	ike			-ca	-cey	-cänä	-cï	-cïn	-con	-ce	-cänä	*(s)he*
	ikïï			——	——	-ccï	——	——	——	——	-ccï	*we (two)*
	ikïïn			——	——	-ccïn	——	——	——	——	-ccïn	*we (and you)*
	ikoon			——	-cini	-con	——	——	——	-cene	-con	*we (not you)*
	ikee			-ca	——	-ce	——	——	-con	——	-ce	*you (pl)*
	iken			-cana	-cini	-cänä	-cïnï	-cïnïn	-conon	-cene	-cänä	*they*
		man	*men (?)*	*me*	*you (sg)*	*him, her*	*us (2)*	*us (& you)*	*us (not you)*	*you (pl)*	*them*	

SOV past progressive with away direction (**-ccene/-cene**) (taken from Andersen 2018)

		object										
		oon	ook	ika	ïkï	ike	ïkïï	ïkïïn	ikoon	ikee	iken	
men		-cene										*person (?)*
	me											*people (?)*
Subject	**ika**			—-	-ceneni	-cänä	—-	—-	—-	-cene	-cänä	*I*
	ïkï			-canaa	—-	-cini	—-	—-	-conoon	—-	-cini	*you (sg)*
	ike			-cana	-ceney	-ci	-cïnï	-cïnïn	-conon	-cene	-ci	*(s)he*
	ïkïï			—-	—-	-cïnï	—-	—-	—-	—-	-cïnï	*we (two)*
	ïkïïn			—-	—-	-cïnïn	—-	—-	—-	—-	-cïnïn	*we (and you)*
	ikoon			—-	-cini	-conon	—-	—-	—-	-cene	-conon	*we (not you)*
	ikee			-cana	—-	-cene	—-	—-	-conon	—-	-cene	*you (pl)*
	iken			-cana	-cini	-ci	-cïnï	-cïnïn	-conon	-cene	-ci	*they*
		man	*men (?)*	*me*	*you (sg)*	*him, her*	*us (2)*	*us (& you)*	*us (not you)*	*you (pl)*	*them*	

Below are receiver suffixes on the applicative past verb **nüütkene** 'informed' in SRVO order. Although there are differen receivers, all have the same subject **ŋaani** 'who' and object **waŋ** 'eyes'.

Applicative receiver suffixes on SRVO past verbs.

A ŋaani ken <u>oon</u> nüüt**kene** waŋ?	*Who informed (showed eyes) the <u>man</u>?*
A ŋaani ken **ika** nüüt**kana** waŋ?	*Who informed **me**?*
A ŋaani ken **ïkï** nüüt**kene** waŋ?	*Who informed **you (sg)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ike** nüüt**kï** waŋ?	*Who informed **(him/her)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ïkïï** nüüt**kïnï** waŋ?	*Who informed **us (two)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ïkïïn** nüüt**kïnïn** waŋ?	*Who informed **us (and you)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ikoon** nüüt**konon** waŋ?	*Who informed **us (not you)**?*
A ŋaani ken **ikee** nüüt**kene** waŋ?	*Who informed **you (pl)**?*
A ŋaani ken **iken** nüüt**kï** waŋ?	*Who informed **them**?*

Below are subject and receiver suffixes of SRVO verbs.

SRVO past (-<u>jkene</u>) (taken from Andersen 2018)

					receiver					
		oon	ika	ïkï	ike	ïkïi	ïkïin	ikoon	ikee	iken	
	men	-jkene									*person (?)*
	me										*people (?)*
Subject	ika		——	-jkeneni	-jkänä	——	——	——	-jkene	-jkänä	*I*
	ïkï		-jkanaa	——	-jkini	——	——	-jkonoon	——	-jkini	*you (sg)*
	ike		-jkana	-jkeney	-jki	-jkïnï	-jkïnïn	-jkonon	-jkene	-jki	*(s)he*
	ïkïi		——	——	-jkïnï	——	——	——	——	-jkïnï	*we (two)*
	ïkïin		——	——	-jkïnïn	——	——	——	——	-jkïnïn	*we (and you)*
	ikoon		——	-jkini	-jkonon	——	——	——	-jkene	-jkonon	*we (not you)*
	ikee		-jkana	——	-jkene	——	——	-jkonon	——	-jkene	*you (pl)*
	iken		-jkana	-jkini	-jki	-jkïnï	-jkïnïn	-jkonon	-jkene	-jki	*they*
		man	*me*	*you (sg)*	*him, her*	*us (2)*	*us (& you)*	*us (not you)*	*you (pl)*	*them*	

SRVO non-past (-<u>jke</u>) (taken from Andersen 2018)

					receiver					
		oon	ika	ïkï	ike	ïkïi	ïkïin	ikoon	ikee	iken	
	men	-jke									*person (?)*
	me										*people (?)*
Subject	ika		——	-jkeni	-jkä	——	——	——	-jke	-jkä	*I*
	ïkï		-jkaa	——	-jkä	——	——	-jkoon	——	-jkä	*you (sg)*
	ike		-jka	-jkey	-jkänä	-jkï	-jkïn	-jkon	-jke	-jkänä	*(s)he*
	ïkïi		——	——	-jkï	——	——	——	——	-jkï	*we (two)*
	ïkïin		——	——	-jkïn	——	——	——	——	-jkïn	*we (and you)*

	man	me	you (sg)	him, her	us (2)	us (& you)	us (not you)	you (pl)	them	
ikoon		—	-jkini	-jkon	—	—	—	-jkene	-jkon	*we (not you)*
ikee		-jka	—	-jke	—	—	-jkon	—	-jke	*you (pl)*
iken		-jkana	-jkini	-jkänä	-jkïnï	-jkïnïn	-jkonon	—	-jkene	-jkänä	*they*
	man	*me*	*you (sg)*	*him, her*	*us (2)*	*us (& you)*	*us (not you)*	*you (pl)*	*them*	

Below are suffixes for all possible subject and object combinations for the SOV past verb **tiiŋŋe** 'heard'.

Subject and object combination suffixes on SOV past verb **tiiŋŋe** 'heard'

Subject	SOV Past	
	[‿ ‿ ‿ ¯ ¯ ↘]	
men *person*	Tiinok men <u>oon</u> tiiŋŋe.	*Yesterday person heard* <u>*man*</u>.
	[‿ ‿ ‿ ‿‿ ‿ ‿]	
	Tiinok men **ika** tiiŋŋa.	*Yesterday person heard* **me**.
	[‿ ‿ ‿ ‿‿ ‿ ‿]	
	Tiinok men **ïkï** tiiŋŋey.	*Yesterday person heard* **you(sg)**.
	[‿ ‿ ‿ ‿‿ ¯ ‿]	
	Tiinok men **ike** tiiŋi.	*Yesterday person heard* **him/her**.
	[‿ ‿ ‿ ‿¯ ‿ ‿]	
	Tiinok men **ïkïï** tïïŋï.	*Yesterday person heard* **us(two)**.
	[‿ ‿ ‿ ‿¯ ‿ ‿]	
	Tiinok men **ïkïïn** tïïŋïn.	*Yesterday person heard* **us(and you)**.
	[‿ ‿ ‿ ‿¯ ‿ ‿]	
	Tiinok men **ikoon** tiiŋŋon.	*Yesterday person heard* **us(not you)**.
	[‿ ‿ ‿ ‿¯ ‿ ‿]	
	Tiinok men **ikee** tiiŋŋe.	*Yesterday person heard* **you(pl)**.
	[‿ ‿ ‿ ¯‿ ‿ ‿]	
	Tiinok men **iken** tiiŋi.	*Yesterday person heard* **them**.
	[‿ ‿ ‿‿ ¯ ¯ ↘]	
ika *I*	Tiinok ika <u>oon</u> tiiŋä.	*Yesterday I heard a* <u>*man*</u>.
	[‿ ‿ ‿‿ ‿‿ ¯ ‿ ‿]	
	Tiinok ika **ïkï** tiiŋŋeni.	*Yesterday I heard* **you(sg)**.
	[‿ ‿ ‿‿ ‿‿ ¯ ↘]	
	Tiinok ika **ike** tiiŋŋä.	*Yesterday I heard* **him/her**.
	[‿ ‿ ‿‿ ‿↘ ¯ ‿]	
	Tiinok ika **ikee** tiiŋŋe.	*Yesterday I heard* **you(pl)**.
	[‿ ‿ ‿‿ ¯‿ ¯ ↘]	
	Tiinok ika **iken** tiiŋä.	*Yesterday I heard* **them**.
	[‿ ‿ ‿‿ ¯ ‿ ‿]	

244

ïkï *you(sg)*	Tiinok ïkï <u>oon</u> tiiŋi. [– – –– –– – `]	*Yesterday you(sg) heard a <u>man</u>.*
	Tiinok ïkï **ika** tiiŋaa. [– – –– –– – `]	*Yesterday you(sg) heard **me**.*
	Tiinok ïkï **ike** tiiŋi. [– – –– –˙ – `]	*Yesterday you(sg) heard **him/her**.*
	Tiinok ïkï **ikoon** tiiŋŋoon. [– – –– ˉ – – –]	*Yesterday you(sg) heard **us(not you)**.*
	Tiinok ïkï **iken** tiiŋi. [– – –– ˉ – –]	*Yesterday you(sg) heard **them**.*
ike *(s)he*	Tiinok ike <u>oon</u> tiiŋe. [– – –– –– – –]	*Yesterday (s)he heard a <u>man</u>.*
	Tiinok ike **ika** tiiŋa. [– – –– –– – –]	*Yesterday (s)he heard **me**.*
	Tiinok ike **ïkï** tiiŋey. h	*Yesterday (s)he heard **you(sg)**.*
	Tiinok ike **ike** tiiŋi. [– – –– –ˉ – –]	*Yesterday (s)he heard **him/her**.*
	Tiinok ike **ikïï** tïïŋï. [– – –– –ˉ – –]	*Yesterday (s)he heard **us(two)**.*
	Tiinok ike **ikïïn** tïïŋïn. [– – –– –ˉ – –]	*Yesterday (s)he heard **us(and you)**.*
	Tiinok ike **ikoon** tiiŋon. [– – –– –ˉ – –]	*Yesterday (s)he heard **us(not you)**.*
	Tiinok ike **ikee** tiiŋe. [– – –– ˉ– – –]	*Yesterday (s)he heard **you(pl)**.*
	Tiinok ike **iken** tiiŋi. [– – –ˉ ˉ ˉ `]	*Yesterday (s)he heard **them**.*
ikïï *we(two)*	Tiinok ïkïï oon tïïŋï. [– – –ˉ –– – `]	*Yesterday we(two) heard a <u>man</u>.*
	Tiinok ïkïï **ike** tïïŋï. [– – –ˉ ˉ– – –]	*Yesterday we(two) heard **him/her**.*
	Tiinok ïkïï **iken** tïïŋï. [– – –` ` ˉ `]	*Yesterday we(two) heard **them**.*
ikïïn *we(and you)*	Tiinok ïkïïn oon tïïŋïn. [– – –` –– ˉ `]	*Yesterday we(and you) heard a <u>man</u>.*
	Tiinok ïkïïn **ike** tïïŋïn. [– – –` ˉ–  ˉ `]	*Yesterday we(and you) heard **him/her**.*
	Tiinok ïkïïn **iken** tïïŋïn. [– – –ˉ ˉ – –]	*Yesterday we(and you) heard **them**.*
ikoon *we(not you)*	Tiinok ikoon <u>oon</u> tiiŋon. [– – –` –– ˉ ˉ `]	*Yesterday we(not you) heard a <u>man</u>.*
	Tiinok ikoon **ïkï** tiiŋini.	*Yesterday we(not you) heard **you(sg)**.*

	[_ _ _ ` _ _ ⁻ `]	
	Tiinok ikoon **ike** tiiŋon.	*Yesterday we(not you) heard **him/her**.*
	[_ _ _ ` _ ` ⁻ _ _]	
	Tiinok ikoon **ikee** tiiŋene.	*Yesterday we(not you) heard **you(pl)**.*
	[_ _ _ ` ⁻ _ ⁻ `]	
	Tiinok ikoon **iken** tiiŋon.	*Yesterday we(not you) heard **them**.*
ikee *you(pl)*	[_ _ _ ` ⁻ ⁻ `]	
	Tiinok ikee <u>oon</u> tiiŋe.	*Yesterday you(pl) heard a <u>man</u>.*
	[_ _ _ ` _ _ ⁻ _]	
	Tiinok ikee **ika** tiiŋa.	*Yesterday you(pl) heard **me**.*
	[_ _ _ ` _ _ ⁻ `]	
	Tiinok ikee **ike** tiiŋe.	*Yesterday you(pl) heard **him/her**.*
	[_ _ _ ` _ ` ⁻ _]	
	Tiinok ikee **ikoon** tiiŋon.	*Yesterday you(pl) heard **us(not you)**.*
	[_ _ _ ` ⁻ _ ⁻ `]	
	Tiinok ikee **iken** tiiŋe.	*Yesterday you(pl) heard **them**.*
iken *them*	[_ _ ⁻ _ ⁻ _ _]	
	Tiinok iken <u>oon</u> tiiŋi.	*Yesterday they heard a <u>man</u>.*
	[_ _ ⁻ _ _ _ ⁻ ⁻ `]	
	Tiinok iken **ika** tiiŋŋana.	*Yesterday they heard **me**.*
	[_ _ ⁻ _ _ _ ⁻ ⁻ `]	
	Tiinok iken **ïkï** tiiŋŋini.	*Yesterday they heard **you(sg)**.*
	[_ _ ⁻ _ _ _ _ _]	
	Tiinok iken **ike** tiiŋi.	*Yesterday they heard **him/her**.*
	[_ _ ⁻ _ _ ` ⁻ _ _]	
	Tiinok iken **ïkïï** tïiŋŋïnï.	*Yesterday they heard **we(two)**.*
	[_ _ ⁻ _ _ ` ⁻ _ _]	
	Tiinok iken **ïkïïn** tïiŋŋïnïn.	*Yesterday they heard **us(and you)**.*
	[_ _ ⁻ _ _ ` ⁻ _ _]	
	Tiinok iken **ikoon** tiiŋŋonon.	*Yesterday they heard **us(not you)**.*
	[_ _ ⁻ _ _ ` ⁻ _ _]	
	Tiinok iken **ikee** tiiŋŋene.	*Yesterday they heard **you(pl)**.*
	[_ _ ⁻ _ ⁻ _ _ _]	
	Tiinok iken **iken** tiiŋŋi.	*Yesterday they heard **them**.*

Below are suffixes for all possible subject and object combinations for the SOV non-past progressive verb **tiŋde** 'hears'.

Subject and object combination suffixes on SOV non-past progressive verb **tiŋde** 'hears'

Subject	SOV Non-past progressive	
men *person*	[_ _ _ ⁻ ⁻ `]	
	Täññaŋ men <u>oon</u> tiŋde.	*Now person hears a <u>man</u>.*
	[_ _ _ _ _ _ _]	

[check all]	Täññaŋ men **ika** tiŋda. [– – – –– – –]	*Now person hears **me**.*
	Täññaŋ men **ïkï** tiŋdey. [– – – –– ˉ –]	*Now person hears **you(sg)**.*
	Täññaŋ men **ike** tiŋtä. [– – – –ˋ – –]	*Now person hears **him/her**.*
	Täññaŋ men **ïkïï** tïŋdï. [– – – –ˋ – –]	*Now person hears **us(two)**.*
	Täññaŋ men **ïkïïn** tïŋdïn. [– – – –ˋ – –]	*Now person hears **us(and you)**.*
	Täññaŋ men **ikoon** tiŋdon. [– – – –ˋ – –]	*Now person hears **us(not you)**.*
	Täññaŋ men **ikee** tiŋde. [– – – ˉˉ ˉ ˋ]	*Now person hears **you(pl)**.*
	Täññaŋ men **iken** tiŋtä. [– – –– ˉ – –]	*Now person hears **them**.*
	[– – –– ˉ ˉ ˋ]	
ika *I*	Täññaŋ ika <u>oon</u> tiŋdä. [– – –– –– ˉ – –]	*Now I hear a <u>man</u>.*
	Täññaŋ ika **ïkï** tiŋdeni. [– – –– –– ˉ ˋ]	*Now I hear **you(sg)**.*
	Täññaŋ ika **ike** tiŋdä. [– – –– –ˋ ˉ –]	*Now I hear **him/her**.*
	Täññaŋ ika **ikee** tiŋde. [– – –– ˉ – ˉ ˋ]	*Now I hear **you(pl)**.*
	Täññaŋ ika **iken** tiŋdä. [– – –– ˉ – –]	*Now I hear **them**.*
ïkï *you(sg)*	Täññaŋ ïkï <u>oon</u> tiŋdä. [– – –– –– – ˋ]	*Now you(sg) hear a <u>man</u>.*
	Täññaŋ ïkï **ika** tiŋdaa. [– – –– –– – –]	*Now you(sg) hear **me**.*
	Täññaŋ ïkï **ike** tiŋdä. [– – –– –ˉ – ˋ]	*Now you(sg) hear **him/her**.*
	Täññaŋ ïkï **ikoon** tiŋdoon. [– – –– ˉ ˉ – –]	*Now you(sg) hear **us(not you)**.*
	Täññaŋ ïkï **iken** tiŋdä. [– – –– ˉ – –]	*Now you(sg) hear **them**.*
ike *(s)he*	Täññaŋ ike <u>oon</u> tiŋde. [– – –– –– – –]	*Now (s)he hears a <u>man</u>.*
	Täññaŋ ike **ika** tiŋda. [– – –– –– – –]	*Now (s)he hears **me**.*
	Täññaŋ ike **ïkï** tiŋdey. [– – –– –– ˉ –]	*Now (s)he hears **you(sg)**.*

247

Täññaŋ ike **ike** tiŋtä. [– – –– –ˋ – –]	*Now (s)he hears **him/her**.*
Täññaŋ ike **ïkïï** tïŋdï. [– – –– –ˋ – –]	*Now (s)he hears **us(two)**.*
Täññaŋ ike **ïkïïn** tïŋdïn. [– – –– – ˋ – –]	*Now (s)he hears **us(and you)**.*
Täññaŋ ike **ikoon** tiŋdon. [– – –– –ˋ – –]	*Now (s)he hears **us(not you)**.*
Täññaŋ ike **ikee** tiŋde. [– – –– ⁻⁻ ⁻ ˋ]	*Now (s)he hears **you(pl)**.*
Täññaŋ ike **iken** tiŋtä.	*Now (s)he hears **them**.*

ïkïï *we(two)*	[– – –ˋ ⁻ ⁻ ˋ] Täññaŋ ïkïï <u>oon</u> tïŋtï.	*Now we(two) hear a <u>man</u>.*
	[– – –ˋ –– ⁻ ˋ] Täññaŋ ïkïï **ike** tïŋtï.	*Now we(two) hear **him/her**.*
	[– – –ˋ ⁻⁻ ⁻ ˋ] Täññaŋ ïkïï **iken** tïŋtï.	*Now we(two) hear **them**.*

ïkïïn *we(and you)*	[– – –ˋ ⁻ ⁻ ˋ] Täññaŋ ïkïïn <u>oon</u> tïŋtïn.	*Now we(and you) hear a <u>man</u>.*
	[– – –ˋ –– ⁻ ˋ] Täññaŋ ïkïïn **ike** tïŋtïn.	*Now we(and you) hear **him/her**.*
	[– – –ˋ –– ⁻ ˋ] Täññaŋ ïkïïn **iken** tïŋtïn.	*Now we(and you) hear **them**.*

ikoon *we(not you)*	[– – –ˋ ⁻ ⁻ ˋ] Täññaŋ ikoon <u>oon</u> tiŋdon.	*Now we(not you) hear a <u>man</u>.*
	[– – –ˋ –– ⁻ ˋ] Täññaŋ ikoon **ïkï** tiŋti.	*Now we(not you) hear **you(sg)**.*
	[– – –ˋ –– ⁻ ˋ] Täññaŋ ikoon **ike** tiŋdon.	*Now we(not you) hear **him/her**.*
	[– – –ˋ – ˋ ⁻ –] Täññaŋ ikoon **ikee** tiŋte.	*Now we(not you) hear **you(pl)**.*
	[– – –ˋ –– ⁻ ˋ] Täññaŋ ikoon **iken** tiŋdon.	*Now we(not you) hear **them**.*

ikee *you(pl)*	[– – –ˋ ⁻ ⁻ ˋ] Täññaŋ ikee <u>oon</u> tiŋde.	*Now you(pl) hear a <u>man</u>.*
	[– – –ˋ –– ⁻ –] Täññaŋ ikee **ika** tiŋda.	*Now you(pl) hear **me**.*
	[– – –ˋ –– ⁻ ˋ] Täññaŋ ikee **ike** tiŋde.	*Now you(pl) hear **him/her**.*
	[– – –ˋ – ˋ ⁻ –] Täññaŋ ikee **ikoon** tiŋdon.	*Now you(pl) hear **us(not you)**.*
	[– – –ˋ – – ⁻ ˋ] Täññaŋ ikee **iken** tiŋde.	*Now you(pl) hear **him/her**.*

	[– – ‾ – ‾ ‾ ↘]	
iken *them*	Täññaŋ iken <u>oon</u> tiŋtä.	*Now they hear a <u>man</u>.*
	[– – ‾ – – – ‾ ↘]	
	Täññaŋ iken **ika** tiŋta.	*Now they hear **me**.*
	[– – ‾ – – – ‾ ↘]	
	Täññaŋ iken **ïkï** tiŋti.	*Now they hear **you(sg)**.*
	[– – ‾ – – – ‾ ↘]	
	Täññaŋ iken **ike** tiŋtä.	*Now they hear **him/her**.*
	[– – ‾ – _↘ ‾ –]	
	Täññaŋ iken **ïkïï** tïŋtï.	*Now they hear **we(two)**.*
	[– – ‾ – _↘ ‾ –]	
	Täññaŋ iken **ïkïïn** tïŋtïn.	*Now they hear **us(and you)**.*
	[– – ‾ – _↘ ‾ –]	
	Täññaŋ iken **ikoon** tiŋton.	*Now they hear **us(not you)**.*
	[– – ‾ – _↘ ‾ –]	
	Täññaŋ iken **ikee** tiŋte.	*Now they hear **you(pl)**.*
	[– – ‾ – ‾ – ‾ ↘]	
	Täññaŋ iken **iken** tiŋtä.	*Now they hear **them**.*

Subject and object suffixes on transitive and applicative verbs in stories are shown below in **bold**, and root verbs are shown below each suffix.

SOV verbs with subject and object suffixes

PT.SOV.NR.1s-2s	**-neni**		
Bääm 51	mük	gula ïkï **müŋŋeni**	*how I **caught** you(sg)*

NP.SOV.NR.1s-2s	**-eni**		
Bääm 33	maaw	ika äätädä ïkï ken **maaweni**	*I am coming **looking** for you*
Bääm 52	er	ïkï **bi ereni pok**	*I **will slaughter** you*
Bääm 57	ic	ïkï **ijeni**	*I **take** you*

NP.SOV.NR.1s-3s	**-ä**		
Bääm 9	taay	jaan **tääyä** iñï	*I **will cut** tree down*
Bääm 15	taay	jaan **tääyä** iñï	*I **will cut** tree down*

NP.SOV.NR.2s-1s	**-ca**		
Bääm 58	am	ika wäättana **amja**	*then you(sg) can **eat** me*

NP.SOV.NR.2s-3s	**-ä**		
Bääm 16	taay	**tääyä** <u>iñï</u> kä	*you(sg) **cut** it <u>down</u>*
Geel 35	dal	**dalä**	*you(sg) **let** it*
Iin 68	koow	naañ ṭuule yüünü **koowu**	*you(sg) **take** your small calf*

249

NP.SOV.NR.1e-3s	**-kon**		
Leeñ 33	yoor	baati mana agä **yoorgon** ye	*I (we, not you) not **seeing** person*
Bääm 58	kañ	naana batta agï **kañgon**	*if we (not you) not **find** it*

NP.SOV.NR.2p-1s	**-a**		
Leeñ 21	keey	**keeya**	*you(pl) **wait for** me*

NP.SOV.NR.2p-3s	**-e**		
Leeñ 22	dal	**dale**	*you **let** it!*
Geel 42	yoor	**yuure**	*you **see** it!*

NP.PR.SOV.NR.1s-2s	**-deni**		
Kiñuk 34	kiin	keetta **kiindeni**	*did I not **tell** you (sg)*

NP.PR.SOV.NR.1s-3s	**-dä**		
Geel 31	waak	yori **waagdä**	*I **feel** my body **like***

NP.PR.SOV.NR.1s-2p	**-de**		
Geel 41	kiin	ikee batta **kiinde**	*did I not **tell** you (pl)*
Iin 37	kiin	Ina **kiinde** kä aŋan	*reason I say to you (pl) like this*

NP.PR.SOV.NR.2s-1s	**-daa**		
Bääm 22	kääc	ŋana ika **kajdaa**	*you don't **bite** me*
Bääm 54	näk	ŋana ika **nägdaa** ḍok	*you don't **taste** me in neck*

NP.PR.SOV.NR.2s-3s	**-dä**		
Leeñ 5	eŋ	a ŋaakani ken **eŋdä**	*what are you(sg) **wearing***
Geel 22	mal	daa **maldä** ŋïngïn	*who you(sg) **try** to deceive*

PT.SOV.TW.3p-1in	**-wïnïn**		
Iin 32	näŋ	yaanni ïkïïn **naŋïnïn**	*these **created** us*

NP.PR.SOV.TW.2s-1s?	**-pädä**		
Iin 26	gïm	nana ïkï batta **gïmmädä**	*if you **accept** me*

NP.PR.SOV.TW.3p-1s?	**-cata**		
Geel 26	tuc	ika **tuucata** me	*people **are sending** me*

PT.SOV.AW.1t-3s	**-ñï**		
Kiñuk 12	büüc	ijjï **büüccï** LOC	*we (two) will take and **soak** it*

NP.SOV.AW.1s-3s	**-cä**		
Geel 42	taap	ooric yaanni **bi taapä** kä	*I **would ride** this your man*

| Geel 19 | | taap | ooric yaanna **bi taapä** ka | *I **would ride** this your man* |

NP.SOV.AW.1i-3s?	**-cïn**			
Yaam 20	aak	**aakïn** <u>woo</u>	*we (and you) **change** it <u>out</u>*

NP.SOV.AW.2s-3s?	**-jee**			
Iin 65	är	ina yoku naañ Iin **ärjee** da	*you(sg) could **take** Hyena's calf*

NP.SOV.AW.2p-3p	**-ce**			
Pïïṇṇä 4	kiin	ato me **kiinje**	*you (pl) go **tell** them*

NP.PR.SOV.AW.1s-2p?	**-ccädä**			
Iin 39	taac	Aŋ ika ṭäkä **tääccädä** ikee	*I want to **ask** you (pl)*

NP.PR.SOV.DP.NR.2s-3s	**-deey**			
Geel 47	naŋ	ogo ŋana yorü **naŋdeey**	*that you should not **make** yourself*

SVO verbs with subject suffixes

PT.SVO.NR.1s	**-ñä**		
Bääm 43	kañ	ika **käññä** päk	*I **found** grain*
Bääm 56	kañ	ika **käññä** kabal ṭuule	*I **found** a small sheep*
Geel 33	ṭäk	yaana **ṭäkkä** ye inni	*which I **want** (this)*

NP.SVO.NR.2s?	**-cï**		
Pïïṇṇä 4	dal	**daljï** me ike äätee	*let people so that he comes*

NP.SVO.NR.2s?	**-cci/-ci**		
Geel 32	taap	ïkï bi **taapci** LOC	*you will **ride** me*

NP.SVO.NR.3s	**-cï**		
Bääm 66	nüüt	wiiwa yaanni **nüütï**	*this story **tells** us (and you)*

PT.PR.SVO.NR.1s	**-din**		
Leeñ 39	aay	ika batta lïïltä **aaydin** piik	*I not able **to cross** river*

NP.PR.SVO.NR.2s?	**-ja**		
Bääm 60	mük	**mügja** buggi kä LOC	*you (sg) **catch** my wing*

NP.PR.SVO.NR.1t?	**-jï**		
Kiñuk 10	ŋeey	**ŋeeyjï** ko	*we (two) will **eat** it*
Kiñuk 35	ŋeey	**ŋeeyjï** ko	*we (two) can **eat** it*
Kiñuk 12	ic	**ïjjï** büüccï LOC	*we (two) will **take** and soak it*
Kiñuk 20	ic	**ïjjï** amjï LOC	*we (two) will **take** and eat it*

| Kiñuk 20 | am | ïjjï **amjï** LOC | *we (two) will take and **eat** it* |

PT.SVO.TW.1s	**-cänä/-yänä**		
Bääm 24	cokul	ika **cokulunu** tüwnü	*I **am near** death*

NP.SVO.TW.1s?	**-cä/yä**		
Bääm 44	am	ika batta **ämä** päk	*I not **eat** grain*
Bääm 4	tïïc	ika **tïïcä** merkä yeeki	*I **care for** my children*
Bääm 57	ṭäk	ika **ṭäkä** ïkï ijeni	*I **want** to take you*
Leeñ 7	ṭäk	ika **ṭäkä** nängaa	*I **want** you to make it for me*
Iin 39	ṭäk	ika **ṭäkä** tääccädä ikee	*I **want** to ask you (pl)*
Bääm 37	lïïl	ika batta **bi lïïṭä** wään	*I **will** not **be able** to go*
Geel 31	lïïl	ika batta **bi lïïṭä** wään	*I **will** not **be able** to go*

NP.SVO.TW.2s?	**-cä/yä**		
Bääm 3	näŋ	ïkï **näŋä** ŋaaka LOC	*you **make** what*
Geel 22	näŋ	daa bi **näŋä** ŋaaka	*who **will make** what*
Bääm 45	am	**amä**	*you(sg) **will eat** it*

NP.SVO.AW.1s?	**-ccä/-cä**		
Geel 35	ḍek	dalä ika **ḍikcä** wiṇṇan LOC	*you(sg) let me **tie** rope*

NP.SVO.AW.1s?	**-ttä**		
Leeñ 39	lïïl	ika batta **lïïltä** aaydin piik	*I will not **be able** to cross water*

NP.SVO.AW.2s?	**-ccä/-cä**		
Geel 21	uk	atä **ukcu** maka	*you(sg) go **look for** other people*
Geel 28	ŋäy	**ŋäjjä**	*you(sg) **will know** it*

NP.SVO.AW.2s?	**-cca/-ca**		
Bääm 22	yeep	**yeepca** <u>ñaalok</u>	*you(sg) **throw** me **up***
Bääm 24	yeep	**yeepca** <u>ñaalok</u>	*you(sg) **throw** me **up***

NP.PR.SVO.AW.1s	**-ccädä/cädä**		
Iin 49	iiŋ	Ika **iiŋcädä** buruŋgu	*I **am putting on** clothes*

NP.PR.SVO.AW.1e	**-ccodon/codon**		
Leeñ 37	aay	ikoon **aajjodon** <u>woo</u> wiiy	*we (not you) **are crossing** <u>over</u> river*

NP.PR.SVO.AW.3p?	**-jï**		
Kiñuk 14	tap	kaaco **tabjï**	*they were entering **to touch** him*
Kiñuk 16	tap	bülco **tabjï**	*they returned **to touch** him*
Kiñuk 21	küc	**küjjï**	*they **were ignorant of** it*

PT.SVO.NR.DP.1s?	**-noo**		
Iin 44	bäär	ogo ika **bärroo**	*that I called him*

SRVO verbs with subject and object suffixes

PT.SRVO.NR.3s-1s	**-jkana**		
Bääm 50	nüüt	a Gaaggaak **ken** ika **nüütkana** waŋ	*Raven informed me of idea*

PT.SRVO.NR.3s-2s	**-jkeney**		
Bääm 49	nüüt	a ŋaani **ken** ïkï **nüütkeney** waŋ yaanna	*who informed you of this matter*

NP.SRVO.NR.1s-2s	**-jkeni**		
Bääm 55	nüüt	ïkï **nüütkeni**	*I will inform you(sg)*

NP.SRVO.NR.1s-3s	**-jkä**		
Leeñ 12b	kïl	cïcam **kïlkä**	*I sharpen a knife*

NP.SRVO.NR.2s-1s?	**-jka**		
Bääm 5	yeep	**yiipka** iñï	*you(sg) throw it down for me*
Bääm 9	yeep	**yiipka** iñï	*you(sg) throw it down for me*
Bääm 15	yeep	**yiipka**	*you throw it for me*

NP.SRVO.NR.2s-1s	**-jkaa**		
Leeñ 7	näŋ	ika ṭäkä **näŋgaa**	*I want you to make it for me*

NP.SRVO.NR.1i-3p	**-jkïn**		
Geel 22	ŋin	daa maldä **ŋïngïn** ye	*as we (and you) deceive them*

NP.SRVO.NR.2p-1e ?	**-jon**		
Leeñ 20	iñ	**iñjon** waygä yooko	*you (pl) give us (not you) shoes*

NP.SRVO.NR.3s-1i	**-jkïn**		
Leeñ 10	näŋ	**näŋgïn**	*he will make it for us*

NP.PR.RVSO.NR.1s-3s?	**-ckädä**		
Geel 35	mük	**mükküdü** kä	*I will control it*

NP.PR.OVSL.NR.1s?	**-ckädä**		
Iin 61	äc	piik **äckädä** wäyo	*I go to bring water for my father*

PR.SRVO.1t?	**-jkïtï**		

Iin 8	ŋüc	nïïnkä **ŋückïtï**	*we **add** days*

NP.OVSL.NR.1s-3s?	**-ekä**		
Leeñ 22	iñ	waygä yeekic **iñekä** <u>woo</u>	*I **bring** <u>out</u> your shoes here*

PT.OVSL.NR.3p-3s ?	**-ki**		
Leeñ 11	wäät	Wiiw **wääti** baanne	*they **found** Fox in his place*

NP.RVSO.NR.3p?	**-gänä**		
Iin 4	yäät	kaaygä **yäädgänä** a yäädgïnï mäŋkalaŋ	*each **take** turns grazing*

NP.SRVO.NR.2p-3s?	**-jkee**		
Pïïṇṇä 2	nüüt	ato Jooŋ **nüütkee**	*you(pl) go **inform** God*

NP.PR.SRVO.NR.3s-1i?	**-jkidin**		
Leeñ 43	nüüt	wiiwa yaanni ïkïïn **nüütkïdïn**	*this story **informs** us (and you)*

SRV verb with subject and object suffix

NP.SRV.NR.2p-1s?	**-we**		
Leeñ 12b	yuut	**yuude**	*you(pl) **will wait** for me*

Exercise 36

<u>Underline twice</u> all transitive or applicative verbs with subject or object suffixes. <u>Underline once</u> subjects, objects and receives of these verbs.

(Yaam 20)	
Aŋ aŋan yaajaŋ batta ŋeraŋ,	*And this is bad rather than good,*
aŋ yoku por **aakïn** woo.	*so let us **change** (it).*
(Kiñuk 10)	
"Ŋeeyjï ko ïw."	*"We can eat it chared."*
(Kiñuk 12)	
Ïjjï büüccï piitti.	*We will take and soak it in water."*
(Kiñuk 20)	
Äŋ bunno, ïjjï amjï paa	*Sun is going down, let we take and eat it home.*
(Kiñuk 34-35)	
Keetta kiindeni ogo 'Ŋeeyjï ko ïw?'	*Did I not tell you, 'We can eat it dry?'*
(Bääm 3-4)	
"Ïkï näŋä ŋaaka jaan wic wina?"	*"What are you doing up in the tree?"*
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Ika tïïcä merkä yeeki."	*Dove told him, "I am caring for my children."*
(Bääm 9)	
Yiipka ïñï, i batta mor jaan tääy iñï.	*Throw it (chick) down, before I cut down tree.*

(Bääm 15)
Yiipka, i batta mor jaan tääyä ïñï.

Throw it for me, before I cut down the tree.

(Bääm 16)
Tääyä ïñï kä bïraŋ,

You cut it down quickly,

(Bääm 22)
"Ŋana ika kajdaa, yeepca ñaalok."

"You don't bite me, you throw me up."

(Bääm 33)
Ika äätädä ïkï ken maaweni ka.

I am coming looking for you.

(Bääm 43-44)
Ika käññä päk a püüktïdïnï ïñï
jaan ŋoy baanni, aŋ ika batta ämä päk.

I found grain spilled down
under tree of my area, and I am not eating grain.

(Bääm 49)
A ŋaani ken ïkï nüütkeney waŋ yaanna?

Who was giving you this idea?

(Bääm 50)
A Gaaggaak ken ika nüütkana waŋ.

It was Raven informing me of idea.

(Bääm 51-52)
Gula ïkï müŋŋeni täññaŋ, aŋ ïkï bi ereni pok.

How I caught you now, I will slaughter you.

(Bääm 54-58)
Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por, ïkï nüütkeni.
Ika attä laayä, aŋ ika käññä kabal ṭuule
a caagon kockon a tüwon, aŋ ika ṭäkä ïkï ijeni.
Aŋ naana batta agï kañgon ye,
ika wäättana amja.

You do not eat me, just wait, I will inform you.
I went roaming, and I found a very fat young
dead sheep, and I want to take you.
And if we do not find it,
then you can eat me.

(Bääm 60)
Mügja buggi ti kä lekü.

You hold on to my wings with your teeth.

(Bääm 66-67)
Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï ogo,
waak a kañdïï me ye, ŋana boonjï me.

This story tells us that, (when) people
find things, it should be enough for people.

(Leeñ 5)
A ŋaakani ken eŋdä wegok kïïgü tï doŋ?

What are you wearing making sound on feet?

(Leeñ 7)
Ika ṭäkä näŋgaa tok.

I want you to make them for me.

(Leeñ 9)
Wiiw me näŋgedee waygä ka, aŋ atïn
näŋgïn tok.

Fox makes shoes for people, so let we go
(to him) and he will make them for us.

(Leeñ 12b)
Yuude por, cïcam kïlkä.

Just you wait, I am sharpening a knife.

(Leeñ 20)
Iñjon waygä yooko.

You give us our shoes.

(Leeñ 21-22)
Por keeya wina,
dale waygä yeekic iñekä woo.

You just wait for me like this,
you let me bring you your shoes out here.

(Leeñ 33)

Ika agä uyku, baati mana agä yoorgon ye. (Leeñ 37)	*I am blind and I am not seeing any person.*
Aŋ kiini ogo, "Ikoon aajjodon woo wiiy." (Leeñ 39)	*And they told him, "We are crossing the river."*
Ika batta liïltä aaydin piik. (Leeñ 43-44)	*I am not able to cross the water.*
Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïin nüütkïdïn ogo ŋana me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken. (Geel 19)	*This story tells us that people should not do bad things.*
Yeeni ääŋkalaŋ naana buṭu woo ye, ooric yaanna bi taapä kä. (Geel 21-22)	*If my (strength) were to be revealed one day, I would ride on this your man.*
Wiiw, booju kä loon. Atä ukcu maka daa maldä ŋïngïn ye. (Geel 26-27)	*Fox, you are afraid from shyness. You go look for other people like you try to deceive.*
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, 'Ïkïï atcï,' (Geel 28)	*People are sending me to say, 'Let's go',*
Aŋ müükonḍi por ŋäjjä, nïïnkä yaakki ti yori boonu kockon. (Geel 32)	*And do you know, my friend, in these days my body is very sick.*
Ïkï bi taapci ŋäñi ti. (Geel 33)	*I will carry you on my back.*
Ee, a yaana ṭäkkä ye inni! (Geel 35-36)	*Yes, that which I want it is this!*
"Dalä ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan ḍoŋü ti, mükküdü kä yori." (Geel 41-42)	*"You let I tie the rope on your neck (so that) I control it myself."*
Ikee batta kiinde ogo, ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure!" (Geel 47-48)	*"Did I not tell you that I would one day ride this your man, look!"*
Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï ogo ŋana yorü naŋdeey ogo ïkï agjey oon parü, ook bilto ti cäänna. (Pïïṇṇä 2)	*This story shows us that you should not make yourself to you be only man; there are (other) men also.*
Ato Jooŋ nüütkee. (Pïïṇṇä 4)	*You go inform God.*
Ato me kiinje ogo, 'Daljï me ike äätee.'	*You go tell people, 'People should let him come.*

Verbal nouns and adjectives

Verbal nouns are verbs used as nouns. They can be subjects, objects, possessors and used in other

ways that nouns are commonly used. <u>Verbal adjectives</u> are verbs used as adjectives to describe nouns. A verbal noun or adjective has a different suffix or form than the verb it is made from.

In *Leeñ 2,* ŋeel 'danced' is a verb with subject **Wiiw** 'Fox'. So, it is not a verbal noun.

<u>(Leeñ 2) (Verb)</u>
Aŋ <u>Wiiw</u> <u>ŋeel</u> kä waygä yek boṇṇan.   *And <u>Fox</u> **<u>was dancing</u>** with shoes of leather.*

However, in *Geel 23,* ŋiil 'dance' is a verbal noun and the subject of the verb **juwin** 'arose'.

<u>(Geel 23) (Verbal noun)</u>
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ ti, <u>ŋiil</u> juwin baan jï.   *Another day, a **<u>dance</u>** arose in this country.*

Below are suffixes of verbal nouns and adjectives. Next, we will see examples of verbs with these suffixes and how the suffixes change with the last root letters.

	Singular		Plural	
	Transitive	Intransitive	Transitive	Intransitive
Verbal noun	-nä	-nä	-din	-kkä
Person verbal noun	-gonde ?	-gonde ?	-kkonde ?	-kkonde ?
Verbal adjective	-con/-yon	-con/-on, -on -aŋ	-cin/-yin	-cin/-in, -in ? -kken

Some of the verbal noun and adjective suffixes come from verb suffixes. However, verbal nouns and adjectives are used as nouns and adjectives instead of verbs.

The same past SVO verb **tiiŋnä** 'heard' with suffix -ñä has the singular subject **men** 'person' in (a) and the plural subject **me** 'people' in (b). And the same past progressive SVO verb **tiŋdin** 'was hearing' with suffix -**din** has the singular subject **men** 'person' in (c) and the plural subject **me** 'people' in (d).

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Sing.</u> subject	(a) Aŋ men <u>tiiŋ**ŋä**</u> gin.	*Person <u>heard</u> thing.*
	<u>Plural</u> subject	(b) Aŋ me <u>tiiŋ**ŋä**</u> gin.	*People <u>heard</u> thing.*
		(c) Aŋ men <u>ti**ŋdin**</u> gin.	*Person <u>was hearing</u> thing.*
		(d) Aŋ me <u>ti**ŋdin**</u> gin.	*People <u>were hearing</u> thing.*
<u>Verbal noun</u>	<u>Singular</u>	(e) Aŋ men näntä <u>tiiŋ**ŋä**</u> gin yoorre.	*And person saw place of <u>hearing</u> something.*
	<u>Plural</u>	(f) Aŋ men nänkä <u>tii**ŋdin**</u> gin yoorre.	*And person saw places of <u>hearings</u> something.*

However, the singular verbal noun **tiiŋŋä** 'hearing' with suffix **-nä** possesses the singular noun

257

näntä 'place' in (e), and the plural verbal noun **tiiŋdin** 'hearings' with suffix -**din** possesses the plural noun **nänkä** 'places' in (f).

The same past state verb **yaaññä** 'was bad' with suffix -**nä** has the singular subject **men** 'person' in (g) and the plural subject **me** 'people' in (h).

Verb	Sing. subject	(g) Aŋ men yaaññä.	*Person was bad.*
	Plural subject	(h) Aŋ me yaaññä.	*People were bad.*
Verbal noun	Singular	(i) Aŋ men gin yaaññä yoorre.	*Person saw thing of **badness**.*
	Plural	(j) Aŋ men waak yaac**kä** yoorre.	*Person saw things of **badnesses**.*

However, the singular verbal noun **yaaññä** 'badness' with suffix -**nä** possesses the singular noun **näntä** 'place' in (i), and the plural verbal noun **yaackä** 'badnessess' with suffix -**kkä** possesses the plural noun **nänkä** 'places' in (j).

The singular verbal noun **tiiŋŋä** 'hearing' has the suffix –**nä** when it is introduced by the preposition **kä** 'with' in (46a), when it is the object of the verb **yoorre** 'saw' in (46b), or when it is the possessor of **näntä** 'place' in (46c). The verbal noun **yaaññä** 'badness' from an intransitive verb has the suffix -**nä** in the relative clause of (46d) or when it is the possessor of **gin** 'thing' in (46e).

VN.SG	(46a)	Aŋ men ättä kä <u>tiiŋŋä</u>.	*A person came with <u>hearing</u>.*
	(46b)	Aŋ yätkä <u>tiiŋŋä</u> gin yoorre.	*Chief saw <u>hearing</u> of thing.*
	(46c)	Aŋ men näntä <u>tiiŋŋä</u> gin yoorre.	*And person saw place of <u>hearing</u> something.*
	(46d)	Aŋ yätkä men yaana <u>yaaññä</u> ye yoorre.	*Chief saw person who <u>is bad</u>.*
	(46e)	Aŋ men gin <u>yääññä</u> yoorre.	*Person saw thing of <u>badness</u>.*

The singular verbal nouns below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentences (46) above. Those from both transitive and intransitive verbs have the suffix -**nä**.

Singular verbal nouns

Final consonant	change	VN.SG transitive (46)		VN.SG intransitive (46)	
		-nä		-nä	
p	pn → mm	tam**mä**	*touch*	ñam**mä**	*be happy*
t	tn → ṇṇ	duuṇ̣ṇu	*carry*	giiṇṇä	*give birth*
c	cn → ññ	iññä	*take*	yaaññä	*be bad*
k	kn → ŋŋ	müüŋŋü	*catch*	ḍaŋŋä	*arrive*
r	rn → rr	yoorru	*see*	joorru	*go down*
l	ln → ll	kïllä	*sharpen*	büllü	*return*

258

Final consonant	change	VN transitive	gloss	VN intransitive	gloss
m	mn → mm	ṭeemmä	*carry (on head)*	—-	*fall*
n	nn	gaannä	*gather (grass)*	—-	*be angry*
ñ	ñn → ññ	taaññä	*press*	—-	
ŋ	ŋn → ŋŋ	tiiŋŋä	*hear*	üüŋŋü	*go*
w	wn	maawnä	*look for*	—	*die*
y	yn	ŋeeynä	*chew, crunch*	—-	*sit, stay*

The plural verbal noun **tiiŋdin** 'hearings' has the suffix –**din** when it is introduced by the preposition **kä** 'with' in (47a), when it is the object of the verb **yoorre** 'saw' in (47b), or when it is the possessor of **nänkä** 'places' in (47c). The verbal noun **yaackä** 'badness' from an intransitive verb has the suffix -**kkä** in the relative clause of (47d) or when it is the possessor of **waak** 'things' in (47e).

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="6">VN.PL</td><td>(47a)</td><td>Aŋ men ättä kä <u>tiiŋdin</u>.</td><td>*A person came with <u>hearings</u>.*</td></tr>
<tr><td>(47b)</td><td>Aŋ yätkä <u>tiiŋdin</u> gin yoorre.</td><td>*Chief saw <u>hearings</u> of thing.*</td></tr>
<tr><td>(47c)</td><td>Aŋ men nänkä <u>tiiŋdin</u> gin yoorre.</td><td>*And person saw places of <u>hearing</u> something.*</td></tr>
<tr><td>(47d)</td><td>Aŋ yätkä me yaaka <u>yaackä</u> ye yoorre.</td><td>*Chief saw people who <u>are bad</u>.*</td></tr>
<tr><td>(47e)</td><td>Aŋ men waak <u>yaackä</u> yoorre.</td><td>*Person saw things of <u>badness</u>.*</td></tr>
</table>

The plural verbal nouns below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentences (47) above. Those from transitive verbs have the suffix -**din** and those from intransitive verbs have the suffix -**kkä**.

Plural verbal nouns

Final consonant	change	VN.PL transitive (47) -din		VN.PL intransitive (47) -kkä (?)		
p	pd→ bd	täbdin	*touch*	pkk → pk	—-	*be happy*
t	td → dd	duuddin	*carry*	tkk → tk	—-	*give birth*
c	cd → jd	ijdin	*take*	ckk → ck	yaackä	*be bad*
k	kd → gd	müügdïn	*catch*	kkk → kk	ḍaakkä	*arrive*
r	rd → dd	yoordin	*see*	rkk → rk	—-	*go down*
l	ld	—	*sharpen*	lkk→ lk	—-	*return*
m	md	ṭeemdin	*carry*	mkk → mk	—-	*fall*
n	nd	gaandin	*gather grass*	nkk → nk	----	*be angry*
ñ	ñd	taañdin	*press*	ñkk → ñk	—-	—
ŋ	ŋd	tiiŋdin	*hear*	ŋkk → ŋk	—-	*go*
w	wd	maawdin	*look for*	wkk → wk	—-	*die*
y	yd	—	*chew, crunch*	ykk → yk	—-	*sit, stay*

The singular person verbal noun **yaajgonde** 'bad person' has the suffix -**gonde** and the plural

person verbal noun **yaackonde** 'bad people' has the suffix **-konde.**

<u>PVN</u>   (48)   Aŋ men <u>yääj**gonde**</u> yoorre.   *A person saw <u>bad person</u>.*
                Aŋ men <u>yääc**konde**</u> yoorre.   *A person saw <u>bad people</u>.*

The person verbal nouns below can take the place of the underlined verb in sentence (48) above. [check all] (Cross out the ones that are not possible.)

Singular person verbal nouns

Final consonant	change	PVN.SG transitive (48) -gonde ?		PVN.SG intransitive (48) -gonde ?	
p	pg → bg	tab**gonde**	*touch*	ñab**gonde**	*be good*
t	tg → dg	dud**gonde**	*carry*	—-	*give birth*
c	cg → jg	ij**gonde**	*take*	yääj**gonde**	*be bad*
k	kg → gg	müg**gonde**	*catch*	ḍag**gonde**	*arrive*
r	rg	yuur**gonde**	*see*	joor**gonde**	*go down*
l	lg	kil**gonde**	*sharpen*	bül**gonde**	*return*
m	mg	ṭeem**gonde**	*carry (on head)*	—-	*fall*
n	ng	gaan**gonde**	*gather (grass)*	pii**ngonde**	*be angry*
ñ	ñg	taañ**gonde**	*press*	—-	
ŋ	ŋg	tii**ŋgonde**	*hear*	üü**ŋgonde**	*go*
w	wg	maaw**gonde**	*look for*	tüw**gonde**	*die*
y	yg	ŋeey**gonde**	*chew, crunch*	—-	*sit, stay*

<u>Verbal adjectives</u>

In the lesson *Adjectives*, we learned that adjectives are made from verbs or possessed nouns. They are used to describe a noun they follow. We learned the verbal adjective **tiiŋon** 'hearing' comes from the non-past progressive SVO verb **tiŋit** 'is hearing', and the verbal adjective **ŋeraŋ** 'good' comes from the non-past progressive away state verb **ŋeraŋ** 'is good'.

<u>SVO verb</u>	(k) Aŋ **men tiŋit** gin.	***Person <u>is hearing</u> thing.***
<u>Adjective</u>	(l) Aŋ yätkä **män tiiŋon** yoorre.	*Chief saw a **person of <u>hearing</u>**.*
<u>State verb</u>	(m) Aŋ **kuukcu ŋeraŋ**.	***Drum <u>is good</u>.***
<u>Adjective</u>	(n) Aŋ **kuukcu ŋeraŋ** tiiŋi gaaggaak.	*Raven heard **good drum**.*

The singular verbal adjective **tiiŋon** 'hearing' has the suffix –**con/-yon** when it follows the copula/relative connector **a** 'who, be' in (49a) or when it describes a singular noun such as **män** 'person' without a relative connector as in (49b).

<u>VA.SG</u>   (49a)   Aŋ men yaana a <u>tiiŋon</u> ye, ŋeraŋ.   *A person who <u>hearing</u>, is good.*
           (49b)   Aŋ yätkä män <u>tii**on**</u> yoorre.   *Chief saw a person of <u>hearing</u>.*

The singular verbal adjectives below can take the place of the underlined verbs in sentence (48) above. Those from transitive verbs have the suffix -**con/-yon** and those from intransitive verbs have the suffix -**con/-on** or just -**on**.

Singular verbal adjectives

Final consonant	change	VA.SG transitive (49)			VA.SG intrans. (49)		intrans. (49)	
		-**con/-yon**			-**con/-on**		-**on**	
p	pc → p	tap**on**, täp**on**	*touch*	pc → p	—-			*be good*
t	tc → t	dut**on**	*carry*	tc → t	giit**on**	t → d	giid**on**	*give birth*
c	cc → c	ic**on**, ïc**on**	*take*	cc → c	yaac**on**	c → j	yaaj**on**	*be bad*
k	kc → k	mük**on**	*catch*	kc → k	ḍak**on**			*arrive*
r	rc → ṭ	yuṭ**on**	*see*	r	joor**on**			*go down*
l	lc → ṭ	kïṭ**on**	*sharpen*	l	—-			*return*
m	my → m	ṭiim**on**	*carry*	m	—-			*fall*
n	ny → n	gaan**on**	*gather*	n	piin**on** ?			*be angry*
ñ	ñy → ñ	taañ**on**	*press*	ñ	—-			
ŋ	ŋy → ŋ	tiiŋ**on**	*hear*	ŋ	—-			*go*
w	wy → j	määj**on**	*look for*	w	tüw**on**			*die*
y	yy → j	ŋiij**on**	*chew*	y	cääy**on**			*sit, stay*

The plural verbal adjective **tiiŋin** 'hearings' has the suffix –**cin/-yin** when it describes a plural noun such as **mä** 'people' as in (50).

VA.PL   (50)   Aŋ yätkä mä <u>tiiŋin</u> yoorre.   *Chief saw people of hearing.*

The plural verbal adjectives below from transitive verbs have the suffix -**cin/-yin** and take the place of the underlined verb in (50). [Check for intransitive verbs in (50)].

Plural verbal adjectives

Final consonant	change	VA.PL transitive (50)		VA.PL intransitive	
		-**cin/-yin**			
p	pc → p	täp**in**	*touch*		*be happy*
t	tc → t	dut**in**	*carry*		*give birth*
c	cc → c	ic**in**	*take*		*be bad*
k	kc → k	mük**ïn**	*catch*		*arrive*
r	rc → ṭ	yuṭ**in**	*see*		*go down*
l	lc → ṭ	kïṭ**in**	*sharpen*		*return*
m	my → m	ṭiim**in**	*carry*		*fall*
n	ny → n	gaan**in**	*gather*		*be angry*

261

ñ	ñy → ñ	taañ**in**	*press*	
ŋ	ŋy → ŋ	tiiŋ**in**	*hear*	*go*
w	wy → j	määj**in**	*look for*	*die*
y	yy → j	ŋiij**in**	*chew*	*sit, stay*

Verbal noun suffixes in stories are shown below in **bold**, and root verbs are shown below each suffix.

VN.SG	**-nä**		
Geel 5	baat	kä **baaṇṇä** ṭulgu	<u>from</u> **loving** of girls
Iin 11	är	i ṭäkee <u>kä</u> **ärrä** naañ menen	but he wanted <u>with</u> **take** cow

VN.SG ?	**-ä**		
Iin 7	giit	da kä ṭäkee <u>kä</u> **giidä**	that he with wanting <u>with</u> **give birth**

VN.SG ?	**-cee**		
Iin 7	ṭäk	da <u>kä</u> **ṭäkee** kä giidä	that he <u>with</u> **wanting** with give birth

VN.PL?	**-kä**		
Iin 4	kaay	**kaaygä** yäädgänä a yäädgïnï mäŋkalaŋ	each take turns **grazing**

VN.PL ?	**-jken**		
Leeñ 44	yaac	ŋana me naŋdïï nääŋkä **yaacken**	people should not do **bad** actions

VN ?	**-Ø**		
Geel 31	wään	ika batta bi lïïṭä **wään**	I will not be able **walking**
Bääm 37	wään	ika batta bi lïïṭä **wään**	I will not be able **going**
Bääm 37	raac	ika agä **raac**	I am **sick**
Kiñuk 10	ïw	ko **ïw**	with **dryness**
Kiñuk 35	ïw	ko **ïw**	with **dryness**

PVN.PL ?	**-ïnkä**		
Iin 32	cääy	inni tiññani **cäyïnkä**	now among the **living ones**

VA.SG	**-on**		
Kiñuk 7	ïw	käälok <u>ogo</u> **ïwon**	cave <u>that</u> **dry**
Leeñ 32	kaac	yaana <u>a</u> **kaajon** <u>winni</u>	who <u>as</u> **passed** <u>here</u>
Yaam 8	küüm	yaam <u>a</u> **küümon**	basket <u>as</u> **was full**
Bääm 2	giit	Bääm <u>a</u> **giidon** LOC	Dove <u>as</u> **gave birth**
Bääm 48	ṭar	Wiiw <u>a</u> **ṭaron** kä	Fox <u>as</u> **hid**
Bääm 56	caak	kabal ṭuule <u>a</u> **caagon** kockon	young sheep <u>as</u> <u>was</u> very **fat**
Bääm 35	tüw	ḍeel ṭuule yaana <u>a</u> **tüwon**	small goat who <u>as</u> **was dead**
Bääm 56	tüw	kabal ṭuule <u>a</u> **tüwon**	young sheep <u>as</u> **was dead**

Leeñ 15	caak	Leeñ yaana <u>a</u> **caagon** ye	*Elephant who <u>as</u> **fat***
Iin 24	booc	ike booc kä menen <u>a</u> **boojon**	*he feared his friend <u>as</u> **fearing***
Iin 63	giit	oon kalaŋ por ŋäjjänä me <u>a</u> **giidon**	*people know person <u>as</u> **give birth***
Iin 66	giit	oon kalaŋ yoku <u>a</u> **giidon**	*certain person could <u>as</u> **give birth***

<u>VA.SG ?</u>   **-con**

Äwñä 8	lïïl	Albe batta a **lïïṭon** kääjin <u>woo</u>	*Albe **was** not **able** to go <u>out</u>*

<u>VA.PL ?</u>   **-in**

Kiñuk 2	ïw	luum **ïwïn**	*grass **was dry***

<u>VA.PL ?</u>   **-kin**

Geel 22	ŋïn	daa maldä **ŋïngïn**	*who you(sg) try **deceiving***

<u>VA.SG ?</u>   **-ïnï**

Iin 22	jaay	batta <u>a</u> **jääyïnï**	*not <u>as</u> **saying***
Iin 67	jaay	Geel ïŋŋe wic batta <u>a</u> **jääyïnï**	*Lion not <u>as</u> **saying***

<u>VA.SG ?</u>   **-gïnï**

Iin 4	yäät	kaaygä yäädgänä <u>a</u> **yäädgïnï**	*taking <u>as</u> **take** grazing*

<u>VA.SG ?</u>   **-ne**

Bääm 65	ñap	kä jone **ñamme**	*with his heart **happy***

<u>VA.PL ?</u>   **-ttidini**

Bääm 43	püük	päk <u>a</u> **püüktïdïnï** iñï	*they <u>as</u> **spilled** grain down*

Exercise 37

<u>Underline twice</u> all verbal nouns or verbal adjectives.

(Kiñuk 2)	
aŋ atto gäänono <u>luum</u> <u>ïwïn</u>,	*and he went to collect <u>grass</u> that <u>is dry</u>,*
(Bääm 2)	
Aŋ käññä Bääm a giidon jaan wic.	*He found Dove had given birth up in a tree.*
(Bääm 48)	
I Wiiw a ṭaron kä cokal.	*And Fox was hiding nearby.*
(Bääm 56)	
Aŋ ika käññä kabal ṭuule a caagon	*And I found a young sheep that is very fat*
kockon a tüwon.	*and is dead,*
(Geel 5)	
Aŋ dürji wäättana bojok kä baaṇṇä ṭulgu.	*And then, youth were afraid from loving of girls.*
(Geel 23)	

Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ ti, ŋiil juwin baan jï.	*Another day, there was a dance in this country.*
(Geel 25-27)	
Müükonḍi, ŋiil yaŋkalaŋ juwin baan jï ka.	*My friend, a dance is taking place in country.*
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, 'Ïkïï atcï,'	*People are sending me to say, 'Let's go',*
naana ïkïï baawgï tï ye,	*if we both are absent,*
ŋiil batta bi ñabo ñap.	*dance will not be good.*
(Äwñä 8)	
Aŋ Albe batta a lïïṭon kääjin woo,	*And Albe was not able to go out,*

<div align="center">

Future helping verb

</div>

A <u>helping verb</u> is a word that introduces a verb and shows the time, duration or obligation of the verb. The future helping verb **bi** 'will' shows the time of the following verb is after the time of speaking. It is only used on non-past verbs. The continuous helping verb **ken** 'is' shows the following verb does not take place in an instance, but happens over time. It can be used with past, non-past progressive or non-past verbs. The obligation helping verb **yoku** 'should, must' shows the following verb is required or expected.

In this lesson, we learn about the future helping verb **bi** 'will'. In the next lessons, we learn about the continuous helping verb **ken** 'is' and **yoku** 'should, must'

The <u>future (irrealis) helping verb</u> **bi** 'will' shows a state, motion or action will happen after the time of speaking. It is often used in speeches of stories. It usually only comes before non-past or non-past progressive verbs. However, it can also come before past verbs to show they are uncertain. Non-past verbs without a subject and without the helping verb **bi** are used as commands.

In *Bääm 61-62,* the future helping verb **bi** 'will' shows the time of the non-past motion away verb **weekcä** 'I cry' with suffix **–ccä** is after the time of speaking.

(Bääm 61-62) (Future, in speech)
"Aŋ naana ïkïï ḍakkï tï ye, ika **bi** <u>week**cä**</u> ogo,	*"And when we arrive, I <u>will cry</u>,*
kuruk, kuruk ääŋki kä yew."	*kaaw, kaaw two times."*

In *Bääm 38,* the non-past helping verb **bi** 'will' shows the time of the non-past motion verb **atï** 'will both go' with suffix **–cï** is after the time of speaking.

(Bääm 38) (Future, in speech)
Aŋ atä parü, ïkïï **bi** <u>atï</u> tïṇṇäk."	*"You go alone, we two <u>will go</u> tomorrow."*

In the lesson *Command (Imperative) Verbs,* we learn that non-past verbs without a subject and without the future helping verb **bi** 'will' are used as commands.

In *Bääm 45,* the non-past motion verb **atï** 'we both go' with suffix –**cï** is used as a command. There is no future helping verb **bi** and no subject mentioned for this verb, so we know it is used as a command.

(Bääm 45) (Non-past verb, command)
Aŋ <u>atï</u>, amä tok.   *<u>Let</u> us both <u>go</u>, and you can eat it.*

Occassionally, bi comes before past verbs to show they are uncertain.

Aŋ men gin tiiŋŋe.   *And person heard thing.*
Aŋ men gin <u>bi</u> tiiŋŋe.   *And person <u>may</u> have hear thing.*

The future helping verb **bi** does not change according to the subject.

Future helping verb

Men **bi** üŋü.	*Person will go.*
Ika **bi** üüŋü.	*I will go.*
Ïkï **bi** üüŋü.	*You (sg) will go.*
Ike **bi** üŋü.	*(S)he will go.*
Ïkïï **bi** üüŋï.	*We (two) will go.*
Ïkïïn **bi** üüŋïn.	*We (and you) will go.*
Ikoon **bi** üüŋon.	*We (not you) will go.*
Ikee **bi** üüŋe.	*You (pl) will go.*
Iken **bi** üŋü.	*They will go.*

Exercise 38

In the sentences below, underline the future helping verb and the verb that follows.

(Bääm 36-38)
Ay müükonḍi, ika batta <u>bi lïïtä</u> wään,   *Ah my friend, I <u>will</u> not <u>be</u> able to go,*
ika agä raac täññaŋ.   *(since) I am now sick.*
Aŋ atä parü, ïkïï <u>bi atï</u> tiṇṇäk."   *You go alone, we two <u>will go</u> tomorrow."*
(Bääm 51-52)
Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo, "Gula ïkï müŋŋeni   *Fox told him, "Oh how I have caught you*
täññaŋ, aŋ ïkï bi ereni pok."   *now, and I will slaughter you."*
(Bääm 59)
Aŋ taaji Wiiw ogo, "Aŋ ïkïï bi atï ogoo?"   *And Fox asked him, "How will we go?"*
(Geel 19)
Yeeni ääŋkalaŋ naana buṭu woo ye,   *If my (strength) were to be revealed one day,*
ooric yaanna bi taapä kä.   *I would ride on this your man.*
(Geel 22)
Ïkï ṭüülü yaanna daa bi näŋä ŋaaka?   *Your small thing that just will do what?*
(Geel 25-27)

Müükonḍi, ŋiil yaŋkalaŋ juwin baan jï ka.   *My friend, a dance is taking place in country.*
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, 'Ïkïï atcï,'   *People are sending me to say, 'Let's go',*
naana ïkïï baawgï tï ye, ŋiil batta bi ñabo ñap. *if we both are absent, dance will not be good.*
(Geel 29-32)

"Aŋ inni äätä ïkï tï, yaanne yori riijänä kä pet. *"When I came to you, this body of mine was*
Aŋ täññani ïkïï bi bülcï müürï ogoo?   *struggling. And now how will we two return?*
Yori waagdä ika batta bi lïïṭä wään ŋuca."   *My body feels like I will not be able to walk."*
Aŋ kiini Geel ogo, "Ïkï bi taapci ŋäñi ti."   *Lion told him, "I will carry you on my back."*
(Geel 41-42)

Ikee batta kiinde ogo,   *Did I not tell you*
ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure!   *that I would one day ride this your man, look!*

Continuous helping verb

The <u>continuous helping verb</u> **ken** shows a state, motion or action continues over time. It is used in main actions or speeches of stories, and in language explaining information (expository). It most often comes before past verbs or non-past verbs, but can also come before non-past progressive verbs. The continuous helping verb can come immediately before the verb, or can be separated from the verb by the object or subject of the verb.

In *Bääm 33*, the continuous helping verb **ken** shows the action **maaweni** 'looking' (with non-past SOV suffix -**eni**) continues over time. It does not happen all at once.

  (Bääm 33) (Non-past continuous action, in speech)
  "Ika äätädä ïkï **ken** <u>maaweni</u> ka."   *"I <u>**am**</u> coming <u>looking</u> for you."*

In *Piïṇṇä 9*, the continuous helping verb **ken** shows the action **kiinnee** 'was telling' (with past dependent suffix -**nee**) and the state **jaajjeneey** 'were saying' (with past dependent suffix -**ceneey**) both took time before they were finished. The past suffixes –**nee** and -**ceneey** on these verbs show that these verbs finished before the time of speeking. The object **me** 'people' comes between **ken** and the verb.

  (Piïnn 9) (Past continuous action and state, in speech, separated by object)
  "Piïṇṇä **ken** me <u>kiinnee</u> ogo,   *"Wasp <u>**was telling**</u> the people that*
  ïkï **ken** <u>jaajjeneey</u> ogo aŋan."   *you <u>**were**</u> <u>saying</u> (to do) this."*

In the lesson *Main clause connectors*, we learn that **ken** can be used along with **aŋ** 'and, then' to become the connector **aŋ ken** 'in the end, however'. It can also be used along with **ina** 'that' to become the connector **ina ken** 'that is why, so'.

The continuous helping verb **ken** does not change according to the subject.

  <u>Continuous helping verb</u>

Men **ken** üüŋïdï.	*Person is going.*
Ika **ken** üüŋüdü.	*I am going.*
Ïkï **ken** üüŋüdü.	*You (sg) are going.*
Ike **ken** üüŋïdï.	*(S)he is going.*
Ïkïï **ken** üüŋïtï.	*We (two) are going.*
Ïkïïn **ken** üüŋïtïn.	*We (and you) are going.*
Ikoon **ken** üüŋodon.	*We (not you) are going.*
Ikee **ken** üüŋede.	*You (pl) are going.*
Iken **ken** üüŋïdï.	*They are going.*

Exercise 39

In the sentences below, underline the continuous helping verb and the verb that follows.

(Yaam 1)
Yaam a koy tïŋŋä ke ḍogleñ,   *Basket is red tree or another tree,*
kimkä **ken** ñorgu me.   *people are bending branches (to make them).*
(Yaam 5-6)
Aŋ yaam mäbaan ti, ken ṭemte määngä   *Basket on Jumjum person, women are carrying*
wakkä witken ti bata wälkä piik.   *things on heads such as gourds of water.*
(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte määngä ḍürdïn   *It is a basket that is enabling women to carry*
wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,   *these many things,*
(Kiñuk 24)
I iin mooye oja ken ääto ñomuk.   *As the proud old hyena was going on ahead.*
(Kiñuk 26)
Ay! A ŋaaka ken week do   *Hey! What is crying out?*
(Kiñuk 27)
A ḍïïn ken week jaan wic.   *It is a bird crying up in a tree.*
(Bääm 49)
"A ŋaani ken ïkï nüütkeney waŋ yaanna?"   *"Who was giving you this idea?"*
A Wiiw ken tääccin.   *Fox was the one asking him.*
(Bääm 50)
A Gaaggaak ken ika nüütkana waŋ.   *It was Raven informing me of this idea.*
(Leeñ 15-16)
Aŋ Leeñ yaana a caagon ye   *And the elephant that was fat,*
cïcam ŋaaljede ïñï, aŋ yaana bämaŋ ye,   *he peeled deeply, and the one that was thin,*
ken paaje ñaalok.   *he was peeling shallowly.*
(Leeñ 42-43)
A Leeñ mooye yaana paañ̃e kïïgïn ye,   *It was the big Elephant, whose feet were peeled,*
ken ike aajjï woo wiiy.   *who was crossing the river.*
(Pïïnnä 2)
Aŋ Pïïŋŋä ken tüccïï me ogo,   *And people were sending Wasp,*
"Ato Jooŋ nüütkee."   *"You go inform God."*

Obligation helping verb

The adverb **yoku** 'about to' can be used as an <u>obligation helping verb</u> 'should, must' to show obligation for the following verb, as if it is required or expected.

In *Bääm 64,* the **yoku** 'nearly' is an adverb that describes the action **taajjï** 'ask' (with non-past away OVS suffix -**jï**) to mean that Fox began opening his mouth.

<u>(Bääm 64) (Adverb *nearly*)</u>	
Aŋ **yoku** <u>taajjï</u> Wiiw,	*And Fox **about to** ask him (something),*
aŋ äkkene, aŋ Bääm pääynä.	*and released him, and Dove flew away.*

However in *Yaam 20*, **yoku** 'must, should' is used as the obligation helping verb to strongly enourage the listeners to do the action **aakïn** 'change' (with non-past away SOV 1i-3s suffix -**cïn**).

<u>(Yaam 20) (Obligation)</u>	
Aŋ aŋan yaajaŋ batta ŋeraŋ,	*And this is bad rather than good,*
aŋ **yoku** por <u>aakïn</u> woo.	*so **let us** change (it).*

<u>Exercise 40</u>

In the sentences below, underline the obligation helping verb **yoku** 'should, must' and the verb that follows.

<u>(Yaam 20)</u>	
Aŋ aŋan yaajaŋ batta ŋeraŋ,	*And this is bad rather than good,*
aŋ **yoku** por **aakïn** woo.	*so **let us** **change** (it).*
<u>(Kiñuk 34-35)</u>	
Aŋ iin durñe menen kiindee ogo,	*And the young hyena said to the other,*
"Keetta kiindeni ogo 'Ŋeeyjï ko ïw?' "	*"Did I not tell you, 'We can eat it dry?' "*
Aŋ kïïnnïï menen ogo, "Ee yoku ay!"	*And the other told him, "Yes, it is true!"*
<u>(Bääm 64)</u>	
Aŋ yoku taajjï Wiiw,	*And Fox about to ask him (something),*
aŋ äkkene, aŋ Bääm pääynä.	*and released him, and Dove flew away.*
<u>(Iin 40)</u>	
Yaanna a yen Iin alla yoku a yeeni?	*This (calf) is of Hyena or should it be mine?*
<u>(Iin 52-54)</u>	
Aŋ Wiiw oja yooṭte, i äätä wääna yoku	*And just then he saw Fox, but while person*
ogo men ḍäägee ko ti me ti ye,	*was about to reach the people,*
i ḍoŋe ṭoljene woo me ti,	*he changed his direction away from people,*
aŋ bäärgä Geel ogo, "Wiiw! Wiiw!"	*and Lion called him, "Fox! Fox!"*
<u>(Iin 65-66)</u>	

Aŋ ina yoku naañ Iin ärjee da ogo	*So, it is like you taking Hyena's calf by force*
yüünü yaanna, oon kalaŋ yoku a giidon.	*as yours, by supposing male cow could give birth*
(Keyñam 9-10)	
Aŋ iji paa aŋ yoku bagjï gïtï,	*And they took it home and were about to split it,*
aŋ nänṭa ḍuccete cïcam ye, minneni ojo,	*and side where they would put knife, they heard*
"Jäyä woo!"	*child cry, "Oh, my side!"*

Command (Imperative) Verbs

Non-past verbs can be used as <u>commands</u> to order others to do something. Commands are non-past verbs without the non-past helping verb **bi** 'will'. They are usually without any subject noun or pronoun before the verb, but have verb suffixes according to the unmentioned subject. Often the command is to one person using the suffix that comes with the subject **ïkï** 'you (sg)'. Or it can be a command to more than one person using the suffix that comes with **ikee** 'you (pl)'. The command can also be communal ('let us') by using the suffix that comes with the subject **ïkïï** 'we (two)', **ïkïïn** 'we (and you)', or **ikoon** 'we (not you)'.

In *Bääm 59,* the non-past verb **bi atï** 'we both will go' with suffix **–cï** 'we (two)' is not used as a command, because it has the non-past helping verb **bi** 'will' and the subject pronoun **ïkïï** 'you (two)'.

(Bääm 59) (Non-past verb)
Aŋ taaji Wiiw ogo, "Aŋ ïkïï **bi atï** ogoo?"   *And Fox asked him, "How **will** we both **go**?"*

In *Bääm 45,* the non-past verb **atï** 'we both will go' with suffix **–cï** 'we (two)' is used as a command. There is no non-past helping verb **bi** and no subject mentioned for this verb, so we know it is used as a communal 'let us' command.

(Bääm 45) (Non-past verb used as command)
Aŋ **atï**, amä tok.   *<u>**Let**</u> us both <u>**go**</u>, and you can eat it.*

In *Leeñ 36,* the non-past verb **ate** 'you (pl) are going' with suffix **–ce** 'you (pl)' is not used as a command because it has the subject pronoun **ikee** 'you (pl)'.

(Leeñ 36) (Non-past verb)
Aŋ tääckene ti ogo, "<u>Ikee</u> **ate** wa?"   *He asked it from them, "Where <u>**are you going**</u>?"*

In *Leeñ 17,* the non-past verb **ääte** 'you (pl) will go' with suffix **–ce** 'you (pl)' is used as a command to more than one person. Although similar to the non-past verb in *Leeñ 36,* it does not have a subject mentioned.

(Leeñ 17) (Non-past verb used as command)

Aŋ Wiiw Liik kiinne ogo,   *And Fox told the Elephants,*
"**Ääte** nïïnkä kä ŋaṭükel."   *"<u>Go (back)</u> in days that seven."*

The word **yoku** 'so, must' can show obligation to do something. In *Yaam 20,* **yoku** is used along with the non-past verb **aakïn** 'we (and you) change it' that is used as a command.

(Yaam 20) (Command with **yoku**)
Aŋ aŋan yaajaŋ batta ŋeraŋ,   *And this is bad rather than good,*
aŋ <u>yoku</u> por **aakïn** woo.   <u>*so* we <u>**must change**</u> (it).</u>

The non-past verb **dalä** 'let me' is often used as a command before another verb. In *Geel 35,* **dalä** 'let me' is used as a command before the verb **ḍikcä** 'I tie'.

(Geel 35) (Dalä used as command)
"**Dalä** ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan   *"<u>Let</u> me tie the rope*
ḍoŋü ti,"   *on your neck,"*

To make a negative command, a non-past verb follows the negative word **ŋana** 'not'. In *Bääm 54,* the non-past verb **nägdaa** 'you (sg) eat me' comes after the negative word **ŋana**.

(Bääm 54) (Negative command)
"**Ŋana** ika **nägdaa** ḍok,   *"<u>Do not eat</u> me,*

Some commands are weaker than the commands above. Weak commands are less forceful. They still try to get someone to do something, but use other words to make the command.

In *Leeñ 7,* the words **ika ṭäkä** 'I want' introduces the non-past verb **näŋgaa** 'you make for me' used as a command, and weakens this command.

(Leeñ 7) (Weak command)
Ika ṭäkä **näŋgaa** tok.   *<u>I want</u> you to <u>**make them for me**</u>.*

In *Leeñ 13,* the indefinite **mäŋkalaŋ** 'someone' is the subject of the non-past verb **käjä** 'he will enter' used as a command, and weakens this command.

(Leeñ 13) (Weak command)
Aŋ bäärgä Wiiw ogo, "Mäŋkalaŋ **käjä** äräk."   *Fox was calling, "Someone <u>**may enter**</u> inside."*

Exercise 41

In the sentences below, <u>underline</u> all verbs used as commands and any subjects of these verbs.

270

(Kiñuk 10)
Aŋ iin durñe menen kiinnee ogo, *And the young hyena said to the other,*
"Ŋeeyjï ko ïw." *"We can **eat** it chared."*
(Kiñuk 12)
Ïjjï büüccï piitti. *We will take and soak it in water."*
(Kiñuk 20)
Äŋ bunno, ïjjï amjï paa. *Sun is goes down, let we take and eat it home.*
(Bääm 5)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "Yiipka ïñï kä keelok." *Fox said it, "Throw down one (of them)."*
(Bääm 9)
Yiipka ïñï, i batta mor jaan tääy ïñï. *Throw it (chick) down, before I cut down tree.*
(Bääm 12-13)
Ŋana ïkï booju, *Don't you be afraid,*
gin yaanna batta a len, a lämmä kä pet. *that thing is not an axe, it is just mud.*
(Bääm 15)
Yiipka, i batta mor jaan tääyä ïñï. *Throw it for me, before I cut down the tree.*
(Bääm 16)
Tääyä ïñï kä bïraŋ, *Cut it down quickly,*
(Bääm 22)
Aŋ kiintä Gaaggaak ogo, *And Raven was telling him,*
"Ŋana ika kajdaa, yeepca ñaalok." *"Don't bite me, throw me up."*
(Bääm 24)
Ika cokulunu tüwnü, ŋocca yeepca ñaalok. *I am near death, throw me up again.*
(Bääm 34-35)
"Ïkïï batta atï ḍeel ṭuule, *"Can we two not go (to) the small goat*
yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?" *that is dead in that animal pen?"*
(Bääm 54)
"Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, *"Do not eat me,*
yuudu por, ïkï nüütkeni. *just wait, I will inform you.*
(Bääm 60)
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, *And Dove told him,*
"Mügja buggi ti kä lekü." *"Hold to me by my wings with your teeth."*
(Leeñ 9)
Wiiw me näŋgedee waygä ka, aŋ atïn *Fox makes shoes for people, so let we go*
näŋgïn tok. *(to him) and he will make them for us.*
(Leeñ 12b)
Yuude por, cïcam kïlkä. *Just wait, I am sharpening a knife.*
(Leeñ 20)
Iñjon waygä yooko. *Give us our shoes.*
(Leeñ 21-22)
Por keeya wina, *Just wait for me like this,*
dale waygä yeekic iñekä woo. *let me bring you your shoes out here.*
(Leeñ 40)

271

Aŋ kiini Leeñ ogo, "Kaacci ŋäñi ti." (Geel 21-22)	*Elephant told him, "Enter onto my back."*
Wiiw, booju kä loon. Atä ukcu maka daa maldä ŋïngïn ye. (Geel 26)	*Fox, you are afraid from shyness. Go look for other people you will try to deceive.*
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, 'Ïkïï atcï', (Geel 35)	*And people are sending me to say, 'Let's go',*
"Dalä ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan ḍoŋü ti," (Geel 41-42)	*"Let me tie the rope on your neck,"*
Ikee batta kiinde ogo, ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure!" (Pïïnṇä 2)	*"Did I not tell you I would one day ride this your man, look!"*
Ato Jooŋ nüütkee. (Pïïnṇä 4)	*Go inform God.*
Ato me kiinje ogo, 'Daljï me ike äätee.'	*Go tell people,'People should let him come.'*

Passive verbs

A <u>passive verb</u> has an unknown subject. An OVS verb with a general (not specific) subject **me** 'people' following the verb is used as a passive verb. Not all OVS verbs are used as passives–only those with a following subject **me** 'people' which is not known to be specific people (the people are not known by name).

In *Pïïnṇä 7,* the subject **me** 'people' does the OVS verb **jïkkïï** 'buried' to the object **men** 'person'.

(Pïïnṇä 7) (OVS verb used as passive)	
Aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye,	*And when God arrived, he found that*
men wäädenee **jïkkïï** me ïñï.	*people had **buried** person (person **had been buried**).*

The clause **men jïkkïï me** literally means 'people buried the person'. However, the **me** 'people' are not mentioned by name and are not specific persons in the minds of the listeners. **Me** is used in a general way to show that someone did the action **jïkkïï** 'buried', but we don't really know who. It is like a passive clause in other languages. In free English, this is best translated as 'the person had been buried'.

Below are other OVS verbs and **me** subjects used as passives in the stories.

OVS verbs with general subject **me** 'people' used as passive verbs

		Jumjum English	Free English
Yaam 1	kimkä **ken ñorgu** me	*people **bend** branches*	*branches **are bent***
Yaam 2	**ḍiigjänä** me	*people **tied** them*	*they **are tied***

272

Yaam 8	ä̱ä̱ŋä **ŋaapcätä** me	*people* **hang** *chicken*	*chickens* **are hung**
Bääm 67	waak **a kañdïï** me	*people* **find** *things*	*things* **are found**
Pïïṇṇä 2	pïïṇṇä **ken tüccïï** me	*people* **sent** *Wasp*	*Wasp* **was sent**
Pïïṇṇä 6	men **ji̱kcï** me ïñï	*people* **should bury** *person*	*person should* **be buried**
Pïïṇṇä 7	men wäädenee **ji̱kkïï** me	*he found* _people_ **burried** *person*	*he found person* **was burried**
Pïïṇṇä 8	**ki̱ïnnïï** me	*people* **told** *him*	*he* **was told**

Exercise 42

Underline all verbs and following **me** 'people' used as passives in the sentences below.

<u>(Yaam 1)</u>
Yaam a koy tïṇṇä ke ḍogleñ,   *Baskets are from two types of trees,*
kimkä ken <u>**ñorgu**</u> me.   *people* **bend branches** *(to make them).*
<u>(Yaam 2)</u>
Aŋ ḍiigjänä me ïñï kä wingä,   *People tie them down with ropes*
aŋ näkä nïïnkä kä ḍäk.   *for days that three.*
<u>(Yaam 7-8)</u>
Aŋ naana me bagit nänṭä yaŋkalaŋ ti ye,   *And when people move it to another place,*
naana yaam a küümon ye,   *if the basket is full,*
ä̱ä̱ŋä ŋaapcätä me yaam ṭuŋke ti.   *people hang chickens on the horns of the basket.*
<u>(Bääm 66-67)</u>
Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï ogo,   *This story tells us that, (when)*
waak a kañdïï me ye, ŋana boonjï me.   *people find things, it should be enough for people.*
<u>(Pïïnnä 2)</u>
Aŋ Pïïṇṇä ken tüccïï me ogo,   *And people were sending Wasp,*
"Ato Jooŋ nüütkee."   *"You go inform God."*
<u>(Pïïnnä 5-9)</u>
Aŋ pïïṇṇä wääna ḍukcenee ko ti me ti ye,   *Then when wasp returned to people,*
me kiinnee ogo, men ji̱kcï me ïñï.   *he told people that, people (should) bury person.*
Aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye,   *And when God arrived,*
men wäädenee ji̱kkïï me ïñï.   *he found that people had buried person.*
Aŋ tääccono, aŋ ki̱ïnnïï me ogo,   *So he asked them, and people told him that,*
"Pïïṇṇä ken me kiinnee ogo,   *"Wasp told the people*
i̱kï ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan."   *that you said (to do) this."*

Compound phrases and words

A <u>compound phrase</u> is two or more words often said as a group. These can have about the same meaning as the two original words, or they can have different meaning than either of the two

words. Compound phrases are often one noun possessing another, and can have either a close relationship (with the possessor suffix **–e/-en** 'his, their' on the second noun) or a distant relationship (without the possessor suffix).

In the lesson *Possessor and possessed nouns,* we learned about close and distant relationships of possessed nouns. Below, the nouns **men ïntе** 'person's hand' and **me ïnkеn** 'peoples' hands' have a close relationship. The singular possessed noun **ïntä** 'hand' has the suffix **–e** 'his' and follows the possessor noun **men** 'person'. The plural possessed noun **ïnkä** 'hands' has the suffix **–en** 'their' and follows the possessor noun **me** 'people'.

		Singular		Plural	
<u>close</u>	possessor <u>possessed</u>-**e**	men <u>ïnt</u>**e**	*person's <u>hand</u>*	me <u>ïnk</u>**en**	*peoples' <u>hands</u>*
<u>distant</u>	<u>possessed</u> possessor	<u>waynä</u> men	*<u>shoe</u> of person*	<u>waygä</u> me	*<u>shoes</u> of people*

The nouns **waynä men** 'shoe of person' and **waygä mä** 'shoes of people' have a distant relationship. The possessed noun **waynä** 'shoe' comes before the possessor noun **men** 'person', and the possessed noun **waygä** 'shoes' comes before the possessor noun **me** 'people' with no possessor suffix **–e/-en**.

Compound phrases can be from nouns with a close relationship or from nouns with a distant relationship. The phrases **ïntä ḍoŋe** 'wrist (hand's neck)' and **ïnkä ḍuuggen** 'wrists (hands' necks)' are from nouns with a close relationship and have possessor suffixes **–e/-en** 'his/their'.

	Original word		Original word		Compound phrase		
					Singular	Plural	
<u>close</u>	ïntä	*hand*	ḍoŋ	*neck*	ïntä <u>ḍoŋ</u>e	ïnkä <u>ḍuugg</u>en	*wrist (hand's <u>neck</u>)*
<u>distant</u>	jiikcan	*hair*	aallä	*chin*	<u>jiik</u> aallä	<u>jiik</u> aaldï	*beard (<u>hair</u> of chin)*

The phrases **jiik aallä** 'beard (hair of chin)' and **jiik aaldï** 'beards (hairs of chins)' are from nouns with a distant relationship and do not have possessor suffixes.

The following are compound phrases made from two nouns with a close relationship. The second noun has the possessor suffix **–e/-en** 'his/their'.

Compound phrases from nouns with a close relationship

Original word		Original word		Compound phrase		
aaṭṭä	*chicken, hen*	ṭuul	*daughter*	aaṭṭä ṭuul**e**	äṭäŋgä ṭulg**en**	*chick*
aawu	*cat*	ṭuul	*daughter*	aawu ṭuul**e**	aawni ṭulg**en**	*kitten, young cat*
ḍeel	*female goat*	ṭuul	*daughter*	ḍeel ṭuul**e**	ḍiik ṭulg**en**	*kid, young goat*
kabal	*sheep*	ṭuul	*daughter*	kabal ṭuul**e**	käbälgä ṭulg**en**	*lamb*
kabal	*sheep*	yaan	*bull*	kabal yaan**e**	käbälgä yätk**en**	*ram, male sheep*
küccü	*pig*	ṭuul	*daughter*	küccü ṭuul**e**	kutuŋgu ṭulg**en**	*piglet*
än	*hut, room*	tük	*lip*	än tük**e**	äärgä tügg**en**	*tribe*

büüy	*shoulder blade*	wiñ	*head*	büüy wiñe	büykü witken	*shoulder*
ïntä	*hand*	ḍoŋ	*neck*	ïntä ḍoŋe	ïnkä ḍuuggen	*wrist*
ïntä	*hand*	jïñ	*stomach*	ïntä jïñe	ïnkä gïtken	*palm*
ïntä	*hand*	ŋäñ	*back*	ïntä ŋäñe	ïnkä ŋätken	*knuckle*
ïntä	*hand*	ṭuul	*daughter*	ïntä ṭuule	ïnkä ṭulgen	*finger*
kïy	*foot*	ḍoŋ	*neck*	kïy ḍoŋe	kïïgä ḍuuggen	*ankle*
kïy	*foot*	jïñ	*stomach*	kïy jïñe	kïïgä gïtken	*sole*
kïy	*foot*	ṭuul	*daughter*	kïy ṭuule	kïïgä ṭulgen	*toe*
minneni	*child*	oon	*man*	minneni oore	merkä oogen	*son, boy*
miy	*mother*	taaŋñä	*body side*	miy taaŋñe	migä täŋken	*mother's sister*
wäy	*father*	taaŋñä	*body side*	wäy taaŋñe	wäygä täŋken	*father's brother*
jaan	*tree*	git	*ear*	jaan gitke	jengä gitken	*leaf*

Some compound phrases with a close relationship come from three nouns.

Compound phrases from nouns with a close relationship

Original word		Original word		Original word		Compound phrase		
äwgä	*bone*	men	*person*	yor	*body*	äwgä men yore	äwgä me yoken	*skeleton*
ïntä	*hand*	ṭuul	*daughter*	yaan	bull	ïntä ṭuule yaane	ïnkä ṭuglen yätken	*thumb*
jiikcan	*hair*	waŋ	*eye*	wiñ	head	jiik waŋ wine	jiik waŋgä witken	*eyebrow*
gin	*thing*	luum	*grass*	jï	in	gin luum jïñe	wakkä lumku gïtken	*animal*

The following are compound phrases made from two nouns with a distant relationship. The second noun does not have a possessor suffix.

Compound phrases from nouns with a distant relationship

Original word		Original word		Compound phrase		
men	*person*	jaan	*tree*	män jaan	mä jengä	*healer*
men	*person*	poñ	*tradition*	män poñ	mä poñku	*priest*
men	*person*	Watkey	*town name*	män Watkey	mä Watkey	*Jumjum person*
jaan	*tree*	joom	*monkey*	jaan joom	jengä juumgu	*ebony tree*
daan	*old one*	wäy	*father*	daan wäyo	dänkä wäygo	*grandfather*
uññan	*ant*	ḍeel	*goat*	uññan ḍeel	uũŋugu ḍiik	*flying ant*
maañ	*fire*	büm	*gunfire*	maañ büm	mäckä büm	*gun*
jiikcan	*hair*	aallä	*chin*	jiik aallä	jiik aaldï	*beard*
wiṇṇan	*rope*	üüllü	*navel*	wiṇṇan üüllü	wingä üüldï	*umbilical cord*
äwnä	*bone*	wiñ	*head*	äwnä wiñ	äwgä witkä	*skull*

The following are compound phrases with a distant relationship made from a noun and an adjective or verb.

Compound phrases from a noun and another word

Original word		Original word		Compound phrase		
men	*person*	bownu	*white*	män bownu	mä bowku	*white man*
amma	*food*	lakädgä	*light-weight*	amma lakädgä	ammani lakädgä	*porridge*
nänṭä	*place*	mïṭon	*dark*	nänṭä mïṭon	nänkä mïṭïn	*forest, woods*
gin	*thing*	äämmä	*eating*	gin äämkä	waak äämkä	*food*
gin	*thing*	küüṭon	*blemished*	gin küüṭon	waak küüṭïn	*pimple, tumor*
gin	*thing*	yaaññä	*spoiled*	gin yaaññä	waak yaackä	*problem, trouble*
ïïrdo	*slaughter?*	yäŋä	*meat*	ïïrdo yäŋä	ïïrdo yäŋgä	*butcher*
dula	*collecting*	et	*dungs*	dula et	dula eṇṇi	*dung beetle*

Some compound phrases with a distant relationship come from three words.

Compound phrase from nouns and other words

Original word		Original word		Original word		Compound phrase		
ïññä	*hook*	tük	*lip*	wacabulbul	*worm*	ïññä tük wacabulbul	ïñdin tük wacabulbulli	*bait*
nänṭä	*place*	müüŋŋü	*catch*	yakcan	*fish*	nänṭä müüŋŋü yak	nänkä müüŋgin yak	*fish dam*
wiṇṇan	*rope*	yïïññä	*trap*	yakcan	*fish*	wiṇṇan yïïññä yak	wiŋgä yïïññä yak	*fish trap*

A <u>compound word</u> is two or more words joined together to have a similar or new meaning. The compound word usually has a sound change from the original words by themselves.

The following are compound words that are made from two nouns or from a noun and another word.

Compound words

Original word		Original word		Compound word		
daaŋ	*rakuba*	poŋ	*mouth*	daampok	dämkäpuugin	*attic*
men	*person*	baan	*village*	mänbaan	mäbaan	*human being*
deeŋ	*cow, ox*	ŋolŋol	*?*	deeŋŋolŋol	däkŋolŋolli	*cockroach*
lään	*animal*	tïṇṇä	*red*	läntäṇṇä	lääygä	*horse, gazelle*
ääŋ	*time*	kalaŋ	*certain*	ääŋkalaŋ	äŋkäkalaŋ	*one, certain day*
gin	*thing*	kalaŋ	*certain*	giŋkalaŋ	waakkalaŋ	*one, certain thing*
men	*person*	kalaŋ	*certain*	mäŋkalaŋ	mäkkalaŋ	*one, certain person*
nääŋ	*action, deed*	kalaŋ	*certain*	nääŋkalaŋ	nääŋkäkalaŋ	*one, certain thing*

We have the following spelling rule to help us decide if a word is a compound phrase (and should

276

be written separate) or a compound word (and should be written connected).

Spelling Rule 8: Words that are commonly said together are usually written separately. However, there are three reasons to join words:

1. There are two meanings.

mänbaan	*human being*	läntän̤n̤ä	*horse*
män baan	*person of village*	lään tïn̤n̤ä	*red animal*

2. At least one of the words has no meaning alone (or a different meaning).

yïltük	*winter season*
yïl	*(no meaning)*
tük	*(no meaning)*

3. A sound changes.

No sound change		Sound change	
gin	*thing*	giŋkalaŋ	*anything*
män Watkey	*Jumjum person*	mäŋkalaŋ	*certain person*
män bownu	*white person*		
män jaan	*healer*		
jïïn kalaŋ	*certain scorpion*		
iin kalaŋ	*certain hyena*		
iiŋ kalaŋ	*certain woman*		

Exercise 43

The test word below may or may not be written correctly. Write the word correctly in the empty space.

Test Word		Write correctly	Test Word		Write correctly
menkalaŋ	*certain person*	<u>mäŋkalaŋ</u>	jaangitke	*leaf*	_____
mänjaan	*healer*	_____	gin kalaŋ	*certain thing*	_____
än tüke	*tribe*	_____	miytaaŋŋe	*mother's sister*	_____
yen kalaŋ	*certain one*	_____	ïntä t̤uule	*finger*	_____

Clauses with equal copula verbs

The <u>copula (equal sign) verb</u> **a, agä, agï**, etc. 'is, be' is often used to show one word is about the

277

same as another. The past equal sign verb is **aŋŋi, aŋŋä, aŋŋï,** etc. 'was' and the future equal sign verb is **bi a, bi agä, bi agï,** etc. The continuous helping verb **ken** 'is, am' as well as the complement connector **ogo** 'that' can also be used as an equal sign verb.

The equal sign verb **a** 'is, be, are' shows the singular nouns of (1) are equal or the plural nouns of (2) are equal.

<u>Singular</u>	(1) Wäyo **a** oon. *My father **is** a man.*
<u>Plural</u>	(2) Wäygi **a** ook. *My fathers **are** men.*

Other words that **a** 'is, be' joins are shown below.

Words joined with the equal sign verb **a** 'is, be'

noun - noun	Yätkä **a** wäyo.	*Chief is my father.*
noun – pronoun	Yätkä **a** ika.	*Chief is me.*
noun – number	Yätkä **a** keelok.	*Chief is one.*
noun – verbal noun	Yätkä **a** ŋerconde.	*Chief is good person.*
noun – verbal adjective	Yätkä **a** ṭaron.	*Chief is hiding.*
noun – verb	Yätkä **a** ŋool.	*Chief is lame.*

The past equal sign verb **aŋŋi** 'was, became' shows the singular nouns in (3) or the plural nouns in (4) were equal before the time of speaking. [check this]

<u>Singular</u>	(3) Wäyo **aŋŋi** oon. *My father **was** a man.*
<u>Plural</u>	(4) Wäygi **aŋŋi** ook. *My fathers **were** men.*

The future helping verb **bi** 'will' and the equal sign verb **a** 'be' show the singular nouns in (5) or the plural nouns in (6) will be equal after the time of speaking.

<u>Singular</u>	(5) Wäyo **bi a** oon. *My father **will be** a man.*
<u>Plural</u>	(6) Wäygi **bi a** ook. *My fathers **will be** men.*

The past equal sign verb **aŋŋi** 'was' and equal sign verb **a** 'be, is, are' change with the subject pronoun. The future helping verb **bi** 'will' is always the same.

Past	Non-past progressive	Non-past future	[check all]
<u>Wäyo</u> **aŋŋi** oon.	<u>Wäyo</u> **a** oon.	<u>Wäyo</u> **bi a** oon.	*My father*
Ika **aŋŋä** oon.	Ika **agä** oon.	Ika **bi agä** oon.	*I*
Ïkï **aŋŋi** oon.	Ïkï **agä** oon.	Ïkï **bi agä** oon.	*You (sg)*
Ike **aŋŋi** oon.	Ike **a** oon.	Ike **bi a** oon.	*He*
Ïkïï **aŋŋi** ook.	Ïkïï **agï** ook.	Ïkïï **bi agï** ook.	*We (two)*
Ïkïïn **aŋŋïn** ook.	Ïkïïn **agïn** ook.	Ïkïïn **bi agïn** ook.	*We (and you)*
Ikoon **aŋŋon** ook.	Ikoon **agon** ook.	Ikoon **bi agon** ook.	*We (not you)*

278

Ikee **aŋŋe** ook.	Ikee **age** ook.	Ikee **bi age** ook.	*You (pl)*
Iken **aŋŋi** ook.	Iken **a** ook.	Iken **bi a** ook.	*They*
was/were a man/men.	*is/am/are a man/men.*	*will be a man/men.*	

In *Iin 1*, the equal sign verb **a** 'be, is, are' shows **Iin keg eel** 'Hyena and Lion' is about the same as **mügïn** 'friends'.

(Iin 1) (equal sign verb)
Ñomuk ku on <u>Iin ke Geel **a** mügïn</u>,   *Long ago, <u>Hyena and Lion **were** friends</u>,*

In the lesson *Relative clauses*, we learned the the equal sign verb **a** 'be, is, are' can also be used to introduce a descriptive phrase which tells about a previous verb.

In *Yaam 3-4*, the phrase **a yaam** 'as basket' tells the result of the verb **wäätï** 'becomes'.

(Yaam 3-4) (Descriptive phrase)
Aŋ paargä me yok kä boygu ke wingä,   *And people wrap the body, with skin and rope,*
aŋ wäättana wäätï **a yaam**.   *and afterwards becomes <u>as basket.</u>*

If the word that follows an equal sign verb is a verb, verbal noun, or verbal adjective, it often has the suffix -**con/-yon, -con/-on, -kon, -aŋ** or -**Ø**.

In *Leeñ 32-33,* the verbal adjective **yoorgon** 'seeing' with suffix -**kon** describes the speaker in the equal sign verb **agä** 'I am'.

(Leeñ 32-33) (Before verb)
Aŋ jaajjin ogo, "Ika agä uyku,   *And he said, "I am blind and*
baati mana **agä yoorgon** ye."   *I <u>am</u> not <u>seeing</u> any person."*

Some verbs can follow the equal sign verbs without having a suffix. The non-past stative verb **ŋool** 'be lame' can follow the past equal sign verb **aŋŋi** 'was' for past meaning or follow the equal sign verb **a** 'be, is' for present meaning. The non-past progressive verb **ŋooldit** 'being lame' can follow the future helping verb **bi** 'will' for future meaning.

Equal sign verbs before the stative verb **ŋool** 'was lame'

Past	Non-past	Future (progressive)	
[– ¯ ¯ ﹨]	[¯ – –]	[– ¯ ¯ ﹨]	
Men aŋŋi ŋool.	Men a ŋool.	Men bi ŋooldit.	*Person*
[– ¯ ¯ ﹨]	[¯ – –]	[– ¯ ¯ ﹨]	
Me aŋŋi ŋool.	Me a ŋool.	Me bi ŋooldit.	*People*
[– – ¯ ¯ ﹨]	[– – ¯ ¯ ﹨]	[– – ¯ ¯ ﹨]	
Ika aŋŋä ŋool.	Ika agä ŋool.	Ika bi ŋooldu.	*I*
[– – ¯ ¯ ﹨]	[– – ¯ ¯ ﹨]	[– – ¯ ¯ ﹨]	

Ïkï aŋŋi ŋool. [−− ¯ ¯ ↘]	Ïkï agä ŋool. [−− − −]	Ïkï bi ŋooldu. [−− ¯ ¯ ↘]	*You (sg)*
Ike aŋŋi ŋool. [−↘ ¯ − ¯↘]	Ike a ŋool. [−¯ ¯¯ ¯ ↘]	Ike bi ŋooldit. [−↘ ¯ ¯ ↘]	*(S)he*
Ïkïï aŋŋï ŋolku. [−↘ ¯ − ¯ ↘]	Ïkïï agï ŋolku. [−¯ ¯¯ ¯↘]	Ïkïï bi ŋooltï. [−↘ ¯ ¯ ↘]	*We (two)*
Ïkïïn aŋŋïn ŋolku. [−↘ ¯ − ¯ ↘]	Ïkïïn agïn ŋolku. [−¯ ¯− ¯ ↘]	Ïkïïn bi ŋooltïn. [−↘ ¯ ¯ ↘]	*We (and you)*
Ikoon aŋŋon ŋolku. [−↘ ¯ − ¯ ↘]	Ikoon agon ŋolku. [−¯ ¯¯ ¯↘]	Ikoon bi ŋooldon. [−↘ ¯ ¯ ↘]	*We (not you)*
Ikee aŋŋe ŋolku. [¯− −− ¯↘]	Ikee age ŋolku. [¯¯ − ¯↘]	Ikee bi ŋoolde. [¯− ¯ ¯ ↘]	*You (pl)*
Iken aŋŋi ŋolku.	Iken a ŋolku.	Iken bi ŋooldit.	*They*
was lame	*is lame*	*will be lame*	

The non-past progressive verb **üüŋïdï** 'going' follows the equal sign verb for present meaning.

<u>Equal sign verb before the non-past progressive verb **üüŋïdï** 'going'</u>

Men **a** üüŋïdï.	*Person goes.*
Ika **agä** üüŋüdü.	*I go.*
Ïkï **agä** üüŋüdü.	*You (sg) go.*
Ike **a** üüŋïdï.	*(S)he goes.*
Ïkïï **agï** üüŋïtï.	*We (two) go.*
Ïkïïn **agïn** üüŋïtïn.	*We (and you) go.*
Ikoon **agon** üüŋodon.	*We (not you) go.*
Ikee **age** üüŋede.	*You (pl) go.*
Iken **a** üüŋïdï.	*They go.*

The connector **ogo** 'that' can also be used as an equal sign verb or to introduce a descriptive phrase.

In *Kiñuk 5-6,* **ogo** 'as, was' is used like an equal sign to show the noun **ḍuuŋgon** 'old person' is the same as **yaŋkalaŋ** 'certain one' and the noun **durñu** 'young person' is the same as **yaŋkalaŋ** 'other one'.

<u>(Kiñuk 5-6) (Complement connector used as equal sign)</u>

Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ iygä ko yewwe atto kiñuk,	*Then one day, two hyenas went hunting,*
yaŋkalaŋ **ogo** ḍuuŋgon, aŋ yaŋkalaŋ **ogo** durñu.	*certain one <u>was</u> old, and other <u>was</u> young.*

In *Kiñuk 7,* **ogo** 'as, was' introduces the noun **ïwon** 'dried, chared' that describes **men** 'person'. In this way **ogo ïwon** 'that was dried' is used like a descriptive relative clause giving information about a previous noun.

(Kiñuk 7) (Complement connector used to introduce a descriptive phrase)
Aŋ men kaññïï käälok **ogo** ïwon,   *And they found person in the cave **as** chared,*
i jone mor määṭo.   *and his heart was still beating.*

The continuous helping verb **ken** 'is, are' can also be used as an equal sign verb along with another equal sign verb. In *Geel 14-15,* **ken** 'is, are' along with **ogo** 'that, is' shows **Geel** 'Lion' is the same as **oon pare** 'only man'.

(Geel 14-15) (Continous helping verb used as equal sign verb)
A jïñe ogo, ikee jaayje ogo   *Is it true that you are saying that*
<u>Geel **ken ogo** oon pare</u> ya?" *<u>Lion **is** the only man</u>?*

In the next lesson, we learn that the equal sign verb **a** 'be, is, are' is used to show <u>focus</u>, the most important word of the sentence, when it comes at the beginning of the sentence. In *Leeñ 42-43*, **a** comes at the beginning of the sentence to show **Leeñ mooye** 'big Elephant' are the most important words of the sentence.

(Leeñ 42-43) (Contrastive focus, subject focus)
<u>A Leeñ mooye</u> yaana paaññe kïïgïn ye,   *It **was** <u>the big Elephant</u>, whose feet were peeled,*
ken ike aajjï woo wiiy.   *who was crossing the river.*

We have the following spelling rule for writing the equal sign verb **a** 'is, be'.

Spelling Rule 7: Write **a** 'is, be, are' separate from all words.

<u>Separate</u>
A waygä kïïgï.   *(Those) **are** shoes of my feet.*
Men **a** ŋool.   *The person **is** lame.*

<u>Exercise 44</u>

In the sentences below, underline all equal sign verbs and all words joined by them.

(Yaam 1)
<u>Yaam **a** koy tïṇṇä</u> ke ḍogleñ,   *Basket **is** red tree or another tree,*
kimkä ken ñorgu me.   *people bending branches (to make them).*
(Yaam 3-4)
Aŋ paargä me yok kä boygu ke wingä,   *And people wrap the body, with skin and rope,*
aŋ wäättana wäätï a yaam.   *and afterwards becomes as basket.*
(Yaam 8)
Naana yaam a küümon ye,   *If the basket is full,*
(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte määngä ḍürdïn   *And it is a basket enabling women to carry*

281

wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,	*these many things,*
aŋ a gin a ŋeraŋ yaam ti ye inni.	*(this) is thing be good concerning the basket.*
(Yaam 11)	
Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ yaam ti ye,	*And thing be bad concerning the basket,*
(Kiñuk 5-6)	
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ iygä ko yewwe atto kiñuk,	*Then one day, two hyenas went hunting,*
yaŋkalaŋ ogo ḍuuŋgon,	*certain one of them was old,*
aŋ yaŋkalaŋ ogo durñu.	*and other was young.*
(Bääm 2)	
Aŋ käññä Bääm a giidon jaan wic.	*He found Dove had given birth up in a tree.*
(Bääm 13)	
Gin yaanna batta a len, a lämmä kä pet.	*This thing is not an axe, it is just mud.*
(Bääm 34-35)	
Ïkïï batta atï ḍeel ṭuule,	*Can we not go (to) the small goat*
yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?	*that be dead in that animal pen?*
(Bääm 37)	
Ika batta bi lïïṭä wään, ika agä raac täññaŋ.	*I am not able to go, (since) I am now sick.*
(Bääm 48)	
I Wiiw a ṭaron kä cokal.	*And Fox was hiding nearby.*
(Bääm 56)	
Aŋ ika käññä kabal ṭuule a caagon	*and I found the young sheep was very fat*
kockon a tüwon,	*and was dead,*
(Bääm 58)	
Aŋ naana batta agï kañgon ye,	*And if we (two) do not find it,*
ika wäättana amja.	*then you can eat me.*
(Leeñ 15-16)	
Aŋ Leeñ yaana a caagon ye	*And the elephant that be fat,*
cïcam ŋaaljede ïñï, aŋ yaana bämaŋ ye,	*he peeled deeply, and the one that was thin,*
ken paaje ñaalok.	*he was peeling shallowly.*
(Leeñ 32-33)	
"Baati mäŋkalaŋ yaana a kaajon winni ye?"	*"Was not someone who had passed by here?"*
Aŋ jaajjin ogo, "Ika agä uyku,	*And he said, "I am blind and*
baati mana agä yoorgon ye."	*I am not seeing any person."*
(Geel 14-15)	
A jïñe ogo, ikee jaayje ogo	*Is it true that you are saying that*
Geel ken ogo oon pare ya?"	*Lion is the only man?*
(Geel 18)	
Ika batta booju kä Geel,	*I am not afraid of Lion,*
ika cäänna agä oon bata ike aŋan.	*I am also a man like him.*
(Äwñä 8)	
Aŋ Albe batta a lïïṭon kääjin woo,	*And Albe was not able to go out,*
(Iin 1-3)	
Ñomuk ku on Iin ke Geel a mügïn,	*Long ago, Hyena and Lion were friends,*

aŋ cäygene däk kä yewwe.	*and they had two cows.*
Aŋ deeŋ Iin ken a deeŋ iiŋe,	*Hyena's cow was a female,*
aŋ deeŋ Geel a yaan.	*and Lion's cow was a bull.*
(Iin 40)	
Yaanna a yen Iin alla yoku a yeeni?	*Should this (calf) be of Hyena or be mine?*
(Iin 65-66)	
Aŋ ina yoku naañ Iin ärjee da	*So you wanted to take Hyena's calf*
ogo yüünü yaanna, oon kalaŋ yoku a giidon.	*and say it was yours, as if a male cow could*
Naañ ṭuule yaanna a yen Iin.	*give birth. This calf is of Hyena.*
(Paaw 11)	
Aŋ teye wädirin a kaaŋ	*And her lower body changed as a snake.*
aŋ wine mor ken a men.	*And her head still was a person.*
(Keyñan 16)	
aŋ ääcin woo yuunku,	*And they brought out twins,*
yaŋkalaŋ a oon aŋ yaŋkalaŋ a iiŋ.	*one was a boy and the other was a girl.*
(Keyñan 21)	
Aŋ tiïron naana kaacïdï üntük ye,	*And when the baby-sitter would go out,*
minnenei wääṭï a men mooye.	*the baby would become as an adult.*
(Keyñan 29)	
Aŋ minneni juwin wäätä aŋŋi men mooye	*And the baby became as a big person*
kaaccïdï aak made.	*and climbed up to drink the milk.*
(Keyñan 30)	
Aŋ mügï aŋ wädïrdï a kaaŋ.	*And he caught it and it became as a snake.*
(Keyñan 31-32)	
Ṭuul yeeni, booju kä jooŋ jonü.	*My child, fear god with your heart.*
Lääkkä wäätci agä men.	*Don't worry, become as a person.*
Aŋ wäätä aŋŋi ṭuul, aŋ ḍeyi mä Kila.	*It became as a girl, and Kila people married her.*

Verb *a* 'is, be' used to show focus

The equal sign verb **a** 'is, be, are' can be used to show <u>focus</u>, the most important word of the sentence. A noun in focus comes after the verb **a** at the beginning of the clause. It can have contrastive focus or non-contrastive focus. <u>Contrastive focus</u> shows one noun is the most important out of more than one choice in the mind of the hearers. <u>Non-contrastive focus</u> shows one noun is important without other choices in the mind of the hearers. Subject or objects can be in focus.

In *Leeñ 42-43,* the verb **a** 'is, be, are' is at the beginning of the sentence. In this position, it shows the following noun **Leeñ mooye** 'big elephant' is the most important word in the sentence.

(Leeñ 42-43) (Contrastive focus, subject focus)	
<u>A</u> Leeñ mooye yaana paaññe kïïgïn ye,	*It **was the big Elephant**, whose feet were peeled,*
ken ike aajjï woo wiiy.	*(who) was crossing the river.*

283

Earlier in the story, the hearers learned that there were several elephants chasing Fox. In *Leeñ 42-43*, they have several elephants in their mind to choose from, and the verb **a** 'be, is' helps show the **Leeñ mooye** 'big elephant' and not any of the other elephants was crossing the river. This is contrastive focus.

Question words (a word that helps asks a question) and nouns that answer questions are often in focus.

In *Kiñuk 26,* the verb **a** 'is, be, are' is at the beginning of the sentence before the question word **ŋaaka** 'what'. In *Kiñuk 27,* the verb **a** is at the beginning of the sentence before the noun **ɖïïn** 'bird', which is the answer to the question. Both these words are in focus.

(Kiñuk 26-27) (Non-contrastive focus, subject focus)
Ay! <u>A ŋaaka</u> ken week do?	*Hey! <u>What is</u> crying out?*
<u>A ɖïïn</u> ken week jaan wic.	*It <u>is a bird</u> crying up in a tree.*

In *Kiñuk 26,* the young hyena asked the older hyena this question. The younger hyena doesn't have any choices in mind for what could be crying out. So both the question word **ŋaaka** 'what' and the noun **ɖïïn** 'bird' have non-contrastive focus. Both these words are subjects that do the action **week** 'crying'.

Subject or objects can be in focus following the verb **a** 'be, is, are' at the beginning of the clause. In *Leeñ 5,* the verb **a** 'is, be, are' is at the beginning of the sentence before the question word **ŋaakani** 'what'. The action **eŋdä** 'wearing' is done to this question word **ŋaakani** 'what', which is an object in focus.

(Leeñ 5) (Non-contrastive, object focus)
<u>A ŋaakani</u> ken eŋdä wegok kïïgü tï doŋ?	*What <u>are</u> you wearing making sound like this?*

Nouns in focus always immediately follow the verb **a** 'is, be, are'. But demonstratives in focus that take the place of a noun are at the end of the sentence. In the lesson *Demonstratives,* we learned the demonstratives **inni** 'this' or **ikki** 'these' take the place of a noun. They are in focus when they come at the end of the sentence.

In *Geel 33,* the verb **a** 'is, be, are' is at the beginning of the sentence, and the demonstrative **inni** 'this' is in focus a the end of the sentence to show it is the most important word.

(Geel 33) (Non-contrastive, subject, demonstrative in focus)
Ee, <u>**a**</u> yaana ṭäkkä ye <u>inni</u>!	*Yes, <u>this is</u> what I want!*

<u>Exercise 45</u>

In the sentences below, underline the verb **a** 'is, be, are' when used to show focus, and the word in focus.

(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ <u>a yaam</u> ken lïïlte määngä ḍürdïn   *And it <u>is a basket</u> enabling women to carry*
wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,   *these many things,*
aŋ <u>a</u> gin a ŋeraŋ yaam ti ye <u>inni</u>.   *<u>this is</u> be good thing concerning the basket.*
(Bääm 13)
Gin yaanna batta a len, a lämmä kä pet.   *This thing is not an axe, it is just mud.*
(Bääm 49)
"A ŋaani ken ïkï nüütkeney waŋ yaanna?"   *"Who was giving you this idea?"*
A Wiiw ken tääccin.   *Fox was the one asking him.*
(Bääm 50)
A Gaaggaak ken ika nüütkana waŋ.   *It was Raven informing me of this idea.*
(Leeñ 5-6)
A ŋaakani ken eŋdä wegok kïïgü tï doŋ?   *What are you wearing making sound like this?*
A waygä kïïgï.   *(These) are the shoes of my feet.*
(Leeñ 30-31)
"A ŋaani ina cääy yaanna?"   *"Who is this sitting?"*
Aŋ jaajjin ogo, "A ika."   *And he said, "It is me."*
(Geel 14-15)
A jïñe ogo, ikee jaayje ogo   *Is it true that you are saying that*
Geel ken ogo oon pare ya?"   *Lion is the only man?*
(Iin 21)
Ø Wa batta, a yaan yeeni ken giiṇṇä.   *No. It was my cow that gave birth.*
(Iin 23)
i ŋäjje bääkan daa, a deeŋ yeene ken giiṇṇä.   *but he knew it was his cow that had given birth.*
(Wiiw 44)
Ay müükonḍi a ŋaaka ken jay do?!   *Ay my friend, it is who that is talking?*

Negative words

There are three common negative words that show opposites. The negative **batta** 'not' shows the opposite meaning of the following words. The negative **ŋana** 'should not' shows an obligation for the opposite of the following words. And the negative **baati** 'there is no' shows the following noun does not exist.

In *Bääm 43-44,* **batta** 'not' shows the opposite meaning of the words **ämä päk** 'eating grain'. It is not true that the speaker is eating the grain.

(Bääm 43-44)
Ika käññä päk a püüktïdïnï ïñï   *I found grain spilled down*

jaan ŋoy baanni, aŋ ika <u>batta</u> ämä päk.   *under tree of my area, and I am <u>not</u> eating grain.*

In *Leeñ 43-44,* ŋana 'should not' shows the an obligation for the opposite of **me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken** 'people do bad things'.

(Leeñ 43-44)
Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïin nüütkïdïn ogo   *This story tells us that*
<u>ŋana</u> me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken.   *people <u>should not</u> do bad things.*

In *Geel 7,* baati 'there is no' shows the noun **durñu yaana ŋuca wükcïdï tïṭulgu gurken ti ye** 'a youth who could go near girls' does not exist.

(Geel 7)
I <u>baati</u> durñu yaana ŋuca   *And <u>there was no</u> youth who could go near,*
wükcïdï tï ṭulgu gurken ti ye.   *to be next to the girls.*

Exercise 46

In the sentences below, underline the negatives **batta, ŋana** and **baati.**

(Yaam 20)
Aŋ aŋan yaajaŋ <u>batta</u> ŋeraŋ,   *And this is bad, it is <u>not</u> good,*
aŋ yoku por aakïn woo.   *so let us change (it).*
(Bääm 12-13)
Aŋ kiinne ogo, "Ŋana ïkï booju,   *And he told him, "Don't you be afraid,*
gin yaanna batta a len, a lämmä kä pet."   *this thing is not an axe, it is just mud."*
(Bääm 22)
"Ŋana ika kajdaa, yeepca ñaalok."   *"Don't bite me, throw me up."*
(Bääm 34-35)
Ïkïï batta atï ḍeel ṭuule,   *Can we not go (to) the small goat*
yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?"   *that was dead in the animal pen?*
(Bääm 36-37)
Ay müükonḍi, ika batta bi lïïṭä wään,   *Ah my friend, I am not able to go,*
ika agä raac täññaŋ.   *(since) I am now sick.*
(Bääm 43-44)
Ika käññä päk a püüktïdïnï ïñï   *I found grain spilled down*
jaan ŋoy baanni, aŋ ika batta ämä päk.   *under tree of my area, and I am not eating grain.*
(Bääm 54-56)
Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por, ïkï nüütkeni   *Do not eat me, you just wait, I will inform you.*
(Bääm 57-58)
Aŋ naana batta agï kañgon ye,   *And if we do not find it,*
ika wäättana amja."   *then you can eat me."*
(Leeñ 32-33)

"Baati mäŋkalaŋ yaana a kaajon winni ye?"   *"Was there not someone who had passed here?"*
Aŋ jaajjin ogo, "Ika agä uyku,   *And he said, "I am blind and*
baati mana agä yoorgon ye."   *there was not anyone who I am seeing."*
(Leeñ 39)
"Ika batta lïïltä aaydin piik."   *"I am not able to cross the water."*
(Leeñ 43-44)
Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïin nüütkïdïn ogo   *This story tells us that*
ŋana me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken.   *people should not do bad things.*
(Geel 7)
Aŋ Geel wäättana ṭulgu baade pare küüttaŋ.   *And afterwards, Lion was only one loving girls.*
I baati durñu yaana ŋuca   *And there was no youth who could go near,*
wükcïdï tï ṭulgu gurken ti ye.   *to be next to the girls.*
(Geel 8-9)
Aŋ Wiiw jiik yaakka tiiŋŋe, aŋ toorok batta   *Fox heard about this matter, and badness did not*
kaaccïdï wiñe ti, aŋ jone batta ñabaŋ.   *enter his head, and his heart was not happy.*
(Geel 13)
Aŋ luugi ṭulgu ogo, "Jiikkalaŋ baati."   *Girls replied, "There is not a certain problem."*
(Geel 18)
Ika batta booju kä Geel,   *I am not afraid from Lion,*
ika cäänna agä oon bata ike aŋan.   *I am also a man like him.*
(Geel 26-27)
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, 'Ïkïï atcï,'   *People are sending me to say, 'Let's go',*
naana ïkïï baawgï tï ye, ŋiil batta bi ñabo ñap.   *if we both are absent, dance will not be good.*
(Geel 41-42)
Ikee batta kiinde ogo,   *"Did I not tell you*
ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure!"   *that I would one day ride this your man, look!"*
(Äwñä 11)
Aŋ nïïnkä yaakka ti muure, Albe batta ämï.   *And in all these days, Albe did not eat.*
(Pïïṇṇä 12)
Aŋ Pïïṇṇä tuummee ogo   *And he cursed Wasp so that*
ŋana giido yuunge muureen.   *she would not give birth all her years.*

Direct and indirect speech

In stories, it is common to mention what those in the story say. These are called speeches. When the stories are written down, the speeches need to be marked differently than other words in the story. In this lesson, we learn about direct and indirect speech and how they are marked in writing. Both are introduced with the connector **ogo** 'that, saying'.

Direct speech is the words actually spoken by a person or animal in a story. In direct speech, the pronouns **ika** 'I', **ïkï** 'you (sg)', **ïkïï** 'we (two)', **ïkïïn** 'we (and you)', **ikoon** 'we (not you), **ikee** 'you (pl)', and commands, questions (?), and exclamation (!) are often used. Even though **ogo** 'that' introduces the speech, non-dependent verbs are used in direct speech.

287

In *Bääm 3-4*, only the words spoken by the **Wiiw** 'Fox' and Bääm 'Dove' are direct speech—**Ï nänä ŋaaka jaan wic wina?** 'What are you doing up in the tree?' and **Ika tïïcä merkä yeeki** 'I am caring for my children'.

(Bääm 3-4) (Direct)

Aŋ taaññe **ogo**,	*He asked him **that**,*
"Ïkï nänä ŋaaka jaan wic wina?"	*"What are you doing up in the tree?"*
Aŋ kiini Bääm **ogo**, "Ika tïïcä merkä yeeki."	*Dove told him **that**, "I am caring for children."*

The pronouns **ïkï** 'you (sg)', **ika** 'I' and the question show that these are direct speeches—the words actually spoken by **Wiiw** and **Bääm**.

The words **Aŋ taaññe ogo** 'He asked him that' and **Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo** 'Dove told him that' are spoken by the story teller to introduce the speech, but are not part of the direct speech. **Ogo** 'that' is required to introduce these direct speeches.

We use a comma (,) before the direct speech, and double quotes (" ") on both sides of the direct speech.

Indirect speech describes the meaning of what a person or animal in the story says, but is not the actual words spoken. We only use the subject pronouns **ike** '(s)he', **iken** 'they'. Dependent verbs are used instead of non-dependent verbs.

In *Leeñ 14-15*, the words **ŋäälkedee waygä** 'he was peeling shoes for them' are an indirect speech. The SRVO non-past progressive dependent subject-receiver suffix **-jkedee** 'he-them' is on the verb **ŋäälkedee** 'that he peeling for them'.

(Leeñ 14-15) (Indirect)

Aŋ Wiiw juwin Liik paaje kïïgïn **ogo**, ŋäälkedee waygä.	*Fox got up and was peeling Elphants in their feet **saying that**, he was peeling shoes for them.*

The actual speech may be something like **Ika ikee ŋäälkede waygä** 'I am peeling shoes for you'. The indirect speech has the subject 'he' instead of 'I' and receiver 'them' instead of 'you (pl)'. It gives the meaning of what was said, but not the actual words.

The words **Aŋ Wiiw juwin Liik paaje kïïgïn ogo** 'Fox got up and was peeling Elephants in their feet, saying that' are spoken by the story teller to introduce the speech, but are not part of the indirect speech. We use **ogo** 'that' to introduce the indirect speech.

We use a comma (,) before the indirect speech, but no quotation marks.

Speech inside of speech

Sometimes there is direct or indirect speech inside of a longer speech.

In *Kiñuk 34-35,* all of **Keetta kiindeni ogo, 'Ŋeeyjï ko ïw?'** is a direct speech. We know it is direct from the SOV non-past progressive subject-object suffix -**deni** 'I-you(sg)' on the verb **kiindeni** 'I tell you'.

(Kiñuk 34-35) (Direct speech inside direct speech)	
Aŋ iin durñe menen kiindee **ogo**,	*And the young hyena said to the other **that**,*
"Keetta kiindeni **ogo**, 'Ŋeeyjï ko ïw?'"	*"Did I not tell you **that**, 'We can eat it dry?'"*

However, there is a shorter direct speech inside the longer speech. It is **Ŋeeyjï ko ïw.** 'We can eat it dry'. We know this is direct from the SVO non-past progressive subject suffix -**jï** 'we (two)' on the verb **ŋeeyjï** 'we eat it'.

We put single quotes (' ') before and after direct speech that is inside a direct speech.

In *Pïïṇṇä 8-9*, all of **Pïïṇṇä ken me kiinnee ogo, ïkï ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan** 'Wasp told the people that you said to do this' is a direct speech.

(Pïïnnä 8-9) (Indirect speech instead direct speech)	
Aŋ tääccono, aŋ kïïnnï me **ogo**,	*He (God) asked them, and people told him **that**,*
"Pïïṇṇä ken me kiinnee **ogo**,	*"Wasp told the people **that***
ïkï ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan."	*you said to do this."*

However, there is a shorter indirect speech inside the longer direct speech. It is **ïkï ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan.** 'you said to do this'. If it were a direct speech inside a direct speech, it would be something like **Jooŋ ken jaajjene ogo aŋan** 'God told you to do this'.

We use a comma (,) before the indirect speech inside a direct speech, but no quotation marks.

The following are important punctuation rules for speech.

```
Punctuation Rules for Speech
Put a comma(,) before a direct or indirect speech and after ogo.
Put double quotation marks (" ") before and after a direct speech.
Put single quotation marks (' ') before and after a direct speech that is inside a direct
speech.
Put a period (.) at the end of a direct and indirect speech.
For direct speech, make the first word have a capital (large) letter.
For indirect speech, do not use quotations marks, and do not make the first word have
a capital letter.
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Exercise 47

In the following lines, underline each ogo that introduces a direct or indirect speech. Underline direct speech once. Underline indirect speech twice. Put (parentheses around) direct or indirect speech inside a larger speech.

(Kiñuk 34-35)
Aŋ iin durñe menen kiindee **ogo**,
"<u>Keetta kiindeni</u> **ogo**, ('Ŋeeyjï ko ïw?')"

*And the young hyena said to the other **that**,*
*<u>"Did I not tell you **that**, ('We can eat it dry?')"</u>*

(Bääm 3-4)
Aŋ taaññe ogo,
"Ïkï näŋä ŋaaka jaan wic wina?"
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Ika tïïcä merkä yeeki."

He asked him that,
"What are you doing up in the tree?"
Dove told him that, "I am caring for children."

(Leeñ 8-9)
Aŋ Leeñ attä meken nüütkene ogo,
"Wiiw me näŋgedee waygä ka."

And Elephant went and informed others that,
"Fox makes shoes for people."

(Leeñ 14-15)
Aŋ Wiiw juwin Liik paaje kïïgïn ogo,
ŋäälkedee waygä,

Fox got up and was peeling Elphants in their feet
saying that, he was peeling shoes for them,

(Geel 24-27)
Aŋ Wiiw juwin attä Geel ti, aŋ kiinne ogo,
"Müükonḍi, ŋiil yaŋkalaŋ juwin baan jï ka.
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, ('Ïkïï atcï,')
naana ïkïï baawgï tï ye,
ŋiil batta bi ñabo ñap."

Fox got up and went to Lion, told him that,
"My friend, a dance is taking place in country.
People are sending me to say that, ('Let's go'),
if we both are absent,
dance will not be good."

(Geel 33-35)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin jone ti ogo,
"Ee, a yaana ṭäkkä ye inni!"
Aŋ Wiiw taappä Geel ŋäñe ti. Aŋ Wiiw
Geel kiinne ogo, "Dalä ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan
ḍoŋü ti, mükküdü kä yori."

And Fox said to himself that,
"Yes, this is what I want!"
And Fox rode on the Lion's back.
And Fox told Lion that, "Let me tie the rope
on your neck so that I control it with my body."

(Geel 41-42)
I nüüdede ïñï Geel ŋäc, i jaayi jone ti ogo,
"Ikee batta kiinde ogo,
(ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ), yuure!"

He pointed to Lion's back, said in heart that,
"Did I not tell you that,
(I would one day ride this your man), look!"

(Piïnnä 3-4)
Aŋ wääna attee ko ye, Jooŋ nüütkenee,
aŋ kïïnnïï Jooŋ ogo,
"Ato me kiinje ogo, ('Daljï me ike äätee.')"

And when he went, he informed God,
and God told him that,
"Go tell them that,('People should let he come.')"

(Piïṇṇä 5-6)
Aŋ pïïṇṇä wääna ḍukcenee ko ti me ti ye,
me kiinnee ogo, men jïkcï me ïñï.

Then when wasp returned to people, he told
people that, people should bury person.

(Piïṇṇä 8-9)

290

Aŋ tääccono, aŋ kïïnnïï me ogo,	*He (God) asked them, and people told him that,*
"Pïïṇṇä ken me kiinnee ogo,	*"Wasp told the people that*
(ïkï ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan.)"	*(you said that to do this.)"*

<h3 style="text-align:center">Main clauses and dependent clauses</h3>

We have learned about how words are grouped together into noun phrases and clauses. Now, we learn about connectors. <u>Connectors</u> (conjunctions) join clauses and sentences. Before we talk about connectors, we first need to talk about the difference between main clauses and dependent clauses.

A <u>main clause</u> (independent clause) can be a sentence by itself; it does not require another clause in order to be a complete sentence. A <u>dependent clause</u> is not a sentence by itself; it requires or depends on another clause to complete the sentence.

In *Kiñuk 1*, the clause is a complete sentence.

(Kiñuk 1)
Main Ñomuk ku on mäŋkalaŋ atto kiñuk pare. *Long ago a man went on a hunt alone.*

However, in *Pïïṇṇä 6*, the clause needs another clause to complete it.

(Pïïṇṇä 6)
Dependent Aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye, *And when God arrived,*

It needs another clause to finish it such as in the following:

(Pïïnnä 6-7)
Dependent Aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye, *And when God arrived,*
Main men wäädenee jïkkïï me ïñï. *he found that people had buried person.*

So, **men wäädenee jïkkïï me ïñï** is a main clause because it is a complete sentence. But **aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye** is a dependent clause because it needs another clause to finish it.

In *Pïïṇṇä 6-7* above, the dependent clause **aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye** comes before the main clause **men wäädenee jïkkïï me ïñï**. In *Yaam 20-21* below, the dependent clause **näŋko määngä yooko yoken wääkcene woo** comes after the main clause **aŋ yoku por aakïn woo**.

(Yaam 20-21)
Main Aŋ yoku por aakïn woo, *And we should change (it),*
Dependent näŋko määngä yooko yoken wääkcene woo. <u>*so that*</u> *our women rest their bodies.*

Connectors (conjunctions)

<u>Connectors</u> (conjunctions) are words that join clauses or sentences. The connectors in the middle below—**aŋ, (no connector), ke, aŋ wina, wäättana, i, ina ken, aŋ ken, aŋ ääŋkalaŋ**—join two main clauses. The connectors on the left below—**naan . . . ye, wääna . . . ye**—join a dependent clause before a main clause. The connectors on the right below—**ina ken, aŋ ina, näŋko, nääŋka**—join a dependent clause after a main clause.

Dependent Clause Connectors Before Main Clauses		Main Clause Connectors		Dependent Clause Connectors After Main Clauses	
naan . . . ye	*if, when*	**aŋ**	*and, then*	**ina ken**	*that is why, so, in order that*
wääna . . . ye	*when*	(no connector)	*then*		
		ke	*and, or, until*	**aŋ ina**	*that is why, for that reason, therefore*
		aŋ wina	*then*		
		wäättana	*afterwards, then*	**näŋko**	*so that*
		i	*while, instead, but, then*	**nääŋka**	*because*
		aŋ ken	*in the end, however*		
		aŋ ääŋkalaŋ	*and another day*		

The relative clause connectors **yaana/yaaka . . . ye, mana/maka . . . ye, (no connector), a** and the complement connector **ogo** introduce a dependent clause inside another clause.

Dependent Clause Connectors Inside Other Clauses	
yaana/yaaka . . . ye	*who, which, that*
mana/maka . . . ye	*person/people who*
a	*that, which*
(no connector)	*then, that*
ogo	*that, so that, as*

We will learn about each of the above words in the following lessons. For each connector, we list information about how it is used. Then, there are examples of the connector in stories.

The verbs introduced by the dependent connectors **ogo** 'that', **wääna** 'when', **näŋko** 'so that', **nääŋka** 'becauses', **ina ken** 'that is why' are dependent. They usually have the same SOV suffixes, but often have different suffixes for other word orders. Motion and state verbs following **wääna** 'when, if' often have the same suffixes as SOV main clause verbs or SOV dependent **ogo** verbs.

Dependent verb suffixes compared [check all]

	Main	Dependent ogo	Dependent wääna	Dependent ina ken	Dependent näŋko	Dependent nääŋka

SOV	PT	-ne	-nee	-nee	-nee		-nee
	NP	-e	-ee	-ee	-ee	-ee	
	NP.PR	-de	-dee	-dee	-dee	-dee	-dee
OVS	PT	-i	-nïï	-i	-ene		-nee
	NP	-kä	-ïï	-jke	-jke	-jke	
	NP.PR	-ttä	-dïï	-tte	-tte	-jkede	-dee
SVO	PT	-ñä	-ño	-ñe			-nee
	NP	-cï/-yï	-co/-yo			-dee	
	NP.PR	-it	-do			-dee	-dee
MT	PT	-cin/-yin	-cono/-yono	-ne			
	NP	-cï/-yï	-co/-yo	-e			
	NP.PR	-cïdï/-yïdï	-codo/-yodo	-de			
ST	PT	-nä	-no	-nee			
	NP	-Ø	-Ø	-ee			
	NP.PR	-ñä	-ño	-dee			

Dependent clause connectors before main clauses

In this lesson, we learn about the dependent clause connectors **naana . . . ye** 'if, when' and **wääna . . . ye** 'when'. Both of these introduce a dependent clause that comes before a main clause. Verbs following **naana** are non-dependent, the same as those following main connectors. Verbs following **wääna** are dependent, but some are different that those following the connector **ogo** 'that'.

naana . . . ye 'if, when'

The connector **naana . . . ye** 'if, when' introduces a dependent clause that must first happen or be true before the following main clause can happen or be true. A dependent clause beginning with **naana** ends with **ye**, but does not have a dependent verb.

In *Yaam 7-8,* there are two dependent clauses beginning with **naana** 'if, when' and ending with **ye**. Both of these clauses must first happen before the main clause **äṭäŋgä ŋaapcätä me yaam ṭuŋke ti** 'people hang chickens on the horns of the basket'.

(Yaam 7-8)
Aŋ **naana** me bagit nänṭä yaŋkalaŋ ti **ye**,   *And __when__ people move it to another place,*
naana yaam a küümon **ye**,   *__if__ the basket is full,*
äṭäŋgä ŋaapcätä me yaam ṭuŋke ti.   *people hang chickens on the horns of basket.*

Verbs in clauses introduced with **aŋ naana** 'and if' are non-dependent. They are the same verbs used in main clauses, such as following the connector **aŋ** 'then'.

		Aŋ naana *and if*	ogo *that*	aŋ *then*	
SOV	Past	Aŋ naana men gin **tiiŋŋe** ye, . . .	tiiŋŋee	tiiŋŋe	*heard*
	NonPast	Aŋ naana men gin **bi tiiŋe** ye, . . .	tiiŋee	tiiŋe	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ naana men gin **tiŋde** ye, . . .	tiŋdee	tiŋde	*hears*
OVS	Past	Aŋ naana gin **tiiŋi** men ye, . . .	tïïŋŋï	tiiŋi	*heard*
	NonPast	Aŋ naana gin **bi tiiŋä** men ye, . . .	tïïŋï	tiiŋä	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ naana gin **tiŋtä** men ye, . . .	tïŋdïï	tiŋtä	*hears*
SVO	Past	Aŋ naana men **tiiŋŋä** gin ye, . . . (?)	tiiŋŋo	tiiŋŋä	*heard*
	NonPast	Aŋ naana men **bi tïïŋï** gin ye, . . .	tiiŋo	tïïŋï	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ naana men **tiiŋit** gin ye, . . . (?)	tiiŋdo	tiiŋit	*hears*
		. . . the person __ thing			

<u>wääna . . . ye</u> 'when'

The connector **wääna . . . ye** 'when' introduces a dependent clause that has old or expected information. This slows down the story and shows the following main clause is important for the outcome of the story—a big new step forward. A dependent clause beginning with **wääna** has **ye** at the end of the clause. It also has a dependent verb. But some dependent verbs following **wääna** differ from dependent verbs following **ogo** 'that' or other connectors.

In *Beel 35-37*, **wääna** 'when' begins the dependent clause **wääna ḍekke daa kä ḍoŋe ti ye** 'when he tied it to his neck'. This clause has an SVO past dependent verb **ḍekke** 'tied' with suffix **-ñe** and the clause ends with **ye**.

(Geel 35-37)
"Dalä ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan ḍoŋü ti,   *"Let me tie the rope on your neck*
mükküdü kä yori."   *(so that) I control it myself ."*
Aŋ <u>wääna</u> *ḍekke* daa kä ḍoŋe ti <u>ye</u>,   *And <u>when</u> he tied it to his neck,*
wiṇṇan müŋŋe kä ïnte aam,   *he grabbed the rope with his left hand,*
aŋ Geel üütte ti nänṭä ŋiil.   *and Lion ran to the place of dancing.*

This depedent clause repeats the information **ḍekke da kä ḍoŋe ti** 'tied it to his neck' which is first mentioned in the previous speech. The listeners assume Lion lets Fox tie a rope around his neck after this speech. Repeating this old or known information in the dependent clause with **wääna** slows down the story and catches the listeners' attention for the following important main clauses. The main clauses show Fox controlling Lion, which is what Fox said would happen and is what the story is about.

In *Bääm 1-2*, the non-past state verb **laay** 'roam' is in a main clause and has no suffix. But in *Äwñä 2*, **laaye** 'roam' is in a dependent clause introduced by **wääna** and has the non-past motion dependent suffix -**e**. In both clauses, the verb 'roam' has the same meaning and use. The change in suffix is only because of the connector **wääna**.

(Bääm 1-2) (state verb in main clause)
Ñomuk ku on, Wiiw näkä käñ,   A long time ago, Fox felt hunger
aŋ attä **laay** woo luummuk.   and went out **_roaming_** in grassland.

(Äwñä 2) (state verb in **wääna** clause)
Aŋ w̲ä̲ä̲n̲a̲ **laaye** kä y̲e̲, käññä kääl äwñä.   while **_roaming_** around, he found cave of porcupine.

In _Kiñuk 1-2_, the verb **atto** 'went' is in a main clause and has the past state dependent away suffix -**ño**. But in _Piï̲n̲n̲ä 3_, **attee** 'went' is in a clause introduced by **wääna** and has the past state dependent away suffix -**ñee**. In both clauses, the verb 'went' has the same meaning and use. Again, the change in suffix is only because of the connector **wääna**.

(Kiñuk 1-2) (state verbs in main clause)
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ **atto** kiñuk pare,   _Long ago, a man **went** on a hunt alone,_

(Piï̲n̲n̲ä 3) (state verb in **wääna** clause)
Aŋ w̲ä̲ä̲n̲a̲ **attee** ko y̲e̲, Jooŋ nüütkenee.   _And **when** he **went**, he informed God._

The verbs in clauses introduced with **wääna** 'when, if' are dependent. However, some are different from dependent verbs following **ogo** 'that' and other connectors.

		wääna _when_	**ogo** _that_	**aŋ** _then_	
SOV	Past	Aŋ wääna men gin **tiiŋŋee** da kä ye,	tiiŋŋee	tiiŋŋe	_heard_
	NonPast	Aŋ wääna men gin bi **tiiŋee** da kä ye,	tiiŋee	tiiŋe	_will hear_
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ wääna men gin **tiŋdee** da kä ye,	tiŋdee	tiŋde	_hears_
OVS	Past	Aŋ wääna gin **tiiŋi** daa men ye,	tiiŋŋï	tiiŋi	_heard_
	NonPast	Aŋ wääna gin bi **tiiŋge** daa me ye,	tiiŋï	tiiŋgä	_will hear_
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ wääna gin **tiŋte** daa men ye,	tiŋdï	tiŋtä	_hears_
		. . . _the person __ thing_			

State and motion verbs in **wääna** clauses in stories are shown below in **bold**. Many of these have the same suffixes as SOV main clause verbs.

NP.MT.DP.NR	**-e**		
Geel 43	boon	mana **boone** LOC?	_certain person **is weak**_
Geel 17	boon	ook k̲e̲ dürjï muure **boone** LOC	_if all men and youth **are unable**_
Äwñä 2	laay	w̲ä̲ä̲n̲a̲ **laaye** kä	_when he **was roaming**_
Äwñä 12	kaac	k̲e̲ **kääje** woo	_until he **was going** out_

PT.MT.DP.TW	**-wene**		
Geel 39	ḍääk	w̲ä̲ä̲n̲a̲ **ḍäägene** LOC	_when he **arrived**_

PT.MT.DP.AW	-ñe		
Geel 12	ḍääk	wääna ḍakke LOC	*when he **arrived***
Iin 56	ḍääk	wääna . . ääŋke ḍakke kä däk	*when . . time **reached** to three*
Geel 37	üüt	wääna . . aŋ Geel üütte LOC	*when . . . and Lion **ran***

PT.ST.DP.NR	-nee		
Kiñuk 18	daat	wääna dääṇnee ko	*when he **was soft***

NP.ST.DP.NR	-ee		
Iin 53	ḍääk	wääna yoku ogo men ḍäägee	*when that person **arrived***

PT.ST.DP.TW	-wenee		
Äwñä 7	ḍääk	wääna ḍäägenee LOC?	*when he **arrived***
Pïïṇṇä 7	ḍääk	wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee LOC	*when God **arrived***

PT.ST.DP.AW	-ñee		
Pïïṇṇä 3	äät	wääna attee ko	*when he **went***

PT.PR.ST.DP.AW	-ccenee /-cenee		
Pïïṇṇä 5	ḍuuk	pïïṇṇä wääna ḍukcenee ko	*when Wasp **returned***
Iin 30	boy	wääna nänṭä bojjenee	*when place **became white***

PT.PR.IT.DP.NR?	-jkene		
Bääm 63	ḍääk	wääna ḍakkene LOC	*when they **arrived***

PT.IT.DP.NR?	-nïï		
Kiñuk 22	kaac	wääna kaaññïï ko	*when they **passed***

PT.IT.DP.AW?	-ñïï		
Kiñuk 24	ḍääk	wääna ḍakkïï ko	*when they **arrived***

PT.PR.IT.DP.AW?	-ccïnïï		
Kiñuk 28	wük	wääna wükcïnïï ko	*when they **went on***
Kiñuk 31	wük	wääna wükcïnïï ko	*when they **went on***

Transitive verbs in **wääna** clauses in stories are shown below in **bold**.

PT.SOV.DP.NR?	-nee		
Iin 7	yoor	Geel wääna deeŋ menen yoorree	*when Lion **saw** certain cow*
Iin 25	yoor	wääna Iin yoorree da batta jaayee	*when Hyena **saw** he not speak*

PT.OVS.DP.TW?	-wene		
Iin 17	kïït	<u>wääna</u> däk **kïïdene** da . . ye	*when he **brought** cow*

PT.SVO.DP.NR?	-ñe		
Geel 36	ḍek	<u>wääna</u> **ḍekke** da kä	*when he **tied** it*

PT.SOV.DP.TW?	-wenee		
Iin 55	bäär	<u>wääna</u> Geel **bäärenee**	*when Lion **called***

PT.SVO.DP.AW?	-ñee		
Iin 12	kaay	<u>wääna</u> **kääññee** nïïnkä kä yewwe	*when he **grazed** two days*

Exercise 48

In the sentences below, underline **naana . . . ye** 'if, when' and **wääna . . . ye** 'when'.

(Yaam 7-8)
Aŋ **naana** me bagit nänṭä yaŋkalaŋ ti **ye**,
naana yaam a küümon **ye**,
äṭäŋgä ŋaapcätä me yaam ṭuŋke ti.

*And **when** people move it to another place,*
if the basket is full,
people hang chickens on the horns of basket.

(Yaam 11-12)
Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ yaam ti ye,
naana ṭemtä määngä witken ti
yuungu kä ḍiräk ye, määngä witken wec.

And a bad thing concerning the basket is
when women carry (it) on their heads
for many years, the heads of women are bald.

(Kiñuk 17-18)
Aŋ naana daa äŋ waŋe wükco ye,
i men waŋge piijodo.
Aŋ wääna dääṇṇee ko ye, düüdïnïï woo,
i äŋ joorjono.

And when as sun's face moved on, then the
person's eyes began to regain consciousness.
When he became soft, they carried him out
(from water), as the sun went down.

(Kiñuk 22-24)
Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ ḍoŋe ti,
aŋ wääna kaaññïï ko jaan ŋoy ye,
men likko rawcan, aŋ kïlläŋ rääkkee jï
woo, i iin mooye oja ken ääto ñomuk.

Person was wearing a whistle around his neck,
and when (they) passed under a tree,
man broke off twig, and cleaned out whistle,
as the proud old hyena was going on ahead.

(Kiñuk 24-25)
Aŋ wääna ḍakkïï ko nänṭa miṭon ye,
killäŋ puuccee küüttee ogo, *tiiṭ*!

And when they arrived to densely forested
place, he tried to blow the whistle, tweet!

(Kiñuk 28-29)
Aŋ wääna wükcïnïï ko ko ḍeeḍaŋ ye,
men killäŋ ŋoccee küüttee
tügge ko yewwe ogo, *tiit tiit!*

And when they went a little further,
the person again blew the whistle
two times, tweet tweet!

(Bääm 54-58)

"Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por,   *"Do not eat me, just wait,*
ïkï nüütkeni. Ika attä laayä,   *I will inform you. I went roaming,*
aŋ ika käññä kabal ṭuule a caagon   *and I found a very fat young*
kockon a tüwon, aŋ ika ṭäkä ïkï ijeni.   *dead sheep, and I want to take you.*
Aŋ naana batta agï kañgon ye,   *And if we do not find it,*
ika wäättana amja."   *then you can eat me."*

(Bääm 61)

Aŋ naana ïkïï ḍakkï tï ye, ika bi weekcä ogo,   *And when we arrive, I will cry,*
kuruk, kuruk ääŋki kä yew.   *kaaw, kaaw two times.*

(Geel 16-17)

Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "Naana ook ke dürjï   *And Fox said, "If all the men and youth*
muure boone juugin ogo bojgo ko Geel ye,   *are unable in their hearts and afraid of Lion,*

(Geel 19)

Yeeni ääŋkalaŋ naana buṭu woo ye,   *If my (strength) were to be revealed one day,*
ooric yaanna bi taapä kä.   *I would ride on this your man.*

(Geel 26-27)

Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, 'Ïkïï atcï,'   *People are sending me to say, 'Let's go',*
naana ïkïï baawgï tï ye, ŋiil batta bi ñabo ñap.   *if we both are absent, dance will not be good.*

(Geel 35-37)

"Dalä ika ḍikcä winṇan ḍoŋü ti,   *"Let I tie the rope on your neck*
mükküdü kä yori."   *(so that) I control it myself ."*
Aŋ wääna ḍekke daa kä ḍoŋe ti ye,   *And when he tied it to his neck,*
winṇan müŋŋe kä ïnte aam,   *he grabbed the rope with his left hand,*
aŋ Geel üütte ti nänṭa ŋiil.   *and Lion ran to the place of dancing.*

(Äwñä 6-7)

Aŋ ike ṭäkï kääjïdï woo, aŋ wääna   *Then he was wanting to go out, and when he*
ḍäägenee kääl tük ye, kääl tüke üüljene.   *arrived at cave entrance, entrance was closed.*

(Pïïnnä 3)

Aŋ wääna attee ko ye, Jooŋ nüütkenee.   *And when he went, he informed God.*

(Pïïṇṇä 5-7)

Aŋ pïïṇṇä wääna ḍukcenee ko ti me ti ye,   *Then when wasp returned to people, he told*
me kiinnee ogo, men jïkcï me ïñï.   *people that, people (should) bury person.*
Aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye,   *And when God arrived,*
men wäädenee jïkkïï me ïñï.   *he found that people had buried person.*

Main clause connectors

In this lesson, we learn about the main clause connectors **aŋ** 'and, then', **(no connector)** 'then', **ke** 'and, or, until', **aŋ wina** 'then', **wäättana** 'afterwards, then', **i** 'while, instead, but, then', **aŋ ken** 'in the end, however', **aŋ ääŋkalaŋ** 'and another day'. All of these introduce a main clause and join it to the previous clause. The verbs following all these connectors are non-dependent.

aŋ 'and, then'

The connector **aŋ** 'and, then' introduces a main clause that moves the story forward or gives new or continuing information. It is the most common connector, and the default connecter that should be used unless there is a reason to use a different connector.

In *Kiñuk 1-2,* there are four main clauses that begin with **aŋ** 'and, then'. Each introduce a clause that tell a new action that is like a new step forward in the story.

(Kiñuk 1-2)
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ atto kiñuk pare,   *Long ago, a man went on a hunt alone,*
aŋ käñño kääl bilgiññi.   ***and** found a cave of bats.*
Aŋ atto gäänono luum ïwïn,   ***And** he went to collect dry grass,*
aŋ büükkee käälok,   ***and** he heaped it in the cave,*
aŋ tuñgenee maañ.   ***and** he caused fire to burn it.*

The verbs in clauses introduced with **aŋ** 'and' are non-dependent and the same as verbs in other main clauses. They are different than dependent verbs that follow **ogo** 'that'.

		Aŋ *and, then*	**ogo** *that*	
SOV	Past	Aŋ men gin **tiiŋŋe**.	**tiiŋŋee**	*heard*
	NonPast	Aŋ men gin **bi tiiŋe**.	**tiiŋee**	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ men gin **tiŋde**.	**tiŋdee**	*hears*
OVS	Past	Aŋ gin **tiiŋi** men.	**tïïŋŋïï**	*heard*
	NonPast	Aŋ gin **bi tiiŋä** men.	**tïïŋïï**	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ gin **tiŋtä** men.	**tïŋdïï**	*hears*
SVO	Past	Aŋ men **tiiŋŋä** gin.	**tiiŋŋo**	*heard*
	NonPast	Aŋ men **bi tïïŋï** gin.	**tiiŋo**	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ men **tiiŋit** gin.	**tiiŋdo**	*hears*
		. . . the person __ thing		

(no connector) 'then'

There are five situations when no connector is used to introduce a main clause: 1) when the clause has no verb, 2) following a clause with **naana** 'if' or **wäänä** 'when', 3) in speeches, especially with questions and commands, 4) to show the result or purpose of the previous clause, and 5) to show the complement clause (or object) of the verb in the previous clause.

In *Kiñuk 5-6,* there is no connector (shown with the symbol Ø) introducing the clause **yaŋkalaŋ ogo ḍuuŋgon** 'one was old'. This clause has no verb, but only the connector **ogo** 'that' used as an equal sign verb.

299

(Kiñuk 5-6) (no verb)
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ iygä ko yewwe atto kiñuk,   *Then one day*, *two hyenas went hunting,*
Ø yaŋkalaŋ ogo ḍuuŋgon,   *and one of them was old,*
aŋ yaŋkalaŋ ogo durñu.   *and the other was young.*

In *Kiñuk 22-24,* there is no connector Ø introducing the main clause **men likko rawcan** 'man broke off a twig', which follows the dependent clause beginning with **wääna** 'when'.

(Kiñuk 22-24) (following **wääna**)
Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ ḍoŋe ti,   *And person was wearing a whistle around his neck,*
aŋ wääna kaaññïi ko jaan ŋoy ye,   *and when (they) passed under a tree,*
Ø men likko rawcan, aŋ kïlläŋ rääkkee jï   *then man broke off a twig, **and** cleaned out whistle,*

In *Geel 35,* there is no connector Ø introducing the main clause **mükküdü kä yori** 'I control it with my body', which is in a speech.

(Geel 35) (in speech)
Geel kiinne ogo, "Dalä ika ḍikcä wiŋnan   *And Fox told Lion, "Let me tie the rope*
ḍoŋü ti, Ø mükküdü kä yori."   *on your neck, **then** I control it with my body."*

In *Keyñan 29,* there is no connector Ø introducing the main clause **kaaccïdï** 'climb up' and the main clause **aak made** 'drink milk'. The result of the baby becoming big is to climb up and the purpose of climbing up is to drink milk.

(Keyñan 29) (shows result, purpose)
Aŋ minneni juwin wäätä aŋŋi men mooye   *And the baby became as a big person*
Ø kaaccïdï Ø aak maade.   *in order to climb up **in order to** drink milk.*

In *Äwñä 13,* there is no connector Ø introducing the clause **ike keeygä woo üntük** 'he waiting for him outside'. This entire second clause is the object (or complement clause) of the verb **miigene** 'found' in the first clause. The man didn't just find his dog. He discovered that his dog was waiting for him.

(Äwñä 13) (complement clause)
Aŋ daa guuŋ yeene miigene   *And he (man) found his dog*
Ø ike keeygä woo üntük,   *waiting for him (man) outside,*

Verbs in clauses introduced without a connector are non-dependent and are the same as verbs introduced by **aŋ** 'and'.

		Ø *then, and*	aŋ *then*	ogo *that*	
SOV	Past	Ø men gin **tiiŋŋe**.	tiiŋŋe	tiiŋŋee	*heard*
	NonPast	Ø men gin **bi tiiŋe**.	tiiŋe	tiiŋee	*will hear*

	NonPast Prog	Ø men gin **tiŋde**.	tiŋde	tiŋdee	*hears*
OVS	Past	Ø gin **tiiŋi** men.	tiiŋi	tïïŋïï	*heard*
	NonPast	Ø gin **bi tiiŋä** men.	tiiŋä	tïïŋïï	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	Ø gin **tiŋtä** men.	tiŋtä	tïŋdïï	*hears*
SVO	Past	Ø men **tiiŋŋä** gin.	tiiŋŋä	tiiŋo	*heard*
	NonPast	Ø men **bi tïïŋï** gin.	tïïŋï	tiiŋo	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	Ø men **tiiŋit** gin.	tiiŋit	tiiŋdo	*hears*
		. . . the person __ thing			

ke 'and, or, until'

The connector **ke** 'and, or' connects two nouns or prepositional phrases, such as when both nouns are the subject of the same verb. The connector **ke** 'until' introduces a phrase or clause that shows the extent or final result of the previous clause.

In the lesson *Prepositions,* we learned that **ke** 'with' is a preposition that introduces accompaniment, someone who does the action along with the subject.

In *Geel 2,* the preposition **ke** 'with' introduces the noun **meken** 'others' which accompanies, or does the action **bilti** 'was there' along with **Geel** 'Lion'.

(Geel 2) (Accompaniment)
Aŋ Geel bilti **ke** meken,   *And Lion was there **with** the others,*

The same word is also used as a connector **ke** 'or, and, until'. It can join two nouns or two prepositional phrases in the same phrase or clause.

In *Yaam 3,* **ke** 'and' connects the noun **wingä** 'ropes' with **boygu** 'skins' so that they are both used to do the action **paargä** 'wrap'.

(Yaam 3) (Connecting two nouns)
Aŋ paargä me yok kä boygu **ke** wingä.   *And people wrap body with skins **and** ropes.*

In *Yaam 16-17,* **ke** 'and' connects the prepositional phrases **ɖuuggen ti** 'in their necks' and **ŋätken ti** 'in their backs' so that both show the place of the action **nääkke pillä** 'feel pain'.

(Yaam 16-17) (Connecting phrases, final action)
Aŋ ŋucana nääkke pillä ɖuuggen ti **ke**   *And it also causes pain in their necks **and***
ŋätken ti bäätcïdï ïñï **ke** teygen ti.   *in their backs going down **until** in their hips.*

Ke 'until' introduces the prepositional phrase **teygen ti** 'in their hips' which shows the extent or final result of the action **bäätcïdï ïñï** 'going down'.

301

The following are other clauses in stories with the connector **ke** 'or, and, until'.

or	Yaam 1	yaam a koy tïṇṇä **ke** ḍ̣ogleñ	*basket is a red tree **or** tree.type*
and	Yaam 3	kä boygu **ke** wingä	*with skins **and** ropes*
	Yaam 6	bata wälkä piik **ke** päk **ke** waak	*like gourds **and** grains **and** things*
	Yaam 16	nääkke pillä ḍuuggen ti **ke** ŋätken ti	*it causes pain in necks **and** in backs*
	Bääm 17	ädit ṭoŋ **ke** lacan mooye	*he carries spear **and** big stick*
	Geel 16	ook **ke** dürjï muure boone	*all men **and** youth are unable*
until	Yaam 17	bäätcïdï ïñï **ke** teygen ti	*going down **until** in their hips*
	Kiñuk 16	bülco tabjï wina **ke** men däädjeko	*they returned him **until** he was soft*
	Äwñä 12	batta mätï **ke** kääje woo	*he did not drink **until** he went out*

aŋ wina 'then'

The connectors **aŋ wina** 'then' introduces a main clause with an important action or speech, important for the outcome of the story–a big step forward.

In *Iin 22-24,* **aŋ wina** 'then' introduces the main clause **Iin daa yore ḍiille** 'Hyena kept quiet'.

(Iin 22-24)
Aŋ wina Iin daa yore ḍiille,   ***After that**, Hyena kept quiet.*

This clause is important for the outcome of the story. Hyena disagreed with Lion about who the calf belonged to, so he kept quiet. This caused Lion to call a meeting to prove that it was his calf, where Fox gave evidence that it was instead Hyena's calf.

Verbs in clauses introduced with **aŋ wina** 'then' are non-dependent and are the same as verbs introduced by **aŋ** 'and'.

		Aŋ wina *then*	**aŋ** *then*	**ogo** *that*	
SOV	Past	Aŋ wina men gin **tiiŋŋe**.	tiiŋŋe	tiiŋŋee	*heard*
	NonPast	Aŋ wina men gin **bi tiiŋe**.	tiiŋe	tiiŋee	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ wina men gin **tiŋde**.	tiŋde	tiŋdee	*hears*
OVS	Past	Aŋ wina gin **tiiŋi** men.	tiiŋi	tïïŋŋï	*heard*
	NonPast	Aŋ wina gin **bi tiiŋä** men.	tiiŋä	tïïŋï	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ wina gin **tiŋtä** men.	tiŋtä	tïŋdïï	*hears*
SVO	Past	Aŋ wina men **tiiŋŋä** gin.	tiiŋŋä	tiiŋŋo	*heard*
	NonPast	Aŋ wina men **bi tïïŋï** gin.	tïïŋï	tiiŋo	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ wina men **tiiŋit** gin.	tiiŋit	tiiŋdo	*hears*
		. . . the person __ thing			

wäättana 'afterwards, then'

The connector **wäättana** 'afterwards, then' introduces a main clause that happens later in time than the action of the previous clause.

In *Äwñä 9-10,* there are two main clauses introduced by **wäättana** 'afterwards'.

(Äwñä 9-10)
An ike nääkin nïïnkä kä yewwe käälok.	***And*** *he spent two days in the cave.*
An **wäättana** kääl tüke kupkene,	***And afterwards*** *the cave door opened,*
an **wäättana** Albe kääjin woo.	***and afterwards*** *Albe went out.*

Wäätana shows the clause **kääl tüke kupkene** 'cave door opened' happened later in time than when Albe stayed in the cave for two days. The second **wäättana** shows the clause **Albe kääjin woo** 'Albe went out' happened later in time than when the cave door opened.

Verbs in clauses introduced with **wäättana** 'afterwards' are non-dependent and are the same as verbs introduced by **an** 'and'.

		An wäättana *afterwards*	an *then*	ogo *that*	
SOV	Past	An wäättana men gin **tiinne**.	tiinne	tiinnee	*heard*
	NonPast	An wäättana men gin **bi tiine**.	tiine	tiinee	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	An wäättana men gin **tinde**.	tinde	tindee	*hears*
OVS	Past	An wäättana gin **tiini** men.	tiini	tïïnnïï	*heard*
	NonPast	An wäättana gin **bi tiingä** men.	tiingä	tïïnïï	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	An wäättana gin **tintä** men.	tintä	tïndïï	*hears*
SVO	Past	An wäättana men **tiinnä** gin.	tiinnä	tiinno	*heard*
	NonPast	An wäättana men **bi tïïnï** gin.	tïïnï	tiino	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	An wäättana men **tiinit** gin.	tiinit	tiindo	*hears*
		. . . the person __ thing			

i 'while, instead, but, then'

The connector **i** 'while, instead, but, then' introduces a main clause where the action is compared with and happens at the same time as the action of the previous clause. Sometimes the action is contrasted with the action of the previous clause or is unexpected following the previous clause.

In *Kiñuk 7,* **i** 'while' shows the clause **jone mor määṭo** 'his heart was still beating' happens at the same time as **men kaññïï käälok ogo ïwon** 'they found person in cave that was chared'.

(Kiñuk 7)
| An men kaññïï käälok ogo ïwon, | ***And*** *they found person in the cave that was chared,* |
| **i** jone mor määṭo. | ***and*** *his heart was still beating.* |

i 'while' compares these two clauses and shows a contrast between them—it is surprising and unexpected that the man's heart was still beating since he was chared from the fire.

Verbs in clauses introduced with i 'while' are non-dependent and are the same as verbs introduced by aŋ 'and'.

		i *while*	aŋ *then*	ogo *that*	
SOV	Past	. . . i men gin **tiiŋŋe**.	tiiŋŋe	tiiŋŋee	*heard*
	NonPast	. . . i men gin **bi tiiŋe**.	tiiŋe	tiiŋee	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	. . . i men gin **tiŋde**.	tiŋde	tiŋdee	*hears*
OVS	Past	. . . i gin **tiiŋi** men.	tiiŋi	tïïŋŋï	*heard*
	NonPast	. . . i gin **bi tiiŋä** men.	tiiŋä	tïïŋï	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	. . . i gin **tiŋtä** men.	tiŋtä	tïŋdï	*hears*
SVO	Past	. . . i men **tiiŋŋä** gin.	tiiŋŋä	tiiŋŋo	*heard*
	NonPast	. . . i men **bi tïïŋï** gin.	tïïŋï	tiiŋo	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	. . . i men **tiiŋit** gin.	tiiŋit	tiiŋdo	*hears*
		. . . *the person __ thing*			

aŋ ken 'in the end, however'

The connector **aŋ ken** 'in the end, in spite of, however' introduces a main clause that tells the final result or reason of a previous clause when there is something unexpected about it [check with more examples].

In *Iin 22-24,* **aŋ ken** 'however' shows that **ike booc kä menen a boojon** 'he was afraid of this friend' is the reason for **batta a jayïnï woo ŋuca** 'he didn't say another word'.

(Iin 22-24)
Aŋ wina Iin daa yore ḍiille,	*After that*, Hyena kept quiet.
Ø batta a jayïnï woo ŋuca,	*Then* he didn't say another word, *although* he knew
i ŋäjje bääkan daa a deeŋ yeene ken giiṇṇä.	*that it was really his cow that had given birth.*
Aŋ ken ike booc kä menen a boojon.	*However,* he was afraid of this friend.

Maybe the connector **nääŋka** 'because' would usually show this reason. However, i 'although' introduces the unexpected clause **ŋäjje bääkan daa a deeŋ yeene ken jiiṇṇä** 'he knew it was his cow that gave birth' that contrasts with Hyena keeping quiet. So, **aŋ ken** 'however' shows the final reason for Hyena keeping quiet in spite of the fact that the calf was his.

aŋ ääŋkalaŋ 'and another day'

The connector **aŋ ääŋkalaŋ** 'and another day' introduces an action that happens after some delay following the previous action.

In *Bääm 18-20,* **aŋ ääŋkalaŋ** 'and another day' shows that Fox hid from Raven after some delay from when Fox hit the tree with the mud axe. Perhaps there was a delay of several days between these actions.

(Bääm 18-20)

<u>Aŋ</u> Wiiw len lämmä jeppe ti jaan ti,	<u>***And***</u> *Fox hit the tree with the mud axe,*
<u>Aŋ</u> Gaaggaak iken **ke** Bääm juuggen ñappä,	<u>***And***</u> *the hearts of Raven* <u>***and***</u> *Dove became happy,*
<u>aŋ</u> yircin woo.	<u>***and***</u> *they laughed.*
<u>Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ</u> Wiiw attä	<u>***And another day***</u>*, Fox came*
Ø Gaaggaak ṭärkene nänṭä piik.	<u>***and***</u> *hid from Raven in place of water.*

Exercise 49

In the sentences below, underline each of the following words: **aŋ** 'and, then', **(no connector)** 'then', **ke** 'and, or, until', **aŋ wina** 'then', **wäättana** 'afterwards, then', **i** 'while, instead, but, then', **aŋ ken** 'in the end, however', **aŋ ääŋkalaŋ** 'and another day'.

(Yaam 3-4)

<u>Aŋ</u> paargä me yok kä boygu <u>ke</u> wingä,	<u>***And***</u> *people wrap the body, with skin* <u>***and***</u> *rope,*
<u>aŋ</u> <u>wäättana</u> wäätï a yaam.	<u>***and***</u> <u>***afterwards***</u> *becomes as basket.*

(Yaam 5-6)

Aŋ yaam mäbaan ti ken ṭemte määngä	*And the basket on Jumjum person, women*
wakkä witken ti bata wälkä piik	*carry things on heads such as gourds of water*
ke päk ke waak a daa ṭemtä ye.	*and grains and (other) things they carry.*

(Yaam 16-17)

Aŋ ŋucana nääkke pillä ḍuuggen ti ke	*And it also causes pain in their necks and*
ŋätken ti bäätcïdï ïñï ke teygen ti.	*in their backs going down until in their hips.*

(Yaam 18-19)

Ina ken määngä mäbaan ṭiintete	*That is why Jumjum women are becoming old*
kä bïraŋ yaanna, aŋ iiŋ ke yaam yeene	*with quickly, and the woman with her basket*
wäättana beel bata teebälaŋ yoono.	*afterwards looks like our car.*

(Kiñuk 5-6)

Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ iygä ko yewwe atto kiñuk,	*Then one day, two hyenas went hunting,*
Ø yaŋkalaŋ ogo ḍuuŋgon,	*and one of them was old,*
aŋ yaŋkalaŋ ogo durñu.	*and the other was young.*

(Kiñuk 7)

Aŋ men kaññïï käälok ogo ïwon,	*And they found person in cave that was chared,*
i jone mor määṭo.	*and his heart was still beating.*

(Kiñuk 17)

Aŋ naana daa äŋ waŋe wükco ye,	*And when the sun's face moved on, then the*
i men waŋge piijodo.	*person's eyes began to regain consciousness.*

(Kiñuk 21)

Aŋ dünṇïï iin durñe ḍoŋe ti,	*And the young hyena carried (person) on neck,*

i küjjï ogo cüüyïdïnï.	*but they didn't know that he revived.*
(Kiñuk 22-24)	
Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ ḍoŋe ti,	*And person was wearing whistle around his neck,*
aŋ wääna kaaññïï ko jaan ŋoy ye,	*and when (they) passed under a tree,*
Ø men likko rawcan, aŋ kïlläŋ rääkkee jï	*then man broke off twig, and cleaned out whistle,*
woo, i iin mooye oja ken ääto ñomuk.	*as the proud old hyena was going on ahead.*
(Bääm 6-7)	
Aŋ Bääm yaakï,	*Then Dove was refusing*
aŋ Wiiw attä Ø näŋŋä len lämmä.	*and Fox went and made an axe of mud.*
Aŋ ḍuukin, i ädit len lämmä.	*And (he) returned while carrying an axe of mud.*
(Bääm 18-20)	
Aŋ Wiiw len lämmä jeppe ti jaan ti,	*And Fox hit the tree with the mud axe,*
Aŋ Gaaggaak iken ke Bääm juuggen ñappä,	*And the hearts of Raven and Dove became happy,*
aŋ yircin woo.	*and they laughed.*
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ Wiiw attä	*And another day, Fox came*
Ø Gaaggaak ṭärkene nänṭä piik.	*and hide from Raven in place of water.*
(Bääm 28)	
Aŋ Wiiw attä, i jone yaajaŋ kockon.	*And Fox came, but his heart was very bad.*
(Bääm 47-48)	
Aŋ Bääm koojjin ïñï ogo ike ämje päk,	*And Dove came down to eat the grain,*
i Wiiw a ṭaron kä cokal.	*and Fox was hiding with nearby.*
(Bääm 58)	
Aŋ naana batta agï kañgon ye,	*And if we do not find it,*
ika wäättana amja.	*afterwards you can eat me.*
(Bääm 64-65)	
Aŋ Bääm pääynä,	*And Dove flew away,*
i week kä jone ñamme.	*and was crying with sweet heart.*
(Geel 5)	
Aŋ dürjï wäättana bojok kä baaŋŋä ṭulgu.	*And afterwards, youth were afraid of loving girls.*
(Geel 6-7)	
Aŋ Geel wäättana ṭulgu baade pare küüttaŋ.	*And afterwards, Lion was only one loving girls.*
I baati durñu yaana ŋuca	*And there was no youth who could go near,*
wükcïdï tï ṭulgu gurken ti ye.	*to be next to the girls.*
(Geel 23)	
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ ti, ŋiil juwin baan jï.	*Another day, there was a dance in this country.*
(Geel 35)	
Ø Geel kiinne ogo, "Dalä ika ḍikcä wiŋŋan	*And Fox told Lion, "Let me tie the rope*
ḍoŋü ti, Ø mükküdü kä yori."	*on your neck, so that I control it with my body."*
(Geel 38)	
aŋ yooṭi ṭulgu, i taabit Geel,	*and the girls saw him, and he was riding Lion,*
(Geel 44-46)	
Aŋ ṭulgu murru gïtï kä yaalgä,	*And girls came running with laughter,*
i ïnken pamgä. Aŋ Wiiw kuuyin ïñï,	*as they clapped hands. And Fox jumped down,*

306

aŋ wäättana ŋeel ke ṭulgu küüttaŋ. — *and afterwards only he was dancing with the girls.*
Aŋ wäättana waak muureen luggin — *And afterwards, all the animals acknowledged*
kä owkïtïn Wiiw. — *the strength of Fox.*
(Äwñä 1)
Ääŋkalaŋ ti wina — *On certain day,*
Albe attä kiñuk ke guuŋ yeene. — *Albe went on a hunt with his dog.*
(Äwñä 9-10)
Aŋ ike nääkin nïïnkä kä yewwe käälok. — *And he spent two days in the cave.*
Aŋ wäättana kääl tüke kupkene, — *And afterwards the cave door opened,*
aŋ wäättana Albe kääjin woo. — *and afterwards Albe went out.*
(Iin 19-24)
"An! Deeŋ yeeni giinä do?" — *"Wow! Did my cow give birth?"*
Aŋ wina ike oja menen reecce ŋïngïn — *But he denied what his friend had said,*
woo ogo, "Ära! Deeŋ yüünü giit? — *saying, "No way! Your cow gave birth?*
Ø Wa batta, a yaan yeeni ken giiṇṇä." — *No. It was my cow that gave birth."*
Aŋ wina Iin daa yore ḍiille, — *After that, Hyena kept quiet.*
Ø batta a jayïnï woo ŋuca, — *Then he didn't say other word, although he knew*
i ŋäjje bääkan daa, a deeŋ yeene ken giiṇṇä. — *that it was really his cow that had given birth.*
Aŋ ken ike booc kä menen a boojon. — *However, he was afraid of this friend.*
Aŋ wina Geel wääna Iin yoorree da batta — *Then, when Lion saw that Hyena didn't*
jaayee ye, kiini ogo, "Nana ïkï batta — *say anything, he said, "If you don't*
gïmmädä kä jiik yeeki ye, . . ." — *accept what I'm saying, . . ."*
(Iin 69)
Aŋ wina Iin wäättana ättä paa I jone ñabaŋ. — *Then afterwards, Hyena went home as happy.*
(Keyñan 29)
Aŋ minneni juwin wäätä aŋŋi men mooye — *And the baby became as a big person*
Ø kaaccïdï Ø aak made. — *in order to climb up in order to drink the milk.*

Dependent clause connectors after main clauses

In this lesson, we learn about the dependent clause connectors **ina ken** 'that is why, so, in order that', **aŋ ina** 'that is why, for that reason, therefore', **näŋko** 'so that', ** määŋka** 'because'. These introduce a dependent clause that comes after a main clause. The verbs introduced by dependent connectors **ogo** 'that', **wääna** 'when', **näŋko** 'so that', **määŋka** 'becauses', **ina ken** 'that is why' are dependent. They usually have the same SOV suffixes, but often have different suffixes for other word orders.

		aŋ *then*	ogo *that*	wääna *when*	ina ken *that is why*	näŋko *so that*	määŋka *because*	
SOV	Past	tiiŋŋe	tiiŋŋee	tiiŋŋee	tiiŋŋee	—-	tiiŋŋee	*heard*
	NonPast	tiiŋe	tiiŋee	tiiŋee	tiiŋee	tiiŋee	—	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	tiŋde	tiŋdee	tiŋdee	tiŋdee	tiŋdee	tiŋdee	*hears*

OVS	Past	tiiɲi	tïïŋɲï	tiiɲi	tiiŋene	—	tiiŋŋee	*heard*
	NonPast	tiiŋgä	tïïŋï	tiiŋge	tiiŋge	tiiŋge	—	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	tiŋtä	tïŋdï	tiŋte	tiŋte	tiiŋgede	tiŋdee	*hears*
SVO	Past	tiiŋŋä	tiiŋŋo			—	tiiŋŋee	*heard*
	NonPast	tïïŋï	tiiŋo			tiiŋdee	—	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	tiiŋit	tiiŋdo			tiŋdee	tiŋdee	*hears*

ina ken 'that is why, so, in order that'

The connector **ina ken** 'that is why, so, in order that' introduces a dependent clause that tells the consequence or result of the previous clause or clauses. The previous clause is the reason for the result introduced by **ina ken**.

In *Yaam 11-18,* **ina ken** 'that is why' shows **määngä mäbaan ṭiintete kä bïraŋ yaanna** 'women become old quickly' is the result of the basket on their heads mentioned in the previous clauses 11-17. The basket is the reason they become old quickly.

(Yaam 11-18)

Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ yaam ti ye,	*And a bad thing concerning the basket is*
naana ṭemtä määngä witken ti . . .	*when women carry (it) on their heads . . .*
Aŋ ŋucana nääkke pillä ḍuuggen ti ke	*And it also causes pain in their necks and*
ŋätken ti bäätcïdï ïñï ke teygen ti.	*in their backs going down until in their hips.*
Ina ken määngä mäbaan ṭiintete	***That is why** the Jumjum women*
kä bïraŋ yaanna,	*become old quickly,*

In *Watkey 15*, **ina ken** 'that is why' shows **kälämgä aŋŋene yek Büünkü yaakka** 'camels belong to the Arabs' is the result of the previous clauses.

(Watkey 15)

Ina ken kälämgä aŋŋene yek Büünkü yaakka.	***That is why** camels belong to the Arabs.*

In fact, this clause is the result of the entire story about Jumjum people not treating the camels well.

Verbs in clauses introduced with **ina ken** 'that is why' are dependent, but some are different than those introduced with **ogo** 'that'. They are also different than main verbs introduced by **aŋ** 'then'.

		ina ken *that is why*	**ogo** *that*	**aŋ** *then*	
SOV	Past	Ina ken men gin **tiiŋŋee** da.	tiiŋŋee	tiiŋŋe	*heard*
	NonPast	Ina ken men gin **bi tiiŋee** da.	tiiŋee	tiiŋe	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	Ina ken men gin **tiŋdee** da.	tiŋdee	tiŋde	*hears*
OVS	Past	Ina ken gin **tiiŋene** daa kä men.	tïïŋŋï	tiiŋi	*heard*
	NonPast	Ina ken gin **bi tiiŋge** daa kä me.	tïïŋï	tiiŋgä	*will hear*

308

NonPast Prog	Ina ken gin **tiŋte** daa kä men.	**tïŋdïï**	**tiŋtä**	*hears*
	. . . the person __ thing			

aŋ ina 'that is why, for that reason, therefore'

The connector **aŋ ina** 'that is why, for that reason, therefore' introduces a dependent clause that shows the previous clause is the reason for the clause introduced by **aŋ ina**. [check this].

In *Iin 62-65,* **aŋ ina** 'for that reason' shows Lion's speech that 'a man is not able to give birth' is the reason for Fox's answer **yoku naañ Iin ärjee da ogo yüünü yaanna, oon kalaŋ yoku a giidon** 'it is like you taking Hyena's calf as yours by supposing a male cow could give birth'.

(Iin 62-65)
Aŋ Geel Wiiw rütkene ogo,
"Wääc yaana ogoo ye? Ken giit oon kalaŋ
por ŋäjjänä me a giidon?"
Aŋ wina Wiiw oja Geel ḍekke ñaalok kä jiik
ogo, "<u>Aŋ ina</u> yoku naañ Iin ärjee da ogo
yüünü yaanna, oon kalaŋ yoku a giidon.
Naañ ṭuule yaanna a yen Iin."

And Lion rebuked Fox,
"How can a father give birth? Have you ever seen
a man give birth before?"
And here Fox pinned down Lion by saying,
<u>"Therefore,</u> it is like you taking calf by force
as yours, by supposing male cow could give birth.
This calf belongs to Hyena."

That is, because a man cannot give birth, Hyena's bull did not give birth to the calf, and Hyena is not the owner of the calf.

näŋko 'so that'

The connector **näŋko** 'so that' introduces a dependent clause that tells the purpose of the previous main clause.

In *Yaam 18-21,* **näŋko** 'so that' shows the dependent clause **määngä yooko yoken wääkcene woo** 'our women should rest their body' is the purpose of the main clause **aŋ yoku por aakïn woo** 'and we change it (bad situation for women)'.

(Yaam 18-21)
Ina ken määngä mäbaan ṭiintete
kä bïraŋ yaanna, aŋ iiŋ ke yaam yeene
wäättana beel bata teebälaŋ yoono.
Aŋ aŋan yaajaŋ batta ŋeraŋ,
aŋ yoku por aakïn woo,
<u>näŋko</u> määngä yooko yoken
wääkcene woo.

That is why Jumjum women are becoming old
with quickly, and the woman with her basket
afterwards looks like our car.
And this is bad rather than good,
and we should change (it),
<u>so that</u> our women (should)
rest their bodies.

Verbs in clauses introduced with **näŋko** 'so that' are dependent, but some are different than those introduced with **ogo** 'that'.

		näŋko *so that*	**ogo** *that*	**aŋ** *then*	
SOV	NonPast	. . . näŋko men gin **bi tiiŋee**. (?)	tiiŋee	tiiŋe	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	. . . näŋko men gin **tiŋdee**.	tiŋdee	tiŋde	*hears*
OVS	NonPast	. . . näŋko gin **bi tiiŋge** da men.	tïïŋïï	tiiŋä	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	. . . näŋko gin **tiiŋgede** da men.(?)	tïŋdïï	tiŋtä	*hears*
SVO	NonPast	. . . näŋko men **bi tiiŋdee** gin.	tiiŋo	tïïŋï	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	. . . näŋko men **tiŋdee** gin.	tiiŋdo	tiiŋit	*hears*
		. . . *the person __ thing*			

<u>nääŋka 'because'</u>

The connector **nääŋka** 'because' introduces a dependent clause that tells the reason of the previous main clause. The dependent clause beginning with **nääŋka** has a dependent verb form and **ye** at the end of the clause.

In *Genesis 22:18,* **nääŋka** 'because' shows the dependent clause **tiiŋganaa kä jiik** 'you (Abraham) listened to my word' is the reason for the previous main clause of God blessings Abraham's descendants. This dependent clause has the dependent verb **tiiŋganaa** 'listened' and ends with **ye**.

(Genesis 22:18)
Aŋ kä päy kaaynä yüükü   And through your descendants
tüŋ muureen bi a gïmgïïnï ŋommañ wic all the nations on earth will be blessed,
nääŋka tiiŋganaa kä jiik **ye**.   **because** you listened to my word.

Verbs in clauses introduced with **nääŋka** 'because' are dependent, but some are different than those introduced with **ogo** 'that'.

		nääŋka *because*	**ogo** *that*	**aŋ** *then*	
SOV	Past	. . . nääŋka men gin **tiiŋŋee** da kä ye.	tiiŋŋee	tiiŋŋe	*heard*
	NonPast Prog	. . . nääŋka men gin **tiŋdee** da kä ye.	tiŋdee	tiŋde	*hears*
OVS	Past	. . . nääŋka gin **tiiŋŋee** men ye.	tïïŋŋïï	tiiŋi	*heard*
	NonPast Prog	. . . nääŋka gin **tiŋdee** men ye.	tïŋdïï	tiŋtä	*hears*
SVO	Past	. . . nääŋka men **tiiŋŋee** gin ye.	tiiŋŋo	tiiŋŋä	*heard*
	NonPast Prog	. . . nääŋka men **tiŋdee** gin ye.	tiiŋdo	tiiŋit	*hears*

<u>Exercise 50</u>

In the sentences below, underline the words **ina ken** 'that is why, so, in order that', **aŋ ina** 'that is why, for that reason, therefore', **näŋko** 'so that', and **nääŋka** 'because'.

(Yaam 18-21)

Ina ken määngä mäbaan ṭiintete
kä bïraŋ yaanna, aŋ iiŋ ke yaam yeene
wäättana beel bata teebälaŋ yoono.
Aŋ aŋan yaajaŋ batta ŋeraŋ,
aŋ yoku por aakïn woo,
näŋko määngä yooko yoken
wääkcene woo.
(Pïïṇṇä 13-14)
Ina ken Pïïṇṇä teye ŋalje ko ŋal yaanna,
aŋ müügee ko merkä meken yaakka.
(Iin 62-65)
Aŋ Geel Wiiw rütkene ogo,
"Wääc yaana ogoo ye? Ken giit oon kalaŋ
por ŋäjjänä me a giidon?"
Aŋ wina Wiiw oja Geel ḍekke ñaalok kä jiik
ogo, "Aŋ ina yoku naañ Iin ärjee da ogo
yüünü yaanna, oon kalaŋ yoku a giidon.
Naañ ṭuule yaanna a yen Iin."
(Watkey 15)
Ina ken kälämgä aŋŋene yek Büünkü yaakka.

*That is why Jumjum women are becoming old
with quickly, and the woman with her basket
afterwards looks like our car.
And this is bad rather than good,
so let us change (it),
so that our women (should)
rest their bodies.*

*That is why Wasp's waist is thin like this,
and he catches the children of others.*

And Lion rebuked Fox,
"How can father give birth? Have you ever seen
a man give birth before?"
And here Fox pinned down Lion by saying,
"So you wanted to take Hyena's calf by force and
say it was yours, as if male cow could give birth.
This calf belongs to Hyena."

That is why camels belong to the Arabs.

Dependent clause connectors inside main clauses

In this lesson, we learn about the dependent clause connectors **yaana/yaaka . . . ye** 'who, which, that', **mana/maka . . . ye** 'person/people who', **(no connector)** 'then, that', **a** 'that, which', and **ogo** 'that, so that, as'. These introduce a dependent clause inside another clause. The verbs introduced by **yaana/yaaka**, **mana/maka**, **a** and **(no connector)** are non-dependent, but the verbs introduced by **ogo** are dependent.

<u>**Yaana/yaaka . . . ye** 'who, which, that'</u>

In the lesson *Relative clauses,* we learned that **yaana/yaaka . . . ye** 'who, which, that' begins an identifying relative clause and usually has **ye** at the end of the clause. These clauses follow a noun and distinguish which specific noun out of several choices we are talking about. **Yaana** follows singular nouns and **yaaka** follows plural nouns.

In *Leeñ 38*, **yaana** 'who, which' follows the singular noun **Leeñ** 'Elephant'. It introduces the relative clause **yaana tälaŋ ye** 'who is big'. This relative clause tells which **Leeñ** is talked about and has **ye** at the end.

311

(Leeñ 38)

Aŋ attä Leeñ <u>**yaana**</u> tälaŋ <u>**ye**</u> ti, aŋ kiinne ogo,	*And he went to <u>Elephant **who** is big</u>, and told him,*

Mana/maka . . . ye 'person/people who'

Mana/maka . . . ye are a short way of saying **men yaana/me yaaka** 'person/people who' and also introduce identifying relative clauses.

In *Iin 34,* **mana** 'person who' introduces the identifying relative clause **mana daa ṭäkkänä Jooŋ yale yok ye** 'the person who God wants to change'.

<u>(Iin 34) (Identifying relative clause.</u>

<u>**Mana**</u> daa ṭäkkänä Jooŋ yale yok <u>**ye**</u>, daa yale yok?	*<u>The person **who** God wants to change</u>, he will be changed, right?*

The verbs in clauses introduced with **mana/maka** 'person/people who' are non-dependent. They are the same verbs used in main clauses, such as following the connector **aŋ** 'then'.

		mana *person who/if anyone*	**ogo** *that*	**aŋ** *then*	
SOV	Past	Mana gin **tiiŋŋe** ye, . . .	tiiŋŋee	tiiŋŋe	*heard*
	NonPast	Mana gin **bi tiiŋe** ye, . . .	tiiŋee	tiiŋe	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	Mana gin **tiŋde** ye, . . .	tiŋdee	tiŋde	*hears*
SVO	Past	Mana **tiiŋŋä** gin ye, . . .	tiiŋŋo	tiiŋŋä	*heard*
	NonPast	Mana **bi tïiŋï** gin ye, . . .	tiiŋo	tïiŋï	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	Mana **tiiŋit** gin ye, . . .	tiiŋdo	tiiŋit	*hears*
		. . . __ *thing*			

a 'that, which'

The present helping verb **a** 'be, is, that' can begin a descriptive relative clause. This gives new information about a previous noun that the listeners didn't already know about.

In *Bääm 2,* **a** 'be, is, that' introduces the relative clause **a giidon jaan wic** 'that had given birth up in a tree'. This clause tells new information about **Bääm** 'Dove'.

<u>(Bääm 2) (descriptive clause introduced by a)</u>

Aŋ käññä Bääm <u>**a**</u> giidon jaan wic.	*He found <u>Dove **that** had given birth up in a tree</u>.*

Ø 'then, that'

Sometimes there is no connector **Ø** 'then, that' to introduce a descriptive relative clause or a clause used as an object (complement). Both of these clauses are inside a main clause.

In *Kiñuk 2-3,* no connector Ø 'then, that' introduces the descriptive relative clause Ø ïwon 'that was dry'. This clause tells new information about **luum** 'grass'.

(Kiñuk 2-3) (descriptive clause introduced by no connector)
Aŋ atto gäänono luum **Ø ïwïn,**   *He went to collect grass that was dry.*

In *Bääm 29-30,* no connector Ø 'then, that' introduces the clause **cääy ñaalok jaan wic** 'he sitting up in a tree.

(Bääm 29-30) (object clause introduced by no connector)
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ Wiiw attä Gaggak maawe,   *And another day, Fox went looking for Raven,*
aŋ kaññe **Ø cääy ñaalok jaan wic.**   *and found (him) sitting up in a tree*

This clause receives the action **kaññe** 'found' just like a noun object such as **amma** 'food' in **kaññe amma** 'found food'.

Sometimes the object clause is separated by the verb of the main clause. In *Leeñ 35-36,* no connector Ø introduces the clause **Liik mätï piik muure** 'Elephants drinking all the water'.

(Leeñ 35-36) (object)
Aŋ Wiiw attä wiirok,   *And Fox went to the river,*
aŋ **Ø Liik** yoorre **mätï piik muure.**   *and saw the Elephants drinking all the water.*

This clause receives the action **yoorre** 'saw' just like an object. However, the subject **Liik** 'Elephant' is separate from the rest of this clause **mätï piik muure** by this verb **yoorre**.

This same sentence could instead have the descriptive relative clause **Ø mätï piik muure** 'who were drinking all the water' which describes the noun **Liik** 'Elephants'.

(Leeñ 35-36) (object)
Aŋ Wiiw attä wiirok,   *And Fox went to the river,*
aŋ Liik yoorre **Ø mätï piik muure.**   *and saw the Elephants who were drinking all the water.*

Complement connector **ogo** 'that, so that, as'

The connector **ogo** 'that, so that' introduces a main clause used as a direct speech, a dependent clause (with a dependent verb) used as an object (complement clause), an indirect speech, a dependent clause (with a dependent verb) that shows the purpose of the previous clause, or a descriptive relative clause. All of these types of clauses are inside another main clause.

In *Bääm 16-17*, **ogo** 'that' introduces a direct speech (the exact words spoken). The speech has three main clauses with three verbs **tääyä** 'cut', **äätä** 'comes' and **ädit** 'carries', none of which are dependent.

(Bääm 16-17) (direct speech)

Aŋ kiini Bääm **ogo**, "Tääyä iñï kä bïraŋ, mäŋkalaŋ ïya äätä, ädit ṭoŋ ke lacan mooye."	*And Dove told him **that**, "Cut it down quickly, another person is coming, carrying a spear and big stick."*

In *Kiñuk 21*, **ogo** 'that' introduces the clause **cüüyïdïnï** 'he revived' which is used as the object (complement) of the verb **küjjï** 'not know'. The verb **cüüyïdïnï** is dependent [check].

(Kiñuk 21) (object)

Aŋ düṇṇïï Iin durñe ḍoṇe ti, i küjjï **ogo** cüüyïdïnï.	*And the young hyena carried (person) on his neck, but they didn't know **that** he revived.*

In *Leeñ 43-44*, **ogo** 'that' introduces the indirect speech **ŋana me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken** 'people should not do bad deeds' (with the same meaning of what was spoken but maybe not the exact words). The verb **naŋdïïn** 'do' is dependent [check].

(Leeñ 43-44) (indirect speech)

Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïin nüütkïdïn **ogo** ŋana me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken.	*This story tells us **that** people should not do bad things.*

In *Pïïṇṇä 12*, **ogo** 'so that' introduces the clause **ŋana giido yuunge muureen** 'not give birth all her years'. This clause has the dependent verb **giido** 'give birth' and tells the purpose of the previous clause about God cursing Wasp. [check]

(Pïïṇṇä 12) (purpose of previous clause)

Aŋ Pïïṇṇä tuummee **ogo** ŋana giido yuunge muureen.	*And he cursed Wasp **so that** she would not give birth all her years.*

In *Kiñuk 7*, **ogo** 'that, as, was' introduces the relative clause **ogo ïwon** 'that was chared'. This clause tells new information about **men** 'person'.

(Kiñuk 7) (descriptive relative clause)

Aŋ <u>men</u> kaññïï käälok **ogo** ïwon,	*And they found <u>person</u> in the cave **that was chared**.*

Verbs in clauses introduced with **ogo** 'that' are dependent and are different than verbs introduced by the main connector **aŋ** 'and'.

	ogo *that*	aŋ *then*	
SOV Past	ogo men gin **tiiŋŋee**.	**tiiŋŋe**	*heard*

	NonPast	ogo men gin **bi tiiŋee**	tiiŋe	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	ogo men gin **tiŋdee**.	tiŋde	*hears*
OVS	Past	ogo gin **tïïŋŋïï** men.	tiiŋi	*heard*
	NonPast	ogo gin **bi tïïŋïï** men.	tiiŋä	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	ogo gin **tïŋdïï** men.	tiŋtä	*hears*
SVO	Past	ogo men **tiiŋŋo** gin.	tiiŋä	*heard*
	NonPast	ogo men **bi tiiŋo** gin.	tïïŋï	*will hear*
	NonPast Prog	ogo men **tiiŋdo** gin.	tiiŋit	*hears*
		. . . the person __ thing		

Exercise 51

In the lines below, underline all connectors that introduce clauses inside other clauses. Also underline the inside clause.

(Yaam 5-6)
Aŋ yaam mäbaan ti ken ṭemte määngä   *And the basket on Jumjum person, women*
wakkä witken ti bata wälkä piik   *carry things on their heads such as gourds of water*
ke päk ke waak <u>a daa temtä ye</u>.   *and grains and (other) things <u>**that** they carry</u>.*
(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte   *And it is a basket that enables*
määngä Ø ḍürdïn wakkä yaakka ḍïrä ye,   *women who carry these many things,*
(Kiñuk 2-3)
Aŋ atto gäänono luum Ø ïwïn,   *He went to collect grass that was dry*
(Kiñuk 21)
Aŋ dünṇïï iin durñe ḍoṇe ti,   *And the young hyena carried (person) on his neck,*
i küjjï ogo cüüyïdïnï.   *but they didn't know that he revived.*
(Bääm 2)
Aŋ käññä Bääm a giidon jaan wic.   *He found Dove that had given birth up in a tree.*
(Bääm 29-30)
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ Wiiw attä Gaggak maawe,   *And another day, Fox went looking for Raven,*
aŋ kaññe Ø cääy ñaalok jaan wic.   *and found (him) sitting up in a tree*
(Bääm 43-44)
Ika käññä päk a püüktïdïnï ïñï   *I found grain that was spilled down*
jaan ŋoy baanni, aŋ ika batta ämä päk.   *under tree of my area, and I am not eating grain.*
(Bääm 47-48)
Aŋ Bääm koojjin ïñï ogo ike ämje päk,   *And Dove came down so that he eat the grain,*
i Wiiw a ṭaron kä cokal.   *and Fox was hiding with nearby.*
(Bääm 54-56)
Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por, ïkï   *Do not eat me, you just wait, I will inform you.*
nüütkeni. Ika attä laayä, aŋ ika käññä   *I went roaming, and I found*
kabal ṭuule a caagon kockon a tüwon,   *a sheep that was very fat and young that dead,*
(Bääm 60)

315

Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo,	*And Dove told him that,*
"Mügja buggi ti kä lekü."	*"Hold on to me by my wings with your teeth."*
(Bääm 66-67)	
Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï ogo,	*This story tells us that,*
waak a kañdïi me ye, ŋana boonjï me.	*things which people find, it should satisfy people.*
(Leeñ 3)	
Aŋ wegok kïïge ti ogo, *wac, wac, wac.*	*And from his feet he was making that, tap, tap.*
(Leeñ 17)	
Aŋ Wiiw Liik kiinne ogo,	*And Fox told the Elephants that,*
"Ääte nïïnkä kä ŋaṭükel."	*"Return in days that seven."*
(Leeñ 35-36)	
Aŋ Wiiw attä wiirok,	*And Fox went to the river,*
aŋ Ø Liik yoorre mätï piik muure.	*and saw the Elephants drinking all the water.*
(Leeñ 43-44)	
Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïin nüütkïdïn ogo	*This story tells us that*
ŋana me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken.	*people should not do bad things.*
(Geel 10-11)	
Aŋ juwin ḍoṇe lääkkene ogo kar,	*He got up and left as straight away,*
atï ükcïdï gïtï jiik yaakka ṭulgu ti.	*he went to evaluate by those words of girls.*
(Geel 14-15)	
Ajïñe ogo, ikee jaayje	*Is it true that you are saying*
ogo Geel ken ogo oon pare ya?	*that Lion is that the only man?*
(Geel 16-18)	
Naana ook ke dürjï	*If all the men and youth*
muure boone juugin ogo bojgo ko Geel ye,	*are unable in their hearts as afraid of Lion,*
Ika batta booju kä Geel,	*I am not afraid of Lion,*
(Geel 41-42)	
Ikee batta kiinde ogo,	*Did I not tell you*
ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure!"	*that I would one day ride this your man, look!*
(Geel 47-48)	
Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï	*This story shows*
ogo ŋana yorü naŋdeey ogo	*that you should not make yourself as*
ïkï agjey oon parü, ook bilto ti cäänna.	*you be the only man; there are (other) men also.*
(Äwñä 13)	
Aŋ daa Ø guuŋ yeene miigene	*And he (man) found his dog*
ike keeygä woo üntük,	*waiting for him (man) outside,*
(Pïïṇṇä 5-8)	
Aŋ pïïṇṇä wääna ḍukcenee ko ti me ti ye,	*Then when wasp returned to people,*
me kiinnee ogo, men jïkcï me ïñï.	*he told people that, people (should) bury person.*
Aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye,	*And when God arrived, he found that*
Ø men wäädenee jïkkïï me ïñï.	*people had buried person.*
(Pïïṇṇä 9)	
Pïïṇṇä ken me kiinnee ogo,	*Wasp told the people that*

316

ïkï ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan. (Pïïṇṇä 12)	*you said that (do) this.*
Aŋ Pïïṇṇä tuummee ogo ŋana giido yuunge muureen. (Iin 14-15)	*And he cursed Wasp so that she would not give birth all her years.*
Aŋ wina ike juwin aŋ yaan yeene paaṇṇe ŋoygin kä baygä ogo ken giiṇṇo da. (Iin 24)	*Immediately he went and rubbed the after-birth on the bull's anus as though he had given birth.*
Aŋ ken ike booc kä menen a boojon. (Ṭiin 2)	*He was afraid of his friend that he feared.*
Ṭiin battä me ogo ṭiin Ḍune. (Watkey 5)	*People called the old woman as elder Ḍune.*
Baddïï me ogo *kalman* ḍoŋe bääyaŋ aŋ kïïge bäygaŋ.	*People called it as camel (having) a long neck and long legs.*

Dependent and non-dependent verbs following connectors

The following sentences were listed in the previous three lessons, but are relisted here for ease of reference.

Mana	*person who*		
SOV	Past	Mana gin **tiiŋŋe** ye, . . .	*If anyone **heard** thing, . . .*
	NonPast	Mana gin **bi tiiŋe** ye, . . .	*If anyone **will hear** thing, . . .*
	NonPast Prog	Mana gin **tiŋde** ye, . . .	*If anyone **hears** thing, . . .*
SVO	Past	Mana **tiiŋŋä** gin ye, . . .	*If anyone **heard** thing, . . .*
	NonPast	Mana **bi tïïŋï** gin ye, . . .	*If anyone **will hear** thing, . . .*
	NonPast Prog	Mana **tiiŋit** gin ye, . . .	*If anyone **hears** thing, . . .*
Aŋ	*and, then*		
SOV	Past	Aŋ men gin **tiiŋŋe**.	*And person **heard** thing.* /**tiiŋ-ne**/PT.SOV.NR
	NonPast	Aŋ men gin **bi tiiŋe**.	*And person **will hear** thing.* /**tiiŋ-e**/NP.SOV.NR
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ men gin **tiŋde**.	*And person **hears** thing.* /**tiiŋ-de**/NP.PR.SOV.NR
OVS	Past	Aŋ gin **tiiŋi** men.	*And person **heard** thing.* /**tiiŋ-i**/PT.OVS.NR
	NonPast	Aŋ gin **bi tiiŋgä** men.	*And person **will hear** thing.* /**tiiŋ-kä**/NP.OVS.NR
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ gin **tiŋtä** men.	*And person **hears** thing.* /**tiiŋ-ttä**/NP.PR.OVS.NR
SVO	Past	Aŋ men **tiiŋŋä** gin.	*And person **heard** thing.* /**tiiŋ-ñä**/PT.SVO.NR

	NonPast	Aŋ men **bi tïïŋï** gin.	*And person **will hear** thing.* /**tiiŋ-yï**/NP.SVO.NR
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ men **tiiŋit** gin.	*And person **hears** thing.* /**tiiŋ-it**/NP.PR.SVO.NR

Ø	*then, and*		
SOV	Past	Ø men gin **tiiŋŋe**.	*Then person **heard** thing.*
	NonPast	Ø men gin **bi tiiŋe**.	*Then person **will hear** thing.*
	NonPast Prog	Ø men gin **tiŋde**.	*Then person **hears** thing.*
OVS	Past	Ø gin **tiiŋi** men.	*Then person **heard** thing.*
	NonPast	Ø gin **bi tiiŋä** men.	*Then person **will hear** thing.*
	NonPast Prog	Ø gin **tiŋtä** men.	*Then person **hears** thing.*
SVO	Past	Ø men **tiiŋŋä** gin.	*Then person **heard** thing.*
	NonPast	Ø men **bi tïïŋï** gin.	*Then person **will hear** thing.*
	NonPast Prog	Ø men **tiiŋit** gin.	*Then person **hears** thing.*

i	*while*		
SOV	Past	. . . i men gin **tiiŋŋe**.	*. . . while person **heard** thing.*
	NonPast	. . . i men gin **bi tiiŋe**.	*. . . while person **will hear** thing.*
	NonPast Prog	. . . i men gin **tiŋde**.	*. . . while person **hears** thing.*
OVS	Past	. . . i gin **tiiŋi** men.	*. . . while person **heard** thing.*
	NonPast	. . . i gin **bi tiiŋä** men.	*. . . while person **will hear** thing.*
	NonPast Prog	. . . i gin **tiŋtä** men.	*. . . while person **hears** thing.*
SVO	Past	. . . i men **tiiŋŋä** gin.	*. . . while person **heard** thing.*
	NonPast	. . . i men **bi tïïŋï** gin.	*. . . while person **will hear** thing.*
	NonPast Prog	. . . i men **tiiŋit** gin.	*. . . while person **hears** thing.*

Aŋ wäättana	*afterwards*		
SOV	Past	Aŋ wäättana men gin **tiiŋŋe**.	*Afterwards person **heard** thing.*
	NonPast	Aŋ wäättana men gin **bi tiiŋe**.	*Afterwards person **will hear** thing.*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ wäättana men gin **tiŋde**.	*Afterwards person **hears** thing.*
OVS	Past	Aŋ wäättana gin **tiiŋi** men.	*Afterwards person **heard** thing.*
	NonPast	Aŋ wäättana gin **bi tiiŋä** men.	*Afterwards person **will hear** thing.*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ wäättana gin **tiŋtä** men.	*Afterwards person **hears** thing.*
SVO	Past	Aŋ wäättana men **tiiŋŋä** gin.	*Afterwards person **heard** thing.*
	NonPast	Aŋ wäättana men **bi tïïŋï** gin.	*Afterwards person **will hear** thing.*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ wäättana men **tiiŋit** gin.	*Afterwards person **hears** thing.*

Aŋ wina	*then*		
SOV	Past	Aŋ wina men gin **tiiŋŋe**.	*Then person **heard** thing.*
	NonPast	Aŋ wina men gin **bi tiiŋe**.	*Then person **will hear** thing.*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ wina men gin **tiŋde**.	*Then person **hears** thing.*
OVS	Past	Aŋ wina gin **tiiŋi** men.	*Then person **heard** thing.*

	NonPast	Aŋ wina gin **bi tiiŋä** men.	*Then person **will hear** thing.*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ wina gin **tiŋtä** men.	*Then person **hears** thing.*
SVO	Past	Aŋ wina men **tiiŋŋä** gin.	*Then person **heard** thing.*
	NonPast	Aŋ wina men **bi tïïŋï** gin.	*Then person **will hear** thing.*
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ wina men **tiiŋit** gin.	*Then person **hears** thing.*

Aŋ naana	*and if*		
SOV	Past	Aŋ naana men gin **tiiŋŋe** ye, . . .	*If person **heard** thing, . . .* /tiiŋ-ne/PT.SOV.NR
	NonPast	Aŋ naana men gin **bi tiiŋe** ye, . . .	*If person **will hear** thing, . . .* /tiiŋ-e/NP.SOV.NR
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ naana men gin **tiŋde** ye, . . .	*If person **hears** thing, . . .* /tiiŋ-de/NP.PR.SOV.NR
OVS	Past	Aŋ naana gin **tiiŋi** men ye, . . .	*If person **heard** thing, . . .* /tiiŋ-i/PT.OVS.NR
	NonPast	Aŋ naana gin **bi tiiŋä** men ye, . . .	*If person **will hear** thing, . . .* /tiiŋ-kä/NP.OVS.NR
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ naana gin **tiŋtä** men ye, . . .	*If person **hears** thing, . . .* /tiiŋ-ttä/NP.PR.OVS.NR
SVO	Past	Aŋ naana men **tiiŋŋä** gin ye, . . . (?)	*If person **heard** thing, . . .* /tiiŋ-ñä/PT.SVO.NR
	NonPast	Aŋ naana men **bi tïïŋï** gin ye, . . .	*If person **will hear** thing, . . .* /tiiŋ-yï/NP.SVO.NR
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ naana men **tiiŋit** gin ye, . . . (?)	*If person **hears** thing, . . .* /tiiŋ-it/NP.PR.SVO.NR

ogo	*that (ch)*	Aŋ yäthkä oon kiinne	*And chief told man . . .*
SOV	Past	ogo men gin **tiiŋŋee**.	*that the person **heard** thing.* /tiiŋ-nee/PT.SOV.DP.NR
	NonPast	ogo men gin **bi tiiŋee**	*that the person **will hear** thing.* /tiiŋ-ee/NP.SOV.DP.NR
	NonPast Prog	ogo men gin **tiŋdee**.	*that the person **hears** thing.* /tiiŋ-dee/NP.PR.SOV.DP.NR
OVS	Past	ogo gin **tïïŋŋï** men.	*that the person **heard** thing.* /tiiŋ-nïï/PT.OVS.DP.NR
	NonPast	ogo gin **bi tïïŋïï** men.	*that the person **will hear** thing.* /tiiŋ-ïï/NP.OVS.DP.NR
	NonPast Prog	ogo gin **tiŋdïï** men.	*that the person **hears** thing.* /tiiŋ-dïï/NP.PR.OVS.DP.NR
SVO	Past	ogo men **tiiŋŋo** gin.	*that the person **heard** thing.* /tiiŋ-ño/PT.SVO.DP.NR
	NonPast	ogo men **bi tiiŋo** gin.	*that the person **will hear** thing.* /tiiŋ-yo/NP.SVO.DP.NR
	NonPast Prog	ogo men **tiiŋdo** gin.	*that the person **hears** thing.*

			/**tiiŋ-do**/NP.PR.SVO.DP.NR
näŋko	*so that (ch)*		
SOV	NonPast	. . . näŋko men gin **bi tiiŋee**. (?)	. . . *so that person* ***will hear*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-ee**/NP.SOV.DP.NR
	NonPast Prog	. . . näŋko men gin **tiŋdee**.	. . . *so that person* ***hears*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-dee**/NP.PR.SOV.DP.NR
OVS	NonPast	. . . näŋko gin **bi tiiŋge** <u>da</u> men.	. . . *so that person* ***will hear*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-jke**/NP.OVS.DP.NR
	NonPast Prog	. . . näŋko gin **tiiŋgede** <u>da</u> men.(?)	. . . *so that person* ***hears*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-jkede**/NP.PR.OVS.DP.NR
SVO	NonPast	. . . näŋko men **bi tiiŋdee** gin.	. . . *so that person* ***will hear*** *thing.*/**tiiŋ-dee**/NP.SVO.DP.NR
	NonPast Prog	. . . näŋko men **tiŋdee** gin.	. . . *so that person* ***hears*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-dee**/NP.PR.SVO.DP.NR
nääŋka	*because*		
SOV	Past	. . . nääŋka men gin **tiiŋŋee** <u>da</u> kä ye.	. . . *because person* ***heard*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-nee**/PT.SOV.DP.NR
	NonPast Prog	. . . nääŋka men gin **tiŋdee** <u>da</u> kä ye.	. . . *because person* ***hears*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-dee**/NP.PR.SOV.DP.NR
OVS	Past	. . . nääŋka gin **tiiŋŋee** men ye.	. . . *because person* ***heard*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-nee**/PT.OVS.DP.NR
	NonPast Prog	. . . nääŋka gin **tiŋdee** men ye.	. . . *because person* ***hears*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-dee**/NP.PR.OVS.DP.NR
SVO	Past	. . . nääŋka men **tiiŋŋee** gin ye.	. . . *because person* ***heard*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-nee**/PT.SVO.DP.NR
	NonPast Prog	. . . nääŋka men **tiŋdee** gin ye.	. . . *because person* ***hears*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-dee**/NP.PR.SVO.DP.NR
wääna	*when*		
SOV	Past	Aŋ wääna men gin **tiiŋŋee** <u>da</u> kä ye,	*And when person* ***heard*** *thing, . .* /**tiiŋ-nee**/PT.SOV.DP.NR
	NonPast	Aŋ wääna men gin **bi tiiŋee** <u>da</u> kä ye,	*And when person* ***will hear*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-ee**/NP.SOV.DP.NR
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ wääna men gin **tiŋdee** <u>da</u> kä ye,	*And when person* ***hears*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-dee**/NP.PR.SOV.DP.NR
OVS	Past	Aŋ wääna gin **tiiŋene** <u>daa</u> men ye,	*And when person* ***heard*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-ene**/PT.OVS.DP.NR
	NonPast	Aŋ wääna gin **bi tiiŋge** <u>daa</u> me ye,	*And when person* ***will hear*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-jke**/NP.OVS.DP.NR
	NonPast Prog	Aŋ wääna gin **tiŋte** <u>daa</u> men ye,	*And when person* ***hears*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-tte**/NP.PR.OVS.DP.NR
SVO	Past	Aŋ wääna men **tiiŋŋe** <u>daa</u> gin ye(?	*And when person* ***heard*** *thing.* /**tiiŋ-ñe**/PT.SVO.DP.NR
ina ken	*that is why*		

320

SOV	Past	Ina ken men gin **tiiŋŋee** <u>da</u>.	*That is why person **heard** thing.* /**tiiŋ-nee**/PT.SOV.DP.NR
	NonPast	Ina ken men gin **bi tiiŋje** <u>da</u>.	*That is why person **will hear** thing.* /**tiiŋ-ce**/NP.SOV.DP.NR
	NonPast Prog	Ina ken men gin **tiŋdee** <u>da</u>.	*That is why person **hears** thing.* /**tiiŋ-dee**/NP.PR.SOV.DP.NR
OVS	Past	Ina ken gin **tiiŋene** <u>daa</u> kä men.	*That is why person **heard** thing.* /**tiiŋ-ene**/NP.PR.OVS.DP.NR
	NonPast	Ina ken gin **bi tiiŋge** <u>daa</u> kä me.	*That is why person **will hear** thing.* /**tiiŋ-jke**/NP.OVS.DP.NR
	NonPast Prog	Ina ken gin **tiŋte** <u>daa</u> kä men.	*That is why person **hears** thing.* /**tiiŋ-tte**/NP.PR.OVS.DP.NR
SVO	Past	Ina ken men **tiiŋŋee** gin.	*That is why person **heard** thing.* /**tiiŋ-nee**/PT.SVO.DP.NR
	NonPast	Ina ken men **bi tiiŋje** gin.	*That is why person **will hear** thing.* /**tiiŋ-ce**/NP.SVO.DP.NR
	NonPast Prog	Ina ken men **tiŋdee** gin.	*That is why person **hears** thing.* /**tiiŋ-dee**/NP.PR.SVO.DP.NR

Comparing *a, ogo* and no connector

We learned about **a** 'that, who, is, as' in the lesson *Relative clauses* and the lesson *Clauses with equal sign verb a*. We learned about **ogo** 'that, so that, as' in the lesson *Dependent clause connectors inside other clauses.* And we learned about beginning a clause with no connector in the lesson *Main clause connectors.* In this lessons, we compare these connectors by learning about their similarities and differences, and their primary and secondary uses.

		a	**ogo**	(no connector)
Primary use	non-past progressive verb	yes		
	direct speech		yes	
	specific main clauses			yes
Secondary uses	equal sign verb	yes	yes	yes
	descriptive phrase/clause	yes	yes	yes
	direct object (complement)		yes	yes
	purpose clause		yes	yes

The word **a** 'be, is, are' primarily a) introduces non-past progressive tense verbs, but can also 2) be used as an equal sign verb and 3) introduce a descriptive phrase.

The connector **ogo** 'that, so that' primarily 1) introduces a direct speech, but can also 2) be used as an equal sign verb, 3) introduce a descriptive phrase, 4) introduce a dependent clause (with a

dependent verb) used as a verb object (complement clause) or indirect speech, and 5) introduce a dependent clause (with a dependent verb) that shows the purpose of the previous clause.

No connector 'then, and' is used primarily 1) to introduce certain types of main clauses such as a clause without a verb, a clause following a clause with **naana** 'if' or **wäänä** 'when', and speeches with questions and commands. However, no connector can also 2) be used as an equal sign verb between nouns and adjectives, 3) introduce a descriptive phrase, 4) introduce a verb object (complement clause), and 5) introduce a purpose clause.

Below, the primary uses of **a, ogo** and no connect are shown. Afterwards, the secondary uses are shown.

Introduce non-past progressive tense verbs

The primary use of **a** 'be, is, are' is to introduce non-past progressive tense verbs.

In *Iin 65-66*, the non-past progressive helping verb **a** comes before the action **giidon** 'give birth' (with suffix **-on**) to show this action happens regularly, like a habit.

(Iin 65-66)
Añ ina yoku naañ Iin ärjee da   *So you wanted to take Hyena's calf and say*
ogo yüünü yaanna, oon kalaŋ yoku **a giidon**.   *it was yours, as if a male cow could **give birth**.*

Introduce direct speeches

The primary use of **ogo** 'that, so that' is to introduce a direct speech.

In *Bääm 16-17*, **ogo** 'that' introduces a direct speech (the exact words spoken).

(Bääm 16-17)
Añ kiini Bääm **ogo**, "Tääyä ïñï kä bïraŋ,   *And Dove told him **that,** "Cut it down quickly,*
mäŋkalaŋ ïya äätä, ädit ṭoŋ ke lacan mooye."   *another person is coming, carrying a spear and*
                                                  big stick."

Introduce specific main clauses

The primary use of no connector is to introduce main clauses that are verbless, follow a clause with **naana** 'if' or **wäänä** 'when', or are in speeches with questions or commands.

In *Kiñuk 5-6,* there is no connector (shown with the symbol Ø) introducing the clause **yaŋkalaŋ ogo ḍuuŋgon** 'one was old'. This clause has no verb, but only the connector **ogo** 'that' used as an equal sign verb.

(Kiñuk 5-6) (for verbless clause)

An ääŋkalaŋ iygä ko yewwe atto kiñuk, *Then one day, two hyenas went hunting,*
Ø yaŋkalaŋ ogo ḍuuŋgon, ***and*** *one of them was old,*
aŋ yaŋkalaŋ ogo durñu. *and the other was young.*

In *Kiñuk 22-24,* there is no connector Ø introducing the main clause **men likko rawcan** 'man broke off a twig', which follows the dependent clause beginning with **wääna** 'when'.

(Kiñuk 22-24) (following **wääna**)

Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ ḍoŋe ti, *And person was wearing a whistle around his neck,*
aŋ <u>wääna</u> kaaññïï ko jaan ŋoy ye, *and <u>when (they)</u> passed under a tree,*
Ø men likko rawcan, aŋ kïlläŋ rääkkee jï ***then*** *man broke off a twig, and cleaned out whistle,*

In *Geel 35,* there is no connector Ø introducing the main clause **mükküdü kä yori** 'I control it with my body', which is in a speech.

(Geel 35) (in speech)

Geel kiinne ogo, "Dalä ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan *And Fox told Lion, "Let me tie the rope*
ḍoŋü ti, Ø mükküdü kä yori." *on your neck, **then** I control it with my body."*

Equal sign verb

A 'be, is, are', **ogo** 'that, so that' and no connector 'then, and' can all be used as an equal sign verb.

(Keyñan 16)

aŋ ääcin woo yuunku, *And they brought out twins,*
yaŋkalaŋ <u>**a** oon</u>, aŋ yaŋkalaŋ <u>**a** iiŋ</u>. *one **was** a boy, and the other **was** a girl.*

(Kiñuk 5-6)

Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ iygä ko yewwe atto kiñuk, *Then one day, two hyenas went hunting,*
yaŋkalaŋ <u>**ogo** ḍuuŋgon</u>, aŋ yaŋkalaŋ <u>**ogo**</u> *certain one of them **was** old, and other **was***
<u>durñu</u>. *young.*

Yätkä Ø ŋeraŋ. *Chief **is** good.*

Descriptive clause

A 'be, is, are', **ogo** 'that, so that' and no connector 'then, and' can all be used to introduce a descriptive phrase or clause.

(Bääm 2)

Aŋ käññä Bääm **a giidon jaan wic**. *He found Dove **that had given birth up in a tree**.*

323

(Kiñuk 7)
Aŋ men kaññïï käälok **ogo ïwon**,   *And they found a person in the cave **that was chared**.*

(Kiñuk 2-3)
Aŋ atto gäänono luum **Ø ïwïn**,   *He went to collect grass **that was dry**.*

Direct object (verb complement)

Ogo 'that, so that' and no connector 'then, and' can both be used to introduce a verb object (complement clause).

(Kiñuk 21)
Aŋ dünṇïï iin durñe ḍoṇe ti,   *And the young hyena carried (person) on his neck,*
i küjjï **ogo** cüüyïdïnï.   *but they didn't know **that** he revived.*

(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte   *And it is a basket that enables*
Ø määngä ḍürdïn wakkä yaakka dirä ye,   *women **to carry** these many things,*

Introduce a purpose clause

Ogo 'that, so that' and no connector 'then, and' can both be used to introduce a purpose clause.

(Pïïnnä 12)
Aŋ Pïïṇṇä tuummee **ogo**   *And he cursed Wasp **so that***
ŋana giido yuunge muureen.   *she would not give birth all her years.*

(Keyñan 29)
Aŋ minneni juwin wäätä aŋṇi men mooye   ***And** the baby became as a big person*
Ø kaaccïdï **Ø** aak maade.   ***in order to** climb up **in order to** drink milk.*

Clauses joined without connectors

Clauses joined without a connector can involve two intransitive verbs, two transitive verbs, or an intransitive and transitive verb in either order. Both clauses can be past, both can be non-past, or the first can be past and the second non-past or non-past progressive.

When the first clause has an intransitive verb, the second clause is the result or purpose of the first clause.

In *Äwñä 3,* the first clause has the intransitive verb **kaaccä** 'entered'. The second clause **määjï äwjï**

'he looking for a porcupine' is the purpose of the first clause **kaaccä käälok** 'he entered to the cave'.

Aŋ **kaaccä** käälok **määjï** äwjï,   *And he **entered** to the cave **looking for** a porcupine,*

When the first clause has a transitive verb, the second clause is usually the object (or complement) of the verb of the first clause.

In *Äwñä 13,* the first clause has the transitive verb **miigene** 'found'. The second clause **ike keeygä woo üntük** 'he waiting for him outside' is the object (or complement clause) of this verb **miigene.** The man didn't just find his dog. He found that his dog was waiting for him.

(Äwñä 13) (transitive first; introduces complement clause)

Aŋ daa guuŋ yeene miigene	*And he (man) found his dog*
Ø ike keeygä woo üntük,	*waiting for him (man) outside,*

When the verb of the first clause joined without a connector is intransitive, the word order of the second clause cannot be OVS or this is rare.

Past-Past		
SV(-ñä)/SOV(-ne)	Aŋ men attä gin **tiiŋŋe**.	*Person went to **hear** thing.*
SV(-ñä)/SVO(-ñä)	Aŋ men attä **tiiŋŋä** gin.	*Person went to **hear** thing.*

Past-NonPast Prog		
SV(-ñä)/SOV(-de)	Aŋ men attä gin **tiŋde**.	*Person went to **hear** thing.*
SV(-ñä)/SVO(-it)	Aŋ men attä **tiiŋit** gin.	*Person went to **hear** thing.*

The following are examples of transitive clauses joined by **aŋ** 'and' for comparison with the same sentences afterwards without a connector. In the lesson *Verb form changes*, we learned that OVS clauses are used to show the subject is a new topic (mentioned for the first time or what is currently talked about), especially if it is indefinite (not yet a specific one of the noun in the mind of the listeners). SVO clauses are used to show the object is a new topic or indefinite. SOV clauses are used to show neither the subject nor object is a new topic or indefinite. When the first clause has the order OVS, the object of this clause is the subject of the second clause. However, when the first clause is SOV or SVO, the subject of this clause is also the subject of the second clause.

Past-Past		
SOV(-ne)-SOV(-ne)	Aŋ yäktä men **yoorre** aŋ gin **duŋŋe**.	*The chief **saw** the person <u>and</u> he(chief) **carried** the thing.*
SOV(-ne)-OVS(-i)	Aŋ yätkä men **yoorre** aŋ gin **mügï**.	*The chief **saw** the person <u>and</u> they (both) **caught** the thing.*
SOV(-ne)-SVO(-ñä)	Aŋ yäktä men **yoorre** aŋ **duttu** gin.	*The chief **saw** the person <u>and</u>*

		he(chief) **carried** a certain thing[39].
OVS(-i)-SOV(-ne)	Aŋ men **yoori** yäktä a̱ŋ gin **du̱ṇṇe**.	A chief **saw** the person <u>and</u> he(person) **carried** the thing.
OVS(-i)-SVO(-ñä)	Aŋ men **yoori** yäktä a̱ŋ **duttu** gin.	A chief **saw** the person <u>and</u> he(person) **carried** a certain thing[40].
SVO(-ñä)-SOV(-ne)	Aŋ yäktä **yu̱ṭṭu** men a̱ŋ gin **du̱ṇṇe**.	The chief **saw** a person <u>and</u> he(chief) **carried** the thing[41].
SVO(-ñä)-SVO(-ñä)	Aŋ yäktä **yu̱ṭṭu** men a̱ŋ **duttu** gin.	The chief **saw** a person <u>and</u> he(chief) **carried** a certain thing[42].

The same clauses can also be joined without a connector to show the same nouns are topcis or indefinite. However, in all of these sentences, the object of the first clause is the subject of the second clause. And in all these sentences, the second clause is the object or complement of the verb in the first clause.

Past-Past		
SOV(-ne)-SOV(-ne)	Aŋ yäktä men **yoorre** Ø gin **du̱ṇṇe**.	The chief **saw** the person **carry** the thing.
SOV(-ne)-OVS(-i)	Aŋ yätkä men **yoorre** Ø gin **mügï**.	The chief **saw** the person and they (both) **caught** the thing.
SOV(-ne)-SVO(-ñä)	Aŋ yäktä men **yoorre** Ø **duttu** gin.	The chief **saw** the person **carry** a certain thing.
OVS(-i)-SOV(-ne)	Aŋ men **yoori** yäktä Ø gin **du̱ṇṇe**.	A chief **saw** the person **carry** the thing.
OVS(-i)-SVO(-ñä)	Aŋ men **yoori** yäktä Ø **duttu** gin.	A chief **saw** the person **carry** a certain thing.
SVO(-ñä)-SOV(-ne)	Aŋ yäktä **yu̱ṭṭu** men Ø gin **du̱ṇṇe**.	The chief **saw** a person **carry** the thing.
SVO(-ñä)-SVO(-ñä)	Aŋ yäktä **yu̱ṭṭu** men Ø **duttu** gin.	The chief **saw** a person **carry** a certain thing.
SOV(-ne)-SOV(-ne)	Aŋ yäktä men **yoorre** Ø gin **mü̱ŋŋe**.	The chief **saw** the person **catch** the thing.

In the following, the first clause is past and the second is non-past progressive.

Past–NonPast Prog		
SOV(-ne)-SOV(-de)	Aŋ yäktä men **yoorre** Ø gin **dudde**.	The chief **saw** the person **carrying** the thing.
SOV(-ne)-SVO(-it)	Aŋ yäktä men **yoorre** Ø **dutit** gin.	The chief **saw** the person **carrying** a certain thing.

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[39] Picked up one of many things.
[40] Picked up one of man things.
[41] Chief saw then afterwards carried.
[42] Chief saw then afterwards picked up one of many things.

OVS(-i)-SOV(-de)	Aŋ men **yoori** yäktä Ø gin **dudde**.(?)	*A chief saw the person **carrying** the thing.*
OVS(-i)-SVO(-it)	Aŋ men **yoori** yäktä Ø **dutit** gin. (?)	*A chief saw the person **carrying** a certain thing.*
SVO(-ñä)-SOV(-de)	Aŋ yäktä **yuṭṭu** men Ø gin **dudde**.	*The chief saw a person **carrying** the thing.*
SVO(-ñä)-SVO(-it)	Aŋ yäktä **yuṭṭu** men Ø **dutit** gin.	*The chief saw a person **carrying** a certain thing.*

Below are clauses joined without a connector in stories. There are some with two intransitive verbs, some with two transitive verbs, and some with an intransitive and transitive verb in either order. Common intransitive verbs in the first clause are **juwin** 'get up' and **attä** 'go, come'. Common transitive verbs in the first clause are **yoorre** 'saw' and **ṭäkä** 'want'. Some joined clauses have two past verbs, some have two non-past verbs, and some have a past verb first and a non-past verb second.

Intransitive-intranstive

Leeñ 10	PT.MT-PT.ST	aŋ **juwin attä** muureen	they all **got up** and **went**
Geel 24	PT.MT-PT.ST	aŋ Wiiw **juwin attä** Geel ti	Fox **got up** and **went** to Lion
Kiñuk 30	PT.ST-PT.MT	aŋ iygä **yuutto** iñï **däämjono** ŋäjäk	hyenas **stopped** and **looked** back
Bääm 55	PT.ST-NP.ST	ika **attä laayä**	I **went roaming**

Intransitive-transitive

Bääm 29	PT.ST-NP.SOV	Wiiw **attä** Gaaggaak **maawe**	Fox **went looking** for Raven
Leeñ 14	PT.MT-NP.SOV	aŋ Wiiw **juwin** Liik **paaje** kïïgïn	Fox **got up** and **was peeling** Elephants on their feet
Bääm 33	NP.PR.MT-NP.SOV	ika **äätädä** ïkï **ken maaweni** kä	I **am coming looking** for you
Bääm 6	PT.ST-PT.SVO	aŋ Wiiw **attä näŋŋä** len lämmä	Fox **went** and **made** axe of mud
Kiñuk 2	PT.ST-PT.SVO	aŋ atto **gäänono** luum ïwïn	he **went to collect** dry grass
Bääm 39	PT.ST-PT.SVO-PT.PR.SRV	aŋ **attä ääcin** kücam **cäygene** jï päk	he **went** and **brought** bag **having** grain
Leeñ 34	PT.ST-NP.SVO	aŋ Liik **attä** wiirok **mätï** piik	Elephants **went** to river **to drink** water
Äwñä 3	PT.ST-NP.SVO	aŋ **kaaccä** käälok **määjï** äwjï	he **entered** to cave **looking for** porcupine
Kiñuk 14	NP.MT-NP.PR.SVO	aŋ **kaaco tabjï**	they **entering** it **to touch** him
Kiñuk 16	NP.MT-NP.PR.SVO	aŋ ŋuca **bülco tabjï**	again they **returning to touch** him
Bääm 17	NP.ST-NP.PR.SVO	mäŋkalaŋ ïya **äätä ädit** ṭoŋ	another person far away is **coming carrying** a spear
Geel 10	PT.MT-PT.SRVO	aŋ **juwin** ḍoŋe **lääkkene** ogo	he **got up** and **released** himself

		kar	straight away
Bääm 11	PT.MT-PT.SRVO	aŋ **äätin** Bääm **nüütkene**	he **came** and **informed** Dove
Bääm 20	PT.ST-PT.SOVL	Wiiw **attä** Gaaggaak **ţärkene** nänţä piik	Fox **came** and **hid** from Raven in water place
Bääm 42	PT.ST-PT.SRVO	aŋ **attä** Bääm **nüütkene**	he **went** and **informed** Dove
Leeñ 8	PT.ST-PT.SRVO	aŋ Leeñ **attä** meken **nüütkene**	Elephant **went** and **informed** others

Transitive-intransitive

Bääm 30	PT.SOV-NP.ST	aŋ **kaññe cääy** ñaalok jaan wic	he **found** him **sitting** up in tree
Leeñ 5	NP.PR.SOV-NP.ST	a ŋaakani **ken eŋdä wegok** kïïgü tï doŋ?	what **are** you **wearing** on your feet **making a sound** like this?
Äwñä 6	NP.SVO-NP.PR.MT	aŋ ike **ţäkï kääjïdï** woo	he is **wanting to go** out

Transitive-transitive

Kiñuk 25	PT.SOV-PT.SOV	kïlläŋ **puuccee küüttee**	they **tried to blow** the whisle
Iin 25	PT.SOV-NP.SOV	Geel wääna Iin **yoorree** da batta **jaayee** ye	when Lion **saw** that Hyena did not **speak**
Pïïņņä 7	PT.SOV-PT.OVS	men **wäädenee jïkkïï** me iñï	he **found** that people **had buried** person
Äwñä 13	PT.SOV-NP.OVS	aŋ daa guuŋ yeene **miigene** ike **keeygä** woo üntük	his dog he **found waiting** outside
Leeñ 35	PT.SOV-NP.SVO	aŋ Liik **yoorre mätï** piik muure	he **saw** Elephants **drinking** all water
Iin 34	NP.OVS-NP.SOV	mana daa **ţäkänä** Jooŋ **yale** yok ye	anyone who God **wants to change** (**turn** body)
Kiñuk 13	PT.OVS-PT.OVS-PT.OVS	aŋ **düņņïï iññïï büüccïï** piitti	they **lifted** him and **took** him and **soaked** him in water
Bääm 57	NP.SVO-NP.SOV	aŋ ika **ţäkä ïkï** ijeni	I **want to take** you
Iin 39	NP.SVO-NP.PR.SOV	aŋ ika **ţäkä tääccädä** ikee ti muurijan	I **want to ask** all of you
Leeñ 39	NP.PR.SVO-PT.PR.SVO	ika batta **lïïltä aaydin** piik	I **am** not **able to cross** water
Leeñ 7	NP.SVO-NP.SRVO	ika **ţäkä näŋgaa** tok	I **want** you **to make** them for me

Question words (Interrogatives)

Question words help ask a question. The following are some of the Jumjum question words.

Singular	Plural	
ŋaani	aŋaani	*who*
kä ŋaani	kä aŋaani	*by whom*
yen ŋaani	yek aŋaani	*whose, of who*

328

ŋaaka	ŋaakani	what
wa		where
wali		where is
		when
		why
ogoo		how
ogook		how are you

The question words **ŋaaka, ŋaakani** 'what' and **ŋaani, aŋaani** 'who' have a singular and plural form.

For example in *Kiñuk 26*, **ŋaaka** 'what (sg)' shows there is only one thing expected to do the verb **ken week** 'crying'.

(Kiñuk 26) (singular)
"Ay! A **ŋaaka** ken week do?"   *"Hey! **What** is crying out?"*

In *Leeñ 5,* **ŋaakani** 'what (pl)' shows there is more than one thing expected as the object of the verb **ken eŋdä** 'wearing'.

(Leeñ 5) (plural)
A **ŋaakani** ken eŋdä wegok kïïgü tï doŋ?   ***What** are you wearing making sound on feet?*
Aŋ luugi Wiiw ogo, "A waygä kïïgï."   *Fox replied to him, "(These) are shoes of my feet."*

Wali 'where is' and **ogook** 'how are you' are question word equal signs that take the place of a verb.

In *Leeñ 36,* **wa** 'where' asks the goal or final location of the verb **ate** 'you going'.

(Leeñ 36) (question word)
Aŋ tääckene ti ogo, "Ikee ate **wa**?"   *He asked it from them, "**Where** are you going?"*

However in *Wiiw 29,* there is no verb and **wali** 'where is' asks which location Fox is equal to or at.

(Wiiw 29) (question word equal sign)
Aŋ me taaññe ogo, "Wiiw **wali**?"   And he asked the people, "**Where is** Fox?"

Some questions are asked without a question word. These are questions have a 'yes' or 'no' answer. In *Iin 19,* the question **Deeŋ yeeni giinä do?** 'Did my cow give birth?' does not have a question word. The answer to this question can only be 'yes' or 'no'.

(Iin 19) (yes/no question)
"An! Deeŋ yeeni giinä do?"   *"Wow! Did my cow give birth?"*

Exercise 52

In the sentences below, underline all question words. If the question does not have a question word, underline the entire question.

(Kiñuk 26)
Aŋ iin durñe menen taaññee ogo,	*And the young hyena asked the other,*
"Ay! A **ŋaaka** ken week do?"	*"Hey! __What__ is crying out?"*
(Kiñuk 34-35)
Aŋ iin durñe menen kiindee ogo,	*And the young hyena said to the other,*
"Keetta kiindeni ogo 'Ŋeeyjï ko ïw?' "	*"Did I not tell you, 'We can eat it dry?' "*
(Bääm 3)
Aŋ taaññe ogo,	*He asked him,*
"Ïkï näŋä ŋaaka jaan wic wina?"	*"What are you doing up in the tree?"*
(Bääm 31)
Aŋ kiinne ogo, "Müükonḍi ogook?"	*And he told him, "My friend, how are you?"*
(Bääm 33-35)
Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo,	*And Fox told him,*
"Ika äätädä ïkï ken maaweni ka,	*"I am coming looking for you,*
aŋ ogoo täññani? Ïkïï batta atï ḍeel ṭuule,	*and about what? Can we not go (to) the small goat*
yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?"	*that was dead in the animal pen?*
(Bääm 49)
"A ŋaani ken ïkï nüütkeney waŋ yaanna?"	*"Who informed you this idea?"*
(Bääm 59)
Aŋ taaji Wiiw ogo, "Aŋ ïkïï bi atï ogoo?"	*And Fox asked him, "How will we go?"*
(Leeñ 5)
A ŋaakani ken eŋdä wegok kïïgü tï doŋ?	*What are you wearing making sound on feet?*
Aŋ luugi Wiiw ogo, "A waygä kïïgï."	*Fox replied to him, "(These) are shoes of my feet."*
(Leeñ 30)
Aŋ taaji ogo, "A ŋaani ina cääy yaanna?"	*And asked him, "Who is that sitting?"*
(Leeñ 32)
Baati mäŋkalaŋ yaana a kaajon winni ye?	*Was there not someone who passed by here?*
(Leeñ 36)
Aŋ tääckene ti ogo, "Ikee ate wa?"	*He asked it from them, "Where are you going?"*
(Geel 12)
Ŋïïppe yokïn ogo, "Ogook?"	*He greeted them, "How are you?"*
(Geel 22)
Ïkï ṭüülü yaanna daa bi näŋä ŋaaka?	*Your small thing that just can do what?*
(Geel 30)
Aŋ täññani ïkïï bi bülcï müürï ogoo?	*And now how will we two return?*
(Iin 8-9)
Müüdonḍi, nïïnkä ŋückïtï	*My friend, we should increase (the days so that)*
mäŋkalaŋ daa kääjï nïïnkä kä ḍäk, hayo?	*each person just grazes for three days, alright?*
(Iin 19-24)

"An! Deeŋ yeeni giinä do?"   *"Wow! Did my cow give birth?"*

Aŋ wina ike oja menen reecce ŋïngïn   *But he denied what his friend had said,*

woo ogo, "Ära! Deeŋ yüünü giit?   *saying, "No way! Your cow gave birth?*

Wa batta, a yaan yeeni ken giiṇṇä."   *No. It was my cow that gave birth."*

(Iin 32)

Inni tiññani cäyïnkä,   *Now among the living,*

yaanni ïkïïn naŋïnïn kä ŋaani?   *we were created by whom?*

(Iin 40)

Yaanna a yen Iin alla yoku a yeeni?   *This (calf) is of Hyena or should it be mine?*

(Iin 57)

Ïkï atä wa i me kïïjjïdï ïkï aŋan?   *Where are you going while people waiting for you?*

(Iin 60)

A piik ŋaaka ken umgudu?   *Is water what you(sg) go towards?*

(Iin 62)

Wääc yaana ogoo ye, ken giit?   *A father which how can give birth?*

(Wiiw 29)

Aŋ me taaññe ogo, "Wiiw, wali?"   *And he asked the people, "Where is Fox?"*

(Uyko 12)

Wäyo yäŋŋä yaana ñabaŋ yaanni äbä wa?   *Father, meat which is good, you bought where?*

Jumjum Stories

The example sentences in the lessons of this book are found in the following stories. Each story is introduced with some information. The abbreviations used in the stories are as follows:

SOV	subject-object-verb	SG	singular	1s	I
SVO	subject-verb-object	PL	plural	2s	you (sg)
OVS	object-verb-subject	C	clause type	3s	(s)he
SRVO	subject-beneficiary-verb-object	D	direction	1t	we (two)
SOVL	subject-object-verb-location	PT	past	1e	we (not you)
EVSO	experiencer-verb-subject-object	PR	progressive	1i	we (and you)
EV	experiencer-verb	NP	non-past	2p	you (pl)
SV (MT)	subject-verb (motion)	AW	away	3p	they
SV (ST)	subject-verb (state)	TW	towards	LOC	locative
VN	verbal noun	NR	normal	POS	possessed
PVN	person verbal noun	DP	dependent	RP	repeated
VA	verbal adjective	MN	main		

Jumjum Narratives and Explanation Texts for January 2015 Text/Grammar Workshop

Yaam (Yaam)

basket
The Basket

Author: Yusif Aljuzuli

1.   Yaam a koy   tïṇṇä ke ḍogleñ, kimkä   ken ñorgu   me.
     basket be tree.type red.SG or tree.type branches.PL is bend   people
                                                 /**ñor-kä**/NP.OVS.NR
     Baskets are from (one of) two types of trees, (of which) people bend branches
     (to make them).

2.   Aŋ ḍiigjänä me   iñi kä   wingä, aŋ näkä nïïnkä kä   ḍäk.
     And tie   people down with rope.PL and feel   day.PL with three
           /**ḍek-jänä**/NP.OVS.AW.RP?   /**näk-cä**/NP.SVO.TW
     People tie them down with ropes for three days.

3.   Aŋ paargä   me   yok kä   boygu ke wingä,
     And wrap   people body with skin.PL and rope.PL
          /**paar-kä**/NP.VSO.NR
     And people wrap the body (wooden skeleton), with skin and rope,

4.   aŋ wäättana wäätï   a yaam.
     and after.that become   be basket
                  /**wäät-cï**/NP.MT.NR
     and afterwards becomes a basket.

5.   Aŋ yaam mäbaan   ti   ken ṭemte määngä wakkä   witken   ti
     and basket human.being LOC be carry women things.POS heads.their LOC
               /**ṭeem-tte**/NP.EVSO.NR   /waak-kkä/   /wiñ-kä-en/
     And the basket on Jumjum people, women use it to carry things on their heads

6.   bata   wälkä   piik ke päk   ke waak a daa ṭemtä ye.
     is.like gourd.PL water and sorghums and things be like carry   DP
                                  /**ṭeem-ttä**/NP.PR.OVS.NR
     such as gourds of water and grain and (other) things that they carry.

7.   Aŋ ŋucana ḍürte merkä. Aŋ naana me   bagit nänṭä yaŋkalaŋ ti   ye,
     and also   carry   children and if   people shift   place certain   LOC DP
               /**ḍüür-tte**/ NP.EVSO.NR   /**bak-it**/NP.PR.SVO.NR
     And they also use it to carry children. And when people move it (basket) to another place,

8.   naana yaam a küümon ye, äṭäŋgä ŋaapcätä me   yaam   ṭunke   ti.
     if   basket be full   DP hen.PL hang   people basket horn.PL.his LOC

/küüm-on/VA.SG   /ŋaap-ccätä/NP.PR.OVS.AW   /ṭuuŋ-ku-e/
if the basket is full, people hang chickens on the horns (wood of sides) of the basket.

9.   Aŋ a yaam ken liïlte   määngä ḍürḍïn wakkä   yaakka ḍirä ye,
      and be basket be be.able woman   carry   things.POS these   many DP
      /liïl?-tte/NP.EVSO.NR /ḍüür-din/PT.PR.SVO.NR /waak-kkä/ /ḍir-wä/NP.ST.AW
      And since women are able to use a basket to carry these many things,

10.   aŋ a gin a ŋeraŋ yaam ti   ye inni.
      and be thing be good   basket LOC DP is.this
                    /ŋer-aŋ/NP.PR.ST.AW
      this is a good thing concerning the basket.

11.   Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ   yaam ti   ye, naana ṭemtä   määngä witken   ti
      and thing be bad   basket LOC DP if   carry   women heads.their LOC
                /yaac-aŋ/ NP.PR.ST.AW   /ṭeem-ttä/NP.PR.OVS.NR /wiñ-kä-en/
      And a bad thing concerning the basket is when women carry (it) on their heads

12.   yuungu kä   ḍiräk   ye, määngä witken   wec,
      year.PL with many   DP women   heads.their bald
                    /ḍirä-k/   /wiñ-kä-en/
      for many years, the heads of women are bald,

13.   aŋ ṭiṭägenen   ledok   bata   kiidgä   aŋan.
      and tops.of.heads.their grow   be.like guinea.fowl.PL this
            /ṭiṭṭä-äŋgä-en/   /let-ok/NP.ST.NR.3p
            ṭiṭṭäŋgen
      and the tops of their heads grow like (that of) this guinea fowl.

14.   Aŋ ŋucana yiñ yeene yimgä   taañjede iñi   määngä waŋgen   ti,
      and also   bad his   blood.PL press   down woman eyes.their LOC
                              /taañ-cede/NP.PR.SOV.AW /waŋ-kä-en/
      And another bad thing of it, is that it presses the blood down on the women's eyes,

15.   aŋ määngä waŋgen   mïïldïdï,   aŋ batta   yüṭï   ṭetaŋ.
      and women eyes.their   be.night   and not   see   very
                  /waŋ-kä-en/ /mïïl-dïdï/NP.PR.ST.TW   /yoor-cï/NP.SVO.NR
      and the eyes of the women become dark (impaired vision), and they do not see well.

16.   Aŋ ŋucana nääkke   pillä ḍuuggen   ti ke ŋätken   ti
      and also   feel   pain necks.their LOC and backs.their LOC
            /näk-jke/NP.SRVO.NR
      And it also causes pain in their necks and in their backs

17. bäätcïdï   ïñi   ke   teygen ti.
    go   down until   hips.their LOC
    /bäät-ccïdï/NP.PR.MT.AW /tey-gä-en/
    going down to their hips.

18. Ina ken määngä mäbaan   ṭiintete   kä   bïraŋ   yaanna,
    so be women human.being   become.old   with quickly this
                                  /ṭiint-cete/NP.PR.SRV.NR
    That is why the Jumjum women are becoming old quickly,

19. aŋ iiŋ   ke yaam   yeene wäättana beel   bata teebälaŋ yoono,
    and woman and basket her   after.that resemble   like car   our.1e
                                            /beel/NP.ST.NR
    and the woman with her basket afterwards looks like our car,

20. aŋ aŋan yaajaŋ batta ŋeraŋ, aŋ   yoku por aakïn   woo,
    and this bad   not   good and so   just change   out
    /yaac-aŋ/NP.PR.ST.AW /ŋer-aŋ/NP.PR.ST.AW   /aak-cïn?/NP.SOV.AW.1i-3s?
    and this is bad rather than good, so we must change (it),

21. näŋko määngä yooko yoken   wääkcene   woo,
    so.that women our   bodies.their rest   out
                       /yor-kä-en/   /wääk-ccene/PT.PR.SOV.AW
    so that our women (should) rest their bodies,

22. aŋ päjjene   beeljene   bata meken.
    and be.ok   become   like other.PL
    /päw?-cene/PT.SRV.AW /beel-cene/PT.SRV.AW
    and be healthy and become like other people.

Men   atto kiñuk (Kiñuk)

person go   hunt.LOC
/äät-ño/PT.ST.DP.AW
A person went on a hunt

1. Ñomuk ku on,   mäŋkalaŋ   atto kiñuk   pare,
   long.ago time.past certain.person go   hunt.LOC alone
                              /äät-ño/PT.ST.DP.AW /kiñu-k/
   A long time ago, a man went on a hunt alone,

2. aŋ käñño kääl bilgiññi. Aŋ atto   gäänono luum ïwïn,

334

and find   cave bat.PL   and go   cut   grass dry/ïw-in/VA.PL?
     /kañ-ño/PT.SVO.DP.NR /äät-ño/PT.ST.DP.AW /gaan-yono/PT.SVO.DP.TW
and found a cave of bats. He went to collect dry grass,

3.   aŋ büükkee käälok,   aŋ tuñgenee maañ,
    and heap   cave.LOC and burn   fire
     /büük-ñee/PT.SOV.DP.AW /kääl-ok/   /tuñ-jkenee/PT.SRVO.DP.NR
    heaped it in the cave, and he burned a fire for it,

4.   aŋ ḍoŋe   tuñjenee ti   käälok. Aŋ aarïï maañ kockon,
    and neck.his burn   LOC cave.LOC and burn   fire   very
        /tuñ-cenee/PT.PR.SOV.DP.AW /kääl-ok/ /aar-ïï/NP.OVS.DP.NR
    and burned himself in the cave. And the fire badly burned (him),

5.   aŋ ïwno. Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ   iygä   ko yewwe atto kiñuk,
    and be.dry and certain.day hyena.PL that two   go   hunt.LOC
     /ïw-no/PT.ST.DP.NR   /äät-ño/PT.ST.DP.AW
    and (he) became chared. Then one day, two hyenas went hunting,

6.   yaŋkalaŋ   ogo ḍuuŋgon, aŋ yaŋkalaŋ   ogo durñu.
    certain.one that old.person and certain.one that young.person
    one of them was old, and the other was young.

7.   Aŋ men   kaññïï käälok   ogo ïwon, i jone   mor määṭo.
    and person find   cave.LOC that dry   but heart.his still beat
    /kañ-nïï/PT.OVS.DP.NR /kääl-ok/ /ïw-on/VA.SG   /määr-co/NP.MT.DP.NR
    And they found the person in the cave that was chared, and his heart was still beating.

8.   Aŋ düüdïnïï woo, aŋ iin   durñe   liikono woo
    and lift   out   and hyena young.his break   out
     /dut-wïnïï/PT.OVS.DP.TW   /lik–pono/PT.SVO.DP.TW
    And they carried him outside, and the young hyena broke off

9.   gine   ṭuule   gunne ti   näkkenee.
    thing.his daughter.his side.his LOC taste
                   /gunn-e/   /näk-jkenee/PT.SRVO.DP.NR
    a small piece from his side and tasted (it).

10.   Aŋ iin   durñe   menen kiinnee ogo, "Ŋeeyjï   ko   ïw."
    and hyena young.his other tell   that chew   with dryness
              /kiin-nee/PT.SOV.DP.NR   /ŋeey-jï/NP.PR.SVO.NR.1t? /ïw-Ø/VN?
    And the young hyena said to the other, "We can eat it chared."

11.　Aŋ iin　　mooye kulcono ogo,
　　and hyena big.his refuse　that
　　　　　　　　　　　/kol-ccono/PT.SVO.DP.AW
　　And the older hyena refused him,

12.　"Ïjjï　　büüccï piitti."
　　　take　soak　water.LOC
　　　/ic-jï/NP.PR.SVO.NR.1t　/büüc-ñï/PT.SOV.AW.1t-3s　/piik-ti/
　　"We will take and soak it in water."

13.　Aŋ dünṇïï ïññïï büüccïï　piitti.
　　and lift　　take soak　　water.LOC
　　/dut-nïï/PT.OVS.DP.NR　/ic-nïï/PT.OVS.DP.NR　/büüc-ñïï/PT.OVS.DP.AW　　/piik-ti/
　　So they lifted him (person) and took him and soaked him in water.

14.　Aŋ cääjjo　ko ḍeeḍaŋ, aŋ kaaco tabjï,
　　and sit　　be little　　and enter　touch
　　/cääy-co/NP.MT.DP.AW　/kaac-co/NP.MT.DP.NR　/tap-jï/NP.PR.SVO.AW.3p?
　　And they were sitting a little, and then they were entering (water) to touch him,

15.　aŋ ḍuuko woo, aŋ ŋuca　cääjjo ko ḍeeḍaŋ,
　　and return　out　and again sit　　be little
　　/ḍuuk-co/NP.MT.DP.NR　/cääy-co/NP.MT.DP.AW
　　then returned out, and again sat a little,

16.　aŋ ŋuca　　bülco tabjï, kockon wina　ke　men　　däädjeko.
　　and again　return touch very　　like.that and person be.soft
　　/büül-cco/NP.MT.DP.AW　　/tap-jï/NP.PR.SVO.AW.3p?　/daat-jeko/NP.PR.ST.DP.AW?
　　and again were returning to touch him, continuing like this until the person became soft.

17.　Aŋ naana daa　äŋ waŋe　　wükco　ye, i　men　waŋge　　piijodo.
　　and if　　which sun face.his scoot　DP but person eye.PL.his revive
　　　　　　　　　　　　　/wük-cco/NP.MT.DP.AW　　　　/piic-wodo/NP.PR.MT.DP.TW
　　And when the sun moved on (time passed), then the person began to regain consciousness.

18.　Aŋ wääna dääṇnee　ko ye, düüdïnïï woo, i　äŋ joorjono.
　　and when be.soft　be DP　lift　　　out　but sun go.down
　　/daat-nee/PT.ST.DP.NR　/dut-winïï/PT.OVS.DP.TW　/joor-cono/PT.MT.DP.AW
　　And when he became soft, they carried him out (from water), as the sun went down.

19.　Aŋ iin　　mooye menen kiinnee　ogo,
　　and hyena big.his other　　tell　　　that
　　　　　　　　　　　/kiin-nee/PT.SOV.DP.NR

And the older hyena said to the other,

20. "Äŋ bunno, ïjjï amjï paa."
 sun reduce take eat house.LOC?
/bun-no/PT.ST.DP.NR   /ic-jï/NP.PR.SVO.NR.1t?   /am-jï/NP.PR.SVO.NR.1t?
"The sun is going down, let us take and eat it at home."

21. Aŋ dünṇïï iin durñe ḍoŋe ti, i küjji ogo cüüyïdïnï.
 and lift hyena young.his neck.his LOC but ignorant that revive
/dut-nïï/PT.OVS.DP.NR /ḍoŋ-e/ /küc-jï/NP.PR.SVO.AW.3p? /cüüy-idini/PT.PR.ST.TW?
And the young hyena carried (person) on his neck, but they didn't know it that he revived.

22. Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ ḍoŋe ti, aŋ wääna kaaññïï
 and person wear whistle neck.his LOC and when pass
/eŋ-do/NP.PR.SVO.DP.NR   /kaac-nïï/PT.IT.DP.NR?
The person was wearing a whistle around his neck, and when (they) passed under a tree,

23. ko jaan ŋoy ye, men likko rawcan, aŋ kïlläŋ rääkkee ji
 with tree under DP person break twig and whistle clean in
/lik-ño/PT.SVO.DP.NR   /rääk-ñee/PT.SOV.DP.AW
the man broke off a twig, and cleaned out the whistle,

24. woo, i iin mooye oja ken ääto ñomuk. Aŋ wääna ḍakkïï
 out but hyena big.his proud be go ahead and when arrive
/äät-co/NP.MT.DP.NR   /ḍääk-ñïï/PT.IT.DP.AW?
as the proud old hyena was going on ahead. And when they reached

25. ko nänṭa miṭon ye, kïlläŋ puuccee küüttee ogo, *tiit*!
 to place dark DP whistle try blow that (sound)
/puuc-ñee/PT.SOV.DP.AW   /küüt-ñee/PT.SOV.DP.AW
the densely forested place, he tried to blow the whistle, *tweet!*

26. aŋ iin durñe menen taaññee ogo, "Ay! A ŋaaka ken week do?"
 and hyena young.his other ask that hey be what be cry QM
/taac-nee/PT.SOV.DP.NR   /week-Ø/NP.ST.NR
and the young hyena asked the other, "Hey! What is crying out?"

27. Aŋ kïïnnïï menen ogo, "A ḍïïn ken week jaan wic."
 and tell other that be bird be cry tree up
/kiin-nïï/PT.OVS.DP.NR   /week-Ø/NP.ST.NR
And the other told him, "There is a bird crying up in a tree."

28. Aŋ wääna wükcïnïï ko ko ḍeeḍaŋ ye,

and when scoot?   with be small   DP
            /**wük-ccïnïï**/PT.PR.IT.DP.AW?
And when they went a little further,

29.   men   killäŋ ŋoccee küüttee tügge   ko yewwe ogo, *tiit tiit!*
       person whistle again blow   word.PL.his with two   that (sound)
                            /**küüt-ñee**/PT.SOV.DP.AW   /tüŋ-gä-e/
       the person again blew the whistle two times, *tweet tweet,*

30.   aŋ iygä   yuutto ïñï   däämjono   ŋäjäk.
       and hyena.PL stop   down look   backwards
                    /**yuut-ño**/PT.ST.DP.AW   /**dääm-cono**/PT.MT.DP.AW
       and the hyenas stopped and looked back.

31.   Aŋ juwono, aŋ wääna wükcïnïï   ko ko ḍeeḍaŋ ye,
       and rise.up   and when scoot   with be small DP
            /**juw-wono**/PT.MT.DP.TW   /**wük-ccïnïï**/PT.PR.IT.DP.AW? /**ḍeeṭ-aŋ**/NP.PR.ST.AW
       Then (they) continued, and when (they) went a little further,

32.   men   killäŋ mïttee   ïñï   ogo, *tiiiit!*
       person whistle blow   down that (sound)
                    /**mïït-ñee**/PT.SOV.DP.AW
       the person blew the whistle, *tweeeet!*

33.   Aŋ yeeppïï woo iygä   ogo *gom,* aŋ iygä   buurcono   woo,
       and throw   out hyena.PL that (sound) and hyena.PL run   out
            /**yeep-ñïï**/PT.OVS.DP.AW   /**buur-ccono**/PT.MT.DP.AW
       And the hyenas threw off (person) *thud,* and the hyenas ran away,

34.   aŋ iin   durñe   menen kiindee ogo, "Keetta   kiindeni ogo
       and hyena young.his other   tell   that you(pl).not tell   that
                    /**kiin-dee**/NP.PR.SOV.DP.NR   /ikee batta/ /**kiin-deni**/NP.PT.SOV.NR.1s-2s
       and the young hyena said to the other, "Did I not tell you,

35.   'Ŋeeyjï   ko   ïw?' "   Aŋ kïïnnïï   menen ogo, "Ee yoku ay!"
        chew   with dryness and tell   other that   yes true hey
       /**ŋeey-jï**/NP.PR.SVO.NR.1t?   /**ïw-Ø**/VN? /**kiin-nïï**/PT.OVS.DP.NR
       'We can eat it dry?' " And the other told him, "Yes, it is true!"

36.   Aŋ men   üṇṇo,   aŋ ḍukcono paa.
       and person survive and return   house.LOC?
       /**üt-no**/PT.ST.DP.NR /**ḍuuk-ccono**/PT.MT.DP.AW
       And the person survived and returned to his house.

Wiiw ke   Bääm (Bääm)
fox   and dove
The Fox and the Dove

1.   Ñomuk ku on,   Wiiw näkä käñ,   aŋ attä   laay   woo
      long.ago time.past fox   feel   hunger and go   roam   out
          /näk-cä/PT.SVO.TW /äät-ñä/PT.ST.AW /laay-Ø/NP.ST.NR
      A long time ago, Fox was hungry and went out roaming

2.   luummuk. Aŋ käññä Bääm a giidon   jaan wic.
      grassland and find dove be bear   tree up
                  /kañ-ñä/PT.SVO.NR /giit-on/VA.SG
      in the grassland. He found a Dove had given birth up in a tree.

3.   Aŋ taaññe ogo, "Ïkï näŋä ŋaaka jaan wic wina?"
      and ask   that you make what tree up like.that
          /taac-ne/PT.SOV.NR   /näŋ-yä/NP.SVO.TW.2s?
      He asked him, "What are you doing up in the tree?"

4.   Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Ika tïïcä   merkä   yeeki."
      and kiin dove that I   look.after children my.PL
          /kiin-i/PT.OVS.NR   /tïïc-cä/NP.SVO.TW.1s?
      And Dove told him, "I am caring for my children."

5.   Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "Yiipka   iñi kä   keelok."
      and fox   say   that throw   down with one
                  /jaay-cin/PT.MT.AW   /yeep-jka/NP.SRVO.NR.2s-1s?
      And Fox said it, "Throw down one of them (for me)."

6.   Aŋ Bääm yaakï, aŋ Wiiw attä näŋŋä   len lämmä.
      and dove refuse and fox   go   make   axe mud
      /yaak-cï/ NP.SVO.NR   /äät-ñä/PT.ST.AW   /näŋ-ñä/PT.SVO.NR
      Then Dove was refusing and Fox went and made an axe of mud.

7.   Aŋ ḍuukin,   i ädit   len lämmä.
      and return   but carry axe mud
          /ḍuuk-cin/PT.MT.NR /ät-it/NP.PR.SVO.NR
      And (he) returned carrying an axe of mud.

8.   Aŋ yuuttu jaan ŋoy, aŋ Bääm ene   ogo,
      and stand   tree under and dove threaten that

/yuut-ñä/PT.ST.AW   /en-e/NP.SOV.NR

(He) stood under the tree, and he was threatening Dove,

9.   "Yiipka   ïñï,   i   batta mor jaan tääyä   ïñï."
       throw   down   and not   still   tree cut[43]   down
       /yeep-jka/NP.SRVO.NR.2s-1s?   /taay-ä/NP.SOV.NR.1s-3s
       "Throw it (chick) down, before I cut down the tree."

10.   Aŋ   Bääm booc,   aŋ   yiipkene.
       and dove   be.afraid.PR.ST.NR and throw
             /booc-Ø/NP.ST.NR   /yeep-jkene/PT.SRVO.NR
       And Dove being afraid threw (one) (to him).

11.   Aŋ yoori   Gaaggaak, aŋ äätin   Bääm nüütkene,
       and see   raven   and come dove   inform
       /yoor-i/PT.OVS.NR   /äät-cin/PT.MT.NR   /nüüt–jkene/PT.SRVO.NR
       And Raven saw it and came and informed Dove,

12.   aŋ   kiinne   ogo, "Ŋana ïkï   booju,
       and tell   that   not   you(sg) be.afraid
         /kiin-ne/PT.SOV.NR   /booc-wä/NP.ST.AW.2s
       and told him, "Don't you be afraid,

13.   gin   yaanna batta a   len,   a   lämmä kä   pet."
       thing this   not   be axe   be mud   with only
       this thing is not an axe, it is just mud."

14.   Aŋ Wiiw äätin,   aŋ   Bääm kiinde   ogo,
       and fox   come   and dove tell   that
           /äät-cin/PT.MT.NR   /kiin-de/NP.PR.SOV.NR
       And Fox came, and was telling Dove,

15.   "Yiipka, i   batta mor   jaan tääyä   ïñï."
       throw   but not   still   tree cut   down
       /yeep-jka/NP.SRVO.NR.2s-1s?   /taay-ä/NP.SOV.NR.1s-3s
       "Throw it for me, before I cut down the tree."

16.   Aŋ   kiini Bääm ogo, "Tääyä ïñï   kä   bïraŋ,
       and tell   dove   that   cut   down with quickly
          /kiin-i/PT.OVS.NR   /taay-ä/NP.SOV.NR.2s-3s
       And Dove told him, "Cut it down quickly,

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[43] In Jan18 workshop, was /tääy/

17.　　mäŋkalaŋ　　　ïya　　　　äätä　　ädit　ṭoŋ　　ke　lacan mooye.”
　　　　another.person　far.place　come　carry　spear　with　stick　big.his
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　/äät-cä/NP.ST.TW　/ät-it/NP.PR.SVO.NR
　　　　there is another person far away coming carrying a spear and a big stick.”

18.　　Aŋ Wiiw len lämmä jeppe　　ti　　jaan ti, aŋ　jiccin　woo.
　　　　and fox　axe mud　hit　　　LOC tree LOC and run　　out
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　/jep-ñe/PT.SOV.AW　　　/jic-ccin/PT.MT.AW
　　　　And Fox hit the tree with the mud axe, then ran away.

19.　　Aŋ　Gaaggaak iken ke　Bääm juuggen　　　　ñappä,　aŋ　yircin　woo.
　　　　and raven　　they with dove heart.PL.their behappy　and laugh　out
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　/jon-gu-en/　/ñap-ñä/PT.ST.AW　/yir-ccin/PT.MT.AW
　　　　And the hearts of Raven and Dove became happy, and they laughed.

20.　　Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ　　Wiiw attä　Gaaggaak ṭärkene　　nänṭä piik.
　　　　and another.day fox　　go　raven　　　hide　　　place water
　　　　　　　　　　　　/äät-ñä/PT.ST.AW　　　/ṭar-jkene/PT.SOVL.NR
　　　　Another day, Fox came and hid from Raven in the place of water.

21.　　Aŋ Gaaggaak kuuyin ïñï,　aŋ　müŋŋe.　Aŋ　kiintä Gaaggaak ogo,
　　　　and raven　　flew　down and caught　and tell　raven　　that
　　　　　　　　　　/kuuy-win/PT.MT.TW　　/mük-ne/PT.SOV.NR /kiin-ttä/NP.PR.OVS.NR
　　　　And Raven flew down and he (Fox) caught him. And Raven was telling him,

22.　　“Ŋana ika kajdaa,　yeepca ñaalok.”
　　　　not　me bite　　throw　north
　　　/kääc-daa/NP.PR.SOV.NR.2s-1s　　/yeep-cca/NP.SVO.AW.2s?
　　　　“Don’t bite me, throw me up.”

23.　　Aŋ yeepi ñaalok Wiiw, aŋ　por ḍimmin　ïñï.
　　　　and throw north fox　and just fall　　down
　　　　　　/yeep-ci/PT.OVS.AW　　　　/ḍim-win/PT.MT.TW
　　　　And Fox threw him up, and he just fell down.

24.　　Aŋ Wiiw kiinne　ogo, “Ika cokulunu tüwnü, ŋocca yeepca　ñaalok.”
　　　　and fox　tell　　that　I　be.near　death　again throw　　north
　　　/kiin-ne/PT.SOV.NR　/cokul-yänä/PT.SVO.TW.1s　/yeep-cca/NP.SVO.AW.2s?
　　　　And he said to Fox, “I am near death, throw me up again.”

25.　　Aŋ yeepi　Wiiw, aŋ pääynä　　ñaalok.
　　　　and throw　fox　　and flew　　north
　　　　　　/yeep-ci/PT.OVS.AW　/pääy-nä/PT.ST.NR

And Fox threw him, and he flew away.

26.   Aŋ wäättana week ogo, *gag, gag, gag.*
    and after.that cry   that   (sound)
                        /**week-Ø**/NP.ST.NR
    And after that he was crying, *kaw, kaw, kaw.*

27.   Aŋ kirgä   Wiiw ogo, *miic, miic, miic.*
    and insult   fox   that (sound)
          /**kir-kä**/NP.OVS.NR
    And Fox was insulting him, *arf, arf, arf.*

28.   Aŋ Wiiw attä, i   jone   yaajaŋ kockon.
    and fox   go   but heart.his bad   very
              /**äät-ñä**/PT.ST.AW   /**yaac-aŋ**/NP.PR.ST.AW
    And Fox came, and was very angry.

29.   Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ   Wiiw attä Gaaggaak maawe,
    and another.day fox   go   raven   look.for
                       /**äät-ñä**/PT.ST.AW   /**maaw-e**/NP.SOV.NR
    And another day, Fox went looking for Raven,

30.   aŋ kaññe   cääy   ñaalok jaan wic.
    and find   sit   north   tree   up
    /**kañ-ne**/PT.SOV.NR /**cääy-Ø**/NP.ST.NR
    and found him sitting up in a tree.

31.   Aŋ kiinne   ogo, "Müükonḍi ogook?"
    and tell   that friend.my how.are.you
        /**kiin-ne**/PT.SOV.NR   /müükon-ṭi?/
    And he told him, "My friend, how are you?"

32.   Aŋ kiini Gaaggaak ogo, "Jiik   kalaŋ   baati."
    and tell   raven   that issue certain nothing
        /**kiin-i**/PT.OVS.NR
    And Raven told him, "There is no problem."

33.   Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo, "Ika äätädä ïkï ken maaweni   kä,
    and tell   fox   that I   go   you be look.for   with
       /**kiin-i**/PT.OVS.NR /**äät-cädä**/NP.PR.MT.NR.1s   /**maaw-eni**/NP.SOV.NR.1s-2s
    And Fox told him, "I am coming looking for you,

34.   aŋ ogoo täññani? Ïkïï   batta atï   ḍeel ṭuule,

and how now.2s   we(two) not   go   goat small.his
                            /äät-cï/NP.MT.NR.1t
and about what? Can we not go (to) the small goat

35.   yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?''
       who   be dead   fence in that   just let.us.see
             /tüw-on/VA.SG   /yaañ-ka/
       that was dead in that animal pen?

36.   Aŋ kiini Gaaggaak ogo, "Ay müükonḍi,
       and tell   raven   that hey friend.my
          /kiin-i/PT.OVS.NR
       And Raven told him, "Ah my friend,

37.   ika batta bi lïïṭä   wään, ika agä raac   täññaŋ.
       I not   will be.able walk   I   be.1s sick.PR.ST now
      /lïïl-cä/NP.SVO.TW.1s? /wään-Ø/VN? /raac-Ø/VN?
       I am not able to go, (since) I am now sick.

38.   Aŋ atä parü,   ïkïï   bi atï tiṇṇäk."
       and go alone we(two) will go   tomorrow
         /äät-cä/NP.ST.NR.2s   /äät-cï/NP.MT.NR.1t
       You go alone, we both will go tomorrow."

39.   Aŋ Wiiw jone   yaaññä,   aŋ attä ääcin kücam
       and fox heart.his spoil   and go   bring skin.bag
      /yaac-nä/PT.ST.NR   /äät-ñä/PT.ST.AW /ääc-pin/PT.SVO.TW
       And Fox became angry, and went and brought an animal skin bag

40.   cäygene   jï päk.   Aŋ kaaccä   kücam jiñe   ti,
       have   in grain.PL and enter   skin.bag inside.his LOC
      /cääy-gene/PT.PR.SRV.NR?   /kaac-ñä/PT.ST.AW
      full of grain. Then he entered into the bag,

41.   jaan Gaaggaak ŋoye   ti kä cokal, aŋ päk   tükke   ïñï.
       tree raven   under.his LOC with near   and grain.PL spread down
                                /tük-ñe/PT.SOV.AW
      under the nearby tree of Raven, and he sprinkled out some grain.

42.   Aŋ yoori Gaaggaak, aŋ attä Bääm nüütkene.
       and see   raven   and go dove inform
      /yoor-i/PT.OVS.NR /äät-ñä/PT.ST.AW /nüüt–jkene/PT.SRVO.NR
      And Raven saw it, and went and informed Dove.

43. Aŋ kiinne ogo, "Ika käññä päk   a püüktïdïnï   ïñï
     and tell   that I find   grain.PL be spill   down
     /kiin-ne/PT.SOV.NR   /kañ-ñä/PT.SVO.NR.1s   /püük-ttidini/VA.PL?
     And he (Raven) told him, "I found grain spilled down

44. jaan ŋoy baanni,   aŋ ika batta ämä   päk.
     tree under area.my and I   not eat   grain.PL
               /baan-ni?/   /am-yä/NP.SVO.TW.1s?
     under the tree of my area, and I am not eating the grain.

45. Aŋ atï, amä tok."   Aŋ Bääm gïmmïn,
     and go   eat just   and dove agree
     /äät-cï/NP.MT.NR.1t   /am-yä/NP.SVO.TW.2s?   /gïm-pin/PT.SVO.TW
     Let us both go, and you (can) eat it." And Dove agreed,

46. aŋ päygin   iken ke Gaaggaak, aŋ ḍakkä   tï   nänṭä päk.
     and fly   they with raven   and arrive   LOC place grain.PL
          /pääy-kin/PT.ST.NR.3p   /ḍääk-ñä/PT.ST.AW
     and he and Raven flew, and they arrived to the place of the grain.

47. Aŋ Bääm koojjin   ïñï   ogo   ike ämje päk,
     and dove land   down so.that he eat   grain.PL
               /kooy-cin/PT.MT.AW /am-ce/NP.SVO.AW?
     And Dove came down to eat the grain,

48. i Wiiw a ṭaron kä   cokal. Aŋ müŋŋe, aŋ   taaññe   ogo,
     but fox be hide   with near   and catch   and ask   that
      /ṭar-on/VA.SG   /mük-ne/PT.SOV.NR   /taac-ne/PT.SOV.NR
     and Fox was hiding nearby. And he caught him, and asked him,

49. "A ŋaani ken ïkï   nüütkeney waŋ yaanna?" A Wiiw ken tääccin.
      be who be you(sg) inform   eye this   be fox be ask
                        /nüüt–jkeney/PT.SRVO.NR.3s-2s /taac-ccin/PT.SVO.AW
     "Who gave you this idea?" Fox was the one asking him.

50. Aŋ kiini Bääm, "A Gaaggaak ken ika nüütkana waŋ."
     and tell dove   be raven   be me inform   eye
          /kiin-i/PT.OVS.NR   /nüüt-jkana/PT.SRVO.NR.3s-1s
     And Dove told him, "It was Raven who informed me of this idea."

51. Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo, "Gula   ïkï   müŋŋeni täññaŋ,
     and tell   fox   that oh.how you(sg) catch   now

/kiin-i/PT.OVS.NR   /mük-neni/PT.SOV.NR.1s-2s
And Fox told him, "Oh how I have caught you now,

52.   aŋ ïkï   bi   ereni   pok."
       and you(sg) will slaughter mouth.POS
                   /er-eni/NP.SOV.NR.1s-2s
       and I will slaughter you."

53.   Aŋ Bääm weekcin, aŋ Wiiw kolde ogo,
       and dove cry   and fox   refuse that
       /week-ccin/PT.MT.AW   /kol-de/NP.PR.SOV.NR
       And Dove cried, and was refusing Fox,

54.   "Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok,   yuudu por,
        not me taste   neck.LOC wait   just
       /näk-daa/NP.PR.SOV.NR.2s-1s   /yuut-wä/ NP.ST.AW.2s
       "Do not eat me, just wait,

55.   ïkï   nüütkeni. Ika attä laayä,
       you(sg) inform   I   go   roam
       /nüüt-jkeni/NP.SRVO.NR.1s-2s /äät-ñä/PT.ST.AW.1s /laay-wä/NP.ST.AW.1s
       I will inform you. I went roaming,

56.   aŋ ika käññä kabal ṭuule   a caagon   kockon a tüwon,
       and I   find   sheep small.his be fat   very   be dead
             /kañ-ñä/PT.SVO.NR.1s   /caak-on/VA.SG   /tüw-on/VA.SG
       and I found a very fat young dead sheep,

57.   aŋ ika ṭäkä ïkï   ijeni.
       and I   want you take
       /ṭäk-cä/NP.SVO.TW.1s? /ic-eni/NP.SOV.NR.1s-2s
       and I want to take you.

58.   Aŋ naana batta agï   kañgon ye, ika wäättana amja."
       and if   not be.we(two) find   DP me after.that eat
                             /kañ-kon/NP.SOV.NR.1e-3s   /am-ca/NP.SOV.NR.2s-1s
       And if we do not find it, then you can eat me."

59.   Aŋ taaji Wiiw ogo, "Aŋ ïkïï   bi   atï ogoo?"
       and ask   fox   that and we(two) will go   how
            /taac-i/PT.OVS.NR   /äät-cï/NP.MT.NR.1t
       And Fox asked him, "How will we go?"

60. Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Mügja buggi   ti kä lekü.
     and tell dove that catch   wing.PL.my LOC with teeth.your(sg)
     /**kiin-i**/PT.OVS.NR   /**mük-ja**/NP.PR.SVO.NR.2s   /buŋ-gä-i/ /lek-ü/
     And Dove told him, "Hold on to my wings with your teeth.

61. Aŋ naana ïkïï   ḍakkï tï ye, ika bi weekcä   ogo,
     and when we(two) arrive   LOC DP I   will cry   that
                        /**ḍääk-ñï**/PT.ST.AW.1t   /**week-ccä**/NP.MT.AW.1s
     And when we arrive, I will cry,

62. *kuruk, kuruk* ääŋki   kä yew." Aŋ Wiiw gïmmïn,
     (sound)   time.PL.my with two   and fox accept
                    /ääŋ-kä-i/   /**gïm-pin**/PT.SVO.TW
     kaaw, kaaw two times." And Fox accepted him,

63. aŋ wääna ḍakkene   ti   ye, Bääm weekcin,
     and when arrive   LOC DP dove cry
     /**ḍääk-jkene**/PT.PR.IT.NR? /**week-ccin**/PT.MT.AW
     and when they arrived, Dove cried,

64. aŋ yoku taajjï Wiiw, aŋ äkkene,   aŋ Bääm pääynä,
     and truly ask   fox   and release   and dove fly
     /**taac-jï**/NP.OVS.AW? /**äk–jkene**/PT.SRVO.NR   /**pääy-nä**/PT.ST.NR
     and Fox wanted to ask him (something), and released him, and Dove flew away,

65. i week kä jone   ñamme.
     and cry   with heart.his be.sweet
     /**week-Ø**/NP.ST.NR /jon-e/ /**ñap-ne**/VA.SG?
     and was crying with gladness.

66. Yaan wiiw a yaanni nüütï   ogo,
     also story be this   inform   that
                        /**nüüt-cï**/NP.SVO.NR.3s
     This story tells us that,

67. waak   a kañdïï me   ye, ŋana boonjï me.
     thing.PL be find   people DP not   little   people
              /**kañ-dïï**/NP.PR.OVS.DP.NR   /**boon-jï**/NP.SVR.NR?
     the things people find, they should be enough for people.

Wiiw ke Leeñ (Leeñ)

Fox   and elephant

The Fox and the Elephant

1.   Ñomuk ku on yuungu yakkalaŋ ti, waak luum jiñe ŋelok ṭuuŋ.
      long.ago time.past year.PL certain   LOC thing.PL grass inside.he dance horn
                                                                         /ŋeel-ok/NP.ST.NR.3p
      Long ago in past time of certain years, the wild animals were dancing the horn dance.

2.   Aŋ Wiiw ŋeel kä waygä yek boṇṇan,
      and fox dance with shoe.PL of.PL skin
              /ŋeel/NP.ST.NR
      And Fox was dancing with shoes of leather,

3.   aŋ wegok kïïge ti ogo, *wac, wac, wac.*
      and make.sound foot.PL.his LOC that (sound)
         /week-ok/NP.ST.NR.3p   /kïy-kä-e/
      And his feet were making the sound, *tap, tap, tap.*

4.   Aŋ tiiŋi Leeñ, aŋ taaññe ogo,
      and hear elephant and ask that
         /tiiŋ-i/PT.OVS.NR /taac-ne/PT.SOV.NR
      And Elephant heard him, and asked him,

5.   "A ŋaakani ken eŋdä wegok kïïgü tï doŋ?"
       be what.PL be wear make.sound foot.PL.your LOC like.this
      /eŋ-dä/NP.PR.SOV.NR.2s-3s /week-ok/ NP.ST.NR.3p
      "What are you wearing on your feet making a sound like this?"

6.   Aŋ luugi Wiiw ogo, "A waygä kïïgï."
      and reply fox that be shoe.PL foot.PL.my
         /luuk-i/PT.OVS.NR /kïy-gä-i/
      And Fox replied to him, "(These) are the shoes of my feet."

7.   Aŋ kiini Leeñ ogo, "Ika ṭäkä näŋgaa tok."
      and tell elephant that I want make.for just
      /kiin-i/PT.OVS.NR /ṭak-cä/NP.SVO.TW.1s? /näŋ-jkaa/NP.SRVO.NR.2s-1s
      Then Elephant told him, "I want you to make some for me."

8.   Aŋ Leeñ attä meken nüütkene ogo,
      and elephant go certain.ones inform
            /äät-ñä/PT.ST.AW /nüüt–jkene/PT.SRVO.NR
      And Elephant went and informed others,

9.   "Wiiw me näŋgedee waygä kä, aŋ atïn

```
        fox    people make.for  shoe.PL with    and go
                   /näŋ-jkedee/NP.PR.SRVO.DP.NR    /äät-cïn/NP.MT.NR.1i
        "Fox makes shoes for people, so let's go (to him)
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10.   näŋgïn   tok." Aŋ juwin   attä muureen,
        make.for   just and rise.up   go   all
        /näŋ-jkïn/NP.SRVO.NR.3s-1i   /juw-win/PT.MT.TW   /äät-ñä/PT.ST.AW
        and he will make them for us." And they all got up and went,

11.   aŋ Wiiw wääti baanne, aŋ bäärgä   ogo,
        and fox find   area.his and call   that
        /wäät-ki/PT.OVSL.NR.3p-3s?   /baan-ne/   /bäär-kä/NP.OVS.NR
        and found Fox in his place, and were calling him,

12.   "Wiiw, ikoon   ḍäägonon."
         fox   we(not you) arrive
                                /ḍääk-wonon/PT.MT.DP.TW.1e
        "Fox, we have arrived."

12b.   Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo,   "Yuude por, cïcam kïlkä."
        and fox speak that   wait   just knife sharpen
         /jaay-cin/PT.MT.AW   /yuut-we/NP.SRV.NR.2p-1s?   /kïl-jkä/NP.SRVO.NR.1s-3s
         And Fox said, "Just you wait, I am sharpening a knife."

13.   Aŋ bäärgä Wiiw ogo, "Mäŋkalaŋ käjä   äräk."
        and call   fox that someone   enter inside
            /bäär-kä/NP.OVS.NR   /kaac-wä/NP.ST.AW
        And Fox was calling them, "Someone may enter inside."

14.   Aŋ Wiiw juwin   Liik   paaje kïïgïn   ogo,
        And fox rise.up elephant.PL peel   foot.PL.their.LOC that
                /juw-win/PT.MT.TW   /paac-e/NP.SOV.NR   /kïy-gä-ïn?/
        And Fox got up and was peeling the Elphants in their feet saying that,

15.   ŋäälkedee waygä, aŋ Leeñ   yaana a caagon ye,
        make.for   shoe.PL and elephant who   be fat   DP
        /ŋaal-jkedee/NP.PR.SRVO.DP.NR   /caak-on/VA.SG
        he was peeling shoes for them, and the elephant that was fat,

16.   cïcam ŋaaljede ïñï,   aŋ yaana bämaŋ ye, ken paaje ñaalok.
        knife peel   down and who   weak   DP be peel   north
        /ŋaal-cede/NP.PR.SOV.AW   /bäm-aŋ/NP.PR.ST.AW   /paac-e/NP.SOV.NR
        he made deep, and the one that was thin, he peeled shallowly.

348

17. Aŋ Wiiw Liik   kiinne ogo, "Ääte nïïnkä kä   ŋaṭükel."
     and fox elephant.PL tell   that go   day.PL with seven
                          /kiin-ne/PT.SOV.NR   /äät-ce/NP.MT.NR.2p
     And Fox told the Elephants, "Return in seven days."

18. Aŋ Wiiw yäŋgä Liik   kïïgen   amme.
     and fox meat.PL elephant.PL foot.PL.their eat
                                /kïy-gä-en/ /am-ne/PT.SOV.NR
     And Fox ate the meat of the elephants' feet.

19. Aŋ Liik   äätin, aŋ Wiiw kiini ogo,
     and elephant.PL go   and fox   tell that
              /äät-cin/PT.MT.NR   /kiin-i/PT.OVS.NR
     And the Elephants came and told Fox,

20. "Iñjon   waygä yooko."
      give   shoe.PL our.PL
      /iñ-jon/NP.SRVO.NR.2p-1e?
     "Give us our shoes."

21. Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo, "Por keeya   wina,
     and tell fox   that   just wait.for like.that
     /kiin-i/PT.OVS.NR   /keey-a/NP.SOV.NR.2p-1s
     And Fox told them, "You just wait for me like this,

22. dale waygä yeekic   iñekä woo."
     let shoe.PL your(pl).PL give   out
     /dal-e/NP.SOV.NR.2p-3s   /iñ-ekä/NP.OVSL.NR.1s-3s?
     let me give you your shoes out here."

23. Aŋ Wiiw gäykä cüge yokïn,   aŋ kuuyin   woo,
     and fox   skin.PL move body.PL.their.LOC? and fly   out
     /cük-e/NP.SOV.NR   /yor-kä-ïn/   /kuuy-win/PT.MT.TW
     And Fox was moving the skins of their bodies, and jumped out,

24. aŋ yore   jecce woo. Aŋ Wïïw ojiyok Liik,
     and body.his run   out and Fox   chase elephant.PL
                 /jic-cce/NP.SLV.AW   /ojiy-ok/NP.ST.NR.3p
     and he ran away. And the Elephants chased Fox,

25. aŋ Liik   üüŋjene küügü gïtï,   aŋ Liik   yoji ŋañ,
     and elephant.PL go   thorn.PL through and elephant.PL inable run

349

/üüŋ-cene/PT.SLV.AW   /yoc-wi/PT.RVS.TW   /ŋañ-Ø/NP.ST.NR

and he directed the Elephants through the thorns, and they (thorns) disabled the Elephants to run,

26.   aŋ wäättana wegok nänken   ti,
         and after.that cry   place.PL.their LOC
                /week-ok/ NP.ST.NR.3p   /nänṭä-kä-en/
         and afterwards they trumpeted where they were,

27.   i   Wiiw lüüt, i   yaaw ogo, "Wee, wee, wee!"
         and fox   run   and yell   that
         /lüüt-Ø/NP.ST.NR   /yaaw-Ø /NP.ST.NR
         and Fox was running and yelling, "Ha, ha, ha!"

28.   Aŋ lüüttü tï pääm   ŋoy, aŋ käññä ḍuk,
         and run   LOC mountain under and find   gum
            /lüüt-ñä/PT.ST.AW   /kañ-ñä/PT.SVO.NR
         And he ran under the mountain, and found gum,

29.   aŋ urre, aŋ paatte waŋge   ti, aŋ yoori Liik
         and pick   and spread eye.PL.his LOC and see   elephant.PL
           /ur-ne/PT.SOV.NR   /paat-ñe/PT.SOV.AW   /waŋ-gä-e/   /yoor-i/PT.OVS.NR
         and he gathered it and spread it on his face, and the Elephants saw him

30.   cääy, aŋ taaji ogo, "A ŋaani ina cääy yaanna?"
         sit   and ask   that   be who   so sit   this
         /cääy-Ø/NP.ST.NR   /taac-i/PT.OVS.NR /cääy-Ø/NP.ST.NR
         sitting, and asked him, "Who is this sitting?"

31.   Aŋ jaajjin ogo, "A ika." Aŋ taaji ogo,
         and say   that be I   and ask   that
         /jaay-cin/PT.MT.AW   /taac-i/PT.OVS.NR
         And he said, "It is me." And they asked him,

32.   "Baati mäŋkalaŋ   yaana a kaajon winni ye?"
          not another.person who be pass   here DP
                          /kaac-on/VA.SG
         "Was there not someone else who passed by here?"

33.   Aŋ jaajjin ogo, "Ika agä   uyku,   baati mana agä yoorgon ye."
         and say   that I   be.1s blind.person.PL not   person be.1s see   DP
           /jaay-cin/PT.MT.AW   /yoor-kon/NP.SOV.NR.1e-3s
         And he said, "I am blind and I am not seeing any person."

34. Aŋ Liik   attï wiirok   mätï piik,
     and elephant.PL go   river.LOC drink water
     /äät-ñä/PT.ST.AW /wiiy-ok/ /mät-cï/NP.SVO.NR
     And the Elephants went to the river to drink water,

35. aŋ Wiiw attä wiirok, aŋ Liik   yoorre mätï piik muure,
     and fox go   river.LOC and elephant.PL see   drink water all
     /äät-ñä/PT.ST.AW   /yoor-ne/PT.SOV.NR /mät-cï/NP.SVO.NR
     and Fox went to the river, and saw the Elephants drinking all the water,

36. aŋ tääckene ti ogo, "Ikee   ate wa?"
     and ask   LOC that you(pl) go where
     /taac-jkene/PT.SRVO.NR   /äät-ce/NP.MT.NR.2P
     and asked it from them, "Where are you going?"

37. Aŋ kiini ogo, "Ikoon   aajjodon woo wiiy."
     And tell that we(not you) cross   out river
          /kiin-i/PT.OVS.NR   /aay-codon/NP.PR.SVO.AW.1e
     And they told him, "We are crossing the river."

38. Aŋ attä Leeñ   yaana tälaŋ ye ti, aŋ kiinne ogo,
     and go   elephant who big   DP LOC and tell   that
          /äät-ñä/PT.ST.AW   /kiin-ne/PT.SOV.NR
     And he went to the Elephant who is big, and told him,

39. "Ika batta liïltä   aaydin piik."
      I   not be.able cross   water
     /liïl-ttä/PR.SVO.NR.1s   /aay-din/PT.PR.SVO.NR.1s
     "I am not able to cross the water."

40. Aŋ kiini Leeñ   ogo, "Kaacci ŋäñi   ti."
     and tell elephant that enter   back.my LOC
          /kiin-i/PT.OVS.NR /kaac-cci/NP.MT.NR.2s /ŋäñ-i/
     And Elephant told him, "Get on my back."

41. Aŋ kaaccä Leeñ   mooye ŋäñe   ti, aŋ aajjene woo wiiy.
     and enter   elephant big.his back.his LOC and cross   out river
          /kaac-ñä/PT.ST.AW   /ŋäñ-e/   /aay-cene/PT.PR.SOV.AW
     And he got on the big Elephant's back, and they crossed over the river.

42. A Leeñ   mooye yaana paañ̃e kïigïn   ye,
     be elephant big.his who peel   foot.PL.his.LOC DP

351

/**paac-ne**/PT.SOV.NR   /kïy-gä-e-ïn/
It was the big Elephant, whose feet were peeled,

43.   ken ike aajjï woo wiiy. Yaan wiiw a   yaanni ïkïïn nüütkïdïn   ogo
       be he cross   out river also story be this   we.1i inform   that
            /**aay-cï**/NP.SVO.AW   /**nüüt-jkidin**/NP.PR.SRVO.NR.3s-1i?
       who was crossing the river. This story tells us that

44.   ŋana me   naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken.
       not people press   action.SG bad
       /**naŋ-dïïn**/PT.PR.SVO.DP.NR?   /**yaac-jken**/VN.PL?
       people should not do bad things.

Wiiw ke   Geel (Geel)

fox   and lion
The Fox and the Lion

1.   Ñomuk ku on,   wakkä   luum jiñe cäyok nänṭä keellä,
      long.ago past.time things.POS grass in.his live   place   same.LOC?
                                              /**cääy-ok**/NP.ST.NR.3p
      Long ago in past time, wild animals were living in the same place,

2.   baan yaŋkalaŋ jï. Aŋ Geel bilti   ke meken,
      area another in and lion there with other.PL
      in another country. And Lion was there with the others,

3.   aŋ nääŋke   toorok bilti, meken muure ene,
      and action.PL.his be.bad   there other.PL all   threaten
          /nääŋ-kä-e/ /**toor-ok**/NP.ST.NR.3p   /**en-e**/NP.SOV.NR
      and he did bad actions, threatening all the others,

4.   i   dürjï   yämde ṭulgu ti, i jiibe yaan.
      but youth.PL threaten girl.PL LOC but hit   also
                   /**yäm-de**/NP.PR.SOV.NR   /**jep-e**/NP.SOV.NR
      and threatening the youth about the girls (not to go after girls), and he was also
      beating them.

5.   Aŋ dürjï   wäättana bojok kä   baaṇṇä   ṭulgu.
      and youth.PL after.that afraid from love   girl.PL
                   /**booc-ok**/NP.ST.NR.3p   /**baat-nä**/VN.SG
      And afterwards, the youth were afraid from loving the girls.

352

6. Aŋ Geel wäättana ṭulgu baade pare küüttaŋ,
    and lion after.that girl.PL love   alone alone
                          /baat-e/NP.SOV.NR
    And afterwards, Lion was the only one loving the girls,

7. i   baati durñu   yaana ŋuca wükcïdï tï   ṭulgu gurken   ti   ye.
    and not   youth.SG who   again pass   LOC girl.PL side.PL.their LOC DP
                              /wük-ccïdï/NP.PR.MT.AW   /gun-kä-en/
    and there was no youth who could go near, to be next to the girls.

8. Aŋ Wiiw jiik   yaakka tiiŋŋe, aŋ   toorok batta
    and fox   word   these hear   and bad   not
                              /tiiŋ-ne/PT.SOV.NR
    And Fox heard about this matter, and badness did not

9. kaaccïdï wiñe   ti, aŋ jone   batta ñabaŋ.
    enter   head.his LOC and heart.his not   be.happy
    /kaac-ccïdï/NP.PR.MT.AW   /ñap-aŋ/NP.PR.ST.AW
    enter his head (it was not good for him), and his heart was not happy.

10. Aŋ juwin   ḍoŋe   lääkkene ogo kar,
    and rise   self.his loosen   that straight.away
    /juw-win/PT.MT.TW   /lääk-jkene/PT.SRVO.NR
    He got up and left straight away,

11. atï ükcïdï   gïtï   jiik yaakka ṭulgu ti.
    go   evaluate   through word these   girl.PL LOC
    /äät-cï/NP.MT.NR   /ük-ccïdï/NP.PR.SVO.AW
    he went to evaluate by these words of the girls (if he heard the matter correctly).

12. Aŋ wääna ḍakke   ti   ye, ŋïïppe yokïn   ogo, "Ogook?"
    and when   arrive LOC DP greet   body.PL.LOC? that   how.are.you
    /ḍääk-ñe/PT.MT.DP.AW   /ŋïïp-ñe/PT.SOV.AW   /yor-k-en-ïn/
    And when he arrived, he greeted them, "How are you?"

13. Aŋ luugi ṭulgu ogo, "Jiik kalaŋ   baati."
    and reply girl.PL that   issue certain not
        /luuk-i/PT.OVS.NR
    And the girls replied, "There is no problem."

14. Aŋ tääcki   ti Wiiw ogo, "A jiñe ogo, ikee   jaayje ogo
    and ask   LOC fox   that be true that you(pl) say   that
        /taac-jki/PT.RVSO.NR   /jaay-je/NP.PR.ST.NR.2p

353

Then Fox asked them, "Is it true that you are saying that

15. Geel ken ogo oon pare ya?" Aŋ ṭulgu gïmmïn ogo, "Ee."
    lion be that man only yes   and girl.PL accept   that yes
                                          /gïm-pin/PT.SVO.TW
    Lion is the only man?" And the girls agreed, "Yes."

16. Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "Naana ook ke dürjï   muure
    and fox say   that   if   men with youth.PL all
           /jaay-cin/PT.MT.AW
    And Fox said, "If all the men and youth

17. boone   juugin   ogo bojgo   ko   Geel ye,
    be.unable heart.PL.their.LOC that be.afraid from lion DP
    /boon-e/NP.MT.DP.NR   /jon-ggu-en-in/ /booc-go/NP.PR.ST.DP.NR.3p
    are unable in their hearts and afraid of Lion,

18. ika batta booju kä   Geel, ika cäänna agä oon bata ike aŋan.
    I   not afraid from lion I   also   be.1s man like he this
              /booc-wä/NP.ST.AW.1s
    I am not afraid of Lion, I am also a man like him.

19. Yeeni ääŋkalaŋ   naana buṭu   woo ye, ooric   yaanna bi taapä   kä."
    mine certain.day if   come.out out DP man.POS.your this will ride   with
                        /buur-cä/NP.ST.TW /oon-r-ic/   /taap-cä/NP.SOV.AW.1s-3s
    If my (strength) were to be revealed one day, I would ride on this your man."

20. Aŋ boongu   jok ṭulgu, aŋ kiintä   ogo, "Ocu, ocu, ocu!
    and unable heart girl.PL and say   that ha   ha   ha
          /boon-kä/NP.OVS.NR   /kiin-ttä/NP.PR.OVS.NR
    And the girls were doubting him, and they were saying to him, "Ha, ha, ha!

21. Wiiw, booju   kä   loon. Atä ukcu   maka   daa
    fox   be.afraid.PR.ST.2s from shyness go   look.for other.people as
    /booc-wä/NP.ST. AW.2s   /äät-cä/NP.ST.NR.2s /uk-ccu/NP.SVO.AW.2s?
    Fox, you are afraid from shyness. Go look for other people who

22. maldä   ŋingïn ye. Ïkï   ṭüülü   yaanna daa bi näŋä ŋaaka?"
    try   deceive DP you(sg) small.your this   as   will make what
    /mal-dä/NP.PR.SOV.NR.2s-3s /ŋin-jkïn/NP.SRVO.NR.1i-3p   /näŋ-yä/NP.SVO.TW.2s?
    you will try to deceive. You small thing, you can do what (you can't do anything)?"

23. Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ   ti, ŋiil   juwin baan jï.

and day.another LOC dance rise   area in
/ŋeel-Ø/NP.ST.NR /juw-win/PT.MT.TW
Another day, there was a dance in this country.

24.   Aŋ Wiiw juwin attä   Geel ti,   aŋ kiinne ogo,
     and fox   rise   go   lion LOC and tell   that
          /juw-win/PT.MT.TW   /äät-ñä/PT.ST.AW /kiin-ne/PT.SOV.NR
     And Fox got up and went to Lion, and told him,

25.   "Müükonḍi, ŋiil   yaŋkalaŋ juwin baan jï ka.
      friend.my   dance certain   rise   area in
     /müükon-ṭi/   /ŋeel-Ø/NP.ST.NR /juw-win/PT.MT.TW
     "My friend, a certain dance is taking place in the country.

26.   Aŋ ika tuucata   me   ogo, 'Ïkïï   atcï,'
     and me sent   people that   we(two) go
     /tuc-cata/NP.PR.SOV.TW.3p-1s?   /äät-ccï/NP.MT.AW.1t
     And people are sending me to say, 'Let's go,'

27.   naana ïkïï   baawgï tï ye, ŋiil batta bi ñabo   ñap.
     if   we(two) absent   LOC DP dance not   will be.good good
     /baaw-kï/NP.PR.ST.NR.1t? /ŋeel-Ø/NP.ST.NR /ñap-wo/NP.MT.DP.TW? /ñap-Ø/NP.ST.NR
     if we both are absent, the dance will not be good at all.

28.   Aŋ müükonḍi   por ŋäjjä, nïïnkä yaakki ti   yori   boonu   kockon.
     and friend.my   just know day.PL these.my LOC body.my be.sick   very
         /müükon-ṭi/   /ŋäy-cä/NP.SVO.AW.2s? /yaakka-i/   /boon-yä/NP.ST.TW
     And do you know, my friend, in these days my body is very sick.

29.   Aŋ inni äätä ïkï   tï, yaanne yori   riijänä   kä   pet.
     and when go   you(sg) LOC this   body.my struggle from only
          /äät-cä/NP.MT.NR.1s   /riic-wänä/NP.LVS.TW
     And when I came to you, this body of mine was really struggling.

30.   Aŋ täññani ïkïï   bi   bülcï   müürï ogoo?
     and now.1t   we(two) will return   all.1t how
                     /büül-ccï/NP.MT.AW.1t
     And now how will we both return?

31.   Yori   waagdä ika batta bi lïïṭä   wään ŋuca."
     body.my feel   I   not   will be.able   walk again
     /yor-i/ /waak-dä/NP.PR.SOV.NR.1s-3s   /lïïl-cä/NP.SVO.TW.1s? /wään-Ø/VN?
     My body feels like I will not be able to walk again."

32.   Aŋ kiini Geel ogo, "Ïkï   bi taapci ŋäñi   ti."
    and tell   lion that you(sg) will ride   back.my LOC
        /kiin-i/PT.OVS.NR   /taap-cci/NP.SVO.NR.2s? /ŋäñ-i/
    And Lion told him, "You will ride me on my back."

33.   Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin jone   ti ogo, "Ee, a yaana ṭäkkä ye inni!"
    and fox say   heart.his LOC that yes be which want DP this
        /jaay-cin/PT.MT.AW   /jon-e/   /ṭäk-ñä/PT.SVO.NR.1s
    And Fox said to himself, "Yes, this is what I want!"

34.   Aŋ Wiiw taappä Geel ŋäñe   ti. Aŋ Wiiw Geel kiinne ogo,
    and fox ride   lion back.his LOC and fox lion tell   that
        /taap-ñä/PT.SVO.NR /ŋäñ-e/   /kiin-ne/PT.SOV.NR
    And Fox rode on the Lion's back. And Fox told Lion,

35.   "Dalä ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan ḍoŋü   ti, mükküdü kä yori."
    let I tie rope neck.your(sg) LOC catch   with body.my
    /dal-ä/NP.SOV.NR.2s-3s /ḍek-ccä/NP.SVO.AW.1s? /mük-ckädä/NP.PR.SRVO.NR.1s-3s?
    Let me tie the rope on your neck (so that) I control it myself."

36.   Aŋ wääna ḍekke daa kä ḍoŋe   ti ye,
    and when tie   that from neck.his LOC DP
        /ḍek-ñe/PT.SVO.DP.NR?   /ḍoŋ-e/
    And when he tied it on his neck,

37.   wiṇṇan müṇṇe kä ïnte   aam, aŋ Geel üütte ti nänṭä ŋiil,
    rope catch   with hand.his left and lion run LOC place dance
        /mük-ne/PT.SOV.NR   /ïntä-e/ /üüt-ñe/PT.MT.DP.AW
    he grabbed the rope with his left hand, and Lion ran for him to the place of dancing,

38.   aŋ yooṭi ṭulgu, i taabit Geel,
    and see girl.PL but ride lion
        /yoor-ci/PT.OVS.AW   /taap-it/NP.PR.SVO.NR
    and the girls saw him, and he was riding Lion,

39.   aŋ wääna ḍäägene ti kä cokal ye,
    and when arrive LOC with near DP
    /ḍääk-wene/PT.MT.DP.TW
    and when he arrived nearby (to them),

40.   oja   ïnte   lääwene ñaalok, i nüüdede ïñï Geel ŋäc,
    certain hand.SG.his raise   north but point down lion back.POS

/ïn-tä-e/   /laaw-wene/PT.SOV.TW   /nüüt-wede/NP.PR.SOV.TW   /ŋäñ/
he raised his hand up, and pointed down to the Lion's back,

41.   i   jaayi   jone   ti   ogo, "Ikee   batta kiinde   ogo,
and say   heart.his LOC that   you(pl) not tell   that
       /jaay-wi/PT.RVS.TW   /jon-e/   /kiin-de/NP.PR.SOV.NR.1s-2p
and said in his heart, "Did I not tell you

42.   ooric   yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ,   yuure!
man.your this   will ride   with day.certain see
       /oon-r-ic/   /taap-cä/NP.SOV.AW.1s-3s   /yoor-e/NP.SOV.NR.2p-3s
that I would one day ride this your man, look!

43.   Por mana   boone   jok ye."
just certain.person be.weak   near   DP
                   /boon-e/NP.MT.DP.NR
He is a weak person."

44.   Aŋ ṭulgu murru   gïṭï   kä   yaalgä, i   ïnken   pamgä.
and girl.PL flee   through with laugh.PL but hand.PL.their clap
            /mur-nä/PT.ST.NR   /ïntä-kä-en/   /pam-kä/NP.OVS.NR
Then the girls came running with laughter while clapping their hands.

45.   Aŋ Wiiw kuuyin   ïñï,   aŋ   wäättana ŋeel   ke   ṭulgu küüttaŋ.
and fox   jump   down and after.that dance   with girl.PL alone
            /kuuy-win/PT.MT.TW   /ŋeel-Ø/PR.ST.NR
And Fox jumped down, and then only he was dancing with the girls.

46.   Aŋ wäättana waak   muureen luggin kä   owkïṭïn Wiiw.
and after.that thing.PL all   agree   with strength fox
                   /luuk-gin/PT.PR.SVO.NR?
Afterwards, all the animals acknowledged the strength of Fox.

47.   Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüüṭï   ogo ŋana yorü   naŋdeey ogo
also story   this   inform that not body.your make   that
            /nüüt-cï/NP.SVO.NR /yor-ü/   /naŋ-deey/NP.PR.SOV.DP.NR.2s-3s
This story shows that you should not make yourself

48.   ïkï agjey oon parü,   ook bilto   ti   cäänna.
you be   men alone.your men be.there LOC also
       /ak-jey/NP.PR.ST.DP.NR.2s?   /par-ü/
to be the only man; there are (other) men also.

Albe **üüljï** **tüggïn** **kääl** **äwñä** (**Äwñä**)

(name) close ? cave porcupine

/**üül-ci**/PT.OVS.AW

The cave of the porcupine traps Albe

Author: Mamun Hissen
Transcriber: Yousif Juzuli

1. Ääŋkalaŋ ti wina Albe attä kiñuk ke guuŋ yeene,
   day.certain LOC like.that Albe go hunt with dog his.SG
   /**äät-ñä**/PT.ST.AW
   One day, Albe went on a hunt with his dog,

2. aŋ wääna laaye kä ye, käññä kääl äwñä.
   and when roam.PT.ST to? DP find cave porcupine
   /**lääy-e**/NP.MT.DP.NR /**kañ-ñä**/PT.SVO.NR
   and while roaming around, he found the cave of a porcupine.

3. Aŋ kaaccä käälok määjï äwjï,
   and enter cave.LOC look.for porcupine.PL
   /**kaac-ñä**/PT.ST.AW /**kääl-ok**/ /**maaw-yï**/NP.SVO.NR
   And he entered the cave looking for a porcupine,

4. i guuŋ yeene mañjene ïñï üntük. Aŋ määññä,
   but dog his leave down outside and look.for
   /**maŋ-cene**/PT.PR.SOV.AW /**maaw-ñä**/PT.SVO.NR
   but left his dog outside. Then he looked for it (porcupine),

5. aŋ näkkä äwñä kä keelok, aŋ erre pok.
   and feel porcupine with one and cut mouth.POS
   /**näk-ñä**/PT.SVO.NR /**er-ne**/PT.SOV.NR? /poŋ/
   and felt one porcupine, then slaughtered it.

6. Aŋ ike ṭäkï kääjïdï woo,
   and he want pass.by out
   /**ṭäk-cï**/NP.SVO.NR /**kaac-wïdï**/NP.PR.MT.TW
   Then he was wanting to go out,

7. aŋ wääna ḍäägenee kääl tük ye, kääl tüke üüljene.
   and when arrive cave door DP cave door.his close
   /**ḍääk-wenee**/PT.ST.DP.TW /**üül-cene**/PT.PR.SOV.AW
   and when he arrived at the cave entrance, the cave entrance was closed off.

358

8.   Aŋ Albe batta a lïïṭon   kääjin   woo,
           and Albe not   be be.able pass.by out
                             /**lïïl-con**/VA.SG? /**kaac-win**/PT.MT.TW
           And Albe was not able to go out,

9.   aŋ ike nääkin   nïïnkä kä   yewwe käälok.
           and he spend   day.PL with two   cave.LOC
                 /**näk-pin**/PT.SVO.TW
           And he spent two days in the cave,

10.   Aŋ wäättana kääl tüke   kupkene, aŋ   wäättana Albe kääjin woo.
           and after.that cave door.his open   and after.that Albe pass   out
                            /**kup-jkene**/PT.SOVL.NR   /**kaac-win**/PT.MT.TW
           And afterwards the cave door opened, and then Albe went out.

11.   Aŋ nïïnkä yaakka ti   muure, Albe batta ämï,
           and day.PL these   LOC all   Albe not   eat
                              /**am-yï**/NP.SVO.NR
           And all these days, Albe did not eat,

12.   aŋ batta mätï   ke   kääje   woo.
           and not   drink until pass.by out
           /**mät-cï**/NP.SVO.NR   /**kaac-e**/NP.MT.DP.NR
           and was not drinking until he went out.

13.   Aŋ daa   guuŋ yeene, miigene ike keeygä woo üntük,
           and which dog his.PL find   he wait   out outside
                 /**miik-wene**/PT.SOV.TW   /**keey-kä**/NP.OVS.NR
           And that which was his dog he found waiting for him outside,

14.   aŋ waak   yeeke koowne, aŋ wäättana ḍuukin   ŋäjäk paa.
           and thing.PL his.PL take   and after.that return   back home
                    /**koow-ne**/PT.SOV.NR   /**ḍuuk-cin**/PT.MT.NR
           And he took his things, and then returned back home.

Pïïṇṇä (Pïïṇṇä)

mudwasp
The Mudwasp

1.   Ñomuk   ku on,   mäŋkalaŋ   tüwno baan yaŋkalaŋ ti,
           Long.ago time.past person.certain die   area certain   LOC
                          /**tüw-no**/PT.ST.DP.NR

Long ago in time past, someone died in a certain land,

2.   aŋ Pïïṇṇä ken tüccïï me   ogo, "Ato Jooŋ nüütkee."
       and wasp be send people that go God inform
       /tuc-ñïï/PT.OVS.DP.AW   /äät-co/NP.MT.DP.NR.2s /nüüt-jkee/NP.SRVO.NR.2p-3s?
       and people sent Wasp, "You go inform God."

3.   Aŋ wääna attee ko ye, Jooŋ nüütkenee,   aŋ kïïnnïï   Jooŋ ogo,
       and when go   be DP God inform   and tell   God that
       /äät-ñee/PT.ST.DP.AW /nüüt–jkenee/PT.SRVO.DP.NR /kiin-nïï/PT.OVS.DP.NR
       And when he went, he informed God, and God told him,

4.   "Ato me   kiinje ogo, 'Daljï me   ike äätee.' "
        go people tell   that let   people he go/äät-cee/NP.SRV.DP.AW
        /äät-co/NP.MT.DP.NR.2s /kiin-ce/NP.SOV.AW.2p-3p /dal-cï/NP.SVO.NR.2s?
        "Go tell them, 'Let the people (so that) he (me–God) comes.'"

5.   Aŋ Pïïṇṇä wääna ḍukcenee ko ti   me   ti ye,
       and wasp   when return   be LOC people LOC DP
                         /ḍuuk-ccenee/PT.PR.ST.DP.AW
       Then when Wasp returned to the people,

6.   me   kiinnee ogo, men jïkcïï me   ïñï.
       people tell   that person bury   people down
       /kiin-nee/PT.SOV.DP.NR   /jïk-ccïï/NP.OVS.DP.AW
       he told the people that people (should) bury the person.

7.   Aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye, men   wäädenee
       and when God arrive   be LOC DP person find
               /ḍääk-wenee/PT.ST.DP.TW   /wäät-wenee/PT.SOV.DP.TW
       And when God arrived, he found that people

8.   jïkkïï me   ïñï. Aŋ tääccono, aŋ kïïnnïï me   ogo,
       bury people down and ask   and tell   people that
       /jïk-ñïï/PT.OVS.DP.AW   /taac-ccono/PT.SVO.DP.AW   /kiin-nïï/PT.OVS.DP.NR
       had buried the person. So he asked them, and people told him that,

9.   "Pïïṇṇä ken me   kiinnee   ogo, ïkï   ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan."
        wasp be people tell   that you(sg) be say   that this
                         /kiin-nee/PT.SOV.DP.NR   /jaay-ceneey/PT.ST.DP.NR.2s?
       "Wasp told the people that you said (to do) this."

10.   Aŋ Jooŋ jone   püütono,   aŋ Pïïṇṇä müŋŋee,

360

and God heart.his be.unhappy and wasp catch
     /**püüt-cono**/PT.MT.DP.NR /**mük-nee**/PT.SOV.DP.NR
Then God was upset, so he caught Wasp,

11. aŋ ḍeŋŋee teygin   ko wiṇṇan yen bïl.
  and tie   waist.PL.his.LOC with rope of.SG metal
   /**ḍek-nee**/PT.SOV.DP.NR? /tey-gä-e-in/
  and tied his waist with a chain.

12. Aŋ Pïïṇṇä tuummee ogo ŋana giido   yuunge muureen.
  and wasp curse that not give.birth year.PL.his all
  /**tuup?-nee**/PT.SOV.DP.NR /**giit-wo**/NP.MT.DP.TW /yun-gä-e/
  And he cursed Wasp (so) that he would not give birth the rest of his years.

13. Ina ken Pïïṇṇä teye ŋalje ko ŋal yaanna,
  so be wasp waist.his thin with thinness this
       /tey-e/ /**ŋal-ce**/NP.SRV.AW
  That is why Wasp's waist is thin like this,

14. aŋ müügee ko merkä meken yaakka.
  and catch with child.PL other.PL these
   /**mük-ee**/NP.SOV.DP.NR
  and he catches the children of others.

Iin ke Geel (Iin)

Hyena and Lion
The Hyena and Lion

1. Ñomuk ku on Iin ke Geel a mügïn,
  Long time ago hyena and lion are friends,
  A long time ago, Hyena and Lion were friends,

2. aŋ cäygene däk kä yewwe. Aŋ deeŋ Iin ken a deeŋ
  and have cows of two and cow hyena that is cow
  /**cääy-gene**/PT.PR.SVE.AW?
  and they had two cows. Hyena's cow was

3. iiŋe, aŋ deeŋ Geel a yaan.
  female and cow lion is bull
  a female, and Lion's cow was a bull.

4. Aŋ   kaaygä   yäädgänä a yäädgïnï   mäŋkalaŋ   daa   kääjï   nïinkä
   And   grazing   taking   turns   each.person   be   grazing   days
   　　/kaay-kä/VN.PL? /yäät-gänä/NP.RVSO.NR.3p? /yäät-gïnï/VA.SG? /kaay-yï/NP.SVO.NR
   They took turns grazing, so that each one grazed two days at a time,

5. kä   yewwe,   aŋ   daa   ŋuca   yätänä   menen,
   of   two   and   be   again   help   other
   　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　/yät-cänä/NP.OVS.AW
   and the other would also help (him),

6. aŋ   deeŋ   Iin   laaccä.
   and   cow   hyena   become.pregnant
   　　　　　　　/laac-ñä/PT.ST.AW
   and then Hyena's cow got pregnant.

7. Aŋ   Geel   wääna   deeŋ   menen   yoorree da kä   ṭakee kä   giidä   ye,
   And   lion   when   cow   other   saw   had with   want with   give.birth   DP
   　　　　/yoor-nee/PT.SOV.DP.NR?   /ṭäk-cee/NP.SOV.DP.AW /giit-ä/VN.SG?
   And when Lion saw that his friend's cow was going to give birth

8. i   menen kiinne   ogo,   "Müükonḍi,   nïinkä   ŋückïtï,   mäŋkalaŋ   daa
   then   other said   (that)   my.friend   days   add   everyone   be
   /kiin-ne/PT.SOV.NR   　　　　　　　/ŋüc-jkïtï/PR.SRVO.1t?
    he said to his friend, "My friend, we should increase the days, so that each person

9. kääjï   nïinkä   kä   ḍäk,   hayo?"
   grazing   days   of   three   is.not.it
   /kaay-yï/NP.MT.NR
    can graze for three days, alright?"

10. Aŋ   Iin   gïmmïn.
    And   hyena   agreed
    　　　/gïm-pin/PT.SVO.TW
    Hyena agreed.

11. I   ṭakee   kä   ärrä   naañ   menen.
    Then wanted   to   take   calf   his friend
    /ṭäk-cee/NP.SOV.DP.AW   /är-nä/VN.SG
    Then, he wanted to take his friend's calf.

12. Aŋ   wääna   kääññee   nïinkä   kä   yewwe   ye,
    and   when   grazing   days   of   two   DP
    　　　　/kaay-ñee/PT.SVO.DP.AW?

362

So, when he grazed for two days,

13. niïnnä   yaana   wäätcete   kä   ḍäk   ye,   i   oja   deeŋ Iin giiṇṇä.
    day   that   become   of   three   DP   then suddenly cow hyena gave.birth
                /**wäät-ccete**/NP.PR.SRV.AW   /**giit-nä**/PT.ST.NR
    on the third day, Hyena's cow suddenly gave birth.

14. Aŋ   wina   ike   juwin   aŋ   yaan   yeene   paaṇṇe ŋoygin kä baygä
    And like.this   he   started   and   bull   his   plastered anus   with after.birth
    /**juw-win**/PT.MT.TW   /**paat-ne**/PT.SOV.NR
    Immediately, he got up, and rubbed the after-birth fluids on his bull's anus

15. ogo   ken   giiṇṇo   da,
    such that   gave.birth   had
                /**giit-no**/PT.ST.DP.NR
    as though he had given birth,

16. i   ina   a   deeŋ   menen   ken   giiṇṇä   yaanna.
    then really   be   cow   his.friend   that   gave.birth   that
                      /**giit-nä**/PT.ST.NR
    when really it was his friend's cow that gave birth.

17. Aŋ   wääna   däk   kïïdene   da   ti   paa   ye,
    and   when   cows   he.brings   had   to   home   DP
                /**kïït-ene**/PT.OVS.DP.TW?
    When he brought the cows home,

18. i   oja   yooṭi   Iin,   aŋ   Iin   jone   ñapä   kockon,   aŋ   Geel   taacce   ogo,
    then just   saw   hyena and   hyena heart   happy   very   and lion   asked   that
                /**yoor-ci**/PT.OVS.AW   /**ñap-cä**/NP.ST.TW   /**taac-ñe**/PT.SOV.AW
    then Hyena saw them, and Hyena was very happy. And he asked Lion,

19. "An! Deeŋ   yeeni   giiṇṇä   do?"
    Wow! Cow   my   gave.birth
                /**giit-nä**/PT.ST.NR
    "Wow! Did my cow give birth?"

20. Aŋ   wina   ike   oja   menen   reecce   ŋïngïn   woo   ogo,
    And after.that   he   just   his.friend   denied   idea   out   that
                /**reec-ñe**/PT.SOV.AW
    But, he denied what his friend had said, saying,

21. "Ära!   Deeŋ   yüünü   giit?   Wa batta,   a   yaan yeeni ken giiṇṇä."

What!   Cow   your   gave.birth no not   is   bull   my   that   gave.birth
/**giit-Ø**/NP.ST.NR   /**giit-nä**/PT.ST.NR
"No way! Your cow gave birth? No. It was my cow that gave birth."

22.   Aŋ   wina   Iin   daa   yore   ḍiille,   batta   a   jääyïnï   woo   ŋuca,
        And after.that hyena also   himself kept.quiet not   is   saying   out   again
                              /**ḍiil-ne**/PT.SOV.NR   /**jaay-ïnï**/VN.SG?
        After that, Hyena kept quiet. He didn't say another word,

23.   i   ŋäjje   bääkan   daa   a   deeŋ   yeene   ken   giiṇṇä.
        but knows   really   also   is   cow   his   that   gave.birth
          /**ŋäy-ce**/NP.SOV.AW   /**giit-nä**/PT.ST.NR
        although he knew that it was really his cow that had given birth.

24.   Aŋ   ken   ike   booc   kä   menen   a   boojon.
        And   that   he   afraid   from   his.friend   is   fearing
                         /**booc-Ø**/NP.ST.NR   /**booc-on**/VA.SG
        But, he was afraid of his friend.

25.   Aŋ   wina   Geel   wääna Iin   yoorree   da   batta   jaayee ye,
        And after.that lion   when   hyena saw.him   had   not   say   DP
                            /**yoor-nee**/PT.SOV.DP.NR?   /**jaay-ee**/NP.SOV.DP.NR
        And then, when Lion saw that Hyena didn't say anything,

26.   kiini   ogo,   "Nana   ïkï   batta   gïmmädä   kä   jiik   yeeki   ye,
        said   that   If   you   not   agree   with   word   my   DP
    /**kiin-i**/PT.OVS.NR   /**gïm-pädä**/NP.PR.SOV.TW.2s-1s?
        he said, "If you don't accept what I'm saying,

27.   dalä   nänṭä   bojjï   woo   tïṇṇäk.
        let   place   become white out   morning
    /**dal-wä**/NP.SOV.NR.2s-3s   /**boy-cï**/NP.MT.AW
    you wait until morning,

28.   aŋ   mäbaan   ḍülï   witkin,
        and   people   gather   together
                 /**ḍul-wï**/NP.MT.TW
     and the people will gather together,

29.   aŋ   jiik   yaakka   yoken   ookunu   gïttï."
        and   word   these   itself   solve   in
                         /**ook-cänä**/NP.OVS.AW
        and will solve this issue."

30. An   wääna   nänṭä   bojjenee   kä   woo   ye,   i   mäbaan ḍüülï ti
    and   when   place   became white   out   DP ,   then people gathered there
                   /boy-cenee/PT.PR.ST.DP.AW   /ḍül-wï/NP.MT.TW.RP
    And when it became morning, the people gathered

31. aŋ   ike   ken   ïïjïn   kä   jiik   ogo,
    and   he   that   started of   word   that
                  /ïïc-win/PT.MT.TW
    and he started out speaking,

32. "Inni   tiññani   cäyïnkä,   yaanni   ïkïïn   naɲinïn   kä   ŋaani?"
    Now   among   living   these   us   created   by   who
                  /cääy-ïnkä/PVN.PL   /näŋ-winïn/PT.SOV.TW.3P-1in
    "Now among the living, who was it who created us?"

33. Aŋ   mäbaan   luukcin   ogo,   "Kä   Jooŋ!"
    And   people   replied   that   by   Gog
                  /luuk-ccin/PT.SVO.AW
    And people replied, "By God!"

34. Aŋ   me   kiinne ogo, "Mana   daa   ṭäkänä   Jooŋ   yale   yok ye,
    And   people   said   that   anyone always   want   God   turn   body DP
    /kiin-ne/PT.SOV.NR   /ṭäk-cänä/NP.OVS.AW /yal-e/NP.SOV.NR
    And he said to the people, "A person who God wants to change,

35. daa   yale   yok?"
    always turn   body
    /yal-e/NP.SOV.NR
    he will be changed, right?

36. Aŋ   mäbaan   muure   gïmmïn   ogo,   "Ee."
    And   people   all   agreed   that   yes
                  /gïm-pin/PT.SVO.TW
    And all the people said, "Yes."

37. Aŋ   me   kiinne ogo, "Ina kiinde   kä   aŋan   yaanna   baan,   yaan yeeni
    And   people said   that then saying   by   like   this   area   bull   my
    /kiin-ne/PT.SOV.NR   /kiin-de/NP.PR.SOV.NR.1s-2p
    And he said to the people, "The reason I am speaking to you like this is that my bull

38. giiṇṇä   aŋ   ärgä   Iin   ogo,   Deeŋ   yeene   ken   giiṇṇo   da."
    give.birth   and   forcing hyena   that   cow   his   got birth

365

/giit-nä/PT.ST.NR /är-kä/NP.OVS.NR /giit-no/PT.ST.DP.NR

gave birth, and Hyena is arguing that his cow is the one who gave birth."

39. Aŋ ika ṭäkä tääccädä ikee ti muurijan ogo, 'Naañ ṭuule
And I want ask you LOC all that calf small
/ṭäk-cä/NP.SVO.TW.1s? /taac-ccädä/NP.PR.SOV.AW.1s-2p?
And I want to ask all of you that,

40. yaanna a yen Iin alla yoku a yeeni?'"
this is of hyena or should is mine
"Is this calf supposed to belong to Hyena or to me?"

41. Aŋ me muure luukcin ogo, "A yüünü."
And people all replied that is yours
/luuk-ccin/PT.SVO.AW
And all the people replied, "It is yours."

42. Aŋ Iin wina wäättana daa wiñe lüüŋŋe i waŋge tüle week.
And hyena then after that head down while eyes wipe cry
/tül-e/NP.SOV.NR /week-Ø/NP.ST.NR
And then after that Hyena put his head down crying and wiping his eyes.

43. Aŋ a Wiiw ken mor baati mäbaan gïttï, aŋ Geel tuccin
and is fox be still absent people among and lion send
/tuc-ccin/PT.SVO.AW
And among the people, Fox is the one who was still absent, and Lion sent

44. mäŋkaläŋ ogo, "Atä Wiiw kiinä ogo ika bärroo ogo ääto täññaaŋŋi."
someone that go fox say that I.am called that come right.now
/äät-cä/NP.ST.NR.2s /kiin-yä/NP.SVO.NR.2s /bäär-noo/PT.SVO.DP.NR.1s
/äät-co/NP.MT.DP.NR
someone, saying, "Go and say to Fox that I am calling him to come right now."

45. Aŋ men attä aŋ Wiiw kiini ogo, "Geel bäärä ogo, 'Ïkï par atcey.'"
and person went and fox said that lion calling that you just go
/äät-ñä/PT.ST.AW /kiin-i/PT.OVS.NR /bäär-yä/NP.SVO.TW
/äät-ccey/NP.MT.AW.2s?
And person went and said to Fox, "Lion said, 'You just come.'"

46. Aŋ Wiiw men kiinne ogo, "Ee, atä kiinä ogo, ika ina äätoo.'"
and fox person said that yes go say that I.am then coming
/kiin-ne/PT.SOV.NR /äät-cä/NP.ST.NR.2s /kiin-yä/NP.SVO.NR.2s
/äät-coo/NP.MT.DP.NR.1s

And Fox said to the person, "Yes, you go and tell him that I am coming."

47. Aŋ men ḍukcin, Geel kiini ogo, "Wiiw jaay ogo, ike ina äätee yaanna."
and person return.back lion said that fox saying that he is coming this
/ḍuuk-ccin/PT.MT.AW /kiin-i/PT.OVS.NR /jaay-Ø/NP.ST.NR /äät-cee/NP.SRV.DP.NR
And person return back to Lion and said to him, "Fox said he is coming."

48. Me cääjjin aŋ Wiiw mor baati aŋ Geel jone jümmïn, aŋ mäkalaŋ
people sat and fox still absent and lion heart boring and person
/cääy-cin/PT.MT.AW /jüm-win/PT.MT.TW
The people waited and the Fox was still absent, and Lion became bored,

49. ŋocce tucce, aŋ ŋoci Wiiw kiinne ogo, "Ika iiŋcädä buruŋgu."
again send and again fox said that I.am putting.on clothes
/kiin-ne/PT.SOV.NR /tuc-cce/NP.SOV.AW? /kiin-ne/PT.SOV.NR
/iiŋ-ccädä/NP.PR.SVO.AW.1s
and again he sent someone, and Fox said to him again. "I am putting on clothes."

50. Aŋ men dukcin aŋ Geel kiinne ogo, "Wiiw jaay ogo, ike iiŋcedee
and person return and lion said that fox saying that he putting.on
/ḍuuk-ccin/PT.MT.AW /kiin-ne/PT.SOV.NR /jaay-Ø/NP.ST.NR
/iiŋ-ccedee/NP.PR.SOV.DP.AW
And the person went back to Lion and said, "Fox is saying he is putting on

51. buruŋgu, ike ina äätee." Aŋ wina Geel pennä, aŋ wäättana daa cääy
clothes he.is then coming and then lion be.angry and afterwards that sitting
/cääy-Ø/NP.ST.NR /äät-cee/NP.SRV.DP.NR /pen-nä/PT.ST.NR /cääy-Ø/NP.ST.NR
clothes, he is coming." And Lion became angry, and afterwards he was just waiting

52. i däämjïdï päyjï. Aŋ Wiiw oja yooṭṭe, i ätä wäna yoku ogo
while looking way and fox just saw while coming when should that
/dääm-cïdï/NP.PR.MT.NR /yoor-ñe/PT.SOV.AW /äät-cä/NP.ST.TW
while looking along the way. And just then he saw Fox, but while the person was walking

53. men ḍäägee ko ti me ti ye, i ḍoŋe ṭoljene woo me ti,
person reach to with people with DP while himself change.direction away people LOC
/ḍääk-ee/NP.ST.DP.NR /ṭol-cene/PT.PR.SOV.AW
to arrive to the people, he changed his direction away from people, and

54. aŋ bäärgä Geel ogo, "Wiiw! Wiiw!"
and call lion that fox fox
/bäär-kä/NP.OVS.NR
and Lion calling him, "Fox! Fox!"

55. I oja a wään ken agee kä mïton ïñï, aŋ wääna Geel bäärenee
but just is walk be he.is with dark down and after lion calling
/wään-Ø/NP.ST.NR /bäär-wenee/PT.SVO.DP.TW?
But he just continued walking with his head down, and then Lion called

56. ääŋke ḍakke kä däk ye, i ike wäättana gïmmïn ogo, "Aa."
times reach with three DP while he after.that agreed that yes
/ḍääk-ñe/PT.MT.DP.AW /gïm-pin/PT.SVO.TW
three times, and after that he responded saying, "Yes."

57. Aŋ taaci Geel ogo, "Ïkï atä wa i me kïïjjïdï ïkï aŋan?"
And asked lion that you go where while people waiting you like.that
/taac-ci/PT.OVS.AW /äät-cä/NP.ST.NR.2s /keey-cïdï/NP.PR.SVO.AW
And Lion asked him, "Where are you going while people are waiting for you?"

58. Aŋ Geel luukke ogo, "Ika atä piitti,"
And lion replied that I.am going water.LOC
/luuk-ñe/PT.SOV.AW /äät-cä/NP.MT.NR.1s
And he replied to Lion, "I am fetching water,"

59. i oja wälkä ŋaabde gune ti, wegok ogo, kürül, kürül, kürül.
while just gourds hanging side LOC sound that kurul kurul kurul
/ŋaap-de/NP.PR.SOV.NR
as he hung gourds on his side (making) the sound, *kurul kurul kurul.*

60. Aŋ taaci Geel ŋuca ogo, "A piik ŋaaka ken umgudu?"
and asked lion again that is water what be going.to
/taac-ci/PT.OVS.AW /um-kädä/NP.PR.MT.TW.2s?
Then Lion asked him again, "Is that water what you are going towards?"

61. Aŋ Wiiw luukcin ogo, "Piik äckädä wäyo, wäyo giiṇṇä wiïrïn."
And fox replied that water take father father give.birth night
/luuk-ccin/PT.SVO.AW /äc-ckädä/NP.PR.OVSL.NR.1s /giit-nä/PT.ST.NR
Fox replied to him, "I go to bring water for my father, my father gave birth in the night."

62. Aŋ Geel Wiiw rütkene ogo, "Wääc yaana ogoo ye, ken giit?
And lion fox rebuked that father that how DP be give.birth
/rüt-jkene/PT.SRVO.NR /giit-Ø/NP.ST.NR
And Lion rebuked Fox, "How can a father give birth?

63. Oon kalaŋ por ŋäjjänä me a giidon?"
man other really known people is give.birth

368

/ŋäy-cänä/NP.OVS.AW /giit-on/VA.SG
Have you seen any man who gave birth before?"

64. Aŋ   wina Wiiw oja   Geel ḍekke ñaalok kä jiik ogo,
    And   then fox   just lion tied   up   by word that
                      /ḍek-ñe/PT.SOV.AW
    And here then Fox pinned down Lion by saying,

65. "Aŋ   ina yoku   naañ Iin   ärjee da   ogo   yüünü   yaanna,
    And   so   should calf hyena take   had that yours   this
                        /är-jee/NP.SOV.AW.2s-3s?
    So you wanted to take Hyena's calf by force and say it was yours,

66. oon kalaŋ yoku   a   giidon.   Naañ ṭuule yaanna a   yen Iin."
    man other should is   give.birth   calf small this   is of   hyena
                       /giit-on/VA.SG
    as if a male cow could give birth. This calf belongs to Hyena."

67. Aŋ   wina Geel ïŋŋe wic   batta a   jääyïnï woo ŋuca,
    And   then lion   head not   is   saying   out again
                                       /jaay-ïnï/VN?
    And then Lion was not able to say anything else,

68. aŋ Iin   kiini Wiiw ogo,   "Atä naañ ṭuule yüünü   koowu."
    and heyna   told   fox   that   go   calf small your   take
         /kiin-i/PT.OVS.NR   /äät-cä/NP.ST.NR.2s   /koow-ä/NP.SOV.NR.2s-3s
    and Fox said to Hyena, "Go and take your calf."

69. Aŋ wina Iin   wäättana   ättä paa   i   jone ñabaŋ.
    And then hyena   after.that went home while heart delicious
                    /äät-ñä/PT.ST.AW   /ñap-aŋ/NP.PR.ST.AW
    And then afterwards, Hyena went home happy.

70. Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï   ogo   waak   me   ŋana ärjï me   ko owkïtïn.
    Bull story this   teach   that things people not   take people with force
                       /nüüt-cï/NP.SVO.NR   /är-jï/NP.OVS.AW?
    This story tells us that people should not take things of people by force.

Jiik   Ṭiin   Ḍune (Ṭiin)
words Grandmother Dune
The words of Tiin Dune

1. Ika ṭäkä ikee   nüütke jiik   yek Ṭiin   Ḍune.
    I   want you tell   words about Old.woman Done.
    I want to tell you a story about Tiin Donee.

2. Ṭiin   battä   me   ogo ṭiin   Ḍune.
    Old.woman was.called people   that Old.woman ḍöne.
    The name of this old woman was Tiin Done.

3. Cääy ñaalok kääl pääm wic.
    Live up   hole hill   up
    She lived in a cave at the top of a hill.

4. Me   nüütkene ääynä paldï.
    people show   make claypots
    /nüüt–jkene/PT.SRVO.NR
    She told the people how to make clay pots.

5. Aŋ me   nüütkene eŋdin käljämmi.
    and people explain   wear animal.hides
    /nüüt–jkene/PT.SRVO.NR
    And she told them how to wear animal skins.

6. Määngä nüütkene winä äntalli
    Women   show   spin   cotton.ṭread
    /nüüt–jkene/PT.SRVO.NR
    She told the women how to make cotton thread

7. aŋ   tolgo näŋene määngä   muurku,
    and girls make   women's cloth
    and she made women's clothes for girls,

8. aŋ   muurku eŋtä   teygen ti.
    and cloth   wear hips.ṭheir LOC
    and (told them) to wear cloth around their hips.

9. Aŋ ook nüütkene pïïñññä pïccä   äŋ pïccä ääcïdï wow maañ.
    and men show   twirling fire.making.stick and sticks bring out   fire
    /nüüt–jkene/PT.SRVO.NR
    And she told the men how to make fire by twirling one stick on another.

10. Aŋ maañ niijene me   ammani.
    and fire cook   people food

370

and the people would use the fire to cook food.

11. Aŋ wääna ñomok ku on ye me   nïïjï ammani kä äŋ ke carbaata.
     and when long.ago past time DP people cook food   with sun in hot.place
     A long time ago the people cooked food in the sun on the hot ground.

12. Aŋ amma wiñe yaana a   eegone ken iñtä me   ook.
     and food head that was cooked be   gave people men
     The people would take the top cooked part of the food and give it to the men.

13. Aŋ nänṭe   yaana taananṇe   ken   iñtä   määngä.
     and place its   uncooked be   given women
     And they would give the partly cooked food to the women.

14. A jiik   Ṭiin   Ḍune yaaka nüütkene Mäbaan.
     is words   Old.woman Done   this show   Jumjum.people.
                 /nüüt–jkene/PT.SRVO.NR
     this is the story of how Tiin Donee showed our people (how to do things).

Jiik   Ḍuuŋgon Battä Me   ogo Watkey (Watkey)

words old.man   call   people that Wadega
Words of an old man that people called Wadega

1. Wääna ñomuk ye ḍuuŋgon cääy Watkey.
    when long.ago DP old.man lived Wadega
    A long time ago an old man lived in Wadega.

2. Aŋ iki ken äkkene me   pääm yaana battä me   ogo *Watkey* ye.
    and he be name   people hill   that call   people that Wadega DP
    And the people named him after the hill the people called *Wadega*.

3. Aŋ wääna ñomuk ye me   atcïḍi jääbjäk nääkä   lääygä woo lummuk.
    and when long.ago DP people went   hunt   killed   animals away grassland
    A long time ago the people went to hunt and killed animals in the grassland.

4. Aŋ kaññä giŋkalaŋ   mooye talaŋ kockon.
    and found thing.certain big   much
    they found a very big animal.

5. Baddïï   me   ogo *kalman* ḍoŋe bääyaŋ aŋ kïïge bäygaŋ.
    called-by people that camel   neck.its long   and legs.its long

371

The people called it a *camel*, with a long neck and long legs.

6. Aŋ wääna yoorene daa ye, iken bojgin kockon.
   and when saw.they always DP they feared.it greatly
   And when they saw it, they were terrified.

7. Aŋ ḍuuŋgon yaana tälaŋ ye jaajjin me ti ogo, "Ŋana ikee booje gin, müge."
   and old.man that spoke DP saying people to that not you.PL fear thing catch
   this very old man said to the people, "Don't be afraid. Catch it."

8. Aŋ mügï aŋ ḍegidok kä wiṇṇan aŋ weenji jaan jok.
   and caught and tied with rope and fastened tree beside
   They caught it and tied it with a rope and fastened it to a tree.

9. Aŋ taamme kucu aŋ ŋüülgï jengä ṭulgen
   and mounting knew.not and cut trees branches
   They didn't know how to get on the camel, so they cut some branches

10. aŋ ṭelcätä kalman gunne ti bata ṭiirkä aŋan.
    and nailed camel side.its to like ladders that
    and nailed it to the sides of the camel like ladders.

11. Aŋ wääna ṭeljene da ti gunne ti ye, i kalman tüw.
    and when nailed had to side.its to DP while camel died
    And when they nailed it to the camel's sides, the camel died.

12. Aŋ ḍuuŋgon Büüñkü me kolle aŋ me kiinne ogo, "Ḍüüŋe ïñï."
    and old.man Arab people angry and people said that kneel-it down
    /**kiin-ne**/PT.SOV.NR
    The old Arab man said, "Make the camel kneel down."

13. Aŋ Mäbaan yaakkä.
    and Jumjum.people refused
    But the people refused to do that.

14. Aŋ Büñgon kälämgä koowne.
    and Arab camels took
    So the Arab man took all the camels away.

15. Ina ken kälämgä aŋŋene yek Büüñkü yaakka.
    that's why camels became those.of Arabs theirs
    And that is why the camels belong to the Arabs.

Jïïn Mä   Paaw (Paaw)
well people.of Paaw
The well of the people of Paaw

1.   Ñomuk ku   on   me   ciyok pääm   battä   me   ogo *Paaw*.
        long.ago past time people lived mountain called-by people that Paaw
        A long time ago people lived on a mountain called *Paaw*.

2.   Aŋ baan   yaanna ti ṭuul yaŋkalaŋ ŋeroŋer kockon baddï   me   ogo Birka.
        And village that in girl   certain   beautiful very called-by people   Birka.
        And in that village (was) a very beautiful girl called Birka.

3.   Aŋ ṭulgu kamat ñäygo düllüŋ   jï.
        And girls always play   open.area in
        And the girls always played in the open play area.

4.   Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ   ti tïïrïn attä   Birka bärkätä
        and day.other   in girls went Birka called
        And one day the girls went and called Birka

5.   ogo,   iken ato ñäydük .
        saying   they go play
        saying they were going to play.

6.   Aŋ Birka tïïrïn kiinne   ogo,
        and Birka girls said   that
        And Birka said to the girls

7.   "Por keeya ika iiŋcä   buruŋgu."
         just wait   I   chaŋe clothes
        "Wait a minute, I will change my clothes."

8.   Aŋ   wääna iiŋcenee buruŋgu ye jaajjin ogo, "Wiñi   pilaŋ kockon
        And   when dressed clothes DP she   that head.my hurts much
        And when she had changed her clothes, she said, "My head hurts very much

9.   aŋ puume gïlaŋ.   Aŋ por keeya wina."
        and thighs itchy   and just wait here
        and my ṭighs are itchy. Wait here a moment."

11.   Aŋ teye   wädirin a kaaŋ   aŋ   wiñe mor ken a men.

373

and lower.body.her changed is snake and head still be is person
And her lower body changed into a snake and her head was a person.

12.   Aŋ ñarke   bärkene   aŋ kiinne ogo, "Ääte por yoora!
       and friends.her called.she and said   that   come just see.me
       And she called her friends and said, "Come and look at me.

13.   Aŋ ŋana ikee   booje kä ika. Ija   jïïdük pääm   tey."
       and neg you(pl) fear   from me   take.me well.in mountain beneath
       Don't be afraid of me. Take me to the well at the foot of the mountain."

15.   Aŋ iji   jïïdük.
       and took.her well.in
       So they took her and put her in the well.

16.   Aŋ jaajjin ogo, "Ikee ïckïï   me   käwkä."
       and said   that   you.PL bring(quo) people seed
       And she said, "Have the people bring me some seed."

17.   Aŋ icki   me   käwkä.
       and brought people seed
       And the people brought grain

18.   Aŋ wääta umkutu   me   malgä me   naana ñaal baati   ye.
       so   begin prayed.to.her people begging people when rain absent DP
       and so they would pray begging her when there was no rain,

19.   aŋ   ñaal mädïdï ïñï, kä   bïraŋ.
       so   rain   poured down with extremely
       and it would begin to rain heavily.

20.   Aŋ jïïn yaanna ti mana   tüw näntä   kalaŋ ti ye,
       and well that   in whoever dies place   other in DP
       And in that well, if anyone dies anywhere,

21.   ṭïïbbe   yoorgu me   jïïdük wina ke   täññaŋ.
       shadow see   people well.in here until now
       his picture can be seen there in the well until now.

Wiiw ke Iin   (Wiiw)

Fox   and Hyena
The Fox and Hyena

1. Ñomuk   ku   on   yuungu yakkalaŋ ti,
   Long.ago past time   years   many at
   Many years ago,

2. Me   nägjï käñ kockon aŋ baan   yaŋkalaŋ ti
   people hit.by huŋer much   and village other   at
   the people were very huŋry, but in another village

3. me   cäygene kä päk.
   people had   with grain.
   the people had grain.

4. Aŋ Wiiw iken ke Iin   a   mügïn
   And Fox   they and Hyena is   friends
   Fox and Hyena were friends.

5. aŋ Wiiw Iin   kiinne ogo, "Ïkï   nüütkeni waŋ.
   and Fox   Hyena said   that you   tell.I   idea."
   and Fox said to Hyena, "I will tell you my idea.

6. Migo   ïcï yääcï woo kïïcï kä   päk."
   mothers.our take sell   away buy with grain.
   We will take and sell our mothers to buy grain."

7. A   Wiiw ken Iin   kiinne.
   is   Fox   be Hyena said
   The Fox said to Hyena,

8. Aŋ Wiiw attä   meen   nüütkene ogo
   and Fox   went mother told   that
   And Fox went and told his mother,

9. "Ikoon ṭäkon ikee   yääccete woo,
     we   want you.PL sell   away
   "We want to sell you,

10. aŋ ikee bi ḍiiggene ḍuugin wingä, aŋ ŋana ïkï booju,
    and you will be.tied   necks   rope and neg you fear
    and you will have a rope tied around your necks, but don't be afraid,

11. ïkï batta bi naŋgi me   nääŋkalaŋ."
    you not   will do   people anything-bad

no one will harm you."

12. Aŋ Wiiwnä ke Iin   migen   ḍiiggi ḍuugin wingä.
     and Wiiw   and Hyena mothers.their tied   necks   rope.
     So Fox and Hyena tied ropes around their mothers' necks.

13. Aŋ uulgu, aŋ Iin   meen   yaakï   aŋ week,
     And pushed but Hyena mother.his objected and cried
     And they pushed them, but Hyena's mother objected and cried out,

14. yore   rüüde kockon,
     body.her writed greatly
     writhing her body,

15. batta ṭäkï yääjjin woo.
     not   want be.sold away
     not wanting to be sold.

16. Aŋ   iken ḍakkä ti   näntä yääynä.
     And   they arrived LOC place.of selling
     So they arrived at the market-place.

17. Aŋ Wiiw Iin   kiinne ogo,
     and Wiiw Hyena said   that
     And Fox said to Hyena,

18.   "Mugo, miic   ken   por ïïjkï yääccï woo."
      friend mother.your be   just sell first   away
     "Friend, you sell your mother first."

19. Aŋ Iin   meen   yääjji woo kä   päk   ke ñämgä ke yuujku.
     so Hyena mother.his sold   for with grain and sesame and beans.
     So Hyena sold his mother for grain, sesame and beans.

20. Aŋ waak ḍooci me   Wiiw meen   gunne ti
     And things put   people Fox   mother side at
     And the people put the things beside Fox's mother.

21. Aŋ Iin   meen koowi me   icä   me
     ṭen Hyena mother take   people take.away people
     ṭen the people took Fox's mother away.

22. Aŋ Iin   meen me   jette woo   aŋ buurcin woo.

376

but Hyena mother people pulled away and ran   away
But Fox's mother pulled herself away (from them) and ran away.

23.   Aŋ me   yaajjin ogo, "Iiŋ   buurcin woo, iire   wic."
       And people yelled that   hyena ran   away, intercept her."
       the people yelled, "Hyena has run away, catch her."

24.   Aŋ Wiiw Iin   kiinne ogo, "Mugo   lüüdü kä winni.
       And Fox Hyena said   that   friend   flee   by here
       And Fox said to Hyena, "Friend, you go this way,

25.   Aŋ ika lüüdü   kä winni."
       and I   flee   by here
       and I will go this way."

26.   Aŋ Iin   meen   oññe yok
       and Hyena mother.his chase immediately
       And Hyena ran after his mother right away.

27.   Aŋ Wiiw ḍukcin   ŋäjäk meen   ti
       and Fox returned   back mother.his to
       And Fox went back to his mother

28.   aŋ meen   gütkene aŋ waak koowi iji   bannen.
       and mother.his untied   and things take   take-back
       and untied his mother, picked up the things, and went led her home.

29.   Aŋ Iin   ḍuukin aŋ me   taaññe ogo, "Wiiw, wali?"
       And Hyena returned and people asked that   Fox   where
       And Hyena returned and asked the people, "Where is Fox?"

30.   Aŋ kiini me   ogo, "Wiiw meen   gütkene aŋ waak koowi."
       And said people that   Fox   mother.his untied   and things took.
       And the people said, "Fox untied his mother and took the things."

31.   Aŋ   Iin   pennä kockon
       And Hyena angry very
       So Hyena was very angry

32.   Aŋ juwin Wiiw maawe ogo   nägje ḍok.
       And rose Fox   look.for saying would kill
       And (he) got up to look for Fox saying he would kill (him).

33. An ääŋ kalaŋ ti Wiiw kañi Iin baanne gaarman jï.
And days other at Fox find Hyena home grassy.den in
And a few days later Hyena found Fox at home in his den.

34. An kiinne ogo, "Müükondi baṭṭa ïkï kaññeni?"
And said that friend.my not you found.I
And he said, "My friend, haven't I found you?"

35. I apenon kockon.
he angry very
He was very angry.

36. Aŋ Wiiw Iin kiinne ogo, "Ay? Äätä por ika taajja."
and Fox Hyena said that why come just me ask
And Fox said to Hyena, "Why? Just come and ask me!"

38. Aŋ Wiiw Iin päkkede jiik yelkïṭïn lüüyeda kä jok.
and Fox Hyena spoke.gently words lies cool with heart
And Fox spoke gently to Hyena untrue words to cool his temper.

39. Aŋ Wiiw Iin kiinne ogo, "Dalä par ika atä laaja."
and Fox Hyena said that let me go bathroom
And Fox said to Hyena, "Let me go to the bathroom."

40. Aŋ attä meen kiinne ogo, "Atä ṭarä, aŋ ïkï mümü."
and went mother.his said that go hide and you growl
And he went to his mother and told her, "Hide yourself and growl."

41. Aŋ Wiiw ḍuukin Iin ti, aŋ Wiiw meen jujjin kä müümmü.
and Fox returned Hyena to, and Fox mother began with growl
So Fox went back to Hyena, and Fox's mother began to growl.

42. Aŋ tiiŋji Iin. Aŋ Iin Wiiw taññe ogo,
and heard Hyena and Hyena Fox asked that
And Hyena heard (it). And Hyena asked Fox,

44. "Ay müükonḍi a ŋaaka ken jaay do?!"
excl. my.friend is who be talking
"Ay, my friend, who is that talking?"

45. Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "Par tïïŋcï."
And Fox said that let listen
And Fox said, "Let's listen."

46.   Aŋ gitken   geeri.
        And ears.their put.near
        And they put their ears near.

47.   Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "Amana battä   me   ogo
        And Fox said   that   human called people that
        And Fox said, "It's a being which is called

48.   mänbaan ye ken ïkï maawe kä   ṭoŋ,
        person   DP be   you looking with spear
        a human being, looking for you to spear you,

49.   ogo,   ḍiik   yeeke ammeey wïïrïn."
        saying goats his   ate.you night
        saying, you ate his goats last night."

50.   Aŋ Iin   jijcin wow
        And Hyena ran   away.
        So Hyena ran away.

51.   Aŋ Wiiwnä   iken ke meen   juuggen ñappä   kockon.
        And Fox.and.his they and mother.his hearts   happy   very.
        So Fox and his mother were very happy.

Ṭul Keyñan (Keyñan)

girl.of gourd
The girl gourd

1.   Ñomuk   ku on mäkkalaŋ   attä püjï   wii ḍok.
        Long.ago past time some.people went cut.grass river at
        Long ago some people went to cut grass beside the river

2.   Aŋ wääna ḍaŋŋene kä   puuynu   ye, attä   cäyok düüca wic däämï   tääl.
        and when finish   with cut.grass DP go.they sitting there bank be.alive river
        And when they finished cutting grass they were sitting on the bank of the river.

3.   Aŋ yaŋkalaŋ   yurcin keygä kä   yew yïŋtä tääl.
        and person.certain   saw   gourds with two float river
        And one of them saw two gourds floating on the river.

4.   Aŋ meken   kiinne   ogo, "Müggü yeeki, keygä mäyken kalaŋ ika yïŋtï   piik

379

and another said   that friends my   gourds big   very I   floats water
And another person said to them, "My friends, there are big gourds floating on the water

5.   yaakka. Aŋ kääckïn tok äwïn woo bääkïn gïtï."
       there   and go.we just bring out split   midst
       over there, and we-will go in and bring them out and split them."

6.   Aŋ meken gïmmïn.
       and people agreed
       and the people agreed.

7.   Aŋ kujjin   piitti   keygä müükütü woo.
       and jumped.they water.in gourds caught   away
       and they jumped into the water and to grasp the gourds.

8.   Aŋ keyñan kalaŋ müñdïn   aŋ yaŋkalaŋ ken mügï   aŋ äbi   woo
       and gourd other submerged and other.one be   they.caught and brought out
       and one gourd went under the water and they caught the other one and brought it out.

9.   Aŋ iji paa   aŋ yoku bagjï gïtï.
       and took home and should split   in.pieces
       And they took it home and were about to split it,

10.   Aŋ   nänṭa ḍuccete cïcam ye, minneni ojo, "Jäyä   woo!"
       and place put   knife DP child   that side.my oh!
       and the side where they want to put the knife, they heard a child's cry, "Oh, my side!"

11.   Aŋ   ŋuca ääkkänä nänṭä.
       and side   chaŋed place
       So they chaŋed to the other side

12.   Aŋ   ŋuca   jaajji ogo, "Aŋäñi."
       and side   spoke that   my.back
       and the other side spoke saying, "My back!"

13.   Aŋ   ḍuuŋgon mooye me   kolle   aŋ me   kiinne ogo, "Ije   Bïlkat."
       and old-man big   people advised and people-to said   that take Bilkat.village.
       and an old man said to them, "Take it to the Bilkat village (chief)."

14.   Aŋ wääna bagi gïtï   mä   Bïlkat,
       and when   split in.pieces people-of Bilkat
       and when the Bilkat people split it (in two),

15. aŋ ääcin woo yuunku, yaŋkalaŋ a oon aŋ yaŋkalaŋ a iiŋ.
    and brought out twins one.certain is male and one.certain is female.
    then they brought out twins, one was a boy and the other was a girl.

16. Aŋ yaana a oon ye ḍuuki me Ḍuuḍuŋoy,
    and one.that is male DP returned people Ḍuuḍuŋoy
    and the one that was a boy they returned it to Ḍuuḍuŋoy Village,

17. aŋ iiŋ ken dalji ïñï Bïlkat.
    and girl they left down Bilkat.
    and they kept the girl in Bilkat Village.

18. Aŋ minneni icki me tïïron.
    and child given people baby.sitter
    and the child was put in the care of a baby-sitter.

19. Aŋ tïïron iñtä me aak ogo määtkedee minneni.
    and baby.sitter gave people milk saying cause.to.drink child
     and they gave the baby-sitter milk saying to give it to the baby to drink.

20. Aŋ tïïron naana kaacïdï üntük ye, minneni wäätï a men mooye.
    and baby.sitter when go.out door DP child become is person big
    and when the baby-sitter would go out, the baby would become an adult.

21. Aŋ juwu ñaalok aak maade.
    and rise up milk drink
    And it would get up and drink the milk.

22. Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ ti tïïron meen nüütkene aŋ kiin ogo,
    and day.certain on baby.sitter mother informed and said that
    Then one day the baby-sitter told her mother saying,

23. "Miyo, mäŋkalaŋ bilti aak minneni maade, aŋ batta yooddu."
     mother someone non-past progressive milk baby drinking and not see.I
    "Mother, someone is drinking the baby's milk and I did not see it."

24. Aŋ kiini meen ogo, "Yuudu por ika bi ṭarä daampok i jaygin kä utar
    and said mother that wait begin I will hide attic while stay with far
    And the mother said, "Let me hide in the attic and stay a long way from

25. minneni gunne ti."
    baby side.its at
    the baby."

26. Aŋ tïïron minneni koowne iññe woo.
and baby.sitter child take give away
and the baby-sitter took the baby away

27. Aŋ meen kaaccä ṭarrä daampok.
and mother entered hide attic
and the mother climbed up into the attic.

28. Aŋ minneni juwin wäätä aŋŋi men mooye kaaccïdï aak maade.
and baby began became did person big got.up milk drink
and the baby became a big person and climbed up to drink the milk.

29. Aŋ mügï aŋ wädïrdï a kaaŋ ke oogok ke luum i malgä meen kiinde ogo
and caught and became is snake and toad and grass but beg mother spoke that
And he caught it and it became a snake, then a toad, then grass, and the mother spoke softly to it,

30. "Ṭuul yeeni, booju kä jooŋ jonü. Lääkkä wäätci agä men."
child my fear with god heart.your, don't.worry, become be person
"My child, fear god with your heart. Don't worry, be a person."

31. Aŋ wäätä aŋŋi ṭuul, aŋ ḍeyi mä Kila.
and became did daughter and married people.of Kila
Then it became a girl, and the people of Kila married her.

32. Aŋ naana ñaal baati ye äwänä me nänṭä battä me ogo buullu liwa.
And when rain absent DP bring people place call people that Tabaldi
And when there was no rain, the people brought her to the Tabaldi tree

33. Aŋ tocu me wic kä lin. Aŋ ḍimmä.
and hit people head with axe and fell
and hit her on the head with an axe and she fell down.

34. Aŋ mañjänä me iñï i ḍaŋŋa ñaal mät, me atï ïṭï pok yaan.
And leave people down while enough rain rain people went kill mouthes bull
ṭen the people left her while it began to rain, and the people went and killed an ox.

35. Aŋ ike juwu ñaalok ḍükcï baannen.
And she got up return village
And she got up and went back home.

36. Aŋ iiŋ yaanja kilke mor bilti ke täññaŋ.

382

And woman that   family just live until now
And that woman had living children until today.

Yaan Wiiw a   yin Oon a   Uyko (Uyko)

bull   fox   is   man is   blind
The story of a blind man

1.   Wääna ñomuk ku on ye, oon a uyko cääy ñaalok pääm   wic ke   merkä yeeke.
        when   long.ago past time   man is blind lived up   mountain top with chilren his
        A long time ago a blind man and his children lived on the top of a hill.

2.   Pääm   yaanna battä   me   ogo Gole.
        mountain that   called people   that Gole
        the hill was called Gole.

3.   Aŋ cääygene kutuŋgu ḍiräk   kockon.
        and had   pigs   very   mañ
        And he had very mañ pigs.

4.   Aŋ   ike ken   kutuŋgu kaaye.
        and he himself pigs   herded.
        And he herded the pigs himself.

5   Aŋ   ääŋ kalaŋ   büñgon äätin yääjï   waak   yeeke
        and day certain Arab   came selling   things his
                              /**äät-cin**/PT.MT.NR
        One day an Arab came to sell his wares (things)

6   aŋ   käññä kutuŋgu ḍiräk kockon.
        and   found pigs   very   mañ
        and found very many pigs.

7   Aŋ   kiññä kä   keelok
        and   bought with one
        So he bought one

8.   aŋ   erre pok   aŋ amme aŋ käññe yäŋŋe ñabaŋ   kockon.
        and   slaughtered and ate   and found meat delicious much
        and slaughtered it and ate it and found the meat very delicious.

9.   Aŋ kuññu   yäŋŋä küccü iññe paa   merkä   yeeke ti.

383

and   picked.up   meat   pig   took home children   his   to
And he took some pork home to his children.

10.   Aŋ   merkä   yeeke ämjin yäŋŋä küccü aŋ   kañi   ñabaŋ   kockon,
      and   children   his   ate   meat pig   and found   delicious   much
      And his children ate the pork and found it very delicious,

12.   aŋ   wäyen   taaj   ogo, "Wäyo yäŋŋä yaana ñabaŋ yaanni äbä   wa?"
      and   father.their ask   that   father meat this   good very   brought.you where
      and they asked their father, "Father, where did you get this wonderful meat?"

13.   Aŋ   kiini   wäyen   ogo, "Yäŋŋä kañä   oon   cääy   ñaalok pääm   wic."
      and   said   father.their that   meat   found.I   man   living   up   mountain head
      And their father said, "I got the meat from a (blind) man who lives up on top of the
      mountain."

14.   Aŋ   uyku   cäygene ṭulgu   kä   ḍäk   aŋ   merkä   oogen kä yew.
      and   blind-man had   daughters with   three   and   children   two   with two
      the blind man had three daughters and two sons.

15.   Minneni yaana   tälaŋ ye battä   me   ogo Yüünïc ken kääjï   kutuŋgu,
      child   that   big   DP called   people that Yunic be herded   pigs
      The oldest child, called Yunic, herded the pigs,

16.   aŋ   yaŋkalaŋ   ken battä me   ogo Laago, cäygene päk   ḍïräk kockon,
      and   one.certain   be called   people that Laago, had   dura   very   much
      and the other one called Laago had many grain fields,

17.   aŋ   näŋee   kä   mäkkä paldï kä   caay naana men   kalaŋ tüw   ye.
      and   he.made   with beers   pots with ten   when   person   other died DP
      and he made ten containers of beer when a certain person died.

18.   Aŋ   iirä   ḍäk   kä   duuc   aŋ   ḍiik kä   caay.
      and   slaughtered cows with   five   and goats with   ten
      And he killed five cows and ten goats.

19.   Aŋ   me   cäyok nïïnkä kä   ŋaṭukel mätï   määk i   ŋelok   ṭuuŋ.
      and   people sat   days   with eight   drinking beer   and dancing horn.
      And the people were there eight days drinking beer and dancing the horn-dance.

Glossary

The following important words are from the *Jumjum Consonant and Vowel Book.*

Word	Example	Definition
syllable	tï pï lïc in tïpïlïc 'fish spear'	The parts of a word that can be divided according to beats.
consonant	r d t in rudit 'stirring stick'	Letter sounds that begin or end syllables; a consonant cannot be a syllable by itself.
vowel	u i in rudit 'stirring stick'	Letter sounds in the middle of a syllable; sometimes they begin or end a syllable; a vowel can be a syllable by itself.
suffix	–nä on pïït 'wasps' as pïïṇṇä 'wasp'	The ending letter(s) of words (such as –nä, -ni, -kkä that shows only one or more than one of a word).
consonant sequence	kt in wääktäŋ 'breath'	Consonants next to each other in the middle of words.
doubled (long) consonant	mm in ammak 'food'	The same consonant next to itself in the middle of a word.
singular consonant	m in jamak 'praying mantis'	Only one of a consonant.
heavy vowel [+ATR]	üü in küün 'thorn'	The vowels ä, ï, ü which have a heavy, hollow or breathy sound; always have dots.
light vowel [-ATR]	uu in kuun 'canoe'	Vowels a, e, i, o, u which do not have dots.
long vowel	uu in kuun 'canoe'	Vowels that take longer to pronounce.
short vowel	in kun 'womb'	Vowels that are pronounced quickly.
tone	High tone in kul 'warthog' Low tone in kul 'deep water'	How high or low the sound of a vowel is.

The following important words are discussed in the *Jumjum Grammar Book.*

Word	Example	Definition
noun	luum 'grass', yuungu 'years'	A person, animal, place, thing or idea.
proper noun	Watkey 'Watkey town'	A special kind of noun such as the name of a specific place, person, day of the week, or tribe.
singular noun	tuŋŋu 'buffalo'	Only one of a noun.
plural noun	tuk 'buffalos'	More than one of a noun.

noun form	**wäy** 'father', **wäygä** 'fathers'	A noun with sound/letter changes for singular and plural.
verb	**eŋdo** 'was wearing', **likko** 'broke off'	An action, motion, change, state or equal sign.
verb form	**tiiŋŋe, tiiŋgene, tiiŋŋä** 'heard' in **Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu** <u>**tiiŋŋe**</u>. 'And raven <u>heard</u> drum.' **Aŋ gaaggaak bääm** <u>**tiiŋgene**</u> **kuukcu.** 'And raven <u>heard</u> drum for dove.' **Aŋ gaaggaak** <u>**tiiŋŋä**</u> **kuukcu.** 'And raven <u>heard</u> drum.'	A verb with sound/letter changes for nine different reasons: a new clause participant, time of verb, nature of verb, clause word order, person involved, direction, number, type of clause, use as noun.
action	**tiiŋe** 'hears'	A verb done to something or someone.
motion	**küüyïdï** 'flies, jumps'	A verb with movement.
change	**pennä** 'became angry'	A verb with change from one condition or quality to another.
state	**ŋerrä** 'was good'	A verb that remains the same in condition or quality.
equal sign	**a** 'is, be'	A verb used to show one word is about the same as another.
transitive verb	**tiiŋe** 'hears' in **Aŋ men kuukcu** <u>**tiiŋe**</u>. 'And person <u>hears</u> drum.'	A verb that has an object that the action is done to.
intransitive verb	**küüyïdï** 'jumps' in **Aŋ men** <u>**küüyïdï**</u> **ïñï**. 'And person <u>jumps</u> down.'	A verb that does not have an object that the action is done to.
applicative verb	**tiiŋgede** 'hears for' in **Aŋ men oon** <u>**tiiŋgede**</u> **kuukcu.** 'And person <u>hears</u> drum for man.'	A transitive or intransitive verb that adds an object or a receiver.
copula	**a** 'is, be' in **Aŋ yaam** <u>**a**</u> **koy tïŋŋä.** 'A basket <u>is</u> a red tree.'	An equal sign verb that shows one word is about the same as another.
subject	**gaaggaak** 'raven' in **Aŋ** <u>**gaaggaak**</u> **tiiŋŋä kuukcu.** 'And <u>raven</u> heard drum.'	A noun or pronoun that does the action.
object	**kuukcu** 'drum' in **Aŋ gaaggaak tiiŋŋä** <u>**kuukcu**</u>. 'And raven heard <u>drum</u>.'	A thing or person that the action is done to.
receiver	**oon** 'man' in **Aŋ** <u>**oon**</u> **nüütkï men kuukcu.** 'And person showed <u>man</u>	A person or animal that receives or benefits from the verb.

	the drum.'	
location	**näntä piik** 'water place' in **Aŋ men näntä piik üüŋene.** 'Person went to <u>water place</u>.'	The place of the action or beginning or ending point of a motion.
experiencer	**gerger** 'harp' in **Aŋ gerger tiiŋŋene gaaggaak uullu.** 'Raven uses <u>harp</u> to hear song.'	The thing or person used by a verb.
complement	**koy tïṇṇä** 'red tree' in **Yaam a koy tïṇṇä.** 'A basket is a <u>red tree</u>.' **aŋ kaññe cääy ñaalok jaan wic.** 'He found <u>him sitting up in tree</u>.'	The person or thing after an equal sign verb that is shown to be about the same as something else, or a clause that is the object of a transitive verb.
possessor	**men** 'person' in **men ïnte** '<u>person's</u> hand.' **waynä men** '<u>person's</u> shoe'	A noun or pronoun that owns or possesses another noun.
possessed noun	**ïnte** 'his hand' in **men ïnte** 'person's <u>hand</u>'; **waynä** 'shoe' in **waynä men** 'person's <u>shoe</u>'	A noun possessed or owned by someone.
location word	**ŋoy** 'under' in **Aŋ gaaggaak kuuyin jaan ŋoy.** 'And raven flew <u>under</u> tree.'	A word that comes from a body part and shows the location of a verb in relation to a noun.
preposition	**ti** 'to' in **Aŋ gaaggaak kuuyin jaan ti.** 'And raven flew <u>to</u> tree.'	A word that introduces a noun along with other words, which tell about a verb.
prepositional phrase	**jaan ti** 'to tree' in **Aŋ gaaggaak kuuyin jaan ti.** 'And raven flew <u>to tree</u>.'	A preposition and the words it introduces.
tool	**Aŋ paargä me yok kä boygu ke wingä.** 'And people wrap body with <u>skins and ropes</u>.'	The thing used to do a verb.
source	**Ika batta booju kä Geel.** 'I am not afraid from <u>Lion</u>.'	The place where the verb came from.
goal	**Aŋ wääna ḍakkïï ko nänṭa mïṭon ye**, 'And when they arrived to <u>densely forested place</u>,'	The direction or ending location of the verb.
accompaniment	**Aŋ Geel bilti ke meken.** 'And Lion was there with	A person who does the verb along with the subject.

	others.'	
location	**Aŋ ŋucana nääkke pillä <u>d̲uuggen</u> t̲i**. 'And it also causes pain in <u>their necks</u>.'	The position or location of the verb.
time	<u>**Nïïnkä yaakki**</u> **t̲i yori boonu kockon.** 'In <u>these days</u> my body is very sick.'	The time or duration of the verb.
related information	**Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ <u>yaam</u> t̲i ye, . . . määngä witken wec.** 'And a bad thing about <u>the basket</u> is . . the heads of women are bald.'	The noun certain information is about.
pronoun	**ika** 'I', **-ü** 'your', **yori** 'myself '	A word used in place of a noun.
reflexive pronoun	**Aŋ <u>d̲oṇi</u> tuñjenee.** 'And I burned myself. **Aŋ mükküdü kä <u>yori</u>.** 'And I control it myself.'	A pronoun that shows an object is the same as the subject; or a pronoun that shows a noun introduced by a preposition is the same as the subject.
phrase	**jiik yaakka <u>t̲u</u>lgu** 'those words of girls'	A group of words without a verb.
clause	**Aŋ gaaggaak tiiŋŋä kuukcu.** 'And raven heard drum.'	A group of words with a verb.
demonstrative	**Aŋ kuukcu <u>yaanni</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak.** 'And raven heard <u>this</u> drum.'	A word that points to or shows a noun the listeners can see or already know about.
number	**Aŋ kuukcu kä <u>keelok</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak**. 'And raven heard <u>one</u> drum.	A word that tells how many of the noun there are.
quantity	**Aŋ kuukcuni <u>muureen</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak**. 'And raven heard <u>all</u> drums.'	A word that tells the amount or approximate number of a noun or pronoun.
indefinite	**Müükond̲i, ŋiil <u>yaŋkalaŋ</u> juwin baan jï ka.** 'Friend, <u>certain</u> dance is taking place in country.'	A word that shows a noun has not yet been mentioned or is different than others of the noun than have already been mentioned.
adjective	**me <u>ŋerken</u>** '<u>good</u> people', **bänkä <u>t̲ulgen</u>** '<u>small</u> villages'	A word that describes or tells a characteristic about a noun, and has a different spelling or meaning than the verb or possessed noun it comes from.
relative clause	**Aŋ kuukcu <u>yaana tälaŋ ye</u> tiiŋi gaaggaak**. 'And raven heard drum which is big.'	A group of words with a verb that is introduced by **yaana, yaaka** 'who, which, that' and tells about a previous noun.

adverb	Aŋ men üüŋïn <u>pare</u>. 'And person went <u>alone</u>.'	A word that describes a verb.
past verb	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu <u>tiiŋŋe</u>. 'And raven <u>heard</u> drum.'	A verb that happened before the time of speaking.
progressive verb	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu <u>tiŋdene/tiŋde</u>. 'And raven <u>was hearing/is hearing</u> drum.'	A verb that can be thought of as happening over time like we are watching it in a film.
non-progressive verb	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu <u>tiiŋŋe/tiiŋe</u>. 'And raven <u>heard/hears</u> drum.'	A verb that is thought of as a whole, regardless of when the action happens or how long the action takes.
non-past verb	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu bi <u>tiiŋe</u>. 'And raven will <u>hear</u> drum.'	A verb that happens at the time of speaking.
dependent verb	Aŋ yätkä oon kiinne ogo gaaggaak kuukcu <u>tiiŋŋee</u>. 'And chief told man that raven <u>heard</u> drum.'	A verb in a clause that depnds on another clause to be a complete sentence, such as a clause introduced with **ogo** 'that' or another dependent connector.
non-dependent (main) verb	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu <u>tiiŋŋe</u>. 'And raven <u>heard</u> drum.'	A verb in a clause that can stand alone as a sentence.
repeated verb	Aŋ men gin bi <u>müüge</u>. 'And person will <u>repeatedly catch</u> thing.'	A verb that happens more than once.
once verb	Aŋ men gin bi <u>müge</u>. 'And person will <u>catch</u> thing.'	A verb that happens only once.
normal direction verb	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu <u>tiiŋŋe</u>. 'And raven <u>heard</u> drum.	A verb that has no direction.
towards verb	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu <u>tiiŋene</u>. 'And raven <u>heard</u> drum here.	A verb that has direction towards the speaker.
away verb	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu <u>tiiŋjene</u>. 'And raven <u>heard</u> drum away.	A verb that has direction away from the speaker.
verbal noun	Aŋ men näntä <u>tiiŋŋä</u> gin yoorre. 'Person saw place of <u>hearing</u> something.'	A verb used as a noun.
person verbal noun	Aŋ men <u>tiiŋgonde</u> yoorre. (?) 'Person saw <u>hearing person</u>.'	A verb used as a person noun.
verbal adjective	Aŋ yätkä män <u>tiiŋon</u> yoorre. 'Chief saw a <u>hearing person</u>.'	A verb used as an adjective
helping verb	Aŋ gaaggaak kuukcu <u>ken</u>	A word that introduces a verb and

	tiiŋe. 'and raven <u>is</u> hearing drum.	shows the time, duration or obligation of the verb.
command verb	**Aŋ atï!** 'And let us both go!'	A non-past verb without the non-past helping verb **bi** 'will' used to order or command others to do something.
passive verb	**Aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye, men wäädenee jïkkïï me ïñï.** 'And when God arrived, he found that person <u>had been buried</u>.'	An OVS verb with general (non-specific) subject **me** 'people' used as an unknown subject.
compound phrase	**ïntä ḍoŋe** 'wrist', **jiik aallä** 'beard'	Two or more words often said as a group, which have about the same meaning as the two original words, or can have different meaning than either of the two words.
compound word	**mäbaan** 'human being', **lääygä** 'horse, gazelle'	Two or more words joined together which have a similar or new meaning; the word usually has a sound change from the original words by themselves.
focus	**A <u>Leeñ mooye</u> yaana paañ̃ñe kïïgïn ye, ken ike aajjï woo wiiy.** 'It was <u>the big Elephant</u>, whose feet were peeled, who was crossing the river.'	The most important word of a sentence; it comes after the equal sign verb **a** 'is, be' at the beginning of a clause.
contrastive focus	**A <u>Leeñ mooye</u> yaana paañ̃ñe kïïgïn ye, ken ike aajjï woo wiiy.** 'It was <u>the big Elephant</u>, whose feet were peeled, who was crossing the river.'	A word that is the most important in the sentence out of more than one choice in the mind of the hearers.
non-contrastive focus	**Ay! A <u>ŋaaka</u> ken week do? A <u>dïïn</u> ken week jaan wic.** 'Hey, <u>what</u> is crying out? It is <u>a bird</u> crying up in a tree.'	A word that is the most important in the sentence without other choices in the mind of the hearers.

Answers to Exercises

<u>Exercise 1</u>

Test Word		Write correctly	Test Word		Write correctly
ḍïïḍi	*cricket*	<u>diidi</u>	dülluŋ	*open area*	<u>düllüŋ</u>

Test Word		Write correctly	Test Word		Write correctly
waawa	father's sister	waawa	rüñit	rainbow	rüñït
gid	ear	git	koy	tree type	koy
kücam	skin bag	kücam	cäunä	arrow (sg)	cäwnä
deican	flower (sg)	deycan	gaaggaak	raven, bird	gaaggaak
aallä	chin	aallä	päkcan	sorghum	päkcan
lep	tongues (pl)	lep	iïj	ladle, spoon	iïc
yuuiu	fog	yuuyu	ñaau	udder	ñaaw
leg	teeth (pl)	lek	kaaidï	clans (pl)	kaaydï
nääï	mother's brother	nääy	pïït	mud wasps (pl)	pïït
juin	rise up	juwin	toorïa	digging tool	toorïya

Exercise 2

Test Word		Write correctly	Test Word		Write correctly
iiŋkalaŋ	certain woman	iiŋ kalaŋ	yaŋkalaŋ	certain one	yaŋkalaŋ
lään tïṇṇä	red animal	lään tïnnä	män baan	human being	mänbaan
kücamjï	in bag	kücam jï	gináämkä	food	gin äämkä
käälok	in cave	käälok	daaŋ poŋ	on shelter	daampok
luumjiñe	in grass	luum jiñe	pääm ŋoy	under mountain	pääm ŋoy
ääŋ kalaŋ	certain day	ääkalaŋ	aŋeraŋ	is good	a ŋeraŋ
wiñeti	in head	wiñe ti	piik ti	in water	piitti
aŋaani	is who	a ŋaani	aŋool	is lame	a ŋool
a ṭüwon	is dead	a ṭüwon	witken ti	on their heads	witken ti

Exercise 3

(Yaam1)
Yaam a koy tïṇṇä ke dogleñ,
kimkä ken ñorgu me.

A basket is from red tree or (another) tree,
and people bend (their) branches.

(Yaam 3)
Aŋ paargä me yok kä boygu ke wingä,

And people wrap the body, with skins and ropes,

(Yaam 5-6)
Aŋ yaam mäbaan ti ken ṭemte määngä
wakkä witken ti bata wälkä piik
ke päk ke waak a daa ṭemtä ye.

And the basket on Jumjum person, women
carry things on their heads such as gourds of water
and grains and (other) things that they carry.

(Kiñuk 1-2)
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ atto kiñuk pare,
aŋ käñño kääl bilgiññi.

Long ago, a man went on a hunt alone,
and found a cave of bats.

(Kiñuk 22-24)
Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ doŋe ti,
aŋ wääna kaaññïï ko jaan ŋoy ye,
men likko rawcan, aŋ kïlläŋ rääkkee jï
woo, i iin mooye oja ken ääto ñomuk.

The person was wearing a whistle around his neck,
and when (they) passed under a tree,
the man broke off a twig, and cleaned out whistle,
as the proud old hyena was going on ahead.

(Leeñ)
Wiiw me näŋgedee waygä ka.   *Fox makes shoes for people.*

Exercise 4

(Yaam 5-6)
Aŋ yaam mäbaan ti ken ṭemte määngä   *And the basket on Jumjum person, women*
wakkä witken ti bata wälkä piik   *carry things on their heads such as gourds of water*
(Yaam 16-17)
Aŋ ŋucana nääkke pillä duuggen ti ke   *And it also causes pain in their necks and in*
ŋätken ti bäätcïdï ïñï ke teygen ti.   *their backs going down to their hips.*
(Yaam 21)
Nääŋko määngä yooko yoken   *Because of this, our women (should)*
wääkcene woo,   *rest their bodies.*
(Kiñuk 7)
Aŋ men kaññïï käälok ogo ïwon,   *And they found person in the cave that was chared,*
i jone mor määṭo.   *and his heart was still beating.*
(Kiñuk 8-9)
Aŋ düüdïnïï woo, aŋ iin durñe liikono woo   *They carried him outside, and young hyena broke*
gine ṭuule gunne ti näkkenee.   *small piece (his thing, his daughter) from his side.*
(Kiñuk 22)
Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ doŋe ti,   *The person was wearing a whistle around his neck,*
(Bääm 60)
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo,   *And Dove told him,*
"Mügja buggi ti kä lekü."   *"Hold on to me by my wings with your teeth."*
(Leeñ 3)
Aŋ wegok kïïge ti ogo, *wac, wac, wac.*   *And from his feet he was making sound, tap, tap.*
(Geel 19)
Yeeni ääŋkalaŋ naana buṭu woo ye,   *If my (strength) were to be revealed one day,*
ooric yaanna bi taapä kä.   *I would ride on this your man.*

Exercise 5

(Kiñuk 1-4)
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ atto kiñuk pare,   *A long time ago, a man went on a hunt alone,*
aŋ käñño kääl bilgiññi. Aŋ atto gäänono   *and found a cave of bats. He went to collect*
luum ïwïn, aŋ büükkee käälok, aŋ   *dry grass, heaped it in the cave, and*
tuñgenee maañ, aŋ ḍoŋe tuñjenee ti käälok.   *he caused fire to burn it, burned himself in cave.*
(Kiñuk 14-16)
Aŋ cääjjo ko ḍeeḍaŋ,   *And they were sitting a little, and then they*
aŋ kaaco tabjï,   *were entering (water) to touch him,*
aŋ duuko woo, aŋ ŋuca cääjjo ko ḍeeḍaŋ,   *then returned out, and again sat a little,*
aŋ ŋuca bülco tabjï, kockon wina   *and again were returning to touch him*

392

ke men **däädjeko**.	continuing like this until the person **became soft**.
(Bääm 18)	
Aŋ Wiiw len lämmä **jeppe** ti jaan ti,	And Fox **hit** the tree with the mud axe,
aŋ **jiccin** woo.	then **ran** away.
(Bääm 21)	
Aŋ Gaaggaak **kuuyin** iñï, aŋ **müŋŋe**.	And Raven **flew** down and he (Fox) **caught** him.
(Bääm 36-37)	
Ay müükondi, ika batta bi **lïïtä** wään,	Ah my friend, I **am** not **able** to go,
ika **agä** raac täññaŋ.	(since) I **am** now sick.

Exercise 6

(Bääm 18)	
Aŋ Wiiw len lämmä jeppe ti jaan ti.	And **Fox** hit the mud axe on the tree.
(Bääm 21)	
Aŋ Gaaggaak kuuyin iñï, aŋ müŋŋe.	Raven flew down, and he caught him.
(Bääm 39)	
Aŋ Wiiw jone yaaññä.	And Fox's heart became angry.
(Leeñ 2)	
Aŋ Wiiw ŋeel kä waygä yek boŋŋan,	And Fox was dancing with shoes of leather,
(Leeñ 9)	
Wiiw me näŋgedee waygä ka.	Fox makes shoes for people.
(Leeñ 28)	
Aŋ lüüttü ti pääm ŋoy, aŋ käññä duk,	And he ran under the mountain, and found gum,
(Pïïŋŋä 1-2)	
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ tüwno baan yaŋkalaŋ ti, aŋ Pïïŋŋä ken tüccïï me ogo,	Long ago in time past, someone died in a certain land, and people sent Wasp,

Exercise 7

(Yaam 9-10)	
Aŋ a **yaam** ken **lïïlte** **määngä** **dürdïn** wakkä yaakka dirä ye,	And since a **basket** **enables** **women** **to carry** these many things,
(Yaam 18-19)	
Ina ken **määngä** **mäbaan** **tiintete** kä bïraŋ yaanna, aŋ **iiŋ** ke yaam yeene wäättana **beel** bata teebälaŋ yoono.	That is why **Jumjum** **women** **are becoming old** with quickly, and the **woman** **with her basket** afterwards **looks** like our car.
(Kiñuk 1-2)	
Ñomuk ku on, **mäŋkalaŋ** **atto** kiñuk pare,	Long ago, a **man** **went** on a hunt alone,
(Kiñuk 7)	
Aŋ men käññïï käälok ogo ïwon, i **jone** mor **määto**.	They found person in cave that was chared, and **his heart** was still **beating**.
(Kiñuk 17)	

Aŋ naana daa **äŋ waŋe** **wükco** ye,
i **men waŋge piijodo**.
(Bääm 6)
Aŋ **Bääm** **yaakï**,
aŋ **Wiiw** **attä** näŋŋä len lämmä.
(Bääm 47-48)
Aŋ **Bääm** **koojjin** ïñï ogo ike ämje päk,
i **Wiiw** a **taron** kä cokal.
(Leeñ 1-2)
Ñomuk ku on yuungu yakkalaŋ ti,
waak luum jiñe ŋelok ṭuuŋ.
Aŋ **Wiiw** **ŋeel** kä waygä yek boṇṇan.
(Geel 1)
Ñomuk ku on,
wakkä luum jiñe cäyok nänṭä keellä,
(Geel 2)
Aŋ **Geel** **bilti** ke meken,
(Geel 46)
Aŋ wäättana **waak muureen luggin**
kä owkïtïn Wiiw.
(Pïïnnä 1)
Ñomuk ku on,
mäŋkalaŋ tüwno baan yaŋkalaŋ ti.
(Pïïnnä 10-11)
Aŋ **Jooŋ jone püütono**, aŋ Pïïŋŋä müŋŋee,
aŋ ḍeŋŋee teygin ko wiṇṇan yen bïl.
(Pïïnnä 13-14)
Ina ken **Pïïṇṇä teye ŋalje** ko ŋal yaanna,
aŋ müügee ko merkä meken yaakka.

And when the **sun's face** **moved** on, then the
person's eyes began to **regain consciousness**.

Then **Dove** **was refusing**
and **Fox** **went** and made an axe of mud.

And **Dove** **came** down to eat the grain,
and **Fox** **was hiding** with nearby.

Long ago in certain years,
things of grass **were dancing** the horn dance.
And **Fox** **was dancing** with shoes of leather.

Long ago in past time, **things of inside**
grass (animals) **were living** in same place,

And **Lion** **was there** with the others,

Afterwards, all the **animals acknowledged**
the strength of Fox.

Long ago in time past,
someone died in a certain land.

God's heart **was upset**, so he caught Wasp,
and tied his waist with a rope of metal.

That is why **Wasp's waist** **is thin** like this,
and he catches the children of others.

Exercise 8

(Yaam 1)
Yaam a koy tïṇṇä ke ḍogleñ,
kimkä ken ñorgu **me**.
(Yaam 7-8)
Aŋ naana **me** bagit nänṭä yaŋkalaŋ ti ye,
naana **yaam** a küümon ye,
ä̤ṭäŋgä ŋaapcätä me yaam ṭuŋke ti.
(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ a **yaam** ken lïïlte **määngä ḍürdïn**
wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,
(Yaam 21)

Baskets are from two types of trees,
people bend branches (to make them).

And when **people** move it to another place,
if the **basket** is full,
people hang chickens on the horns of the basket.

And since a **basket** enables **women**
to carry **these many things**,

Näŋko **määngä yooko** **yoken** wääkcene woo, (Kiñuk 26)	*Because of this, <u>our women</u> (should) rest <u>their bodies</u>.*
Aŋ **iin durñe menen** taaññee ogo, "Ay! A ŋaaka ken week do?" (Kiñuk 22-23)	*And the <u>young hyena</u> asked <u>the other</u>, "Hey! What is crying out?"*
Aŋ **men eŋdo kïlläŋ** ḍoŋe ti, aŋ wääna kaaññïï ko jaan ŋoy ye, **men** likko **rawcan**, (Bääm 1)	*The <u>person was wearing</u> <u>whistle</u> around his neck, and when (they) passed under a tree, <u>man broke off a twig</u>,*
Ñomuk ku on, **Wiiw näkä käñ**, aŋ attä laay woo luummuk. (Leeñ 17)	*A long time ago, <u>Fox felt hunger</u> and went out roaming in grassland.*
Aŋ **Wiiw Liik** kiinne ogo, "Ääte nïïnkä kä ŋaṭükel." (Leeñ 23-24)	*And <u>Fox told the Elephants</u>, "Return in days that seven."*
Aŋ **Wiiw gäykä** cüge yokïn, aŋ kuuyin woo, aŋ yore jecce woo. (Leeñ 43-44)	*And <u>Fox was moving the skins</u> of their bodies, and jumped out, and he ran away.*
Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïin nüütkïdïn ogo ŋana **me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken**. (Geel 6)	*This <u>story</u> tells us that <u>people</u> should not <u>do bad things</u>.*
Aŋ **Geel** wäättana **tulgu baade** pare küüttaŋ. (Piïnnä 5-7)	*And afterwards, <u>Lion</u> was only one <u>loving girls</u>.*
Aŋ **piïnnä** wääna ḍukcenee ko ti me ti ye, **me** kiinnee ogo, **men jïkcï me** iñï. Aŋ wääna **Jooŋ** ḍäägenee ko ti ye, **men** wäädenee **jïkkïï me** iñï.	*Then when <u>wasp</u> returned to people, he told <u>people</u> that, <u>people</u> (should) <u>bury person</u>. And when <u>God</u> arrived, he found that <u>people had buried person</u>.*

Exercise 9

(Kiñuk 2-3) Aŋ atto gäänono luum ïwïn, aŋ büükkee käälok, aŋ tuñgenee maañ, (Bääm 11)	*He went to collect dry grass, heaped it in the cave, and he caused fire to burn it,*
Aŋ yoori **Gaaggaak**, aŋ äätïn **Bääm** nüütkene, (Bääm 20)	*And <u>Raven</u> saw it and came and informed Dove.*
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ **Wiiw** attä **Gaaggaak** ṭärkeŋe **nänṭä piik**. (Bääm 42)	*Another day, <u>Fox</u> came and hid from Raven in place of water.*
Aŋ yoori **Gaaggaak**, aŋ attä **Bääm** nüütkene. (Leeñ 8-9)	*And <u>Raven</u> saw it, and went and informed Dove.*
Aŋ **Leeñ** attä meken nüütkene ogo, "**Wiiw** me nängedee waygä ka."	*And <u>Elephant</u> went and informed others, "Fox makes shoes for people."*

(Pïïṇṇä 3)
Aŋ wääna attee ko ye, Jooŋ ñüütkenee.

And when he went, he informed God.

(Yaam 14)
Aŋ ŋucana yiñ yeene yïmgä taañjede
C iñï **määngä waŋgen** ti,
(Kiñuk 17)
C Aŋ naana daa **äŋ waŋe** wükco ye,
C i **men waŋge** piijodo.
(Bääm 6)
Aŋ Bääm yaakï,
D aŋ Wiiw attä näŋṇä **len lämmä**.
(Bääm 39)
C Aŋ **Wiiw jone** yaaññä,
   aŋ attä ääcin kücam cäygene jï päk.
(Leeñ 2)
D Aŋ Wiiw ŋeel kä **waygä yek boṇṇan**,
(Geel 34)
C Aŋ Wiiw taappä **Geel ŋäñe** ti.
(Geel 46)
Aŋ wäättana waak muureen luggin
D kä **owkïtïn Wiiw**.
(Pïïṇṇä 10-11)
Aŋ Jooŋ jone püütono, aŋ Pïïṇṇä
müŋŋee,
D aŋ deŋŋee teygin ko **wiṇṇan yen bïl**.
(Pïïṇṇä 13-14)
C Ina ken **Pïïṇṇä teye** ŋalje ko ŋal yaanna,
D aŋ müügee ko **merkä meken** yaakka.

And another bad thing of it, is that it presses
the blood down on the **women's eyes**,

And when the **sun's face** moved on, then the
person's eyes began to regain consciousness.

Then Dove was refusing
and Fox went and made an **axe** of **mud**.

And **Fox's heart** became angry, and he went and
brought an animal skin bag full of grain.

And Fox was dancing with **shoes of leather**,

And Fox rode on the **Lion's back**.

Afterwards, all the animals acknowledged
the **strength of Fox**.

Then God was upset, so he caught Wasp,

and tied his waist with a **rope of metal**.

That is why **Wasp's waist** is thin like this,
and he catches it with these **children of others**.

(Bääm 8)
Aŋ yuuttu jaan **ŋoy**, aŋ Bääm ene ogo,
(Bääm 40-41)
Aŋ kaaccä kücam **jïñe ti**, jaan
gaaggaak **ŋoye ti** kä cokal, aŋ päk tükke ïñï.
(Bääm 43-44)
Ika käññä päk a püüktïdïnï ïñï
jaan **ŋoy** baanni, aŋ ika batta ämä päk.
(Leeñ 1)

(He) stood **under** tree, and he was threatening Dove,

Then he entered **into** the bag, **under** nearby
tree of Raven, and he sprinkled out some grain.

I found grain spilled down
under tree of my area, and I am not eating the grain.

Ñomuk ku on yuungu yakkalaŋ ti,
waak luum <u>jiñe</u> ŋelok ṭuuŋ.
(Leeñ 28)

Long ago in past time of certain years, the things of
<u>inside</u> grass (animals) were dancing the horn dance.

Aŋ lüüttü tï pääm <u>ŋoy</u>, aŋ käññä ḍuk,
(Geel 1)

And he ran <u>under</u> the mountain, and found gum,

Ñomuk ku on,
wakkä luum <u>jiñe</u> cäyok nänṭä keellä,
(Geel 7)

Long ago in past time, things
of <u>inside</u> grass (animals) were living in the same place,

I baati durñu yaana ŋuca
wükcïdï tï ṭulgu <u>gurken ti</u> ye.

And there was no youth who could go near,
to be <u>next to</u> the girls.

Exercise 12

(Yaam 2)
Aŋ ḍiigjänä me iñï <u>kä</u> wingä,
aŋ näkä nïïnkä <u>kä</u> ḍäk.
(Yaam 9-10)

People tie them down <u>with</u> ropes
for days <u>that</u> three.

Aŋ a yaam ken liïlte määngä ḍürdïn
wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,
aŋ a gin a ŋeraŋ <u>yaam ti</u> ye inni.
(Yaam 11-12)

And since a basket enables women
to carry these many things,
this is a good thing <u>about</u> the basket.

Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ <u>yaam ti</u> ye,
naana ṭemtä määngä <u>witken ti</u>
yuungu <u>kä</u> diräk ye, määngä witken wec.
(Yaam 16-17)

And a bad thing <u>about</u> the basket is
when women carry (it) <u>on</u> their heads
for years <u>that</u> many, the heads of women are bald.

Aŋ ŋucana nääkke pillä <u>duuggen ti</u>
<u>ke</u> ŋätken ti bäätcïdï iñï <u>ke teygen ti</u>.
(Yaam 18-19)

And it also causes pain <u>in</u> their necks
<u>and in</u> their backs going down <u>and in</u> their hips.

Ina ken määngä mäbaan ṭiintete
<u>kä</u> bïraŋ yaanna, aŋ iiŋ <u>ke yaam</u> yeene
wäättana beel bata teebälaŋ yoono.
(Kiñuk 2-4)

That is why Jumjum women are becoming old
<u>with</u> quickly, and the woman <u>with</u> her basket
afterwards looks like our car.

Aŋ atto gäänono luum ïwïn,
aŋ büükkee <u>käälok</u>, aŋ tuñgenee maañ,
aŋ ḍoŋe tuñjenee <u>ti käälok</u>.
(Kiñuk 8-9)

He went to collect dry grass,
heaped it <u>in cave</u>, and he caused fire to burn it,
and burned himself <u>in the cave</u>.

Aŋ düüdïnï woo, aŋ iin durñe liikono woo
gine ṭuule gunne <u>ti</u> näkkenee.
(Kiñuk 13)

And they carried him outside, and young hyena
broke off small piece <u>from</u> his side and tasted (it).

Aŋ dünṇïï ïññïï büüccïï <u>piitti</u>.
(Kiñuk 21)

They lifted him and took and soaked him <u>in water</u>.

Aŋ dünṇïï iin durñe <u>doŋe ti</u>,
i küjjï ogo cüüyïdïnï.

And the young hyena carried (person) <u>on</u> his neck,
but they didn't know that he revived.

397

(Bääm 45-46)
Aŋ Bääm gïmmïn, aŋ päygin iken | And Dove agreed, and they (he) **and** *Raven* flew,
ke Gaaggaak, aŋ ḍakkä tï näntä päk. | and they arrived **to** *the place of the grain*.
(Bääm 47-48)
Aŋ Bääm koojjin ïñï ogo ike ämje päk, | And Dove came down to eat the grain,
i Wiiw a ṭaron **kä** cokal. | and Fox was hiding **with** *nearby*.
(Bääm 60)
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, | And Dove told him,
"Mügja buggi ti **kä** lekü." | "Hold on **to** *my wings* **with** *your teeth*."
(Leeñ 2-3)
Aŋ Wiiw ŋeel **kä** waygä yek boṇṇan, | And Fox was dancing **with** *shoes of leather*,
aŋ wegok kïïge ti ogo, *wac, wac, wac.* | And **from** *his feet* he was making sound, tap, tap.
(Leeñ 34)
Aŋ Liik attä wiirok mätï piik, | And the Elephants went **in** *the river* to drink water,
(Leen 38)
Aŋ attä Leeñ yaana tälaŋ ye ti, | And he went **to** *the Elephant who is big*,
(Geel 5)
Aŋ dürjï wäättana bojok **kä** baannä tulgu. | And then, youth were afraid **from** *loving girls*.
(Geel 28)
Aŋ müükonḍi por ŋäjjä, | And do you know, my friend,
nïïnkä yaakki ti yori boonu kockon. | **in** *these days* my body is very sick.
(Geel 33-35)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin jone ti ogo, | And Fox said **to** *himself*,
"Ee, a yaana ṭäkkä ye inni!" | "Yes, this is what I want!"
Aŋ Wiiw taappä Geel ŋäñe ti. Aŋ Wiiw | And Fox rode **on** *the Lion's back*.
Geel kiinne ogo, "Dalä ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan | And Fox told Lion, "Let me tie the rope
doŋü ti, mükküdü **kä** yori." | **on** *your neck* (so that) I control it **with** *my body*."
(Geel 36-37)
Aŋ wääna ḍekke daa **kä** doŋe ti ye, | And when he tied it **with to** *his neck*,
wiṇṇan müŋŋe **kä** ïnte aam, | he grabbed the rope **with** *his left hand*,
aŋ Geel üütte ti näntä ŋiil. | and Lion ran **to** *the place of dancing*.
(Geel 45)
Aŋ Wiiw kuuyin ïñï, | And Fox jumped down,
aŋ wäättana ŋeel ke ṭulgu küüttaŋ. | and then only he was dancing **with** *the girls*.
(Äwñä 1)
Ääŋkalaŋ ti | **On** *certain day*,
wina Albe attä kiñuk **ke** guuŋ yeene. | Albe went on a hunt **with** *his dog*.
(Äwñä 9)
Aŋ ike nääkin nïïnkä **kä** yewwe käälok. | And he spent days **that** *two* **in** *the cave*.
(Äwñä 11)
Aŋ nïïnkä yaakka ti muure, Albe batta ämï, | And **in** *all these days*, Albe did not eat,
(Pïïnnä 1)
Ñomuk ku on, | Long ago in time past,

398

mäŋkalaŋ tüwno <u>baan yaŋkalaŋ ti.</u>   *someone died <u>**in** a certain land</u>.*

Exercise 13

	(Kiñuk 4)	
<u>Reflexive</u>	Aŋ <u>**doŋe**</u> tuñjenee ti käälok.	*And burned **himself** in the cave.*
	(Kiñuk 7)	
<u>Possessor</u>	Aŋ men kaññïï käälok ogo ïwon, i jon<u>e</u> mor määṭo.	*They found person in cave that was chared, and **his** heart was still beating.*
	(Bääm 3)	
<u>Subject</u>	"**Ïkï** näŋä ŋaaka jaan wic wina?"	*"What are **you** doing up in the tree?"*
	(Bääm 4)	
<u>Possessor</u>	"Ika tïïcä merkä <u>**yeeki**</u>."	*"I am caring for **my** children."*
	(Bääm 54)	
<u>Object</u>	"Ŋana **ika** nägdaa ḍok,	*"Do not eat **me**,*
<u>Object</u>	yuudu por, **ïkï** nüütkeni.	*just wait, I will inform **you**.*
	(Leeñ 20)	
<u>Possessor</u>	Iñjon waygä <u>**yooko.**</u>	*Give us **our** shoes.*
	(Geel 29-30)	
<u>With prep.</u>	Aŋ inni äätä **ïkï** tï, yaanne yori riijänä kä pet.	*When I came to **you**, this body of mine was struggling.*
	(Geel 35-36)	
<u>Subject</u>	"Dalä **ika** ḍikcä wiṇṇan	*"Let **I** tie the rope*
<u>Possessor</u>	ḍoŋü ti,	*on **your** neck*
<u>Reflexive</u>	mükküdü kä <u>**yori**</u>."	*(so that) I control it **myself**."*

Exercise 14

(Bääm 33-35)
Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo,
"<u>**Ika** **äätädä**</u> ïkï ken maaweni ka,
aŋ ogoo täññani? **Ïkïï** batta <u>**ati**</u> ḍeel ṭuule,
yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?"
(Bääm 36-38)
Aŋ kiini Gaaggaak ogo, "Ay müükonḍi,
ika batta <u>**bi lïïṭä**</u> wään, **ika** <u>**agä**</u> raac täññaŋ.
Aŋ atä parü, <u>**ïkïï** **bi** **atï**</u> tïṇṇäk."
(Bääm 43-44)
Aŋ kiinne ogo, "<u>**Ika** **käññä**</u> päk a püüktïdïnï ïñï
jaan ŋoy baanni, aŋ **ika** batta <u>**ämä**</u> päk.
(Bääm 45-46)
Aŋ Bääm gïmmïn, aŋ <u>**päygin** **iken**</u> ke

And Fox told him,
*"**I am coming** looking for **you**,*
*and about what? Can **we** not **go** (to) the small goat*
that was dead in the animal pen?"

And Raven told him, "Ah my friend,
*<u>**I am**</u> not <u>**able**</u> to go, (since) <u>**I am**</u> now sick.*
*You go alone, **we two** **will go** tomorrow."*

*He (Raven) told him, "<u>**I** **found**</u> grain spilled down*
*under tree of my area, and <u>**I am**</u> not <u>**eating**</u> grain.*

*And Dove agreed, and he **and** Raven **flew**,*

399

Gaaggaak,
aŋ ḍakkä tï nänṭä päk.   *and they arrived to the place of the grain.*
(Bääm 61)
Aŋ naana **ïkïï ḍakkï** tï ye, ika bi weekcä ogo,   *And when **we arrive**, I will cry,*
(Leeñ 12)
Wiiw, **ikoon ḍäägonon**.   *Fox, **we have arrived**.*
(Leeñ 36-37)
Aŋ tääckene ti ogo, "**Ikee ate** wa?"   *He asked it from them, "Where are **you going**?"*
Aŋ kiini ogo, "**Ikoon aajjodon** woo wiiy."   *And they told him, "**We are crossing** the river."*
(Geel 14-15)
Aŋ tääcki ti Wiiw ogo, "Ajïñe ogo, **ikee jaayje**   *Then Fox asked them, "Is it true that **you are***
ogo Geel ken ogo oon pare ya?"   ***saying** that Lion is the only man?"*
(Geel 29-30)
Aŋ inni äätä ïkï tï, yaanne yori riijänä kä pet.   *When I came to you, this body of mine was really*
Aŋ täññani **ïkïï bi bülcï** müürï ogoo?   *struggling. And now how will **we two return**?*
(Geel 47-48)
Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï   *This story shows*
ogo ŋana yorü naŋdeey ogo   *that you should not make yourself to*
ïkï agjey oon parü, ook bilto ti cäänna.   ***you be** the only man; there are (other) men also.*
(Äwñä 6-7)
Aŋ **ike ṭäkï** kääjïdï woo, aŋ wääna   *Then **he was wanting** to go out, and when he*
ḍäägenee kääl tük ye, kääl tüke üüljene.   *arrived at cave entrance, entrance was closed off.*
(Äwñä 9)
Aŋ **ike nääkin** nïïnkä kä yewwe käälok.   *And **he spent** two days in the cave.*
(Pïïŋŋä 4)
Ato me kiinje ogo, 'Daljï me **ike äätee**.'   *Go tell them, 'People should let **he come**.'*
(Pïïnnä 9)
Pïïŋŋä ken me kiinnee ogo,   *Wasp told the people that*
ïkï ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan.   ***you said** (to do) this.*

Exercise 15

(Kiñuk 34-35)
Aŋ iin durñe menen kiindee ogo,   *And the young hyena said to the other,*
"**Keetta** kiindeni ogo 'Ŋeeyjï ko ïw?' "   *"Did I not **tell you**, 'We can eat it dry?' "*
(Bääm 22)
Aŋ kiintä Gaaggaak ogo,   *And Raven was telling him,*
"Ŋana **ika kajdaa**, yeepca ñaalok."   *"Don't **bite me**, throw me up."*
(Bääm 33-35)
Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo,   *And Fox told him,*
"Ika äätädä **ïkï ken maaweni** ka,   *"I am coming **looking for you**,*
(Bääm 51-52)

400

Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo, "Gula ïkï müŋŋeni täññaŋ,   Fox told him, "Oh how I **have caught you** now,
aŋ ïkï bi ereni pok."   and I **will slaughter you**."
(Bääm 53-58)

Aŋ Bääm weekcin, aŋ Wiiw kolde ogo,   And Dove cried, and was refusing Fox,
"Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por, ïkï nüütkeni. "**Do not eat me**, just wait, I will inform you.
Ika attä laayä, aŋ ika käññä kabal ṭuule   I went roaming, and I found a very fat young
a caagon kockon a tüwon, aŋ ika ṭäkä ïkï ijeni. dead sheep, and I want to **take you**.
Aŋ naana batta agï kañgon ye,   And if we do not find it,
ika wäättana amja."   then you can **eat me**."
(Geel 26)

Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, ïkïï atcï,   And people **are sending me** to say, let's go,
(Geel 32)

Aŋ kiini Geel ogo, "Ïkï bi taapci ŋäñi ti."   Lion told him, "I **will carry you** on my back."
(Geel 41-42)

Ikee batta kiinde ogo,   "Did I not **tell you**
ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure!"   that I would one day ride this your man, look!"
(Äwñä 13)

Aŋ daa guuŋ yeene miigene   And he found his dog
ike keeygä woo üntük,   **waiting for him** outside,

Exercise 16

(Bääm 49-52)
"A ŋaani ken ïkï nüütkeney waŋ yaanna?"   "Who **informed you** this idea?"
A Wiiw ken tääccin. Aŋ kiini Bääm,   Fox was the one asking him. And Dove told him,
"A Gaaggaak ken ika nüütkana waŋ."   "It was Raven who **informed me** of this idea."
(Bääm 53-58)

Aŋ Bääm weekcin, aŋ Wiiw kolde ogo,   And Dove cried, and was refusing Fox,
"Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por, ïkï nüütkeni. "**Do not eat me**, just wait, I **will inform you**.
(Yeeñ 43-44)

Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïïn nüütkïdïn ogo   This story **tells us** that
ŋana me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken.   people should not do bad things.

Exercise 17

      (Yaam 16-17)
C   Aŋ ŋucana nääkke pillä duuggen ti ke   And it also causes pain in **their necks** and in
C, C ŋätken ti bäätcïdï iñï ke teygen ti.   **their backs** going down to **their hips**.
      (Yaam 19)
D   Aŋ iiŋ ke yaam yeene wäättana beel   And the woman with **her basket** afterwards
D   bata teebälaŋ yoono.   looks like **our car**.
      (Yaam 21)
D   Näŋko määngä yooko   Because of this, **our women** (should)
C   yoken wääkcene woo,   rest **their bodies**.

401

(Kiñuk 7)

Aŋ men kaññïï käälok ogo ïwon,
    And they found person in cave that was chared,

C   i <u>jone</u> mor määṭo.   *and **his heart** was still beating.*

(Bääm 4)

Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo,   *And Dove told him,*

D   "Ika tïïcä **merkä yeeki**."   *"I am caring for **my children.**"*

(Bääm 43)

Ika käññä päk a püüktïdïnï ïñï   *I found grain spilled down*

C   jaan ŋoy **baanni,**   *under the tree of **my area,***

(Bääm 60)

Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo,   *And Dove told him,*

C, D   "Mügja **buggi** ti kä <u>lekü</u>."   *"Hold on to me by **my wings** with **your teeth**."*

(Leeñ 3)

C   Aŋ wegok <u>kïige</u> ti ogo, *wac, wac, wac.*   *And from **his feet** he was making sound, tap, tap.*

(Leeñ 20)

D   Iñjon **waygä yooko.**   *Give us **our shoes**.*

(Leeñ 22)

D   Dale **waygä yeekic** iñekä woo.   *Let me bring you **your shoes** out here.*

(Geel 19)

Yeeni ääŋkalaŋ naana buṭu woo ye,   *If my (strength) were to be revealed one day,*

C   **ooric** yaanna bi taapä kä.   *I would ride on this **your man**.*

(Äwñä 1)

Ääŋkalaŋ ti wina   *One day,*

D   Albe attä kiñuk ke **guuŋ yeene,**   *Albe went on a hunt with **his dog,***

(Äwñä 14)

D   Aŋ **waak yeeke** koowne,   *And he took **his things**,*

aŋ wäättana ḍuukin ŋäjäk paa.   *and then returned back home.*

Exercise 18

(Yaam 21-22)

Näŋko määngä yooko **yoken** wääkcene woo,   *Because of this, our women must rest **themselves**,*

aŋ päjjene beeljene bata meken.   *and be healthy and become like others.*

(Kiñuk 2-4)

Aŋ atto gäänono luum ïwïn,   *He went to collect dry grass,*

aŋ büükkee käälok, aŋ tuñgenee maañ,   *heaped it in cave, and he caused fire to burn it,*

aŋ **doŋe** tuñjenee ti käälok.   *and burned **himself** in the cave.*

(Geel 34-36)

Aŋ Wiiw Geel kiinne ogo,   *And Fox told Lion,*

"Dalä ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan ḍoŋü ti,   *"Let me tie the rope on your neck*

mükküdü kä **yori**."   *(so that) I control it with **myself** ."*

Exercise 19

(Yaam 9-10)

Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte määngä ḍürḍïn	*And since a basket enables women*
wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,	*to carry these many things,*
aŋ a gin a ŋeraŋ yaam ti ye **inni**.	**this is** *a good thing about the basket.*

(Bääm 34-35)

Ïkïï batta atï ḍeel ṭuule,	*Can we not go (to) the small goat*
yaana a tüwon **kaal** jï **yaanja** por ookï?"	*that was dead in* **that animal pen**?

(Bääm 48-49)

"A ŋaani ken ïkï nüütkeney **waŋ yaanna**?"	*"Who gave you* **that idea**?"
A Wiiw ken tääccin.	*Fox was the one asking him.*

(Bääm 66-67)

Yaan **wiiwa yaanni** nüütï ogo,	**This story** *tells us that, (when)*
waak a kañdïï me ye, ŋana boonjï me.	*people find things, it should be enough for people.*

(Leeñ 30)

Aŋ taaji ogo, "A ŋaani ina **cääy yaanna**?"	*And asked him, "Who is* **that sitting**?"

(Geel 8)

Aŋ Wiiw **jiik yaakka** tiiŋŋe,	*And Fox heard about* **those words**,

(Geel 10-11)

Aŋ juwin ḍoŋe lääkkene ogo kar,	*He got up and left straight away,*
atï ükcïdï gïtï **jiik yaakka** ṭulgu ti.	*he went to evaluate by* **those words** *of girls.*

(Geel 19)

Yeeni ääŋkalaŋ naana buṭu woo ye,	*If my (strength) were to be revealed certain day,*
ooric yaanna bi taapä kä.	*I would ride on* **that your man**.

(Geel 22)

Ïkï **ṭüülü yaanna** daa bi näŋä ŋaaka?	**Your small thing that** *just can do what?*

(Geel 28)

Aŋ müükonḍi por ŋäjjä,	*And do you know, my friend,*
nïïnkä yaakki ti yori boonu kockon.	*in* **these days** *my body is very sick.*

(Geel 33)

Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin jone ti ogo,	*And Fox said to himself,*
"Ee, a yaana ṭäkkä ye **inni**!"	*"Yes, that which I want* **is this**!"

(Geel 41-42)

Ikee batta kiinde ogo,	*Did I not tell you*
ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure!	*that I would one day ride* **this your man**, *look!*

(Äwñä 11)

Aŋ **nïïnkä yaakka** ti muure, Albe batta ämï.	*And all* **those days**, *Albe did not eat.*

(Pïïŋŋä 13-14)

Ina ken Pïïŋŋä teye ŋalje ko **ŋal yaanna**,	*That is why Wasp's waist is thin like* **that thinness**,
aŋ müügee ko merkä **meken yaakka**.	*and he catches the children of* **those others**.

Exercise 20

(Yaam 2)
Aŋ ḍiigjänä me ïñï kä wingä,
aŋ näkä **nïïnkä kä ḍäk**.

People tie them down
*with ropes for **three days**.*

(Kiñuk 5)
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ **iygä ko yewwe** atto kiñuk,

*Then one day, **two hyenas** went hunting,*

(Kiñuk 28-29)
Aŋ wääna wükcïnïï ko ko ḍeeḍaŋ ye,
men killäŋ ŋoccee küüttee
tügge ko yewwe ogo, *tiit tiit!*

And when they went a little further,
the person again blew the whistle
***two times**, tweet tweet!*

(Bääm 5)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "Yiipka ïñï **kä keelok**."

*Fox said it, "Throw down with **one** (of them)."*

(Bääm 61-62)
Aŋ naana ïkïï ḍakkï tï ye, ika bi weekcä ogo,
kuruk, kuruk ääŋki **kä yew**.

And when we arrive, I will cry,
*kaaw, kaaw **two times**.*

(Leeñ 17)
Aŋ Wiiw Liik kiinne ogo,
"Ääte **nïïnkä kä ŋatükel**."

And Fox told the Elephants,
*"Return in **seven days**."*

(Äwñä 4-5)
Aŋ määññä, aŋ näkkä **äwñä kä keelok**,
aŋ erre pok.

Then he looked for it (porcupine),
*and felt **one porcupine**, then slaughtered it.*

(Äwñä 9)
Aŋ ike nääkin **nïïnkä kä yewwe** käälok.

*And he spent **two days** in the cave.*

Exercise 21

(Yaam 11-12)
Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ yaam ti ye,
naana ṭemtä määngä witken ti
yuungu kä ḍiräk ye, määngä witken wec,

And a bad thing concerning the basket
is when women carry (it) on their heads
*for **many years**, the heads of women are bald,*

(Leeñ 10-11)
Aŋ juwin attä **muureen**,
aŋ Wiiw wääti baanne, aŋ bäärgä ogo,

*And they **all** got up and went,*
and found Fox in his place, and were calling him

(Leeñ 35-36)
aŋ Wiiw attä wiirok, aŋ Liik yoorre mätï
piik muure,

Fox went to the river, and saw Elephants drinking
***all the water**,*

(Geel 2-3)
Aŋ Geel bilti ke meken,
aŋ nääŋke toorok bilti, **meken muure** ene,

And Lion was there with the others,
*and he did bad actions, threatening **all the others**,*

(Geel 16-17)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "Naana **ook ke dürjï
muure** boone juugin ogo bojgo ko Geel ye,

*And Fox said, "If **all the men and youth**
are unable in their hearts and afraid of Lion,*

(Geel 46)
Aŋ **wäättana waak muureen** luggin

*Afterwards, **all the animals** acknowledged*

kä owkïtïn Wiiw.	*the strength of Fox.*
(Äwñä 11)	
Aŋ **niïnkä yaakka ti muure**, Albe batta ämï,	*And **all these days**, Albe did not eat,*
(Pïïṇṇä 12)	
Aŋ Pïïṇṇä tuummee ogo	*And he cursed Wasp (so) that*
ŋana giido **yuunge muureen**.	*she would not give birth **all her years**.*

Exercise 22

(Yaam 7-8)	
Aŋ naana me bagit **nänṭä yaŋkalaŋ** ti ye,	*And when people move it to **another place**,*
(Yaam 21-22)	
Näŋko määngä yooko yoken wääkcene woo,	*Because of this, our women must rest themselves,*
aŋ päjjene beeljene bata **meken**.	*and be healthy and become like **others**.*
(Kiñuk 1-2)	
Ñomuk ku on, **mäŋkalaŋ** atto kiñuk pare,	*Long ago, a **certain man** went on a hunt alone,*
aŋ käñño kääl bilgiññi.	*and found a cave of bats.*
(Kiñuk 5-6)	
Aŋ **ääŋkalaŋ** iygä ko yewwe atto kiñuk,	*Then **one day**, two hyenas went hunting,*
yaŋkalaŋ ogo ḍuuŋgon, aŋ **yaŋkalaŋ** ogo durñu.	***certain one** of them was old, and **other** young.*
(Kiñuk 19)	
Aŋ iin mooye **menen** kiinnee ogo,	*And the older hyena said to the **other**,*
(Kiñuk 26)	
Aŋ iin durñe **menen** taaññee ogo,	*And the young hyena asked the **other**,*
(Bääm 16-17)	
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Tääyä iñï kä bïraŋ,	*And Dove told him, "Cut it down quickly,*
mäŋkalaŋ ïya äätä, ädit ṭoŋ ke lacan mooye."	***another person** is coming carrying spear/stick."*
(Bääm 20)	
Aŋ **ääŋkalaŋ**	***Another day**,*
Wiiw attä Gaaggaak ṭärkene nänṭä piik.	*Fox came and hide from Raven in water.*
(Leeñ 1)	
Ñomuk ku on **yuungu yakkalaŋ** ti,	*Long ago in **certain years**,*
(Leeñ 8-9)	
Aŋ Leeñ attä **meken** nüütkene ogo,	*And Elephant went and informed **others**,*
"Wiiw me näŋgedee waygä ka."	*"Fox makes shoes for people."*
(Leeñ 13)	
Aŋ bäärgä Wiiw ogo, "**Mäŋkalaŋ** käjä äräk."	*Fox was calling, "**Someone** may enter inside."*
(Leeñ 32)	
Baati **mäŋkalaŋ** yaana a kaajon winni ye?	*Was there not **someone** who passed by here?*
(Geel 1-3)	
Ñomuk ku on, wakkä luum jiñe cäyok	*Long ago in past time, wild animals were living*
nänṭä keellä, **baan yaŋkalaŋ** jï.	*in the same place, in **certain country**.*
Aŋ Geel bilti ke **meken**,	*And Lion was there with the **others**,*

aŋ nääŋke toorok bilti, **meken** muure ene,
(Geel 13)

he did bad actions, threatening all the **_others_**,

Aŋ luugi ṭulgu ogo, "**Jiikkalaŋ** baati."
(Geel 19)

Girls replied, "There is not a **_certain problem_**."

Yeeni **ääŋkalaŋ** naana buṭu woo ye,
ooric yaanna bi taapä kä.
(Geel 23)

If my (strength) were to be revealed **_certain day_**,
I would ride on this your man.

Aŋ **ääŋkalaŋ** ti, ŋiil juwin baan jï.
(Geel 41-42)

Another day, there was a dance in this country.

Ikee batta kiinde ogo,
ooric yaanni bi taapä kä **ääŋkalaŋ**, yuure!
(Äwñä 1)

 "Did I not tell you
that I would **_one day_** ride this your man, look!

Ääŋkalaŋ ti
wina Albe attä kiñuk ke guuŋ yeene.
(Pïïnnä 1-2)

On **_certain day_**,
Albe went on a hunt with his dog.

Ñomuk ku on, **mäŋkalaŋ** tüwno **baan**
yaŋkalaŋ ti, aŋ Pïïṇṇä ken tüccï me ogo,
(Pïïnnä 13-14)

Long ago in time past, **_someone_** died in a
certain land, and people sent Wasp,

Ina ken Pïïṇṇä teye ŋalje ko ŋal yaanna,
aŋ müügee ko **merkä meken** yaakka.

That is why Wasp's waist is thin like this,
and he catches these **_other children_**.

Exercise 23

(Yaam 1)
Yaam a **koy tïṇṇä** ke ḍogleñ.

A basket is **_red tree type_** or another tree type.

(Kiñuk 8-9)
Aŋ düüdïnïï woo, aŋ **iin durñe** liikono woo
gine ṭuule gunne ti näkkenee.

They carried him outside, **_young hyena_** broke
small piece from his side.

(Kiñuk 11)
Aŋ **iin mooye** kulcono ogo,

And the **_older hyena_** refused him,

(Kiñuk 22-24)
Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ ḍoṇe ti,
aŋ wääna kaaññïï ko jaan ŋoy ye,
men likko rawcan, aŋ kïlläŋ rääkkee jï
woo, i **iin mooye** oja ken ääto ñomuk.
Aŋ wääna ḍakkïï ko **nänṭa mïṭon** ye,

Person was wearing a whistle around his neck,
and when (they) passed under a tree,
man broke off a twig, and cleaned out whistle,
as the proud **_old hyena_** was going on ahead.
And when they arrived to **_dark place_**,

(Bääm 16-17)
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Tääyä ïñï kä bïraŋ,
mäŋkalaŋ ïya äätä,
ädit ṭoŋ ke **lacan mooye**."

And Dove told him, "Cut it down quickly,
there is another person far away coming
carrying a spear and a **_big stick_**."

(Bääm 28)
Aŋ Wiiw attä, i **jone yaajaŋ** kockon.
(Bääm 34)

And Fox came, and his very **_bad heart_**.

Ïkïï batta atï **deel ṭuule**,
(Bääm 64-65)

*Can we not go (to) the **small goat***

Aŋ Bääm pääynä, i week kä **jone ñamme**.
(Leeñ 42-43)

*Dove flew away, was crying with **sweet heart**.*

A **Leeñ mooye** yaana paaññe kïïgïn ye,
ken ike aajjï woo wiiy.
(Leeñ 43-44)

*It was the **big Elephant**, whose feet were peeled,
he was crossing the river.*

Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïïn nüütkïdïn ogo
ŋana me naŋdïïn **nääŋkä yaacken**.
(Geel 22)

*This story tells us that
people should not do **bad actions**.*

Ïkï ṭüülü yaanna daa bi näŋä ŋaaka?

*That **you small thing** just can do what?*

Exercise 24

(Yaam 5-6)
Aŋ yaam mäbaan ti ken ṭemte määngä
wakkä witken ti bata wälkä piik
ke päk ke waak a daa temtä ye.

*And the basket on Jumjum person, women
carry things on heads such as gourds of water
and grains and (other) things **that** they carry.*

(Yaam 9-12)
Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte
määngä Ø dürdïn wakkä yaakka dirä ye,
aŋ a gin a ŋeraŋ yaam ti ye inni.
Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ yaam ti ye,
naana ṭemtä määngä witken ti
yuungu kä dïräk ye, määngä witken wec.

*And it is a basket that enables
women **who** carry these many things,
this is a thing **that** is good concerning basket.
And a thing **that** is bad concerning the basket is
when women carry (it) on their heads
for many years, the heads of women are bald.*

(Kiñuk 7)
Aŋ men kaññïï käälok **ogo** ïwon,
i jone mor määṭo.

*And they found person in cave **that** was chared,
and his heart was still beating.*

(Bääm 2)
Aŋ käññä Bääm a giidon jaan wic.

*He found Dove **that** had given birth up in a tree.*

(Bääm 34-35)
Ïkïï batta atï deel ṭuule
yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?"

*Can we not go (to) the small goat
that was dead in the animal pen?*

(Bääm 43-44)
Ika käññä päk a püüktïdïnï ïñï
jaan ŋoy baanni, aŋ ika batta ämä päk.

*I found grain **that** was spilled down
under tree of my area, and I am not eating grain.*

(Bääm 54-56)
Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por, ïkï
nüütkeni. Ika attä laayä, aŋ ika käññä
kabal ṭuule a caagon kockon a tüwon,

*Do not eat me, you just wait, I will inform you.
I went roaming, and I found
sheep **that** was fat and young **that** was dead,*

(Bääm 66-67)
Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï ogo,
waak a kañdïï me ye, ŋana boonjï me.

*This story tells us that, things
which people find, should be enough for people.*

407

(Leeñ 15-16)
añ Leeñ **yaana** a caagon **ye** cïcam ŋaaljede ïñï,

*and the elephant **that** was fat, he peeled deeply,*

añ **yaana** bämaŋ **ye**, ken paaje ñaalok.

*and the **one that** was thin, he peeled shallowly.*

(Leeñ 32)
Baati mäŋkalaŋ **yaana** a kaajon winni **ye**?

*Was not someone else **who** passed by here?*

(Leeñ 32-33)
Añ jaajjin ogo, "Ika agä uyku,

And he said, "I am blind and

baati **mana** agä yoorgon **ye**."

*there is no **person who** I see."*

(Leeñ 38)
Añ attä Leeñ **yaana** tälaŋ **ye** ti, añ kiinne ogo,

*he went to Elephant **who** is big, and told him,*

(Leeñ 42-43)
A Leeñ mooye **yaana** paañ̃e kïïgïn **ye**,

*It was the big Elephant, **whose** feet were peeled,*

ken ike aajjï woo wiiy.

he was crossing the river.

(Geel 7)
I baati durñu **yaana** ŋuca

*And there was no youth **who** could go near,*

wükcïdï tï ṭulgu gurken ti **ye**.

to be next to the girls.

(Geel 21-22)
Wiiw, booju kä loon.

Fox, you are afraid from shyness. Go look

Atä ukcu **maka** daa maldä ŋïngïn **ye**.

*for **people who** you will try to deceive.*

(Geel 33)
Añ Wiiw jaajjin jone ti ogo,

And Fox said to himself,

"Ee, a **yaana** ṭäkkä **ye** inni!"

*"Yes, **that which** I want is this!"*

(Geel 43)
Por **mana** boone jok **ye**.

*Just **a person who** is weak.*

(Iin 12-13)
Añ wääna kääñ̃ee nïïnkä kä yewwe ye,

So, when he Pasteted two days,

nïïnnä **yaana** wäätcete kä dak **ye**,

*on the day **which** became the third,*

i oja deeŋ Iin giiŋṇä.

Hyena's cow suddenly gave birth.

(Iin 24)
Añ ken ike booc kä menen **a** boojon.

*He was afraid of his friend **that** he feared.*

(Iin 34)
Mana daa ṭäkkänä Jooŋ yale yok **ye**,

__A person who__ God wants to change,

daa yale yok?

he will be changed, right?

(Iin 62)
Wääc **yaana** ogoo **ye**, ken giit?

*A father **which** how can give birth?*

(Tiin 12-13)
Añ amma wine **yaana** a eegone

*The people took the top food **that** was cooked*

ken iñtä me ook.

and give it to the men.

Añ nänte **yaana** taanaŋe ken iñtä määngä.

*place **that** was uncooked was given to women.*

(Watkey 2)
Añ iki ken äkkene me pääm

And the people named him after the hill

yaana battä me ogo Watkey **ye**.

__that__ the people called Wadega.

(Paaw 20)

Aŋ jïïn yaanna ti **mana** tüw näntä kalaŋ ti **ye**, _And in that well, **person who** dies in any place,_
ṭïïbbe yoorgu me jïïdük wina ke täññaŋ. _his picture can be seen there in the well now._
(Uyko 12)
Wäyo <u>yäŋŋä</u> **yaana** ñabaŋ yaanni äbä wa? _Father, **meat which** is good, you bought where?_

Exercise 25

(Bääm 34-35)
Ïkïï batta atï <u>deel ṭuule</u>, _Can we not go (to) the **small goat**_
<u>yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï</u>?" _**that was dead in the animal pen**?_
      Noun-Adjective-Relative.clause
(Leeñ 42-43)
A <u>Leeñ mooye yaana paañ̃e kïïgïn ye</u>, _It was the **big Elephant, whose feet were peeled**,_
ken ike aajjï woo wiiy. _he was crossing the river._
      Noun-Adjective-Relative.clause
(Geel 41-42)
Ikee batta kiinde ogo, _Did I not tell you_
<u>ooric yaanni</u> bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure! _that I would one day ride **this your man**, look!_
      Noun-Close.possessor.pronoun-Demonstrative
(Äwñä 11)
Aŋ <u>nïïnkä yaakka ti muure</u>, Albe batta ämï. _And **in all those days**, Albe did not eat._
      Noun-Demonstrative-Preposition-Quantity
(Pïïŋŋä 12)
ŋana giido <u>yuunge muureen</u>. _she would not give birth **all her years**._
      Noun-Close.possessor.pronoun-Quantity
(Pïïŋŋä 13-14)
aŋ müügee ko <u>merkä meken yaakka</u>. _and he catches **those other children**_
      Noun-Indefinite-Demonstrative

Exercise 26

(Yaam 16-17)
Aŋ <u>ŋucana</u> nääkke pillä ḍuuggen ti ke _And it **also** causes pain in their necks and in_
ŋätken ti bäätcïdï <u>ïñï</u> ke teygen ti. _their backs going **down** to their hips._
(Kiñuk 1)
Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ atto kiñuk **pare**, _Long ago, a man went on a hunt **alone**,_
(Kiñuk 14)
Aŋ cääjjo <u>ko ḍeeḍaŋ</u>, _And they were sitting **a little**,_
(Kiñuk 28)
Aŋ wääna wükcïnïï ko <u>ko ḍeeḍaŋ</u> ye, _And when they went a **little further**,_
(Bääm 16-17)
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Tääyä <u>ïñï kä bïraŋ</u>, _And Dove told him, "Cut it **down quickly**,_
mäŋkalaŋ ïya äätä, ädit ṭoŋ ke lacan mooye." _another person is coming carrying spear/stick."_

(Bääm 36-37)
Ay müükonḍi, ika batta bi lïïṭä wään,
ika agä raac <u>täññaŋ</u>.
Aŋ atä <u>parü</u>, ïkïï bi atï <u>tïṇṇäk</u>."

Ah my friend, I am not able to go,
(since) I am <u>now</u> sick.
You go <u>alone</u>, we two will go <u>tomorrow</u>."

(Leeñ 21-22)
Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo, "Por keeya <u>wina</u>,
dale waygä yeekic <u>iñekä</u> <u>woo</u>."

Fox told them, "You just wait for me <u>like this</u>,
Let me <u>bring</u> you your shoes <u>out here</u>."

(Leeñ 32)
Baati mäŋkalaŋ yaana a kaajon <u>winni</u> ye?

Was there not someone who passed by <u>here</u>?

(Geel 6-7)
Aŋ Geel <u>wäättana</u> ṭulgu baade <u>pare</u> <u>küüttaŋ</u>.
I baati durñu yaana <u>ṇuca</u>
wükcïḍï tï ṭulgu gurken ti ye.

And <u>afterwards,</u> Lion was <u>only</u> <u>alone</u> loving girls.
And there was no youth who could go near,
to be next to the girls.

(Geel 10)
Aŋ juwin ḍoŋe lääkkene <u>ogo kar</u>,

He got up and left <u>straight away</u>,

(Geel 28)
Aŋ müükonḍi <u>por</u> ŋäjjä,
nïïnkä yaakki ti yori boonu <u>kockon</u>.

And do you <u>just</u> know, my friend,
in these days my body is <u>very</u> sick.

(Geel 29-30)
Aŋ inni äätä ïkï tï,
yaanne yori riijänä <u>kä pet</u>.
Aŋ täññani ïkïï bi bülcï <u>müürï</u> ogoo?

When I came to you,
this body of mine was <u>really</u> struggling.
And now how will we return <u>together</u>?

(Äwñä 1)
Ääŋkalaŋ ti <u>wina</u> Albe attä kiñuk
ke guuŋ yeene,

One day <u>like this</u>, Albe went on a hunt
with his dog,

(Äwñä 9-10)
Aŋ ike nääkin nïïnkä kä yewwe käälok.
Aŋ <u>wäättana</u> kääl tüke kupkene,
aŋ <u>wäättana</u> Albe kääjin woo.

And he spent two days in the cave.
And <u>afterwards</u> the cave door opened,
and <u>then</u> Albe went out.

(Pïïnnä 9)
Pïïṇṇä ken me kiinnee ogo,
ïkï ken jaajjeneey ogo <u>aŋan</u>.

Wasp told the people
that you said (to do) <u>that</u>.

Exercise 27

(Yaam 5-6)
Aŋ yaam mäbaan ti ken ṭemte määngä
wakkä witken ti bata wälkä piik
ke päk ke waak a <u>daa</u> ṭemtä ye.

And the basket on Jumjum person, women
carry things on heads such as gourds of water
and grains and (other) things <u>like</u> they carry.

(Kiñuk 17)
Aŋ naana <u>daa</u> äŋ waŋe wükco ye,
i men waŋge piijodo.

And when <u>as</u> sun's face moved on, then the
person's eyes began to regain consciousness.

(Geel 21-22)

410

Wiiw, booju kä loon.
Atä ukcu maka **daa** maldä ŋïngïn ye.
Ïkï ṭüülü yaanna **daa** bi nänä ŋaaka?
(Geel 36)

Fox, you are afraid from shyness. Go
*look for other people who you will **also** deceive.*
*You small thing who **just** will do what?*

Aŋ wääna ḍekke **daa** kä ḍoŋe ti ye,
(Äwñä 13)

*And when he tied it **as** to his neck,*

Aŋ **daa** guuŋ yeene,
miigene ike keeygä woo üntük,
(Iin 4-5)

*And **as for** his dog,*
he found him waiting for him (man) outside,

Aŋ kaaygä yäädgänä a yäädgïnï
mäŋkalaŋ **daa** kääjï nïïnkä kä yewwe,
aŋ **daa** ŋuca yätänä menen.
(Iin 8-9)

They took turns grazing,
*each person **just** grazing two days at a time,*
*and they **just** were helping each other.*

Müüdonḍi, nïïnkä ŋückïtï
mäŋkalaŋ **daa** kääjï nïïnkä kä ḍäk, hayo?
(Iin 22-23)

My friend, we should increase (the days so that)
*each person **just** grazes for three days, alright?*

Aŋ wina Iin **daa** yore ḍille,
batta a jayïnï woo ŋuca,
I ŋäjje bääkan **daa** a deeŋ yeene ken giiṇṇä.
(Iin 34-35)

*After that, Hyena **just** kept quiet,*
not saying another word, although
*he **just** knew it was his cow who gave birth.*

Mana **daa** ṭäkkänä Jooŋ yale yok ye,
daa yale yok?
(Iin 42)

*A person who God **just** wants to change,*
*won't he **just** be changed?*

Aŋ Iin wina wäättana **daa** wine lüüŋŋe
i waŋge tüle week.
(Iin 51)

*And then Hyena **just** lowered his head*
crying and whipping his eyes.

Aŋ wina Geel pennä, aŋ wäättana **daa** cääy
i däämjïdï päyjï.
(Watkey 6)

*And Lion became angry and then **just** sat*
looking away.

Aŋ wääna yoorene **daa** ye,
iken bojgin kockon.

*And when they **just** saw it,*
they were terrified.

(Iin 7-8)
Aŋ Geel wääna deeŋ menen yoorree **da** kä
ṭäkee kä giidä ye, I menen kiinne ogo,
(Iin 14-15)

And when Lion saw that his friend's cow was
***just** going to give birth, he said to his friend,*

Aŋ wina ike juwin aŋ yaan yeene paaṇṇe
ŋoygin kä baygä ogo ken giiṇṇo **da**,
i ina a deeŋ menen ken giiṇṇä yaanna.
(Iin 17-18)

Immediately he went and rubbed the after-birth
*on bull's anus as though he had **just** given birth,*
when really it was his friend's cow that gave birth.

Aŋ wääna däk kïïdene **da** ti paa ye,
i oja yooṭi Iin, aŋ Iin jone ñapä kockon,
(Iin 24)

*When he **like** brought the cows home,*
then Hyena saw them, and Hyena was very happy.

411

Aŋ wina Geel wääna Iin yoorree **da** batta
jaayee ye, kiini ogo, "Nana ïkï batta
gïmmädä kä jiik yeeki ye, . . ."
(Iin 37-38)

*Then, when Lion saw that Hyena **just** didn't
say anything, he said, "If you don't
accept what I'm saying, . . ."*

Ina kiinde kä aŋan yaanna baan,
yaan yeeni giinnä aŋ ärgä Iin ogo,
'Deeŋ yeene ken giiŋno **da**.'
(Iin 65-66)

*The reason I am speaking to you like this is that
my bull gave birth and Hyena is forcing me
to agree, 'His cow is one who **actually** gave birth.'*

Aŋ ina yoku naañ Iin ärjee **da** ogo
yüünü yaanna, oon kalaŋ yoku a giidon.
Naañ ṭuule yaanna a yen Iin.
(Watkey 11)

*So, it is like you taking Hyena's calf by force
as yours, by supposing a male cow could give
give birth. This calf is of Hyena.*

Aŋ wääna ṭeljene **da** ti gunne ti ye,
i kalman tüw.

*And when they **just** nailed it to the camel's side,
the camel died.*

Exercise 28

(Yaam 21)
Näŋko <u>määngä</u> <u>yooko</u> <u>yoken</u>
<u>wääkcene</u> woo,

*Because of this, <u>our women</u> (should)
<u>rest</u> their bodies.*

(Kiñuk 10)
Aŋ <u>iin durñe</u> <u>menen</u> **<u>kiinnee</u>** ogo,
"Ŋeeyjï ko ïw."

*And the <u>young hyena</u> **<u>said</u>** to the <u>other</u>,
"We can eat it chared."*

(Kiñuk 28-29)
Aŋ wääna wükcïnïï ko ko ḍeeḍaŋ ye,
<u>men killäŋ</u> ŋoccee **<u>küüttee</u>**
tügge ko yewwe ogo, *tiit tiit!*

*And when they went a little further,
the <u>person</u> again **<u>blew</u>** the <u>whistle</u>
two times, tweet tweet!*

(Bääm 18)
Aŋ <u>Wiiw</u> <u>len lämmä</u> **<u>jeppe</u>** ti jaan ti,
aŋ jiccin woo.

*And <u>Fox</u> **<u>beat</u>** the <u>mud axe</u> on the tree,
then ran away.*

(Leeñ 17-18)
Aŋ <u>Wiiw</u> <u>Liik</u> **<u>kiinne</u>** ogo,
"Ääte nïïnkä kä ŋaṭükel."
Aŋ <u>Wiiw</u> <u>yäŋgä Liik kïïgen</u> **<u>amme</u>**.

*And <u>Fox</u> **<u>told</u>** the <u>Elephants</u>,
"Return in days that seven."
And <u>Fox</u> **<u>ate</u>** the <u>meat of the elephants' feet.</u>*

(Leeñ 23-24)
Aŋ <u>Wiiw</u> <u>gäykä</u> **<u>cüge</u>** yokïn,
aŋ kuuyin woo, aŋ yore jecce woo.

*And <u>Fox</u> **<u>was moving</u>** the <u>skins</u> of their bodies,
and jumped out, and he ran away.*

(Geel 6)
Aŋ <u>Geel</u> wäättana <u>tulgu</u> **<u>baade</u>** pare küüttaŋ.

*And afterwards, <u>Lion</u> was only one **<u>loving</u>** <u>girls</u>.*

(Geel 8)
Aŋ <u>Wiiw</u> jiik yaakka **<u>tiiŋŋe</u>**,

*And <u>Fox</u> **<u>heard</u>** about <u>those words</u>,*

(Geel 34)
Aŋ <u>Wiiw</u> <u>Geel</u> **<u>kiinne</u>** ogo,

*And <u>Fox</u> **<u>told</u>** <u>Lion</u>,*

412

(Pïïṇṇä 9)
Pïïṇṇä ken me **kiinnee** ogo,   *Wasp **told** the people that*
ïkï ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan.   *you said (to do) this.*

Exercise 29

(Yaam 1)
Yaam a koy tïṇṇä ke ḍogleñ,   *Basket is red tree or another tree,*
kimkä ken **ñorgu** me.   *people are **bending** branches (to make them).*
(Yaam 2)
Aŋ **ḍiigjänä** me ïñï kä wingä,   *People **tie** them down with ropes*
aŋ näkä nïïnkä kä ḍäk.   *for days that three.*
(Yaam 7-8)
ätäŋgä **ṇaapcätä** me yaam ṭuŋke ti.   *people **hang** chickens on the horns of the basket.*
(Yaam 11-12)
naana **ṭemtä** määngä witken ti,   *when women **carry** it on their heads,*
(Kiñuk 4)
Aŋ **aarïï** maañ kockon, aŋ ïwno.   *And fire **burned** him badly, he became chared.*
(Kiñuk 21)
Aŋ **dṳṇṇïï** iin durñe ḍoŋe ti,   *And young hyena **carried** him on his neck,*
(Kiñuk 27)
Aŋ **kïïnnïï** menen ogo,   *And the other **told** him,*
"A ḍïïn ken week jaan wic."   *"It is a bird crying up in a tree."*
(Kiñuk 33)
Aŋ **yeeppïï** woo iygä ogo gom,   *And the hyenas **threw** off (person) thud,*
aŋ iygä buurcono woo,   *and the hyenas ran away,*
(Bääm 4)
Aŋ **kiini** Bääm ogo,   *And Dove **told** him,*
"Ika tïïcä merkä yeeki."   *"I am caring for my children."*
(Bääm 10-13)
Aŋ Bääm booc, aŋ yiipkene.   *And Dove was afraid, and threw (a chick) down.*
Aŋ **yoori** Gaaggaak, aŋ äätin Bääm nüütkene.   *And Raven **saw** it and came and informed Dove.*
(Bääm 22)
Aŋ **kiintä** Gaaggaak ogo,   *And Raven **was telling** him,*
"Ŋana ika kajdaa, yeepca ñaalok."   *"Don't bite me, throw me up."*
(Bääm 23)
Aŋ **yeepi** ñaalok Wiiw, aŋ por ḍimmin ïñï.   *And Fox **threw** him up, and he just fell down.*
(Bääm 27)
Aŋ **kirgä** Wiiw ogo, *miic, miic, miic.*   *And Fox **was insulting** him, arf, arf, arf.*
(Bääm 59)
Aŋ **taaji** Wiiw ogo, "Aŋ ïkïï bi atï ogoo?"   *And Fox **asked** him, "How will we go?"*
(Bääm 64)
Aŋ yoku **taajjï** Wiiw,   *And Fox wanted to **ask** him (something),*

413

aŋ äkkene, aŋ Bääm pääynä.
(Bääm 66-67)
      and released him, and Dove flew away.

Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï ogo,
waak a **kañdïï** me ye, ŋana boonjï me.
(Leeñ 4)
      Also story is this, tells us that, (when)
      people __find__ things, should be enough for people.

Aŋ **tiiŋi** Leeñ, aŋ taaññe ogo,
(Leeñ 6)
      And Elephant __heard__ him, and asked him,

Aŋ **luugi** Wiiw ogo, "A waygä kïïgï."
(Leeñ 13)
      Fox __replied__ to him, "These are shoes of feet."

Aŋ **bäärgä** Wiiw ogo, "Mäŋkalaŋ käjä äräk."
(Geel 20)
      Fox __was calling__, "Someone may enter inside."

Aŋ **boongu** jok tulgu,
aŋ kiintä ogo, "Ocu, ocu, ocu!
(Geel 38)
      And the girls __were doubting__ him,
      and they were saying to him, "Ha, ha, ha!

aŋ **yooṭi** tulgu, i taabit Geel,
(Pïïṇṇä 2)
      and the girls __saw__ him, and he was riding Lion,

Aŋ Pïïṇṇä ken **tüccïï** me ogo,
"Ato Jooŋ nüütkee."
(Pïïṇṇä 5-7)
      And people were __sending__ Wasp,
      "You go inform God."

Aŋ pïïṇṇä wääna ḍukcenee ko ti me ti ye,
me kiinnee ogo, men **jïkcï** me ïñï.
Aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye,
men **wäädenee** **jïkkïï** me ïñï.
      Then when wasp returned to people,
      he told people that, people (should) bury person.
      And when God arrived,
      he found that people __had buried__ person.

Exercise 30

(Yaam 2)
Aŋ ḍiigjänä me ïñï kä wingä,
aŋ **näkä** nïïnkä kä ḍäk.
(Yaam 9)
      People tie them down with ropes
      it __spending__ days that three.

Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte määngä **ḍürḍïn**
wakkä yaakka ḍïrä ye,
(Kiñuk 1-2)
      And since a basket enables women
      to __carry__ these many things,

Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ atto kiñuk pare,
aŋ **käñño** kääl bilgiññi.
Aŋ atto **gäänono** luum ïwïn,
(Kiñuk 8-9)
      Long ago, a man went on a hunt alone,
      and __found__ a cave of bats.
      He went to __collect__ dry grass,

Aŋ düüdïnïï woo, aŋ iin durñe **liikono** woo
gine tuule gunne ti näkkenee.
(Kiñuk 22-23)
      They carried him outside, young hyena __broke__
      small piece from his side.

Aŋ men **eŋdo** kïlläŋ ḍoŋe ti,
aŋ wääna kaaññïï ko jaan ŋoy ye,
men **likko** rawcan,
      The person __was wearing__ a whistle around neck,
      and when (they) passed under a tree,
      the man __broke off__ a twig,

414

(Bääm 1)
Ñomuk ku on, Wiiw **näkä** käñ,
aŋ attä laay woo luummuk.

*A long time ago, Fox **felt** hunger and went out*
roaming in grassland.

(Bääm 6-7)
Aŋ Bääm yaakï,
aŋ Wiiw attä **näŋŋä** len lämmä.
Aŋ ḍuukin, i **ädit** len lämmä.

Then Dove was refusing
*and Fox went and **made** an axe of mud.*
*And (he) returned **carrying** an axe of mud.*

(Bääm 16-17)
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Tääyä iñï kä bïraŋ,
mäŋkalaŋ ïya äätä, **ädit** toŋ ke lacan mooye."

And Dove told him, "Cut it down quickly,
*person is coming **carrying** spear and big stick."*

(Leeñ 35-36)
aŋ Wiiw attä wiirok,
aŋ Liik yoorre **mätï** piik muure,

Fox went to the river,
*and saw Elephants **drinking** all the water,*

(Leeñ 42-43)
A Leeñ mooye yaana paaññe kïïgïn ye,
ken ike **aajjï** woo wiiy.

It was the big Elephant, whose feet were peeled,
*he was **crossing** the river.*

(Leeñ 43-44)
Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïïn nüütkïḍïn ogo
ŋana me **naŋdïïn** nääŋkä yaacken.

This story tells us that
*people should not **do** bad actions.*

(Geel 38)
aŋ yooṭi ṭulgu, i **taabit** Geel,

*and the girls saw him, and he **was riding** Lion,*

(Äwñä 3)
Aŋ kaaccä käälok **määjï** äwjï,

*And he entered cave **looking for** porcupine,*

(Äwñä 9)
Aŋ ike **nääkin** nïïnkä kä yewwe käälok.

*And he **spent days** that two in the cave.*

Exercise 31

(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ a yaam ken **lïïlte** määngä ḍürdïn
wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,

*And since a basket **enables** women*
to carry these things that are many,

(Yaam 16-17)
Aŋ ŋucana **nääkke** pillä ḍuuggen ti ke
ŋätken ti bäätcïdï iñï ke teygen ti.

*And it also **makes** them **feel** pain (hurts) in necks*
and in their backs going down to their hips.

(Kiñuk 2-3)
Aŋ atto gäänono luum ïwïn,
aŋ büükkee käälok, aŋ **tuñgenee** maañ.

He went to collect dry grass,
*heaped it in cave, and he **made** fire **burn** it.*

(Kiñuk 8-9)
Aŋ düüdïnïï woo, aŋ iin durñe liikono woo
gine ṭuule gunne ti, **näkkenee**.

They carried him outside, young hyena broke off
*piece from side, he **made** himself **feel** it (taste).*

(Bääm 10-11)
Aŋ Bääm booc, aŋ **yiipkene**.
Aŋ yoori Gaaggaak, aŋ äätin Bääm **nüütkene**.

*Dove was afraid, he **threw** it (chick) for him.*
*Raven saw it, came **made** Dove **see** it (informed)*

415

(Bääm 20)
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ
Wiiw attä <u>Gaaggaak</u> <u>ţ̱ärkene</u> nän̲ţa piik.

Another day,
Fox came and __hide__ from <u>Raven</u> in <u>place of water</u>.

(Bääm 39)
Aŋ Wiiw jone yaaññä,
aŋ attä ääcin kücam **cäygene** jï päk.

And Fox's heart became angry, and he went and
__made sit (had)__ an __animal skin bag__ full of grain.

(Bääm 64)
Aŋ yoku taajjï Wiiw,
aŋ **äkkene**, aŋ Bääm pääynä.

And Fox wanted to ask him (something),
and __released__ it for him, and Dove flew away.

(Leeñ 8-9)
Aŋ Leeñ attä <u>meken</u> **nüütkene** ogo,
"Wiiw me näŋgedee waygä ka."

Elephant went and __made__ others __see__ it __(informed)__
"Fox makes shoes for people."

(Leeñ 14-15)
Aŋ Wiiw juwin Liik paaje kïïgïn ogo,
ŋäälkedee waygä,

Fox got up and was peeling Elphants in their feet
saying that, he __was peeling__ <u>shoes</u> for them,

(Leeñ 36)
Aŋ **tääckene** ti ogo, "Ikee ate wa?"

He __asked__ it from them, "Where are you going?"

(Geel 10-11)
Aŋ juwin ḓon̲e **lääkkene** ogo kar,

He got up and __loosened (left)__ from them,

(Pïn̲n̲ä 3)
Aŋ wääna attee ko ye, Jooŋ **nüütkenee**.

when he went, he __made__ <u>God</u> __see__ it __(informed)__.

Exercise 32

(Yaam 16-17)
Aŋ ŋucana nääkke <u>pillä</u> ḓuuggen ti ke
ŋätken ti **bäätcïdï** iñï ke teygen ti.

It also makes them feel pain (hurt) in their necks
and in their backs __going__ down to their hips.

(Kiñuk 7)
Aŋ men kaññïï käälok ogo ïwon,
i <u>jone</u> mor **määţo**.

And they found person in cave that was chared,
and <u>his heart</u> __was still beating__.

(Kiñuk 17)
Aŋ naana daa <u>än waŋe</u> **wükco** ye,
i <u>men waŋge</u> **piijodo**.

And when the <u>sun's face</u> __moved on__, then the
<u>person's eyes</u> __began to revive__.

(Kiñuk 18)
Aŋ wääna dään̲n̲ee ko ye, düüdïnïï woo,
i <u>äŋ</u> **joorjono**.

When he became soft, they carried him out
(from water), as the <u>sun</u> __went down__.

(Kiñuk 33)
Aŋ yeeppïï woo iygä ogo gom,
aŋ <u>iygä</u> **buurcono** woo,

And the hyenas threw off (person) thud,
and the <u>hyenas</u> __ran away__,

(Bääm 6)
Aŋ Bääm **yaakï**,
aŋ Wiiw attä näŋŋä len lämmä.

Then <u>Dove</u> __was refusing__
and Fox went and made an axe of mud.

(Bääm 21)

Aŋ Gaaggaak <u>kuuyin</u> iñï, aŋ müŋŋe.   *And <u>Raven</u> <u>**flew**</u> down and he (Fox) caught him.*
(Bääm 47-48)
Aŋ Bääm <u>koojjin</u> iñï ogo ike ämje päk,   *And <u>Dove</u> <u>**came**</u> down to eat the grain,*
(Leeñ 14-15)
Aŋ Wiiw <u>juwin</u> Liik paaje kïïgïn ogo,   *Fox <u>**got up**</u> and was peeling Elphants in their feet*
ŋäälkedee waygä,   *saying that, he was peeling shoes for them,*
(Geel 14-15)
Aŋ tääcki ti Wiiw ogo, "Ajïñe ogo, ikee   *Then Fox asked them, "Is it true that you are*
jaayje ogo Geel ken ogo oon pare ya?"   *saying that Lion is the only man?"*
Aŋ tulgu <u>**gïmmïn**</u> ogo, "Ee."   *And the <u>girls</u> <u>**agreed**</u>, "Yes."*
(Geel 8-9)
Aŋ Wiiw jiik yaakka tiiŋŋe, aŋ <u>toorok</u> batta   *Fox heard about this matter, and <u>badness</u> did not*
<u>**kaaccïdï**</u> wiñe ti, aŋ jone batta ñabaŋ.   *<u>**enter**</u> his head, and his heart was not happy.*
(Geel 26-27)
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, 'Ïkïï atcï,'   *People are sending me to say, 'Let's go',*
naana ïkïï baawgï tï ye, <u>ŋiil</u> batta bi <u>**ñabo**</u> ñap.   *if we both are absent, <u>dance</u> will not <u>**be good**</u>.*
(Geel 45)
Aŋ <u>Wiiw</u> <u>**kuuyin**</u> iñï,   *And <u>Fox</u> <u>**jumped**</u> down,*
aŋ wäättana ŋeel ke ṭulgu küüttaŋ.   *and then only he was dancing with the girls.*
(Geel 46)
Aŋ wäättana <u>waak muureen</u> <u>**luggin**</u>   *Afterwards, <u>all the animals</u> <u>**acknowledged**</u>*
kä owkïtïn Wiiw.   *the strength of Fox.*
(Äwñä 9-10)
Aŋ ike nääkin nïïnkä kä yewwe käälok.   *And he spent two days in the cave.*
Aŋ wäättana kääl tüke kupkene,   *And afterwards the cave door opened,*
aŋ wäättana Albe <u>**kääjin**</u> woo.   *and then <u>Albe</u> <u>**went**</u> out.*

Exercise 33

(Yaam 9-12)
Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte määngä ḍürdïn   *And since a basket enables women*
wakkä yaakka <u>ḍïrä</u> ye,   *to carry these <u>things</u> that <u>**are many**</u>,*
aŋ a <u>gin</u> a <u>**ŋeraŋ**</u> yaam ti ye inni.   *this is a <u>thing</u> that <u>**is good**</u> about the basket.*
Aŋ <u>gin</u> a <u>**yaajaŋ**</u> yaam ti ye,   *And a <u>thing</u> that <u>**is bad**</u> about the basket is*
naana ṭemtä määngä witken ti   *when women carry (it) on their heads*
(Kiñuk 1)
Ñomuk ku on, <u>mäŋkalaŋ</u> <u>**atto**</u> kiñuk pare,   *Long ago, a <u>man</u> <u>**went**</u> on a hunt alone,*
(Kiñuk 16)
Aŋ ŋuca bülco tabjï, kockon wina   *Again were returning to touch him continuing*
ke <u>men</u> <u>**däädjeko**</u>.   *like this until the <u>person</u> <u>**became soft**</u>.*
(Kiñuk 27)
Aŋ kïïnnïï menen ogo,   *And the other told him,*
"A ḍïïn ken <u>**week**</u> jaan wic."   *"It is a <u>bird</u> <u>**crying**</u> up in a tree."*
(Kiñuk 29-30)

Men killäŋ ŋoccee küüttee tügge ko yewwe ogo, *tiit tiit,* aŋ iygä **yuutto** iñï däämjono ŋäjäk.
(Kiñuk 36)

*Person again blew the whistle two times, tweet tweet, and the hyenas **stopped** and looked back.*

Aŋ men **ünno**, aŋ ḍukcono paa.
(Bääm 6)

*And the **person** **survived** and returned to his house.*

Aŋ Bääm yaakï,
aŋ Wiiw **attä** näŋŋä len lämmä.
(Bääm 10)

*Then Dove was refusing
and Fox **went** and made an axe of mud.*

Aŋ Bääm **booc**, aŋ yiipkene.
(Bääm 16-17)

*Dove **was afraid**, and he threw it (chick) for him.*

Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo, "Tääyä iñï kä bïraŋ,
mäŋkalaŋ ïya **ätä**, ädit ṭoŋ ke lacan mooye."
(Bääm 19)

*And Dove told him, "Cut it down quickly,
another person **is coming** carrying spear/stick."*

Aŋ Gaaggaak iken ke Bääm juuggen **ñappä**,
aŋ yircin woo.
(Bääm 39)

*And the hearts of Raven and Dove **became happy**,
and they laughed.*

Aŋ Wiiw jone **yaaññä**,
(Bääm 64-65)

*And Fox's heart **became angry**,*

Aŋ Bääm **pääynä**, i week kä jone ñamme.
(Leeñ 2)

*Dove **flew away**, and was crying with sweet heart.*

Aŋ Wiiw **ŋeel** kä waygä yek boṇṇan.
(Leeñ 13)

*And Fox **was dancing** with shoes of leather.*

Aŋ bäärgä Wiiw ogo, "Mäŋkalaŋ **käjä** äräk."
(Leeñ 27)

*Fox was calling, "Someone **may enter** inside."*

I Wiiw **lüüt**, i **yaaw** ogo, "Wee, wee, wee!"
(Leeñ 29-30)

*And Fox **was running** and **yelling**, "Ha, ha, ha!"*

Aŋ yoori Liik **cääy**, aŋ taaji ogo,
"A ŋaani ina **cääy** yaanna?" (noun)
(Geel 8-9)

*And Elephants saw he **sitting**, and asked him,
"This is who **sitting**?"*

Aŋ Wiiw jiik yaakka tiiŋŋe, aŋ toorok batta kaaccïdï wiñe ti, aŋ jone batta **ñabaŋ**.
(Geel 31)

*Fox heard about this matter, and badness did not enter his head, and his heart **was** not **happy**.*

Yori **waagdä** ika batta bi lïïṭä wään ŋuca.
(Geel 44)

*My body **feels like** I will not be able to walk again.*

Aŋ tulgu **murru** gïtï kä yaalgä, i ïnken pamgä.
(Pïïnnä 1-2)

*Girls **came running** with laughter, clapped hands.*

Ñomuk ku on, mäŋkalaŋ **tüwno** baan yaŋkalaŋ ti, aŋ Pïïṇṇä ken tüccïï me ogo,
(Pïïnnä 10)

*Long ago in time past, someone **died** in a certain land, and people sent Wasp,*

Aŋ Jooŋ jone **püütono**, aŋ Pïïṇṇä müŋŋee,

*God's heart **was upset**, so he caught Wasp,*

Exercise 34

(Yaam 18)

418

Ina ken <u>määngä mäbaan</u> **ṭiintete**
kä bïraŋ yaanna,
(Bääm 64-65)

That is why the <u>Jumjum women</u>
<u>**are becoming old**</u> quickly,

Aŋ Bääm pääynä, i week kä <u>jone</u> **ñamme**.
(Pïïṇṇä 13-14)

Dove flew away, was crying with <u>heart **is sweet.**</u>

Ina ken <u>Pïïṇṇä teye</u> **ṇalje** ko ŋal yaanna,
aŋ müügee ko merkä meken yaakka.
(Leeñ 23-24)

That is why <u>Wasp's waist</u> **is thin** like this,
and he catches the children of others.

Aŋ Wiiw gäykä cüge yokïn,
aŋ kuuyin woo, aŋ <u>yore</u> **jecce** woo.
(Leeñ 25)

And Fox was moving the skins of their bodies,
and jumped out, and <u>himself **ran**</u> away.

Aŋ Liik <u>**üüṇjene**</u> küügü gïṭï, aŋ Liik **yoji** ŋañ,
(Geel 16-17)

<u>Elephants **went**</u> in thorns, <u>Elephants</u> not **able** to run,

Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "Naana <u>ook ke dürjï</u>
<u>muure</u> **boone** juugin ogo bojgo ko Geel ye,
(Geel 29)

And Fox said, "If <u>all the men and youth</u>
<u>**are weak**</u> in their hearts and afraid of Lion,

Aŋ inni äätä ïkï tï,
yaanne <u>yori</u> **riijänä** kä pet.
(Geel 36-37)

When I came to you,
this <u>my body</u> **was** really **struggling**.

Aŋ wääna ḍekke daa kä ḍoṇe ti ye,
wiṇṇan müṇṇe kä ïnte aam,
aŋ <u>Geel</u> **üütte** ti nänṭä ŋiil.
(Geel 43)

And when he tied it with to his neck,
he grabbed the rope with his left hand,
and <u>Lion</u> **ran** to the place of dancing.

Por <u>mana</u> **boone** jok ye.
(Pïïṇṇä 5-7)

<u>Certain person</u> **is weak**.

Aŋ pïïṇṇä wääna **ḍukcenee** ko ti me ti ye,
me kiinnee ogo, men jïkcï me ïñï.
Aŋ wääna <u>Jooŋ</u> **ḍäägenee** ko ti ye,
men wäädenee jïkkïï me ïñï.

Then when <u>wasp **returned**</u> to people,
he told people that, people (should) bury person.
And when <u>God</u> **arrived**,
he found that people had buried person.

Exercise 35

(Yaam 13)
määngä witken wec,
aŋ <u>ṭïṭägenen</u> **ledok** bata kiidgä aŋan.

heads of women are bald, and <u>tops of their heads</u>
grow like (that of) that guinea fowl.

(Bääm 12-13)
Ŋana ïkï **booju**,
gin yaanna batta a len, a lämmä kä pet.

Don't <u>you</u> **be afraid**,
that thing is not an axe, it is just mud.

(Bääm 37-38)
Ika batta bi **lïïṭä** wään, ika agä raac täññaŋ.
Aŋ **atä** parü, ïkïï bi **atï** tïṇṇäk.

<u>I</u> will not **be able** to go, (since) I am now sick.
<u>You</u> **go** alone, <u>we</u> **both** will **go** tomorrow.

(Bääm 54-56)
Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, **yuudu** por, ïkï nüütkeni.
Ika **attä** h aŋ ika käññä

Do not eat me, you just **wait,** I will inform you.
I **went roaming**, and I found

419

kabal ṭuule a caagon kockon a tüwon,	*a very fat young dead sheep,*
(Bääm 61)	
Aŋ naana ïkïï **ḍakkï** tï ye, <u>ika</u> bi **weekcä** ogo,	*And when <u>we</u> **arrive**, <u>I</u> will **cry**,*
(Leeñ 1-2)	
Ñomuk ku on yuungu yakkalaŋ ti,	*Long ago in certain years,*
<u>waak luum jiñe</u> **ŋelok** ṭuuŋ.	*<u>things in grass</u> **were dancing** the horn dance.*
(Leeñ 9)	
Wiiw me näŋgedee waygä ka, aŋ **atïn**	*Fox makes shoes for people, so let we **go** (to him)*
näŋgïn tok.	*and he will make them for us.*
(Leeñ 12)	
Wiiw, <u>ikoon</u> **ḍäägonon**.	*Fox, <u>we</u> **have arrived**.*
Leeñ 12b	
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo,	*And Fox said,*
"**Yuude** por, cïcam kïlkä."	*"Just you **wait**, I am sharpening a knife."*
(Leeñ 17-18)	
Aŋ Wiiw Liik kiinne ogo,	*And Fox told the Elephants,*
"**Ääte** nïïnkä kä ŋaṭükel."	*"**Return** in days that seven."*
(Leeñ 24-25)	
Aŋ Wiiw **ojiyok** Liik,	*And Elephants **chased** Fox,*
aŋ Liik üüŋjene küügü gïtï, aŋ Liik yoji ŋañ.	*Elephants went through thorns, Elephants not run.*
(Leeñ 36)	
Aŋ tääckene ti ogo, "<u>Ikee</u> **ate** wa?"	*He asked it from them, "Where **are** <u>you</u> **going**?"*
(Leeñ 39-40)	
"<u>Ïka</u> batta **lïïltä** aaydin piik."	*"<u>I am</u> not **able** to cross the water."*
Aŋ kiini Leeñ ogo, "**Kaacci** ŋäñi ti."	*And Elephant told him, "You **enter** on my back."*
(Geel 1-3)	
Ñomuk ku on, <u>wakkä luum jiñe</u> **cäyok**	*Long ago in past time, <u>wild animals</u> **were living***
näṇṭä keellä, baan yaŋkalaŋ jï.	*in the same place, in certain country.*
Aŋ Geel bilti ke meken,	*And Lion was there with the others, he did actions*
aŋ <u>nääŋke</u> **toorok** bilti, meken muure ene,	*that **be bad** that be there, threatening all others,*
(Geel 14-15)	
A jiñe ogo, ikee **jaayje** ogo	*Is it true that <u>you</u> **are saying** that*
Geel ken ogo oon pare ya?"	*Lion is the only man?*
(Geel 26-27)	
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, 'ïkïï **atcï'**,	*And people are sending me to say, 'Let <u>we</u> **go'**,*
naana ïkïï **baawgï** tï ye, ŋiil batta bi ñabo ñap.	*if <u>we both</u> **are absent**, dance will not be good.*
(Geel 29-31)	
Aŋ inni **äätä** ïkï tï,	*When <u>I</u> **came** to you,*
yaanne yori, **riijänä** kä pet.	*this my body, <u>I</u> **was** really **struggling**.*
Aŋ täññani ïkïï bi **bülcï** müürï ogoo?	*And now how will <u>we two</u> **return**?*
Yori waagdä <u>ika</u> batta bi **lïïṭä** wään ŋuca.	*My body feels like <u>I</u> will not **be able** to walk again*
(Pïïnnä 2)	
Aŋ Pïïṇṇä ken tüccïï me ogo,	*And people were sending Wasp,*

"**Ato** Jooŋ nüütkee."   "*You **go** inform God.*"
(Pïïṇṇä 9)
Pïïṇṇä ken me kiinnee ogo,   *Wasp told the people that*
ïkï ken **jaajjeneey** ogo aŋan.   *you **said** (to do) this.*

Exercise 36

(Yaam 20)
Aŋ aŋan yaajaŋ batta ŋeraŋ,   *And this is bad rather than good,*
aŋ yoku por **aakïn** woo.   *so let us **change** (it).*
(Kiñuk 10)
"**Ŋeeyjï** ko ïw."   "*We can **eat** it chared.*"
(Kiñuk 12)
Ïjjï büüccï piitti.   *We will **take** and **soak** it in water."*
(Kiñuk 20)
Äŋ bunno, **ïjjï amjï** paa   *Sun is going down, let we **take** and **eat** it home.*
(Kiñuk 34-35)
Keetta **kiindeni** ogo 'Ŋeeyjï ko ïw?'   *Did I not **tell** you, 'We can **eat** it dry?'*
(Bääm 3-4)
"Ïkï **näŋä** ŋaaka jaan wic wina?"   "*What are you **doing** up in the tree?*"
Aŋ **kiini** Bääm ogo, "Ika **tïïcä** merkä yeeki." *Dove **told** him, "**I am caring for** my children."*
(Bääm 9)
Yiipka ïñï, i batta mor jaan **tääy** ïñï.   ***Throw** it (chick) down, before I **cut** down tree.*
(Bääm 15)
Yiipka, i batta mor jaan **tääyä** ïñï.   ***Throw** it for me, before I **cut** down the tree.*
(Bääm 16)
Tääyä ïñï kä bïraŋ,   *You **cut** it down quickly,*
(Bääm 22)
"Ŋana ika **kajdaa**, **yeepca** ñaalok."   "*You don't **bite** me, you **throw** me up.*"
(Bääm 33)
Ika äätädä ïkï ken **maaweni** ka.   *I am coming **looking for** you.*
(Bääm 43-44)
Ika **käññä** päk a püüktïdïnï ïñï   *I found grain spilled down*
jaan ŋoy baanni, aŋ ika batta **ämä** päk.   *under tree of my area, and **I** am not **eating** grain.*
(Bääm 49)
A ŋaani ken ïkï **nüütkeney** waŋ yaanna?   *Who **was giving** you this idea?*
(Bääm 50)
A Gaaggaak ken ika **nüütkana** waŋ.   *It was Raven **informing** me of idea.*
(Bääm 51-52)
Gula ïkï **müŋŋeni** täññaŋ, aŋ ïkï bi **ereni** pok. *How I **caught** you now, I will **slaughter** you.*
(Bääm 54-58)
Ŋana ika **nägdaa** ḍok, yuudu por, ïkï **nüütkeni**. *You do not **eat** me, just wait, I will **inform** you.*
Ika attä laayä, aŋ ika **käññä** kabal tuule   *I went roaming, and **I found** a very fat young*

421

a caagon kockon a tüwon, aŋ ika ṭäkä ïkï **ijeni**.
Aŋ naana batta agï **kañgon** ye,
ika wäättana **amja**.
(Bääm 60)
Mügja buggi ti kä lekü.
(Bääm 66-67)
Yaan wiiwa yaanni **nüütï** ogo,
waak a **kañdïi** me ye, ŋana boonjï me.
(Leeñ 5)
A ŋaakani ken **eŋdä** wegok kïïgü tï doŋ?
(Leeñ 7)
Ika ṭäkä **näŋgaa** tok.
(Leeñ 9)
Wiiw me **näŋgedee** waygä ka, aŋ atïn
näŋgïn tok.
(Leeñ 12b)
Yuude por, cïcam **kïlkä**.
(Leeñ 20)
Iñjon waygä yooko.
(Leeñ 21-22)
Por **keeya** wina,
dale waygä yeekic **iñekä** woo.
(Leeñ 33)
Ika agä uyku, baati mana agä **yoorgon** ye.
(Leeñ 37)
Aŋ kiini ogo, "Ikoon **aajjodon** woo wiiy."
(Leeñ 39)
Ika batta lïïltä **aaydin** piik.
(Leeñ 43-44)
Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïin **nüütkïdïn** ogo
ŋana me **naŋdïïn** nääŋkä yaacken.
(Geel 19)
Yeeni ääŋkalaŋ naana buṭu woo ye,
ooric yaanna bi **taapä** kä.
(Geel 21-22)
Wiiw, booju kä loon.
Atä **ukcu** maka daa maldä **ŋïngïn** ye.
(Geel 26-27)
Aŋ ika **tuucata** me ogo, 'Ïkïï atcï,'
(Geel 28)
Aŋ müükonḍi por **ŋäjjä**,
nïïnkä yaakki ti yori boonu kockon.
(Geel 32)

dead _sheep_, and I want to **_take_** _you_.
And if _we_ do not **_find_** it,
then you can **_eat_** _me_.

You **_hold_** on to my wings with your teeth.

This _story_ **_tells_** _us_ that, (when) _people_
find _things_, it should be enough for people.

What are you **_wearing_** making sound on feet?

_I_ **_want_** you **_to make_** _them_ for me.

Fox **_makes_** _shoes_ for _people_, so let we go
(to him) and he will **_make_** _them_ for us.

Just you wait, I **_am sharpening_** a _knife_.

You **_give_** us _our shoes._

You just **_wait_** for me like this,
you **_let_** me **_bring_** you _your shoes_ out here.

I am blind and I am not **_seeing_** _any person_.

And they told him, "We **_are crossing_** the _river._"

I am not able to **_cross_** the _water_.

This _story_ **_tells_** _us_ that
people should not **_do_** _bad things_.

If my (strength) were to be revealed one day,
I would **_ride_** on _this your man_.

Fox, you are afraid from shyness. You go
look for _other people_ like you try **_to deceive_**.

People are **_sending_** _me_ to say, '_Let's go_',

And do you **_know_**, my friend,
in these days my body is very sick.

422

Ïkï bi **taapci** ŋäñi ti.   I will **carry you** on my back.
(Geel 33)
Ee, a yaana **ṭäkkä** ye inni!   Yes, that which I **want** it is this!
(Geel 35-36)
"**Dalä** ika **ḍikcä** winnan   "You **let** I **tie** the rope
ḍoŋü ti,   on your neck
mükküdü kä yori."   (so that) I **control** it myself."
(Geel 41-42)
Ikee batta **kiinde** ogo,   "Did I not **tell** you
ooric yaanni bi **taapä** kä **ääŋkalaŋ**, yuure!"   that I would one day **ride** this your man, look!"
(Geel 47-48)
Yaan wiiwa yaanni **nüütï**   This story **shows** us
ogo ŋana yorü **naṇdeey** ogo   that you should not **make** yourself to
ïkï agjey oon parü, ook bilto ti cäänna.   you be only man; there are (other) men also.
(Piïnnä 2)
Ato Jooŋ **nüütkee**.   You go **inform** God.
(Piïnnä 4)
Ato me **kiinje** ogo, 'Daljï me ike äätee.'   You go **tell** people, 'People should **let** him come.

Exercise 37

(Kiñuk 2)
aŋ atto gäänono luum **ïwïn**,   and he went to collect grass that **is dry**,
(Bääm 2)
Aŋ käññä Bääm a **giidon** jaan wic.   He found Dove had **given birth** up in a tree.
(Bääm 48)
I Wiiw **a ṭaron** kä cokal.   And Fox **was hiding** nearby.
(Bääm 56)
Aŋ ika käññä kabal ṭuule **a caagon**   And I found a young sheep that **is** very **fat**
kockon **a tüwon**.   and **is dead**,
(Geel 5)
Aŋ dürjï wäättana bojok kä **baaṇṇä** ṭulgu.   And then, youth were afraid from **loving** of girls.
(Geel 23)
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ ti, **ṇiil** juwin baan jï.   Another day, there was a **dance** in this country.
(Geel 25-27)
Müükonḍi, **ṇiil** yaŋkalaŋ juwin baan jï ka.   My friend, a **dance** is taking place in country.
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, 'Ïkïï atcï,'   People are sending me to say, 'Let's go',
naana ïkïï baawgï tï ye,   if we both are absent,
ṇiil batta bi ñabo ñap.   **dance** will not be good.
(Äwñä 8)
Aŋ Albe batta a **lïïṭon** kääjin woo,   And Albe **was** not **able** to go out,

Exercise 38

423

(Bääm 36-38)
Ay müükonḍi, ika batta **bi lïïṭä** wään,
ika agä raac täññaŋ.
Aŋ atä parü, ïkïï **bi aṭï** tïṇṇäk."

*Ah my friend, I **will** not **be** able to go,*
(since) I am now sick.
*You go alone, we two **will go** tomorrow."*

(Bääm 51-52)
Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo, "Gula ïkï müŋŋeni
täññaŋ, aŋ ïkï **bi ereni** pok."

Fox told him, "Oh how I have caught you
*now, and I **will slaughter** you."*

(Bääm 59)
Aŋ taaji Wiiw ogo, "Aŋ ïkïï **bi aṭï** ogoo?"

*And Fox asked him, "How **will** we **go**?"*

(Geel 19)
Yeeni ääŋkalaŋ naana buṭu woo ye,
ooric yaanna **bi taapä** kä.

If my (strength) were to be revealed one day,
*I **would ride** on this your man.*

(Geel 22)
Ïkï ṭüülü yaanna daa **bi näŋä** ŋaaka?

*Your small thing that just **will do** what?*

(Geel 25-27)
Müükonḍi, ŋiil yaŋkalaŋ juwin baan jï ka.
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, 'Ïkïï atcï,'
naana ïkïï baawgï tï ye, ŋiil batta **bi ñabo** ñap.

My friend, a dance is taking place in country.
People are sending me to say, 'Let's go',
*if we both are absent, dance **will** not **be good**.*

(Geel 29-32)
"Aŋ inni äätä ïkï tï, yaanne yori riijänä kä pet.
Aŋ täññani ïkïï **bi bülcï** müürï ogoo?
Yori waagdä ika batta **bi lïïṭä** wään ŋuca."
Aŋ kiini Geel ogo, "Ïkï **bi taapci** ŋäñi ti."

"When I came to you, this body of mine was
*struggling. And now how **will** we two **return**?*
*My body feels like I **will** not **be** able to walk."*
*Lion told him, "I **will carry** you on my back."*

(Geel 41-42)
Ikee batta kiinde ogo,
ooric yaanni **bi taapä** kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure!

Did I not tell you
*that I **would** one day **ride** this your man, look!*

Exercise 39

(Yaam 1)
Yaam a koy tïṇṇä ke ḍogleñ,
kimkä **ken ñorgu** me.

Basket is red tree or another tree,
*people **are bending** branches (to make them).*

(Yaam 5-6)
Aŋ yaam mäbaan ti, **ken temte** määngä
wakkä witken ti bata wälkä piik.

*Basket on Jumjum person, women **are carrying***
things on heads such as gourds of water.

(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ a yaam **ken lïïlte** määngä ḍürḍïn
wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,

*It is a basket that **is enabling** women to carry*
these many things,

(Kiñuk 24)
I iin mooye oja **ken ääto** ñomuk.

*As the proud old hyena **was going** on ahead.*

(Kiñuk 26)
Ay! A ŋaaka **ken week** do

*Hey! What **is crying** out?*

(Kiñuk 27)
A ḍïïn **ken week** jaan wic.

*It **is** a bird **crying** up in a tree.*

424

(Bääm 49)

"A ŋaani <u>ken</u> ïkï <u>nüütkeney</u> waŋ yaanna?"   *"Who <u>**was**</u> giving you this idea?"*

A Wiiw <u>ken</u> tääccin.   *Fox <u>**was**</u> the one <u>asking</u> him.*

(Bääm 50)

A Gaaggaak <u>ken</u> ika <u>nüütkana</u> waŋ.   *It <u>**was**</u> Raven <u>informing</u> me of this idea.*

(Leeñ 15-16)

Aŋ Leeñ yaana a caagon ye   *And the elephant that was fat,*

cïcam ŋaaljede ïñï, aŋ yaana bämaŋ ye,   *he peeled deeply, and the one that was thin,*

<u>ken</u> paaje ñaalok.   *he <u>**was**</u> peeling shallowly.*

(Leeñ 42-43)

A Leeñ mooye yaana paaññe kïïgïn ye,   *It was the big Elephant, whose feet were peeled,*

<u>ken</u> ike aajjï woo wiiy.   *who <u>**was**</u> crossing the river.*

(Pïïṇṇä 2)

Aŋ Pïïṇṇä <u>ken</u> tüccïï me ogo,   *And people <u>**were**</u> sending Wasp,*

"Ato Jooŋ nüütkee."   *"You go inform God."*

Exercise 40

(Yaam 20)

Aŋ aŋan yaajaŋ batta ŋeraŋ,   *And this is bad rather than good,*

aŋ <u>yoku</u> por <u>aakïn</u> woo.   *so <u>**let us**</u> <u>**change**</u> (it).*

(Kiñuk 34-35)

Aŋ iin durñe menen kiindee ogo,   *And the young hyena said to the other,*

"Keetta kiindeni ogo 'Ŋeeyjï ko ïw?' "   *"Did I not tell you, 'We can eat it dry?' "*

Aŋ kïïnnïï menen ogo, "Ee <u>yoku</u> ay!"   *And the other told him, "Yes, <u>**it is true**</u>!"*

(Bääm 64)

Aŋ <u>yoku</u> <u>taajjï</u> Wiiw,   *And Fox <u>**about to**</u> <u>**ask**</u> him (something),*

aŋ äkkene, aŋ Bääm pääynä.   *and released him, and Dove flew away.*

(Iin 40)

Yaanna a yen Iin alla <u>yoku</u> a yeeni?   *This (calf) is of Hyena or <u>**should**</u> it be mine?*

(Iin 52-54)

Aŋ Wiiw oja yooṭṭe, i äätä wääna <u>yoku</u>   *And just then he saw Fox, but while person*

ogo men <u>däägee</u> ko ti me ti ye,   *was <u>**about to**</u> <u>**reach**</u> the people,*

i ḍoŋe ṭoljene woo me ti,   *he changed his direction away from people,*

aŋ bäärgä Geel ogo, "Wiiw! Wiiw!"   *and Lion called him, "Fox! Fox!"*

(Iin 65-66)

Aŋ ina <u>yoku</u> naañ Iin <u>ärjee</u> da ogo   *So, it <u>**is like**</u> you <u>**taking**</u> Hyena's calf by force*

yüünü yaanna, oon kalaŋ <u>yoku</u> a <u>giidon</u>.   *as yours, by supposing male cow <u>**could give birth**</u>*

(Keyñam 9-10)

Aŋ iji paa aŋ <u>yoku</u> <u>bagjï</u> gïtï,   *And they took it home and were <u>**about to**</u> <u>**split**</u> it,*

aŋ nänṭa ḍuccete cïcam ye, minneni ojo,   *and side where they would put knife, they heard*

"Jäyä woo!"   *child cry, "Oh, my side!"*

Exercise 41

(Kiñuk 10)
Aŋ iin durñe menen kiinnee ogo,   *And the young hyena said to the other,*
"Ŋeeyjï ko ïw."   *"We can **eat** it chared."*
(Kiñuk 12)
Ïjjï büüccï piitti.   *We will **take** and **soak** it in water."*
(Kiñuk 20)
Äŋ bunno, ïjjï amjï paa.   *Sun is goes down, let we **take** and **eat** it home.*
(Bääm 5)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "Yiipka ïñï kä keelok."   *Fox said it, "**Throw** down one (of them)."*
(Bääm 9)
Yiipka ïñï, i batta mor jaan tääy ïñï.   ***Throw** it (chick) down, before I cut down tree.*
(Bääm 12-13)
Ŋana ïkï booju,   ***Don't you be afraid,***
gin yaanna batta a len, a lämmä kä pet.   *that thing is not an axe, it is just mud.*
(Bääm 15)
Yiipka, i batta mor jaan tääyä ïñï.   ***Throw** it for me, before I cut down the tree.*
(Bääm 16)
Tääyä ïñï kä bïraŋ,   ***Cut** it down quickly,*
(Bääm 22)
Aŋ kiintä Gaaggaak ogo,   *And Raven was telling him,*
"Ŋana ika kajdaa, yeepca ñaalok."   *"**Don't bite** me, **throw me** up."*
(Bääm 24)
Ika cokulunu tüwnü, ŋocca yeepca ñaalok.   *I am near death, **throw me** up again.*
(Bääm 34-35)
"Ïkïï batta atï ḍeel ṭuule,   *"Can we two not **go** (to) the small goat*
yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?"   *that is dead in that animal pen?"*
(Bääm 54)
"Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok,   *"**Do not eat** me,*
yuudu por, ïkï nüütkeni.   *just **wait**, I will inform you.*
(Bääm 60)
Aŋ kiini Bääm ogo,   *And Dove told him,*
"Mügja buggi ti kä lekü."   *"**Hold to me** by my wings with your teeth."*
(Leeñ 9)
Wiiw me näŋgedee waygä ka, aŋ atïn   *Fox makes shoes for people, so **let we go***
näŋgïn tok.   *(to him) and he will make them for us.*
(Leeñ 12b)
Yuude por, cïcam kïlkä.   *Just **wait**, I am sharpening a knife.*
(Leeñ 20)
Iñjon waygä yooko.   ***Give** us our shoes.*
(Leeñ 21-22)
Por keeya wina,   *Just **wait** for me like this,*

<u>dale</u> waygä yeekic iñekä woo.	<u>*let*</u> *me bring you your shoes out here.*
(Leeñ 40)	
Aŋ kiini Leeñ ogo, "<u>**Kaacci**</u> ŋäñi ti."	*Elephant told him, "<u>**Enter**</u> onto my back."*
(Geel 21-22)	
Wiiw, booju kä loon.	*Fox, you are afraid from shyness.* <u>***Go look***</u>
<u>Atä</u> <u>ukcu</u> maka daa maldä ŋingïn ye.	*for other people you will try to deceive.*
(Geel 26)	
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, '<u>**Ïkïï atcï**</u>',	*And people are sending me to say, '<u>**Let's go**</u>',*
(Geel 35)	
"<u>**Dalä**</u> ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan	*"<u>**Let**</u> me tie the rope*
ḍoŋü ti,"	*on your neck,"*
(Geel 41-42)	
Ikee batta kiinde ogo,	*"Did I not tell you*
ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, <u>**yuure**</u>!"	*I would one day ride this your man, <u>**look**</u>!"*
(Piïnnä 2)	
<u>**Ato**</u> Jooŋ nüütkee.	<u>***Go***</u> *inform God.*
(Piïnnä 4)	
<u>**Ato**</u> me kiinje ogo, '<u>**Daljï**</u> me ike äätee.'	<u>***Go***</u> *tell people, 'People <u>**should let**</u> him come.'*

Exercise 42

(Yaam 1)	
Yaam a koy tïṇṇä ke ḍogleñ,	*Baskets are from two types of trees,*
kimkä ken <u>**ñorgu**</u> me.	*people <u>**bend branches**</u> (to make them).*
(Yaam 2)	
Aŋ <u>**diigjänä**</u> me iñï kä wingä,	*People <u>**tie**</u> them down with ropes*
aŋ näkä nïïnkä kä ḍäk.	*for days that three.*
(Yaam 7-8)	
Aŋ naana me bagit nänṭä yaŋkalaŋ ti ye,	*And when people move it to another place,*
naana yaam a küümon ye,	*if the basket is full,*
äṭäŋgä <u>**ŋaapcätä**</u> me yaam ṭuŋke ti.	*people <u>**hang**</u> chickens on the horns of the basket.*
(Bääm 66-67)	
Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï ogo,	*This story tells us that, (when)*
waak a <u>**kañdïï**</u> me ye, ŋana boonjï me.	*people <u>**find**</u> things, it should be enough for people.*
(Piïnnä 2)	
Aŋ Piïnnä ken <u>**tüccïï**</u> me ogo,	*And people were <u>**sending**</u> Wasp,*
"Ato Jooŋ nüütkee."	*"You go inform God."*
(Piïnnä 5-9)	
Aŋ piïnnä wääna ḍukcenee ko ti me ti ye,	*Then when wasp returned to people,*
me kiinnee ogo, men <u>**jïkcï**</u> me iñï.	*he told people that, people (should) <u>**bury**</u> person.*
Aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye,	*And when God arrived,*
men wäädenee <u>**jïkkïï**</u> me iñï.	*he found that people had <u>**buried**</u> person.*
Aŋ tääccono, aŋ <u>**kïïnnïï**</u> me ogo,	*So he asked them, and people <u>**told**</u> him that,*

"Pïïṇṇä ken me kiinnee ogo,
ïkï ken jaajjeneey ogo aŋan."

"Wasp told the people
that you said (to do) this."

Exercise 43

Test Word		Write correctly	Test Word		Write correctly
menkalaŋ	*certain person*	mäŋkalaŋ	jaangitke	*leaf*	jaan gitke
mänjaan	*healer*	män jaan	gin kalaŋ	*certain thing*	giŋkalaŋ
än tüke	*tribe*	än tüke	miytaaŋŋe	*mother's sister*	miy taaŋŋe
yen kalaŋ	*certain one*	yaŋkalaŋ	ïntä ṭuule	*finger*	ïntä tuule

Exercise 44

(Yaam 1)
Yaam **a** koy tïṇṇä ke dogleñ,
kimkä ken ñorgu me.

*Basket **is** red tree or another tree,
people bending branches (to make them).*

(Yaam 3-4)
Aŋ paargä me yok kä boygu ke wingä,
aŋ wäättana wäätï **a** yaam.

*And people wrap the body, with skin and rope,
and afterwards becomes **as basket**.*

(Yaam 8)
Naana yaam **a** küümon ye,

*If the basket **is** full,*

(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte määngä ḍürḍïn
wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,
aŋ **a** gin a ŋeraŋ yaam ti ye inni.

*And it is a basket enabling women to carry
these many things,
(this) **is** thing **be** good concerning the basket.*

(Yaam 11)
Aŋ gin **a** yaajaŋ yaam ti ye,

*And **thing be** bad concerning the basket,*

(Kiñuk 5-6)
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ iygä ko yewwe atto kiñuk,
yaŋkalaŋ **ogo** ḍuuŋgon,
aŋ yaŋkalaŋ **ogo** durñu.

*Then one day, two hyenas went hunting,
certain one of them **was** old,
and other **was** young.*

(Bääm 2)
Aŋ käññä Bääm **a** giidon jaan wic.

*He found Dove **had given birth** up in a tree.*

(Bääm 13)
Gin yaanna batta **a** len, a lämmä kä pet.

*This thing **is** not an axe, it is just mud.*

(Bääm 34-35)
Ïkïï batta atï ḍeel ṭuule,
yaana **a** tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?

*Can we not go (to) the small goat
that **be** dead in that animal pen?*

(Bääm 37)
Ika batta bi lïïṭä wään, ika **agä** raac täññaŋ.

*I am not able to go, (since) **I am** now sick.*

(Bääm 48)
I Wiiw **a** taron kä cokal.

*And Fox **was** hiding nearby.*

428

(Bääm 56)
Aŋ ika käññä kabal tuule a caagon
kockon a tüwon,
(Bääm 58)

and I found the young sheep was very fat
and was dead,

Aŋ naana batta agï kañgon ye,
ika wäättana amja.
(Leeñ 15-16)

And if we (two) do not find it,
then you can eat me.

Aŋ Leeñ yaana a caagon ye
cïcam ŋaaljede ïñï, aŋ yaana bämaŋ ye,
ken paaje ñaalok.
(Leeñ 32-33)

And the elephant that be fat,
he peeled deeply, and the one that was thin,
he was peeling shallowly.

"Baati mäŋkalaŋ yaana a kaajon winni ye?"
Aŋ jaajjin ogo, "Ika agä uyku,
baati mana agä yoorgon ye."
(Geel 14-15)

"Was not someone who had passed by here?"
And he said, "I am blind and
I am not seeing any person."

A jïñe ogo, ikee jaayje ogo
Geel ken ogo oon pare ya?"
(Geel 18)

Is it true that you are saying that
Lion is the only man?

Ika batta booju kä Geel,
ika cäänna agä oon bata ike aŋan.
(Äwñä 8)

I am not afraid of Lion,
I am also a man like him.

Aŋ Albe batta a liïton kääjin woo,
(Iin 1-3)

And Albe was not able to go out,

Ñomuk ku on Iin ke Geel a mügïn,
aŋ cäygene däk kä yewwe.
Aŋ deeŋ Iin ken a deeŋ iiŋe,
aŋ deeŋ Geel a yaan.
(Iin 40)

Long ago, Hyena and Lion were friends,
and they had two cows.
Hyena's cow was a female,
and Lion's cow was a bull.

Yaanna a yen Iin alla yoku a yeeni?
(Iin 65-66)

Should this (calf) be of Hyena or be mine?

Aŋ ina yoku naañ Iin ärjee da
ogo yüünü yaanna, oon kalaŋ yoku a giidon.
Naañ tuule yaanna a yen Iin.
(Paaw 11)

So you wanted to take Hyena's calf
and say it was yours, as if a male cow could
give birth. This calf is of Hyena.

Aŋ teye wädirin a kaaŋ
aŋ wine mor ken a men.
(Keyñan 16)

And her lower body changed as a snake.
And her head still was a person.

aŋ ääcin woo yuunku,
yaŋkalaŋ a oon aŋ yaŋkalaŋ a iiŋ.
(Keyñan 21)

And they brought out twins,
one was a boy and the other was a girl.

Aŋ tïïron naana kaacïdï üntük ye,
minnenei wääti a men mooye.
(Keyñan 29)

And when the baby-sitter would go out,
the baby would become as an adult.

429

Aŋ minneni juwin wäätä **aŋŋi** men mooye kaaccïdï aak made.
(Keyñan 30)

*And the baby became **as a big person** and climbed up to drink the milk.*

Aŋ mügï aŋ wädïrdï **a** kaaŋ.
(Keyñan 31-32)

*And he caught it and it became **as** a snake.*

Ṭuul yeeni, booju kä jooŋ jonü.
Lääkkä wäätci **agä** men.
Aŋ wäätä **aŋŋi** tuul, aŋ ḍeyi mä Kila.

My child, fear god with your heart.
*Don't worry, become **as a person**.*
*It became **as a girl**, and Kila people married her.*

Exercise 45

(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ **a** yaam ken lïïlte määngä ḍürdïn wakkä yaakka ḍirä ye,
aŋ **a** gin a ŋeraŋ yaam ti ye **inni**.
(Bääm 13)

*And it **is a basket** enabling women to carry these many things,*
*this **is** be good thing concerning the basket.*

Gin yaanna batta a len, **a** lämmä kä pet.
(Bääm 49)

*This thing is not an axe, it **is** just **mud**.*

"**A** ŋaani ken ïkï nüütkeney waŋ yaanna?"
A Wiiw ken tääccin.
(Bääm 50)

*"Who **was** giving you this idea?"*
*Fox **was** the one asking him.*

A Gaaggaak ken ika nüütkana waŋ.
(Leeñ 5-6)

*It **was Raven** informing me of this idea.*

A ŋaakani ken eŋdä wegok kïïgü tï doŋ?
A waygä kïïgï.
(Leeñ 30-31)

*What **are** you wearing making sound like this?*
*(These) **are the shoes** of my feet.*

"**A** ŋaani ina cääy yaanna?"
Aŋ jaajjin ogo, "**A** ika."
(Geel 14-15)

*"Who **is** this sitting?"*
*And he said, "It **is me**."*

A jïñe ogo, ikee jaayje ogo
Geel ken ogo oon pare ya?"
(Iin 21)

*Is it **true** that you are saying that*
Lion is the only man?

Ø Wa batta, **a** yaan yeeni ken giiṇṇä.
(Iin 23)

*No. It **was my cow** that gave birth.*

i ŋäjje bääkan daa, **a** deeŋ yeene ken giiṇṇä.
(Wiiw 44)

*but he knew it **was his cow** that had given birth.*

Ay müükonḍi **a** ŋaaka ken jay do?!

*Ay my friend, it **is who** that is talking?*

Exercise 46

(Yaam 20)
Aŋ aŋan yaajaŋ **batta** ŋeraŋ,
aŋ yoku por aakïn woo.

*And this is bad, it is **not** good,*
so let us change (it).

(Bääm 12-13)
Aŋ kiinne ogo, "**Ŋana** ïkï booju,   *And he told him, "**Don't** you be afraid,*
gin yaanna **batta** a len, a lämmä kä pet."   *this thing is **not** an axe, it is just mud."*

(Bääm 22)
"**Ŋana** ika kajdaa, yeepca ñaalok."   *"**Don't** bite me, throw me up."*

(Bääm 34-35)
Ïkïï **batta** atï ḍeel ṭuule,   *Can we **not** go (to) the small goat*
yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?"   *that was dead in the animal pen?*

(Bääm 36-37)
Ay müükonḍi, ika **batta** bi lïïṭä wään,   *Ah my friend, I am **not** able to go,*
ika agä raac täññaŋ.   *(since) I am now sick.*

(Bääm 43-44)
Ika käññä päk a püüktïḍïnï ïñï   *I found grain spilled down*
jaan ŋoy baanni, aŋ ika **batta** ämä päk.   *under tree of my area, and I am **not** eating grain.*

(Bääm 54-56)
Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por, ïkï nüütkeni   ***Do not** eat me, you just wait, I will inform you.*

(Bääm 57-58)
Aŋ naana **batta** agï kañgon ye,   *And if we do **not** find it,*
ika wäättana amja."   *then you can eat me."*

(Leeñ 32-33)
"**Baati** mäŋkalaŋ yaana a kaajon winni ye?"   *"**Was there not** someone who had passed here?"*
Aŋ jaajjin ogo, "Ika agä uyku,   *And he said, "I am blind and*
baati mana agä yoorgon ye."   ***there was not** anyone who I am seeing."*

(Leeñ 39)
"Ika **batta** lïïltä aaydin piik."   *"I am **not** able to cross the water."*

(Leeñ 43-44)
Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïin nüütkïḍïn ogo   *This story tells us that*
ŋana me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken.   *people **should not** do bad things.*

(Geel 7)
Aŋ Geel wäättana ṭulgu baade pare küüttaŋ.   *And afterwards, Lion was only one loving girls.*
I **baati** durñu yaana ŋuca   *And **there was no** youth who could go near,*
wükcïḍï tï ṭulgu gurken ti ye.   *to be next to the girls.*

(Geel 8-9)
Aŋ Wiiw jiik yaakka tiiŋŋe, aŋ toorok batta   *Fox heard about this matter, and badness did not*
kaaccïḍï wiñe ti, aŋ jone **batta** ñabaŋ.   *enter his head, and his heart was **not** happy.*

(Geel 13)
Aŋ luugi ṭulgu ogo, "Jiikkalaŋ **baati**."   *Girls replied, "**There is not** a certain problem."*

(Geel 18)
Ika **batta** booju kä Geel,   *I am **not** afraid from Lion,*
ika cäänna agä oon bata ike aŋan.   *I am also a man like him.*

(Geel 26-27)
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, 'Ïkïï atcï,'   *People are sending me to say, 'Let's go',*
naana ïkïï baawgï tï ye, ŋiil **batta** bi ñabo ñap.   *if we both are absent, dance will **not** be good.*

(Geel 41-42)
Ikee **batta** kiinde ogo,   *"Did I **not** tell you*
ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure!"   *that I would one day ride this your man, look!"*
(Äwñä 11)
Aŋ nïïnkä yaakka ti muure, Albe **batta** ämï.   *And in all these days, Albe did **not** eat.*
(Pïïnnä 12)
Aŋ Pïïnṇä tuummee ogo   *And he cursed Wasp so that*
ŋana giido yuunge muureen.   *she **would not** give birth all her years.*

Exercise 47

(Kiñuk 34-35)
Aŋ iin durñe menen kiindee **ogo**,   *And the young hyena said to the other **that**,*
"Keetta kiindeni **ogo**, ('Ŋeeyjï ko ïw?')"   *"Did I not tell you **that**, ('We can eat it dry?')"*
(Bääm 3-4)
Aŋ taaññe **ogo**,   *He asked him **that**,*
"Ïkï näŋä ŋaaka jaan wic wina?"   *"What are you doing up in the tree?"*
Aŋ kiini Bääm **ogo**, "Ika tïïcä merkä yeeki." *Dove told him **that**, "I am caring for children."*
(Leeñ 8-9)
Aŋ Leeñ attä meken nüütkene **ogo**,   *And Elephant went and informed others **that**,*
"Wiiw me näŋedee waygä ka."   *"Fox makes shoes for people."*
(Leeñ 14-15)
Aŋ Wiiw juwin Liik paaje kïïgïn **ogo**,   *Fox got up and was peeling Elphants in their feet*
ŋäälkedee waygä,   *saying **that**, he was peeling shoes for them,*
(Geel 24-27)
Aŋ Wiiw juwin attä Geel ti, aŋ kiinne **ogo**, *Fox got up and went to Lion, told him **that**,*
"Müükondi, ŋiil yaŋkalaŋ juwin baan jï ka. *"My friend, a dance is taking place in country.*
Aŋ ika tuucata me **ogo**, ('Ïkïï atcï,')   *People are sending me to say **that**, ('Let's go'),*
naana ïkïï baawgï tï ye,   *if we both are absent,*
ŋiil batta bi ñabo ñap."   *dance will not be good."*
(Geel 33-35)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin jone ti **ogo**,   *And Fox said to himself **that**,*
"Ee, a yaana ṭäkkä ye inni!"   *"Yes, this is what I want!"*
Aŋ Wiiw taappä Geel ŋäñe ti. Aŋ Wiiw   *And Fox rode on the Lion's back.*
Geel kiinne **ogo**, "Dalä ika ḍikcä winṇan *And Fox told Lion **that**, "Let me tie the rope*
ḍoŋü ti, mükküdü kä yori."   *on your neck so that I control it with my body."*
(Geel 41-42)
I nüüdede ïñï Geel ŋäc, i jaayi jone ti **ogo**, *He pointed to Lion's back, said in heart **that**,*
"Ikee batta kiinde **ogo**,   *"Did I not tell you **that**,*
(ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ), yuure!" *(I would one day ride this your man), look!"*
(Pïïnṇä 3-4)
Aŋ wääna attee ko ye, Jooŋ nüütkenee,   *And when he went, he informed God,*
aŋ kïïnnïï Jooŋ **ogo**,   *and God told him **that**,*

"Ato me kiinje **ogo**, ('Daljï me ike äätee.')"
(Piïṇṇä 5-6)

"_Go tell them **that**,('People should let he come.')_"

Aŋ piïṇṇä wääna ḍukcenee ko ti me ti ye,
me kiinnee **ogo**, men jïkcï me iñï.
(Piïṇṇä 8-9)

_Then when wasp returned to people, he told
people **that**, people should bury person._

Aŋ tääccono, aŋ kïïnnïï me **ogo**,
"Pïïṇṇä ken me kiinnee **ogo**,
(ïkï ken jaajjeneey **ogo** aŋan.)"

_He (God) asked them, and people told him **that**,
"Wasp told the people **that**
(you said **that** to do this.)"_

Exercise 48

(Yaam 7-8)
Aŋ **naana** me bagit nänṭä yaŋkalaŋ ti **ye**,
naana yaam a küümon **ye**,
äṭäŋgä ŋaapcätä me yaam ṭuŋke ti.
(Yaam 11-12)

_And **when** people move it to another place,
if the basket is full,
people hang chickens on the horns of basket._

Aŋ gin a yaajaŋ yaam ti **ye**,
naana ṭemtä määngä witken ti
yuungu kä ḍiräk **ye**, määngä witken wec.
(Kiñuk 17-18)

_And a bad thing concerning the basket is
when women carry (it) on their heads
for many years, the heads of women are bald._

Aŋ **naana** daa äŋ waŋe wükco **ye**,
i men waŋge piijodo.
Aŋ **wääna** dääṇnee ko **ye**, düüdïnïï woo,
i äŋ joorjono.
(Kiñuk 22-24)

_And **when** as sun's face moved on, then the
person's eyes began to regain consciousness.
When he became soft, they carried him out
(from water), as the sun went down._

Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ ḍoŋe ti,
aŋ **wääna** kaaññïï ko jaan ŋoy **ye**,
men likko rawcan, aŋ kïlläŋ rääkkee jï
woo, i iin mooye oja ken ääto ñomuk.
(Kiñuk 24-25)

_Person was wearing a whistle around his neck,
and **when** (they) passed under a tree,
man broke off twig, and cleaned out whistle,
as the proud old hyena was going on ahead._

Aŋ **wääna** ḍakkïï ko nänṭa mïṭon **ye**,
kïlläŋ puuccee küüttee ogo, _tiit_!
(Kiñuk 28-29)

_And **when** they arrived to densely forested
place, he tried to blow the whistle, tweet!_

Aŋ **wääna** wükcïnïï ko ko ḍeeḍaŋ **ye**,
men killäŋ ŋoccee küüttee
tügge ko yewwe ogo, _tiit tiit!_
(Bääm 54-58)

_And **when** they went a little further,
the person again blew the whistle
two times, tweet tweet!_

"Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por,
ïkï nüütkeni. Ika attä laayä,
aŋ ika käññä kabal ṭuule a caagon
kockon a tüwon, aŋ ika ṭäkä ïkï ijeni.
Aŋ **naana** batta agï kañgon **ye**,
ika wäättana amja."

_"Do not eat me, just wait,
I will inform you. I went roaming,
and I found a very fat young
dead sheep, and I want to take you.
And **if** we do not find it,
then you can eat me."_

433

(Bääm 61)
Aŋ **naana** ïkïï ḍakkï tï **ye**, ika bi weekcä ogo,
kuruk, kuruk ääŋki kä yew.

*And **when** we arrive, I will cry,*
kaaw, kaaw two times.

(Geel 16-17)
Aŋ Wiiw jaajjin ogo, "**Naana** ook ke dürjï
muure boone juugin ogo bojgo ko Geel **ye**,

*And Fox said, "**If** all the men and youth*
are unable in their hearts and afraid of Lion,

(Geel 19)
Yeeni ääŋkalaŋ **naana** buṭu woo **ye**,
ooric yaanna bi taapä kä.

***If** my (strength) were to be revealed one day,*
I would ride on this your man.

(Geel 26-27)
Aŋ ika tuucata me ogo, 'Ïkïï atcï,'
naana ïkïï baawgï tï **ye**, ŋiil batta bi ñabo ñap.

People are sending me to say, 'Let's go',
***if** we both are absent, dance will not be good.*

(Geel 35-37)
"Dalä ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan ḍoŋü ti,
mükküdü kä yori."
Aŋ **wääna** ḍekke daa kä ḍoŋe ti **ye**,
wiṇṇan müŋŋe kä ïnte aam,
aŋ Geel üütte ti nänṭä ŋiil.

"Let I tie the rope on your neck
(so that) I control it myself."
*And **when** he tied it to his neck,*
he grabbed the rope with his left hand,
and Lion ran to the place of dancing.

(Äwñä 6-7)
Aŋ ike ṭäkï kääjïdï woo, aŋ **wääna**
ḍäägenee kääl tük **ye**, kääl tüke üüljene.

*Then he was wanting to go out, and **when** he*
arrived at cave entrance, entrance was closed.

(Pïïṇṇä 3)
Aŋ **wääna** attee ko **ye**, Jooŋ nüütkenee.

*And **when** he went, he informed God.*

(Pïïṇṇä 5-7)
Aŋ pïïṇṇä **wääna** ḍukcenee ko ti me ti **ye**,
me kiinnee ogo, men jïkcï me ïñï.
Aŋ **wääna** Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti **ye**,
men wäädenee jïkkïï me ïñï.

*Then **when** wasp returned to people, he told*
people that, people (should) bury person.
*And **when** God arrived,*
he found that people had buried person.

Exercise 49

(Yaam 3-4)
Aŋ paargä me yok kä boygu **ke** wingä,
aŋ **wäättana** wäätï a yaam.

***And** people wrap the body, with skin **and** rope,*
***and** **afterwards** becomes as basket.*

(Yaam 5-6)
Aŋ yaam mäbaan ti ken ṭemte määngä
wakkä witken ti bata wälkä piik
ke päk **ke** waak a daa ṭemtä ye.

***And** the basket on Jumjum person, women*
carry things on heads such as gourds of water
***and** grains **and** (other) things they carry.*

(Yaam 16-17)
Aŋ ŋucana nääkke pillä ḍuuggen ti **ke**
ŋätken ti bäätcïdï ïñï **ke** teygen ti.

And** it also causes pain in their necks **and
*in their backs going down **until** in their hips.*

(Yaam 18-19)
Ina ken määngä mäbaan ṭiintete

That is why Jumjum women are becoming old

434

kä bïraŋ yaanna, **aŋ** iiŋ **ke** yaam yeene **wäättana** beel bata teebälaŋ yoono.
(Kiñuk 5-6)
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ iygä ko yewwe atto kiñuk,
Ø yaŋkalaŋ ogo ḍuuŋgon,
aŋ yaŋkalaŋ ogo durñu.
(Kiñuk 7)
Aŋ men kaññïï käälok ogo ïwon,
i jone mor määṭo.
(Kiñuk 17)
Aŋ naana daa äŋ waŋe wükco ye,
i men waŋge piijodo.
(Kiñuk 21)
Aŋ düṇṇïï iin durñe ḍoŋe ti,
i küjjï ogo cüüyïdïnï.
(Kiñuk 22-24)
Aŋ men eŋdo kïlläŋ ḍoŋe ti,
aŋ wääna kaaññïï ko jaan ŋoy ye,
Ø men likko rawcan, **aŋ** kïlläŋ rääkkee jï woo, **i** iin mooye oja ken ääto ñomuk.
(Bääm 6-7)
Aŋ Bääm yaakï,
aŋ Wiiw attä **Ø** näŋŋä len lämmä.
Aŋ ḍuukin, **i** ädit len lämmä.
(Bääm 18-20)
Aŋ Wiiw len lämmä jeppe ti jaan ti,
Aŋ Gaaggaak iken **ke** Bääm juuggen ñappä,
aŋ yircin woo.
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ Wiiw attä
Ø Gaaggaak ṭärkene näntä piik.
(Bääm 28)
Aŋ Wiiw attä, **i** jone yaajaŋ kockon.
(Bääm 47-48)
Aŋ Bääm koojjin ïñï ogo ike ämje päk,
i Wiiw a ṭaron kä cokal.
(Bääm 58)
Aŋ naana batta agï kañgon ye,
ika **wäättana** amja.
(Bääm 64-65)
Aŋ Bääm pääynä,
i week kä jone ñamme.
(Geel 5)
Aŋ dürji **wäättana** bojok kä baaṇṇä ṭulgu.

*with quickly, **and** the woman **with** her basket **afterwards** looks like our car.*

*__Then one day__, two hyenas went hunting, **and** one of them was old, **and** the other was young.*

*__And__ they found person in cave that was chared, **and** his heart was still beating.*

__And__ when the sun's face moved on, __then__ the person's eyes began to regain consciousness.

*__And__ the young hyena carried (person) on neck, **but** they didn't know that he revived.*

*__And__ person was wearing whistle around his neck, **and** when (they) passed under a tree, __then__ man broke off twig, **and** cleaned out whistle, **as** the proud old hyena was going on ahead.*

*__Then__ Dove was refusing **and** Fox went **and** made an axe of mud. __And__ (he) returned **while** carrying an axe of mud.*

*__And__ Fox hit the tree with the mud axe, __And__ the hearts of Raven **and** Dove became happy, **and** they laughed. __And another day__, Fox came **and** hide from Raven in place of water.*

*__And__ Fox came, **but** his heart was very bad.*

*__And__ Dove came down to eat the grain, **and** Fox was hiding with nearby.*

__And__ if we do not find it, __afterwards__ you can eat me.

*__And__ Dove flew away, **and** was crying with sweet heart.*

__And afterwards,__ youth were afraid of loving girls.

435

(Geel 6-7)
Aŋ Geel **wäättana** ṭulgu baade pare küüttaŋ.
I baati durñu yaana ŋuca
wükcïdï tï ṭulgu gurken ti ye.
(Geel 23)
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ ti, ŋiil juwin baan jï.
(Geel 35)
Ø Geel kiinne ogo, "Dalä ika ḍikcä wiṇṇan
ḍoŋü ti, **Ø** mükküdü kä yori."
(Geel 38)
aŋ yooṭi ṭulgu, **i** taabit Geel,
(Geel 44-46)
Aŋ ṭulgu murru gïtï kä yaalgä,
i ïnken pamgä. **Aŋ** Wiiw kuuyin ïñï,
aŋ wäättana ŋeel **ke** ṭulgu küüttaŋ.
Aŋ wäättana waak muureen luggin
kä owkïtïn Wiiw.
(Äwñä 1)
Ääŋkalaŋ ti wina
Albe attä kiñuk **ke** guuŋ yeene.
(Äwñä 9-10)
Aŋ ike nääkin nïïnkä kä yewwe käälok.
Aŋ wäättana kääl tüke kupkene,
aŋ wäättana Albe kääjin woo.
(Iin 19-24)
"An! Deeŋ yeeni giinä do?"
Aŋ wina ike oja menen reecce ŋïngïn
woo ogo, "Ära! Deeŋ yüünü giit?
Ø Wa batta, a yaan yeeni ken giiṇṇä."
Aŋ wina Iin daa yore ḍiille,
Ø batta a jayïnï woo ŋuca,
i ŋäjje bääkan daa, a deeŋ yeene ken giiṇṇä.
Aŋ ken ike booc kä menen a boojon.
Aŋ wina Geel wääna Iin yoorree da batta
jaayee ye, kiini ogo, "Nana ïkï batta
gïmmädä kä jiik yeeki ye, . . ."
(Iin 69)
Aŋ wina Iin **wäättana** ättä paa I jone ñabaŋ.
(Keyñan 29)
Aŋ minneni juwin wäätä aŋŋi men mooye
Ø kaaccïdï **Ø** aak made.

*And **afterwards**, Lion was only one loving girls.*
__And__ there was no youth who could go near,
to be next to the girls.

__Another day__, there was a dance in this country.

__And__ Fox told Lion, "Let me tie the rope
on your neck, __so that__ I control it with my body."

__and__ the girls saw him, __and__ he was riding Lion,

__And__ girls came running with laughter,
__as__ they clapped hands. __And__ Fox jumped down,
__and afterwards__ only he was dancing __with__ the girls.
__And afterwards__, all the animals acknowledged
the strength of Fox.

On __certain day__,
Albe went on a hunt __with__ his dog.

__And__ he spent two days in the cave.
__And afterwards__ the cave door opened,
__and afterwards__ Albe went out.

"Wow! Did my cow give birth?"
__But__ he denied what his friend had said,
saying, "No way! Your cow gave birth?
No. It was my cow that gave birth."
__After that__, Hyena kept quiet.
__Then__ he didn't say other word, __although__ he knew
that it was really his cow that had given birth.
__However,__ he was afraid of this friend.
__Then__, when Lion saw that Hyena didn't
say anything, he said, "If you don't
accept what I'm saying, . . ."

__Then afterwards__, Hyena went home as happy.

__And__ the baby became as a big person
__in order to__ climb up __in order to__ drink the milk.

Exercise 50

(Yaam 18-21)
Ina ken määngä mäbaan ṭiintete   *__That is why__ Jumjum women are becoming old*
kä bïraŋ yaanna, aŋ iiŋ ke yaam yeene   *with quickly, and the woman with her basket*
wäättana beel bata teebälaŋ yoono.   *afterwards looks like our car.*
Aŋ aŋan yaajaŋ batta ŋeraŋ,   *And this is bad rather than good,*
aŋ yoku por aakïn woo,   *so let us change (it),*
näŋko määngä yooko yoken   *__so that__ our women (should)*
wääkcene woo.   *rest their bodies.*
(Pïïnnä 13-14)
Ina ken Pïïṇṇä teye ŋalje ko ŋal yaanna, *__That is why__ Wasp's waist is thin like this,*
aŋ müügee ko merkä meken yaakka.   *and he catches the children of others.*
(Iin 62-65)
Aŋ Geel Wiiw rütkene ogo,   And Lion rebuked Fox,
"Wääc yaana ogoo ye? Ken giit oon kalaŋ   "How can father give birth? Have you ever seen
por ŋäjjänä me a giidon?"   a man give birth before?"
Aŋ wina Wiiw oja Geel ḍekke ñaalok kä jiik   And here Fox pinned down Lion by saying,
ogo, "**Aŋ ina** yoku naañ Iin ärjee da ogo   "__So__ you wanted to take Hyena's calf by force and
yüünü yaanna, oon kalaŋ yoku a giidon.   say it was yours, as if male cow could give birth.
Naañ ṭuule yaanna a yen Iin."   This calf belongs to Hyena."
(Watkey 15)
Ina ken kälämgä aŋŋene yek Büünkü yaakka. *__That is why__ camels belong to the Arabs.*

Exercise 51

(Yaam 5-6)
Aŋ yaam mäbaan ti ken ṭemte määngä   *And the basket on Jumjum person, women*
wakkä witken ti bata wälkä piik   *carry things on their heads such as gourds of water*
ke päk ke waak **a daa ṭemtä ye**.   *and grains and (other) things __that they carry__.*
(Yaam 9-10)
Aŋ a yaam ken lïïlte   *And it is a basket that enables*
määngä Ø dürdïn wakkä yaakka dirä ye,   *women __who carry these many things,__*
(Kiñuk 2-3)
Aŋ atto gäänono **luum Ø ïwïn**,   *He went to collect __grass that was dry__*
(Kiñuk 21)
Aŋ düṇṇïï iin durñe ḍoṇe ti,   *And the young hyena carried (person) on his neck,*
i küjjï **ogo** cüüyïdïnï.   *but they didn't know __that he revived__.*
(Bääm 2)
Aŋ käññä Bääm **a** giidon jaan wic.   *He found Dove __that__ had given birth up in a tree.*
(Bääm 29-30)
Aŋ ääŋkalaŋ Wiiw attä Gaggak maawe,   *And another day, Fox went looking for Raven,*

aŋ kaññe Ø cääy ñaalok jaan wic.
(Bääm 43-44)

and found (him) sitting up in a tree

Ika käññä päk **a** püüktïdïnï ïñï
jaan ŋoy baanni, aŋ ika batta ämä päk.
(Bääm 47-48)

*I found grain **that** was spilled down*
under tree of my area, and I am not eating grain.

Aŋ Bääm koojjin ïñï **ogo** ike ämje päk,
i Wiiw a ṭaron kä cokal.
(Bääm 54-56)

*And Dove came down **so that** he eat the grain,*
and Fox was hiding with nearby.

Ŋana ika nägdaa ḍok, yuudu por, ïkï
nüütkeni. Ika attä laayä, aŋ ika käññä
kabal ṭuule **a** caagon kockon **a** tüwon,
(Bääm 60)

Do not eat me, you just wait, I will inform you.
I went roaming, and I found
*a sheep **that** was very fat and young **that** dead,*

Aŋ kiini Bääm **ogo**,
"Mügja buggi ti kä lekü."
(Bääm 66-67)

*And Dove told him **that**,*
"Hold on to me by my wings with your teeth."

Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï **ogo**,
waak a kañdïï me ye, ŋana boonjï me.
(Leeñ 3)

*This story tells us **that**,*
things which people find, it should satisfy people.

Aŋ wegok kïïge ti **ogo**, *wac, wac, wac.*
(Leeñ 17)

*And from his feet he was making **that**, tap, tap.*

Aŋ Wiiw Liik kiinne **ogo**,
"Ääte nïïnkä kä ŋaṭükel."
(Leeñ 35-36)

*And Fox told the Elephants **that**,*
"Return in days that seven."

Aŋ Wiiw attä wiirok,
aŋ Ø Liik yoorre mätï piik muure.
(Leeñ 43-44)

And Fox went to the river,
and saw the Elephants drinking all the water.

Yaan wiiwa yaanni ïkïin nüütkïdïn **ogo**
ŋana me naŋdïïn nääŋkä yaacken.
(Geel 10-11)

*This story tells us **that***
people should not do bad things.

Aŋ juwin ḍoŋe lääkkene **ogo** kar,
atï ükcïdï gïtï jiik yaakka ṭulgu ti.
(Geel 14-15)

*He got up and left **as** straight away,*
he went to evaluate by those words of girls.

Ajïñe **ogo**, ikee jaayje
ogo Geel ken **ogo** oon pare ya?
(Geel 16-18)

*Is it true **that** you are saying*
***that** Lion is **that** the only man?*

Naana ook ke dürjï
muure boone juugin **ogo** bojgo ko Geel ye,
Ika batta booju kä Geel,
(Geel 41-42)

If all the men and youth
*are unable in their hearts **as** afraid of Lion,*
I am not afraid of Lion,

Ikee batta kiinde **ogo**,
ooric yaanni bi taapä kä ääŋkalaŋ, yuure!"
(Geel 47-48)

Did I not tell you
***that** I would one day ride this your man, look!*

Yaan wiiwa yaanni nüütï

This story shows

438

ogo ŋana yorü naŋdeey **ogo**	**_that_** you should not make yourself **_as_**
ïkï agjey oon parü, ook bilto ti cäänna.	you be the only man; there are (other) men also.
(Äwñä 13)	
Aŋ daa Ø guuŋ yeene miigene	And he (man) found _his dog_
ike keeygä woo üntük,	_waiting for him (man) outside_,
(Pïïnnä 5-8)	
Aŋ pïïnnä wääna ḍukcenee ko ti me ti ye,	Then when wasp returned to people,
me kiinnee **ogo**, men jïkcï me ïñï.	he told people **_that_**, people (should) bury person.
Aŋ wääna Jooŋ ḍäägenee ko ti ye,	And when God arrived, he found **_that_**
Ø men wäädenee jïkkïï me ïñï.	people had buried person.
(Pïïnnä 9)	
Pïïnnä ken me kiinnee **ogo**,	Wasp told the people **_that_**
ïkï ken jaajjeneey **ogo** aŋan.	_you said_ **_that_** (do) this.
(Pïïnnä 12)	
Aŋ Pïïnnä tuummee **ogo**	And he cursed Wasp **_so that_**
ŋana giido yuunge muureen.	_she would not give birth all her years_.
(Iin 14-15)	
Aŋ wina ike juwin aŋ yaan yeene paanne	Immediately he went and rubbed the after-birth
ŋoygin kä baygä **ogo** ken giinno da.	on the bull's anus **_as though_** _he had given birth_.
(Iin 24)	
Aŋ ken ike booc kä menen **a** boojon.	He was afraid of his friend **_that_** _he feared_.
(Ṭiin 2)	
Ṭiin battä me **ogo** ṭiin Ḍune.	People called the old woman **_as elder Ḍune_**.
(Watkey 5)	
Baddïï me **ogo** _kalman_ ḍoŋe bääyaŋ	People called it **_as camel_** (having) a long neck
aŋ kïïge bäygaŋ.	and long legs.

Exercise 52

(Kiñuk 26)	
Aŋ iin durñe menen taaññee ogo,	And the young hyena asked the other,
"Ay! A **ŋaaka** ken week do?"	"Hey! **_What_** is crying out?"
(Kiñuk 34-35)	
Aŋ iin durñe menen kiindee ogo,	And the young hyena said to the other,
"Keetta kiindeni ogo 'Ŋeeyjï ko ïw?' "	"Did I not tell you, 'We can eat it dry?' "
(Bääm 3)	
Aŋ taaññe ogo,	He asked him,
"Ïkï näŋä **ŋaaka** jaan wic wina?"	"**_What_** are you doing up in the tree?"
(Bääm 31)	
Aŋ kiinne ogo, "Müükonḍi **ogook**?"	And he told him, "My friend, **_how are you_**?"
(Bääm 33-35)	
Aŋ kiini Wiiw ogo,	And Fox told him,
"Ika äätädä ïkï ken maaweni ka,	"I am coming looking for you,

aŋ **ogoo** täññani? Ïkïï batta atï ḍeel tuule, yaana a tüwon kaal jï yaanja por ookï?"
(Bääm 49)

*and about **what**? Can we not go (to) the small goat that was dead in the animal pen?*

"A **ŋaani** ken ïkï nüütkeney waŋ yaanna?"
(Bääm 59)

*"**Who** informed you this idea?"*

Aŋ taaji Wiiw ogo, "Aŋ ïkïï bi atï **ogoo**?"
(Leeñ 5)

*And Fox asked him, "**How** will we go?"*

A **ŋaakani** ken eŋdä wegok kïïgü tï doŋ?
Aŋ luugi Wiiw ogo, "A waygä kïïgï."
(Leeñ 30)

***What** are you wearing making sound on feet?*
Fox replied to him, "(These) are shoes of my feet."

Aŋ taaji ogo, "A **ŋaani** ina cääy yaanna?"
(Leeñ 32)

*And asked him, "**Who** is that sitting?"*

Baati mäŋkalaŋ yaana a kaajon winni ye?
(Leeñ 36)

Was there not someone who passed by here?

Aŋ tääckene ti ogo, "Ikee ate **wa**?"
(Geel 12)

*He asked it from them, "**Where** are you going?"*

Ŋïïppe yokïn ogo, "**Ogook**?"
(Geel 22)

*He greeted them, "**How are you**?"*

Ïkï ṭüülü yaanna daa bi näŋä **ŋaaka**?
(Geel 30)

*Your small thing that just can do **what**?*

Aŋ täññani ïkïï bi bülcï müürï **ogoo**?
(Iin 8-9)

*And now **how** will we two return?*

Müüdonḍi, nïïnkä ŋückïtï
mäŋkalaŋ daa kääjï nïïnkä kä däk, hayo?
(Iin 19-24)

My friend, we should increase (the days so that) each person just grazes for three days, alright?

"An! Deeŋ yeeni giinä do?"
Aŋ wina ike oja menen reecce ŋïngïn woo ogo, "Ära! Deeŋ yüünü giit?
Wa batta, a yaan yeeni ken giiṇṇä."
(Iin 32)

"Wow! Did my cow give birth?"
But he denied what his friend had said, saying, "No way! Your cow gave birth? No. It was my cow that gave birth."

Inni tiññani cäyïnkä,
yaanni ïkïïn naŋïnïn **kä ŋaani**?
(Iin 40)

Now among the living,
*we were created **by whom**?*

Yaanna a yen Iin alla yoku a yeeni?
(Iin 57)

This (calf) is of Hyena or should it be mine?

Ïkï atä **wa** i me kïïjjïdï ïkï aŋan?
(Iin 60)

***Where** are you going while people waiting for you?*

A piik **ŋaaka** ken umgudu?
(Iin 62)

*Is water **what** you(sg) go towards?*

Wääc yaana **ogoo** ye, ken giit?
(Wiiw 29)

*A father which **how** can give birth?*

Aŋ me taaññe ogo, "Wiiw, **wali**?"
(Uyko 12)

*And he asked the people, "**Where is** Fox?"*

440

Wäyo yäŋŋä yaana ñabaŋ yaanni äbä <u>wa</u>?   *Father, meat which is good, you bought <u>where</u>?*