

# PATTERNS OF NOMINALIZATION IN NUMIC<sup>1</sup>

MAZIAR TOOSARVANDANI

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

I examine deverbal nominalization in the Numic branch of Uto-Aztecan and reconstruct an inventory of nominalizer suffixes for Proto-Numic. While some of the proto-forms have been supplanted in the daughter languages, others have not changed at all. I attribute this difference in stability to a distinction between the NOMENCLATIVE and CONSTRUCTIONAL functions of nominalization. The data for this study, compiled from a survey of dictionaries and grammars, comprises some 2,000 forms and is included in an online appendix.

[KEYWORDS: deverbal nominalization, Numic, semantic change]

**1. Introduction.** Deverbal nominalization is a highly productive process in the Numic branch of Uto-Aztecan, as it is in many of the world's languages. Each member of the family has an inventory of NOMINALIZERS, suffixes that derive nouns from verbs. But while the range of functions the nominalizers exhibit in each of the Numic languages is approximately the same, the forms of the suffixes vary across the family.

My purpose here is to identify the nominalizer suffixes of each modern Numic language and to reconstruct an inventory for Proto-Numic—a task that, to my knowledge, has not previously been completed.<sup>2</sup> The inventory I propose is given in (1).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The closest thing I have found is a brief paper by Heath (1985) where he reconstructs the Proto-Northern-Uto-Aztecan participial suffixes. I will not be looking at nominalizers that derive only instrumental or locative nouns. All the Numic languages possess such nominalizers, but their form and function vary little across the family.

<sup>3</sup> The interlinear abbreviations I use are: ABS absolutive suffix (see n. 23 below), ALIEN alienable, ANIM animate, APPL applicative, APS antipassive, CAUS causative, COM comitative, COMPL completive, CONT continuous, DEM demonstrative pronoun, DIM diminutive, DL dual, DUR durative, DX deictic element, EXCL exclusive, F feminine, FUT future, HAB habitual, INAN inanimate, INCEP inceptive, INCL inclusive, INDEF indefinite subordinate subject pronoun, INV invisible, INSTR instrumental, IP instrumental prefix (always followed by the meaning: e.g., Co *ta-* = IP. foot), IRR irrealis, ITER iterative, LOC locative, MIR mirative, MOT motion suffix, NEG negation, NFUT nonfuture, NOM nominalizer, MOM momentaneous, OBJ object, PASS passive, PERF perfect,

- (1) Proto-Numic nominalizer inventory
- \*-t̥i subject and event nominalizer
  - \*-pi habitual agent nominalizer
  - \*-ppi perfect aspect patient nominalizer
  - \*-nna patient and event nominalizer
  - \*-ppi patient and event nominalizer

In the course of the paper, the Proto-Numic inventory in (1) will reveal a puzzle of more general interest. While the three nominalizers \*-t̥i, \*-nna, and \*-ppi have reflexes in all of the daughter languages, \*-pi and \*-ppi have largely been replaced; they survive intact only in Southern Paiute. Elaborating on a suggestion by Kastovsky (1985), I propose a distinction between the NOMENCLATIVE function of nominalization—creating names for things in the world—and the CONSTRUCTIONAL function—making nouns out of verbs to satisfy the requirements of a specific syntactic construction. This distinction correlates with the varying stabilities of the Proto-Numic nominalizers.

The data for this study come from a corpus of derived nominals that I constructed from grammars and dictionaries of individual Numic languages. These sources are listed in table 1. Additional data for Northern Paiute comes from my own fieldwork on the Mono Lake variety of the language. The corpus contains a total of 2,098 forms.

In **2**, I introduce the Numic languages and one of their most distinctive traits—the consonant mutations that Nomicists call FINAL FEATURES. Sections **3–7** show how each of the proposed Proto-Numic nominalizers developed into its modern counterparts. I seek an explanation in **8** for the patterns of nominalization we find in Numic. Section **9** presents the main conclusions. My process for retranscribing the data is described in Appendix A. The actual corpus of derived nominals is provided in Appendix B (available online).

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PERFV perfective, PL plural, POSS possessive, PRES present, PUNC punctual, REAL realized, RED reduplicant, REFL reflexive, REP repetitive, RES resultative, SG singular, SUBJ subject, TNS tense, TRANS transitive, TRANSL translative, USIT usitative, VIS visible, YAX Cupeño theme-class suffix *-yax*. For language names, I use the following abbreviations: CN = Central Numic, Co = Comanche, Ka = Kawaiisu, NNP, SNP = northern, southern varieties of Northern Paiute, PN = Proto-Numic, Sh = Shoshone, SN = Southern Numic, SP = Southern Paiute, Ti = Timbisha, WMo, EMo = western, eastern varieties of Mono, and WN = Western Numic.

I have generally maintained the phonological and morphological analysis of the original source—with two exceptions that I discuss in Appendix A. The orthographies of the various languages have been normalized; all symbols have their standard IPA values, except for: *č* = [tʃ], *ǰ* = [dʒ], *š* = [ʃ], *ž* = [ʒ], *y* = [j], and the plosives. The plosives' IPA equivalents are given in table 2. Long vowels and consonants are represented as double letters.

**2. The Numic languages.** Numic is a group of closely related languages comprising the northernmost branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family. They are spoken across the Great Basin in the western United States and in adjacent areas, as the map in figure 1 shows. Kroeber (1907) was the first to propose a Numic subgrouping, within which he identified three subbranches—Southern, Central, and Western. Each subbranch is composed of two or more languages. Further attempts at subgrouping beyond this have proven largely unsuccessful (though see Iannucci 1973 and Freeze and Iannucci 1979).

The Southern Numic branch contains two languages: Kawaiisu and the language comprising Chemehuevi, Ute, and Southern Paiute. I will not be discussing Ute and Chemehuevi here, only the Kaibab variety of Southern Paiute documented by Sapir (1930–31).

Central Numic comprises three languages: Timbisha (also spelled Tümp-isa), Shoshone, and Comanche. Shoshone has a number of component dialects, though I only look at the Western Shoshone variety spoken in Nevada and western Utah since it is the best documented. Comanche is the only Numic language not spoken in the Great Basin; its speakers broke off from the Shoshone when they adopted the horse and moved into what is today Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico.

Western Numic divides into two languages, Mono and Northern Paiute. The former has two main varieties, Eastern Mono (also called Owens Valley Paiute) and Western Mono (also called Monache), both of which are represented here. Northern Paiute also has two main dialect areas, a northern group (Thornes 2003) and a southern group (Yerington Paiute Tribe 1987 and my fieldnotes); data from both are included here.<sup>4</sup>

The Numic languages are famous for their FINAL FEATURES, a phonological phenomenon in which the realization of the initial consonant of a morpheme is conditioned by a lexically specified property of the preceding morpheme. Three final features can be securely reconstructed for Proto-Numic: lenis, nasal, and fortis.<sup>5</sup> The effects of the different final features are illustrated for Southern Paiute below:

- (2a) *kanni-gai*  
 house-be/have  
 ‘to have a house’ (S 629) lenis

<sup>4</sup>Despite some concerns about the reliability of the Yerington Northern Paiute dictionary (Yerington Paiute Tribe 1987), I have included it here because there are no other dictionaries of the language. The reader should consider these data as supplementary. The generalizations I make about the nominalizer inventory of Northern Paiute can be supported with just the data from the other sources.

<sup>5</sup>In the Central and Southern Numic literature, the fortis final feature is frequently referred to as the geminating final feature and the lenis final feature as the spirantizing final feature.

TABLE 1  
NUMIC LANGUAGES AND SOURCES

Language	Source	Abbreviation	Number of Forms
Comanche	Robinson and Armagost (1990)	R	430
Kawaiisu	Zigmond et al. (1990)	Z	206
Mono	Bethel et al. (1993)	B	34
	Lamb (n.d.; 1957)	La, Lb	55
	Norris (1986)	N	42
	Thornes (2003)	T	53
Northern Paiute	Yerington Paiute Tribe (1987)	Y	117
	My fieldnotes	BP	25
	Crum and Dayley (1993)	C	236
Shoshone	Sapir (1930–31)	S	545
Timbisha	Dayley (1989a; 1989b)	Da, Db	353

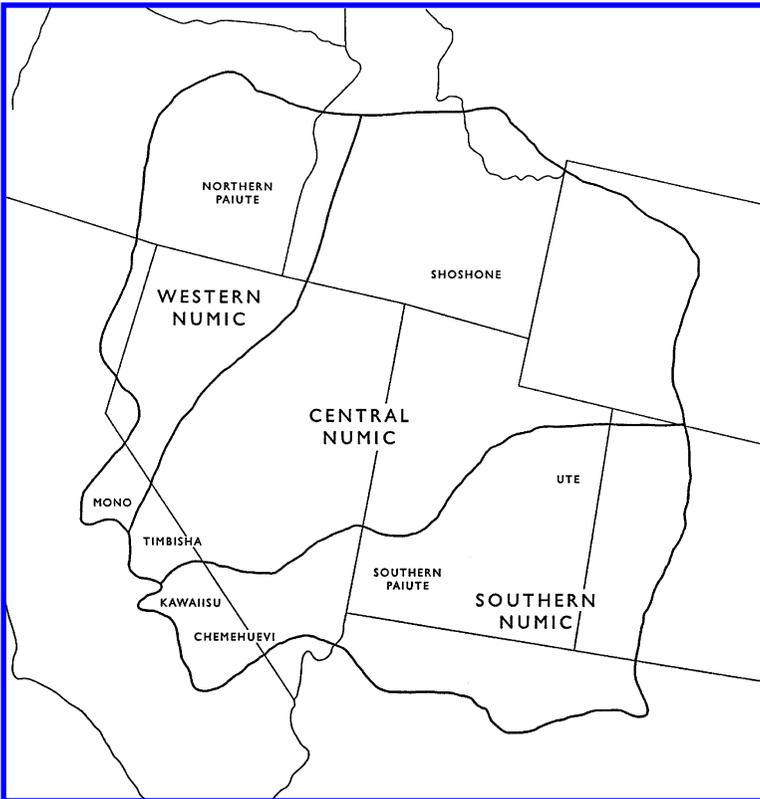


FIG. 1.—Map of the Numic languages (modified from Crapo 1976). Comanche is spoken in Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico.

- (2b) *timpi-nnoro-ŋkai*  
 stone-clothes-be/have  
 ‘to have stone clothes’ (S 674) nasal
- (2c) *kunna-kkai*  
 fire-be/have  
 ‘to have fire’ (S 642) fortis

When the be/have verbalizer is suffixed to *kanni* ‘house’ in (2a), the initial velar plosive is realized as a lenis stop, *g*. When the same suffix is applied to *timpi-nnoro* ‘stone clothes’ in (2b), the velar is instead realized as a prenasalized stop, *ŋk*. With *kunna* ‘fire’ in (2c), it surfaces as a fortis stop, *kk*. Because of this variation, it is impossible to provide a single representation for the be/have verbalizer and other suffixes like it. Instead, I provide all the possible realizations of a morpheme, so that the citation form of the be/have verbalizer is *-gai/-ŋkai/-kkai*. Not all morphemes have three variants; some are invariant, while others only have two realizations.

The Proto-Numic three-way contrast is continued unchanged only in Southern Paiute. In many of the other Numic languages, the nasal series has merged, partially or wholly, with either the fortis or lenis series. In the Central Numic languages, the fortis series has split into a preaspirated and fortis series (Miller 1980 and Miller et al. 2005).<sup>6</sup> A summary of the correspondences across Numic for the plosives—along with their phonetic realizations—is given in table 2.<sup>7</sup>

I now discuss each of the nominalizer suffixes I reconstruct for Proto-Numic, starting with the subject and event nominalizer *\*-t̥i*.

**3. The subject and event nominalizer *\*-t̥i*.** The nominalizer *\*-t̥i* can be securely reconstructed for Proto-Numic, as it is attested in all the daughter languages, as shown in figure 2. It has two main functions: it derives subject nominals from verbs on the one hand and event nominals on the other (I use “event” here in the sense of Bach’s 1977 “eventuality”).

For this first function, derived nominals in *\*-t̥i* can bear any of the thematic roles that a subject normally does. They can be an agent, the prototypical subject: Ka *tugwiya-ri* ‘storyteller’ [tell.a.story-NOM] (Z 286), *yozi-di* ‘airplane’ [fly.SG.NOM] (Z 297); SP *oa-ri* ‘spy’ [spy-NOM] (S 593), *kaa-ttui-č̥i* ‘one who makes sing’ [sing-CAUS-NOM] (S 626),<sup>8</sup> Ti *t̥i-wittikwa-t̥in* ‘scorpion;

<sup>6</sup>Nichols (1974:22–27) proposes to reconstruct this preaspirated series for Proto-Numic, but Miller et al. (2005) show convincingly that it was an innovation of Proto-Central-Numic.

<sup>7</sup>There are other consonants besides the labial, alveolar, and velar plosives that undergo final feature alternations, but they are not relevant here.

<sup>8</sup>While the reference form of this nominalizer suffix in Southern Paiute is *-ri/-nt̥i*, it can also be realized as *-č̥i* or *-nč̥i*. These variants are produced by a regular affrication process distinct from the final feature phenomenon.

TABLE 2  
PLOSIVE SERIES ACROSS NUMIC

	PN	Ka	SP	Ti	Sh	Co	WMo	SNP	NNP
Lenis	*p [β]	v	v	p	p	b	b	b	b
	*t [ɕ]	r	r	t	t	d, t [t]	d	d	d
	*k [ɣ]	g	g	k	k	k [k]	g	g	g
Nasal	*mp [mb]	b [b]	mp	mp	mp	p [p]	p [p]	bb [b]	p [p]
	*nt [nd]	d [d]	nt	nt	nt	t [t]	t [t]	dd [d]	t [t]
	*ŋk [ŋg]	g [ɣ]	ŋk	ŋk	ŋk	k [k]	k [k]	gg [g]	k [k]
Fortis	*pp [p̥]	p	pp	pp, hp [φ]	pp, hp [φ]	hp [hp], 'p [φ]	p	p	p
	*tt [t̥]	t	tt	tt, ht [θ]	tt, ht [θ]	ht [ht], 't [θ]	t	t	t
	*kk [k̥]	k	kk	kk, h	kk, hk [x]	hk [hk]	k	k	k

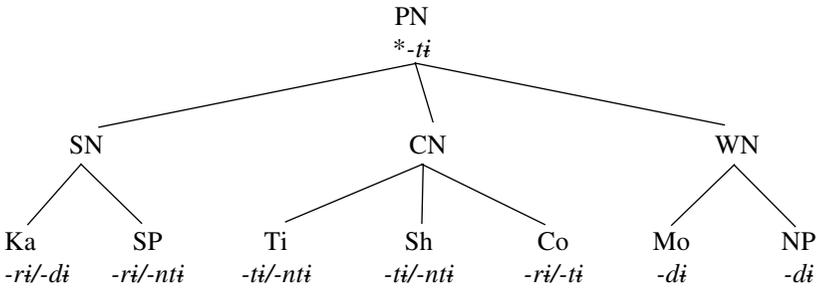


FIG. 2.—Reflexes of Proto-Numic *\*-ti*.

stinging nettle; striker’ [APS-spank-NOM] (Da 337), *yitsi-tin* ‘airplane’ [fly.SG-NOM] (Da 416); Sh *natimaka-tin* ‘merchant, seller’ [sell-NOM] (C 274), *nommi’a-tin* ‘mover, person who moves’ [move-NOM] (C 276); Co *waha-bi-sua-ti* ‘undecided, doubtful’ [double-ABS-think-NOM] (R 144), *nimi hima-e-ti* ‘policeman’ [people catch-REP-NOM] (R 67); Mo *miya-di* ‘one who is going, one who went’ [go.SG-NOM] (Lb 171), *tika-di* ‘one who is eating, one who ate’ [eat-NOM] (Lb 171); NP *nimi siba-di* ‘barber’ [person shave-NOM] (Y 56), *piaga-dika-di* ‘Owens Valley’ (Ponderosa.moth.larvae-eat-NOM] (Y 9).

If the base verb is unaccusative, the referent of the derived nominal is a patient: SP *pippiči-ri* ‘he who arrives’ [arrive-NOM] (S 614); Ti *sia-tin* ‘plant (wild)’ [grow-NOM] (Da 255); Co *po’aya-’ee-ti* ‘thistle (lit., many blown away)’ [blow.away-REP-NOM] (R 85); NP *ta’e-di* ‘dead one’ [die-NOM] (BP08–1).

And if the verb is an experiencer verb, the derived nominal can refer to the stimulus: Ka *piha-gama-di* ‘candy’ [sugar-taste-NOM] (Z 253); Co *oha-hpi-ti siki-’kama-ti* ‘lemon (lit., yellow sour-tasting)’ [yellow-ABS-NOM sour-taste-NOM] (R 71); or the sole argument of a stative predicate: Ka *tugu-bayaa-va’a-di* ‘God’ [sky-surface-at-NOM] (Z 286); Sh *kipataa-ntin* ‘long, tall’ [long-NOM] (C 208);<sup>9</sup> Co *ke-tokwe-ti* ‘deficient, not good enough’ [NEG-proper-NOM] (R 27); NP *niiima-di* ‘patient’ [be.in.pain-NOM] (Y 57).<sup>10</sup>

In some of the Numic languages, the reflex of *\*-ti* applies to passivized verbs. In Shoshone, Comanche, and all of Western Numic, the so-called reflexive prefix *na-* not only decreases the valence of the verb by demoting the

<sup>9</sup> A number of derived nominals in this paper are glossed with adjectives in English. This is simply a product of the fact that the Numic languages use (deverbal) nouns for many of the things that English uses adjectives. Some of the Numic languages also have an independent adjectival category that is distinguished by special morphology.

<sup>10</sup> The *\*-ti* nominalizer quite often occurs in collocation with the verbalizer *\*-kai* ‘be/have N’. When the verbalizer has its ‘have’ meaning, the derived nominal is interpreted as referring

agent but also promotes the patient to subject position.<sup>11</sup> The patient role in these passivized verbs can then be targeted by *\*-ti*: Sh *na-pui-tin* ‘looking, appearing’ [REFL-see-NOM] (C 274), *na-tikka-tin* ‘edible food’ [REFL-eat-NOM] (C 274); Co *na-boo-ri* ‘marked, striped, spotted’ [REFL-write-NOM] (R 50); NP *na-dzikwinui-di* ‘a screw’ [REFL-stir-NOM] (Y 50), *na-dika-di na-na* ‘edible plants’ [REFL-eat-NOM grow-NOM] (Y 50).

The event nominalization function of *\*-ti* is manifested in all of the daughter languages: Ka *’uwa-ri* ‘rain’ [rain-NOM] (Z 195); SP *tikka-ri* ‘eating, one who eats’ [eat-NOM] (S 679); Ti *tukwanni tikka-tin* ‘dinner’ [night eat-NOM] (Da 308); Sh *okwai-tin* ‘flowing; stream, creek’ [flow-NOM] (C 276); Co *nihka-ri* ‘powwow, dance’ [dance-NOM] (R 67); Mo *nazitaya-di* ‘breast-cooking ceremony’ [milk.flow-NOM] (B 85); NP *natsitsaka-di* ‘woman’s hockey’ [move.out.of.way.with.stick-NOM] (Y 51). The derived nominal in each of these examples names the event denoted by the base verb.

**4. The habitual agent nominalizer *\*-pi*.** Southern Paiute has a nominalizer *-vi*, whose function overlaps with that of *-ri/-nti*. But while *-ri/-nti* can pick out a variety of thematic roles, *-vi* only derives agent nominals. In *kianki-vi* ‘laugher, one who always laughs’ [laugh-NOM] (S 635), the derived nominal refers to the agent of a laughing event. In *appii-vi* ‘sleeper, one who always sleeps’ [sleep.SG-NOM] (S 549), it refers to the agent of a sleeping event. As the glosses of these examples convey, nominals in *-vi* also possess a sense of habituality. The referent of *appii-vi* ‘sleeper’ is not asleep on just one occasion but on multiple occasions. While this habitual interpretation appears explicitly just in the English glosses of these two forms, their frequent translation as nouns derived with *-er* is highly suggestive. In English, this suffix is often used to create occupational or quasi-occupational names, which attribute to some individual the property of characteristically or habitually carrying out an activity.

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to the individual who has the entity denoted by the base noun: e.g., *’iki-ga-di* ‘Spaniard’ [hat-be/have-NOM] (Z 191). Under its ‘be’ meaning, the derived nominal refers to the individual that has the property denoted by the base noun: e.g., Ka *kwii-ga-di* ‘one who is lefthanded’ [left-be/have-NOM] (Z 220). While I have separated out this class of forms in Appendix B (available online), they are readily understood in terms of the subject nominalization function of *\*-ti*. The verbalizer attaches to a noun to produce a stative predicate, to which the nominalizer then applies, turning the denominal verb into a deverbal nominal.

<sup>11</sup> In Timbisha and Southern Numic, *na-* only decreases the valence of the verb, demoting the agent without promoting the patient. This can be seen clearly in Timbisha, where the inanimate subjects of verbs bearing *na-* take objective case (though animate subjects take the subjective case):

- |  |               |                  |                     |
|--|---------------|------------------|---------------------|
| (i) <i>Pie</i>                                   | <i>tammin</i> | <i>tipa-anna</i> | <i>na-yaa-ppih.</i> |
| already  | 1PL.INCL.POSS | pinenut-OBJ      | REFL-take-PERF      |
| ‘Our pinenuts have already been taken’. (Db 105) |               |                  |                     |

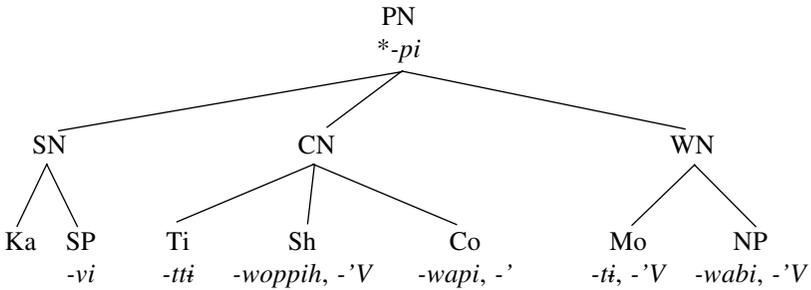


FIG. 3.—Habitual agent nominalizers across Numic.

Sapir (1930–31:124) explicitly discusses the aspectual contribution of *-vi*; it derives nominals that “[. . .]are used to refer only to permanent (quasi-occupational) activities. Temporary or casual agentives are expressed by means of active participles [i.e., nominals derived with *-ri/-nti*].” Indeed, very few nominals derived with the subject and event nominalizer are glossed with an English *-er* nominal. There is even one minimal pair: *appii-č̣i* ‘one who sleeps’ [sleep-NOM] (S 549) differs from *appii-vi* ‘sleeper, one who always sleeps’ (S 549) solely in its aspect.

I propose to reconstruct Southern Paiute *-vi* for Proto-Numic, even though none of the other Numic languages have a cognate suffix. Many of them do have a nominalizer with a similar function, as shown in figure 3. In what follows, I show that a source for *-vi* cannot be identified; in contrast, the origins of the other suffixes can be established, which suggests that they are of more recent origin.

**4.1. The origins of Timbisha *-tti* and Mono *-ti*.** I turn first to Timbisha *-tti* and Mono *-ti*, both of which turn a verb into a noun referring to a habitual agent. For Timbisha, the referent of *hipi-tti* ‘drinker, drunkard’ [drink-NOM] (Da 26) is the chronic agent of a drinking event. And in *nikka-tti* ‘dancer’ [dance-NOM] (Da 165) and *puyku-to'e-tti* ‘rider, horseman’ [horse-go.on-NOM] (Db 237), the referents of the derived nominals are individuals who, as part of their occupation, dance or ride a horse. For Mono, nouns derived with *-ti* include *ti-boo-ti* ‘barber’ [APS-cut.hair-NOM] (La 59, B 177) and *ti-wii-ti* ‘sheriff’ [APS-catch-NOM] (Lb 170). In both of these examples, the derived nominal refers to the characteristic agent of some activity.

The form of this habitual agent nominalizer bears a striking resemblance to the subject and event nominalizer, which I reconstructed for Proto-Numic as *\*-ti*. As discussed in 2 above, the form of the suffix varies with the final feature of the preceding morpheme, though it does not have all three realizations, only the lenis and nasal ones (pace Miller et al. 2005:418, who state

that this suffix only has a lenis variant). In Southern Paiute, for instance, *\*-ti* is only reflected in the forms *-ri* and *-nti*. When the preceding morpheme bears a fortis final feature, the *-ri* variant is used. Consider the verb *payi* ‘return’, which bears a fortis final feature, since in *payi-kki* ‘come back’ [return.SG-MOT] (S 609), the motion suffix is realized with an initial fortis stop. When nominalized, however, the same verb stem takes the lenis version of the subject nominalizer: *payi-ri* ‘one who goes home’ [return.SG-NOM] (S 609).

There are, in fact, derived nominals formed with what appears to be a fortis variant of the nominalizer. This form is restricted in its distribution, however, attaching only to stative predicates and to negative predicates—frequently, following the negative be/have verbalizer: Ka *nawi-aa-ti* ‘one who is naked’ [apron-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 239); SP *naŋkava-’ai-tti* ‘having no ears’ [ear-be/have.NEG-NOM] (S 579); Sh *oo-wa-ttiŋ* ‘legless’ [leg-be/have.NEG-NOM] (C 131); Co *sua-pi-wa-hti* ‘stupid, senseless’ [thought-ABS-be/have.NEG-NOM] (R 96). It is this restricted fortis variant of the subject and event nominalizer *\*-ti* that I would like to suggest is the source for Timbisha *-tti* and Mono *-ti*.<sup>12</sup>

The change from fortis subject nominalizer to habitual agent nominalizer may have occurred as follows.<sup>13</sup> At first, the distribution of *-tti* was conditioned by the preceding negative be/have verbalizer suffix, which bore a fortis final feature.<sup>14</sup> This is the situation that holds in Kawaiisu today, in which a derived nominal like *hiwa-a-ti* ‘orphan’ [parent-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 205) refers to an individual who characteristically does not have parents. The suf-

<sup>12</sup> While I did not include Ute in this study, the grammatical sketch contained in Southern Ute Tribe (1979) suggests that there might be a few significant differences with Southern Paiute. Nonhabitual subject nominals are derived with the suffix *-tti* (for ease of comparison, I have retranscribed the Ute data): *wiikka-tti* ‘the one who is working’ [work-NOM] (71). Habitual subject nominals are derived with another suffix *-ri*, e.g., *wiikka-ri* ‘he is always working’ [work-NOM] (70), or with *-tti* plus a habitual suffix, e.g., *wiikka-mi-tti* ‘worker’ [work-HAB-NOM] (69).

The key to understanding these data from Ute lies in the collapse of the prenasalized stops with the fortis stops: Ute *’awatta-pi* ‘rib’ [rib-ABS] (268) vs. SP *aywatta-mpi* ‘rib’ [rib-ABS] (S 116). It is thus not surprising that we find derived subject nominals appearing with a fortis variant of *\*-ti*. The restriction of the lenis variant to habitual nominals is mysterious, though I see two possible solutions: (1) there have been further changes in Ute, which I will not try to understand here; or (2) the grammar included in Southern Ute Tribe (1979) is wrong about the distribution of *-tti* and *-ri*.

<sup>13</sup> Crucially, I am not trying to account for why *\*-ti* has split in this way. I am only suggesting a potential pathway by which the fortis variant could have developed into the habitual agent nominalizer we find in Timbisha and Mono today.

<sup>14</sup> In support of this hypothesis, we can look to the form of the negative be/have verbalizer in Comanche, which is recorded by Charney (1993:71) as *-waaH*. The final *H* represents a “preaspirating” final feature (in Charney’s terms), which derives from a Proto-Numic fortis final feature.

fix's domain of application was then extended to other negative environments, including other negative predicates, such as the one in (3).

- (3) *Nĩ'*            *kačũ*    *yurava-ŋwai'-tti-mi.*  
 1SG.SUBJ    NEG    be.OVERCOME-NEG-NOM-3PL.ANIM.INV

'I (am) not to be overcome in any way, I (am) very powerful'.

(S 730)

Southern Paiute

The semantic change that produced the habitual agent nominalizer in Timbisha and Mono occurred in a pivot construction perhaps not very different from the Southern Paiute example above. Literally, the derived nominal in (3) means that the individual predicated of it is generally not overcome (the first of Sapir's glosses). This implies that there are certain characteristics of the individual that are responsible for this outcome, namely, that he is very powerful (the second of Sapir's glosses)—an implication that in the right contexts could be strengthened to an entailment. The suffix *-tti* was then reanalyzed as deriving POSITIVE generic nominals. As a consequence, the cognate of the Southern Paiute negative be/have verbalizer *-ŋwai* was lost in Timbisha, as shown in (4).

- (4) *kee*    *kuhma-ka-ntin*  
 NEG    husband-be/have-NOM

'not married, old maid' (Da 51)

Timbisha

Now, this type of nominal is derived with a be/have verbalizer unmarked for polarity plus ordinary sentential negation.<sup>15</sup>

**4.2. The origins of Shoshone *-woppih*, Comanche *-wapi*, and Northern Paiute *-wabi*.** Shoshone, Comanche, and Northern Paiute have another nominalizer suffix deriving habitual agent nouns. In Shoshone, it takes the form *-woppih*: e.g., *taikwa-woppih* 'speaker, talker' [speak-NOM] (C 62), *nikka-woppih* 'dancer' [dance-NOM] (C 62). The referents of these two forms are the habitual agents of speaking and dancing events respectively.<sup>16</sup> In Comanche, the suffix has the form *-wapi*: e.g., *kabiri'a tahkoni-wapi* 'shepherd (hired sheep lord)' [sheep domineer-NOM] (R 24), *ni'atsi-wapi* 'com-

<sup>15</sup> The hypothesized source construction for the innovated habitual agent nominalizer survives in Mono. *-ti* occurs after stative predicates: e.g., *'unapaa-ti* 'he who/that which is on the other side; Auberry Mono' [on.the.other.side-NOM] (LB 171), *pa-nawā-ti* 'a westerner' [west-from-NOM] (N 56). While this fact is difficult to evaluate, it might suggest that *-ti* was innovated in Timbisha and subsequently borrowed into Mono. This is quite possible, since Mono and Timbisha share a number of linguistic features that cannot be ascribed to shared descent (Babel et al. [forthcoming]).

<sup>16</sup> A secondary function of *-woppih* in Shoshone is to derive superlatives like *tsaa-woppih* 'the best (one)' [good-NOM] (C 62).

mander' [order-NOM] (R 65), *turua-wapi* 'hen, laying hen (as leghorn)' [bear offspring-NOM] (R 125). A shepherd habitually dominates sheep, a commander habitually gives orders, a hen habitually bears offspring. In Northern Paiute, only a few lexical items with *-wabi* are attested, and it is clearly unproductive: e.g., *pida-wabi* 'wife, sweetheart' [make.fire-NOM] (Tim Thornes, personal communication), *tidzai-wabi* 'driver of team horses' [drive?-NOM] (Y 21), *yadua-wabi* 'interpreter, speaker' [talk.SG-NOM] (Y 13).<sup>17</sup>

The origins of this habitual agent nominalizer are unclear. One possibility is that it is composed of the negative be/have verbalizer *-wa* plus a fortis variant of the Proto-Numic habitual agent nominalizer, that is, *\*-wa-ppi*. Unlike Timbisha, Shoshone and Comanche have not lost *-wa*: Sh *naiŋkwi-wa-tt'in* 'earless' [ear-be/have.NEG-NOM] (C 274); Co *sua-pi-wa-hti* 'stupid, senseless' [thought-ABS-be/have.NEG-NOM] (R 96). The difference in the first vowel of the suffix between Shoshone on the one hand and Comanche and Northern Paiute on the other—that is, the difference between *a* and *o*—can be attributed to assimilation from the surrounding labial consonants. Of course, the challenge then is to understand how a sequence of the negative be/have verbalizer, which attaches only to nouns, plus the habitual agent nominalizer was reanalyzed as a deverbal nominalizer, which attaches only to verbs.<sup>18</sup>

**4.3. The origins of *-V*.** There is yet another nominalizer with a habitual agent function: *-V*, where *V* represents a vowel identical in quality to the one preceding the glottal stop. It is attested in all the Central and Western Numic languages: e.g., Sh *tīpa-ttīkka-'a* 'pine nut eaters' [pine.nut-eat-NOM] (C 66), *akai ttikka-'a* 'salmon eater' [salmon eat-NOM] (C 67); Co *ta'si'woo'-* 'buffalo' [IP.foot-paw.earth-NOM] (R 106), *yītsi-'* 'airplane' [fly.SG-NOM] (R 160);<sup>19</sup> Mo *noqava-'* 'thief' [steal-NOM] (La 46, B 94), *kwidza-dīka-'* 'Mono Lake Paiute: "larvae-eaters"' [brine.fly.pupae-eat-NOM] (La 87); NP *kidi-dīka-'a* 'Surprise Valley Band' [groundhog-eat-NOM] (T 122), *yapa-wīni-'i* 'wild-carrot-stand (place-name)' [ipos-stand.SG-NOM] (T 122).

In most of these languages, *-V* is of doubtful productivity. For Shoshone, there are just five attested instances in the corpus. Similarly, for Northern

<sup>17</sup> I suspect that *-wabi* in Northern Paiute is borrowed from Shoshone. See Babel et al. (forthcoming) for extended discussion of other features that have similarly diffused across the Western-Central Numic boundary.

<sup>18</sup> A reviewer points out that, as the boundary between nouns and verbs in the Numic languages seems somewhat fluid, and both can function as predicates, some unexpected behavior, such as verbal morphology applying to nouns, is to be expected.

<sup>19</sup> I assume that the Comanche nominalizer *-'* is cognate to the *-V* suffix found in the rest of Central Numic and in Western Numic.

Paiute, I have only found a limited number of forms, most of which are names for Paiute tribes. In fact, in my own fieldwork on the Mono Lake variety of Northern Paiute, the only derived nominal in *-V* that I have come across is *kudza diika-a* ‘Mono Lake Paiute’ [brine.fly.pupae eat-NOM] (BP01–2). The existence of doublets of derived nominals in *-di* and *-V* further suggests that the latter is largely unproductive: e.g., NP *na-to-pakida-a* ‘boxer’ [REFL-IP.fist-beat-NOM] (T 121) vs. *na-to-pakida-di* ‘boxer’ [REFL-IP.fist-beat-NOM] (T 121).

In Comanche, however, *-'* is highly productive, and its domain of application has widened considerably.<sup>20</sup> In addition to its habitual agent function, *-'* is extremely productive in deriving patient nominals: e.g., *akwari-* ‘belch, burp’ [belch-NOM] (R 12), *kohtsaa-* ‘cooked cereal, stewed food’ [stew-NOM] (R 29); as well as instrumental nominals: e.g., *animui wihtokwe-a-* ‘flyswatter (lit., thing with which to hit and kill flies)’ [fly kill-NOM] (R 12), *awo-matsuma-* ‘teatowel, dishtowel, towel’ [cup-wipe-NOM] (R 14); event nominals: e.g., *awo-nohi-* ‘dice game’ [cup-play-NOM] (R 13); and locational nominals: e.g., *narimii-* ‘town, store’ [trade-NOM] (R 58). It is therefore difficult to assign Comanche *-'* a unique function. It seems simply to derive nouns from verbs, with the semantic connection between them being conventionalized.

Given the minimal phonological substance of this nominalizer, its origins are difficult to ascertain, though I would like to suggest one place to look.<sup>21</sup> Nichols (1974:52) reports that adding *-V* in Northern Paiute to a common noun turns it into the name of a mythological character: e.g., *idza* ‘coyote’ vs. *idza-a* ‘Coyote (the mythological character)’. This process might actually be a bit more general, since Mono Lake Northern Paiute possesses doublets of semantically related nouns that differ only in the sequence *'V*: *nodo* ‘throat’ (BP01–3) vs. *nodo'o* ‘shirt’ (BP01–3) and *nana* ‘middle-aged man’ (BP16–4) vs. *nana-a* ‘young man’ (BP16–4). It can hardly be accidental that the word for shirt is so similar to the one for throat, given their semantic connection (the collar of a shirt encircles the neck). Further examination of pairs

<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, I was only able to obtain a sample of nouns derived with *-'* in Comanche. Since these forms are identical to nonderived nominals ending in a glottal stop or a ‘preglottalization’ final feature, I chose a number of forms that were readily verifiable as derived from a verb.

<sup>21</sup> The languages that possess the *-V* habitual agent nominalizer also participate in a large amount of linguistic diffusion (see n. 15 above). It is thus difficult to ascertain whether this suffix should be reconstructed for some common ancestor of the four or whether its presence can be ascribed to borrowing. The situation is complicated by the fact that, by looking at a grammar or dictionary of Timbisha, or any other Numic language, one cannot be certain that *-V* does not exist, since its omission might simply be an oversight on the author’s part.

like these may perhaps reveal that whatever this function of  $-V$  is, it was reanalyzed as habitual agent nominalization.<sup>22</sup>

**4.4. The origins of Southern Paiute  $-vi$ .** So far, I have argued that Proto-Numic possessed a habitual agent nominalizer  $*-pi$  whose reflex in Southern Paiute is  $-vi$ . This nominalizer was replaced in the other daughter languages by a number of different suffixes. In Timbisha and Mono, a fortis version of  $*-ti$  was reanalyzed as a habitual agent nominalizer,  $-tti$  and  $-ti$  respectively. Shoshone, Comanche, and Northern Paiute have  $-woppih$ ,  $-wapi$ , and  $-wabi$ , forms that I suggested are the fossilization of the negative be/have verbalizer plus the fortis version of  $*-pi$ .

The challenge under this scenario is to find a source for Southern Paiute  $-vi$ . Heath (1985:442) suggests that Southern Paiute  $-vi$  is cognate to Cupeño  $-vi'i-š$  and Tübatulabal  $-bi:-l$ , both of which also derive habitual agent deverbal nominals, as illustrated in (5) and (6).

- (5) *Mi=i=pi*      *gay tay-ax*,      *ilí'i-č=am*      *atáx-m-i*  
 and-2SG=IRR    not move-YAX.F    bad-ABS=MIR    person-PL-OBJ  
*mi=qwa'í-vi'i-š*.  
 3PL.OBJ=eat-NOM-ABS

'And don't you go near it, he is bad, he eats people'. (Hill 2005:323)  
 Cupeño

- (6) *ošolo:ŋi-bi:-l*  
 snore-NOM-ABS

'snorer' (Voegelin 1935:160)

Tübatulabal

Of course, Cupeño  $-vi'i-š$  and Tübatulabal  $-bi:-l$  differ from Southern Paiute  $-vi$  in the quality of their vowel—high central  $i$  vs.  $i$ —but, as Heath points out, both of these suffixes introduce  $i$ -mutation in the preceding morpheme. This can be seen in both (5) and (6), where the presence of  $i$  in the verb stem is triggered by the nominalizer suffix. Since Southern Paiute  $-vi$  does not trigger  $i$ -mutation, we might infer that it was lost by a process of progressive assimilation, resulting in the current form of the suffix.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Thornes (2003:121–23) suggests another possibility:  $-V$  was reanalyzed, in languages like Northern Paiute where there are few transparently analyzable derived nominals, as a proper noun formant (that is, as another absolutive suffix). The issue remains for future investigation.

<sup>23</sup> Another possible source lies in the Numic languages' ABSOLUTIVE SUFFIXES, semantically empty formatives that appear obligatorily on nouns, except when they are possessed or when they appear in combination with another stem. The absolutive suffix system is largely in a state of decline within Numic—some suffixes have become fixed to the stem, others have dropped

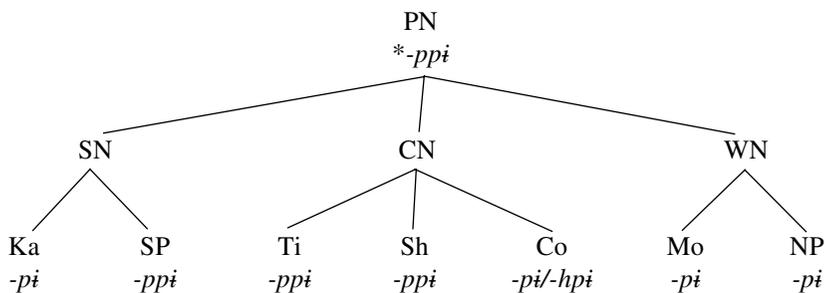


FIG. 4.—Reflexes of Proto-Numic \*-ppi.

**5. The perfect aspect patient nominalizer \*-ppi.** The nominalizer \*-ppi is easily reconstructed for Proto-Numic, as reflexes are attested in all the daughter languages, as shown in figure 4. Its function as a perfect aspect patient nominalizer remains constant across the family. I use “patient” in the sense of Dowty (1991), whose Patient Proto-Role encompasses a cluster of

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off altogether—but, in Southern Paiute, the system is largely still functional. In (i) and (ii), for example, the absolutive suffix -vi is in complementary distribution with the first-person singular pronoun.

- (i) *moa-vi*  
 father-ABS  
 ‘(somebody’s) father’ (S 111)

- (ii) *moa-ni*  
 father-1SG  
 ‘my father’ (S 111)

Following Nichols (1974:141–42) three absolutive suffixes can be reconstructed for Proto-Numic: \*-pi, \*-pi, and \*-pa. (I ignore the absolutive suffix \*-tsi, whose origins lie clearly in the Proto-Numic diminutive suffix [Nichols 1974:151].) All three have reflexes in the three branches of Numic:

- (iii) \*-pi SP *aŋaa-vi* ‘ant sp.’ (S 548)  
 Sh *tí-mpin* ‘rock’ (C 57)  
 NP *sona-pi* ‘pitch’ (BP12–2)
- (iv) \*-pi Ka *tii-pi* ‘dirt, earth’ (Z 277)  
 Sh *na-mpih* ‘shoe’ (C 54)  
 NP *toi-bi* ‘tule cattail’ (BP12–1)
- (v) \*-pa SP *ta-va* ‘sun’ (S 668)  
 Sh *tí-mpai* ‘mouth’ (C 59)  
 NP *koi-pa* ‘bighorn sheep’ (BP02–2–1)

The absolutive suffix \*-pi is formally identical to the habitual agent nominalizer, but a shift from a semantically empty formative (the absolutive suffix) to one with semantic content (the nominalizer) can hardly be natural, setting aside the possibility of a “lost wax” type change (Heath 1997).

more specific thematic roles and is defined by the set of entailments in (7) (Dowty 1991:572).

(7) Contributing properties for the Patient Proto-Role:

(7a) undergoes change of state

(7b) incremental theme

(7c) causally affected by another participant

(7d) stationary relative to movement of another participant

(7e) does not exist independently of the event, or does not exist at all

Several examples of nominals derived with *\*-ppi* that satisfy one or more of these entailments follow.

Many of the deverbal nominals in *\*-ppi* satisfy the (7a) entailment by referring to entities that undergo a change of state. In Ka *maha-pi* 'clean laundry' [wash-NOM] (Z 224), for instance, the derived nominal refers to the laundry in a washing event, which undergoes a change of state to become clean (satisfying entailment 7c as well). In *kwida-pi* 'excrement, feces' [defecate-NOM] (Z 221), the referent of the derived nominal, excrement, also undergoes a change of state by coming into being (it also satisfies the 7e entailment). Similar forms are found in the other Numic languages: SP *noo-ppi* 'carried on one's back, pack' [carry.on.one's.back-NOM] (S 129), *ia-šša'a-ppi* 'boiled corn' [plant-boil-NOM] (S 653); Ti *kwita-ppih* 'shit, feces, excrement' [defecate-NOM] (Da 85), *pisi-ppih* 'rot, rotten (stuff); pus' [rot-NOM] (Da 211); Sh *hota-ppih* 'dug out; hole' [dig-NOM] (C 266), *kwasi-ppih* 'ripe' [ripen-NOM] (C 133); Co *nimi ribora-pi* 'present generation' [people procreate-NOM] (R 69), *pimoroo'a tiyi'wi-pi* 'cow's cud' [cow swallow-NOM] (R 82); Mo *yava-pi* 'tears; wax (of ears); sap (of tree)' [cry-NOM] (La 28), *naa-pi* 'log, timber' [grow-NOM] (La 42); NP *na-tsagguna-pi* 'door' [REFL-open-NOM] (Y 50), *wana-pi* 'cloth' [scrape-NOM] (T 58).

Derived nominals in *\*-ppi* can also satisfy the (7b) entailment by serving as incremental theme of the verb. This type of patient exhibits a homomorphism between its subparts and the subparts of the event denoted by the verb; in other words, each subpart of the incremental theme corresponds to a subpart of the event. In Ka *tugwiiya-pi* 'story' [tell.a.story-NOM] (Z 286), for example, before the storytelling event begins there is no story in existence. As the event proceeds, more and more of the story comes into being, until finally the story reaches a conclusion and the event ends. For each subpart of the storytelling event there is a corresponding subpart of the story that is told. Similarly, for *novi-pi* 'windbreak' [put.bark.over-NOM] (Z 244), each addition to the windbreak being constructed can be identified with a discreet subpart of the windbreak-building event. Derived nominals that are incre-

mental themes can be identified in the other languages: SP *puppuččučugwa-ppi* ‘what has been learned by several, learning of several’ [know.PL-NOM] (S 625); Ti *ia-ppih* ‘crop, plantings, garden’ [plant-NOM] (Da 368); Sh *natiłkwina-ppih* ‘story’ [tell.a.story-NOM] (C 274); Co *aawisi-pi* ‘braid’ [braid-NOM] (R 11), *narimu’i ti-boo-pi* ‘newspaper, storybook’ [story APS-write-NOM] (R 58).

It is important to note that *\*-ppi* does not target the grammatical relation object but rather the semantic role patient. The nominalizer is able, for instance, to apply to unaccusative verbs, even though their sole patient argument would normally be the subject of the clause: e.g., the thing that rots in Ka *piki-pi* ‘pus; any mass of gelatinous material’ [rot-NOM] (Z 254). Similar forms are also attested in the other Numic languages: Ti *ko’i-ttai-ppih* ‘dead’ [die.PL.COMPL-NOM] (Da 59); Sh *kwasi-ppih* ‘ripe’ [ripen-NOM] (C 133); Co *piłtsa-pi* ‘broken burst, blown out (as a tire)’ [burst-NOM] (R 89); NP *pihi-pi* ‘rotten’ [rot-NOM] (Y 10).

Similar evidence comes from the reflexive prefix *\*na-*, which in some of the Numic languages promotes the object to subject status (see the discussion in 3 above). The nominalizer *\*-ppi* is still able to target the patient argument, even though, when *\*na-* is present, it is no longer the object but a derived subject: e.g., Sh *na-’uttu-htai-ppih* ‘given away’ [REFL-give.SG.COMPL-NOM] (C 241), *na-kittsuma-ppih* ‘consumed, eaten up’ [REFL-consume-NOM] (C 272); Co *na-boo-pi* ‘picture’ [REFL-write-NOM] (R 50); NP *na-tsağguna-pi* ‘door’ [REFL-open-NOM] (Y 50).

This property of *\*-ppi* is even more evident with verbs that entail the existence of a patient that does not project a syntactic argument. In Ka *kwida-pi* ‘excrement, feces’ [defecate-NOM] (Z 221), the patient of a defecating event, the excrement, is probably not realized syntactically, but it can nonetheless be targeted by *-pi*. Parallel examples from the other languages include SP *si’i-ppi* ‘what is urinated, urine’ [urinate-NOM] (S 656); Ti *tusi-ppih* ‘spit’ [spit-NOM] (Da 310); Sh *sua-ppih* ‘breath; mind’ [breathe-NOM] (C 283); Co *na-hora-pi* ‘hole dug by man’ (REFL-dig.a.hole-NOM) (R 51); Mo *yava-pi* ‘tears; wax (of ears); sap (of tree)’ [cry-NOM] (La 28).

From the examples given above, it might seem that *\*-ppi* is best characterized as deriving nouns that refer to the resultant state of an event, but there is some reason to think that this is not so. Consider, for instance, SP *noo-ppi* ‘carried on one’s back, pack’ [carry.on.one’s.back-NOM] (S 129). While a pack is the patient in a carrying event (by entailment 7a, since it undergoes a change in location), it cannot be construed as the result of carrying. Parallel cases are found in the other Numic languages: e.g., Sh *namasua-ppih* ‘clothes’ [dress-NOM] (C 273); Co *nana-puni-pi* ‘footprint’ [REFL.PL-see-NOM] (R 55); Mo *i-na-waga-pi* ‘gossip about me’ [1SG.POSS-REFL-tell-NOM]

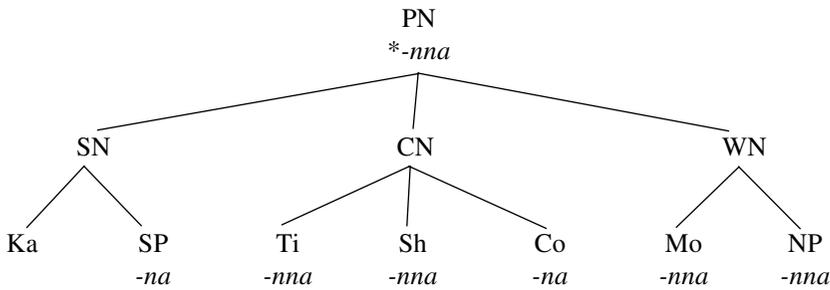


FIG. 5.—Reflexes of Proto-Numic \*-nna.

(N 55). Rather, the meaning of the nominalizer seems to include an aspectual component—namely, perfect aspect—so that the derived nominal is oriented toward the state after the completion of the event.

**6. The patient and event nominalizer \*-nna.** This nominalizer is attested in all of the Numic languages, except for Kawaiisu, as shown in figure 5. To some degree, its function overlaps with that of \*-ppɪ, though it differs in not making an aspectual contribution, and also in deriving event nominals.

The event nominalization function is found in all the daughter languages with a reflex of \*-nna: e.g., SP *niɣwi-rukwa-ttugwa-kka-nna-raywa* ‘our going under a person, our being beaten’ [person-under-to-PL-NOM-1PL.INCL] (S 125);<sup>24</sup> Ti *paa okwe-nna* ‘river’ [water flow-NOM] (Da 175), *tukwanni tikka-tin* ‘dinner’ [night eat-NOM] (Da 308); Sh *puɣkun kwasi na-timukkunai-nna* ‘horsehair rope-making’ [horse tail REFL-rope-make-NOM] (C 65), *tam pia tikka-nna* ‘feast’ [4.POSS big eat-NOM] (C 66); Co *nie-na* ‘wind’ [blow-NOM] (R 67), *yahne-na* ‘laughter’ [laugh-NOM] (R 157); Mo *miya-nna* ‘(. . .)’s departure; the place to which . . . went/is going’ [go.SG-NOM] (Lb 167), *pitti-nna* ‘arrival’ [arrive-NOM] (Lb 167); NP *tadzani-nna* ‘card or dice game’ [gamble-NOM] (Y 15).

As for the patient nominalization function, derived nominals satisfying a number of the entailments characterizing patients in (7) can be identified across the family. Nouns referring to entities that undergo a change of state, entailment (7a), include: SP *na’ai-ttui-kka-na-raywa* ‘what we (incl.) burn’ [burn-CAUS-RES-NOM-1PL.INCL] (S 576), *tattavi-kai-nna-ni* ‘which I strike several times’ [hit.by.throwing.PL-RES-NOM-1SG] (S 669); Ti *na-tikka-nna* ‘to be eaten, edible, something to eat’ [REFL-eat-NOM] (Da 138), *na-’iahan-na* ‘plants, crops’ [REFL-plant-NOM] (Da 142); Sh *matiin niwini-nna* ‘what

<sup>24</sup> Many of the Southern Paiute nominals in -nna are possessed. This is probably due to the fact that Sapir constructed his lexicon from texts rather than through elicitation.

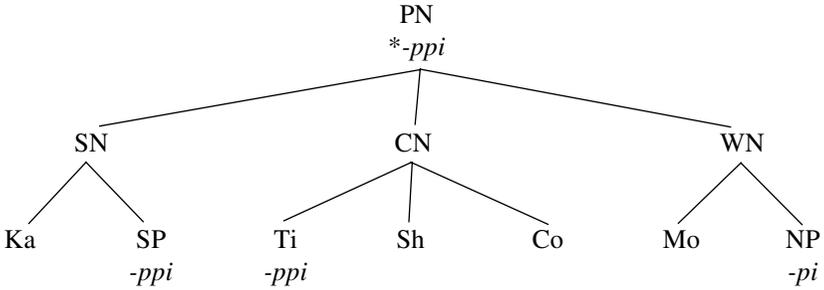


FIG. 6.—Reflexes of Proto-Numic \*-ppi.

they're saying' [3DL.POSS say-NOM] (C 119), *pihyaa kamma-nna* 'sweet tasting' [sugar taste-NOM] (C 279); Co *noo-pi* 'load' [haul.away-NOM] (R 66), *tihka-'e-na* 'food' [eat-REP-NOM] (R 129); Mo *yaduha-nna* 'what is being said; language' [talk-NOM] (Lb 167); NP *nimi dda'i-nna* 'dead body' [person die-NOM] (Y 56), *pida-nna* 'fire' [make.fire-NOM] (Y 10), *tohi-nna* 'spit' [spit-NOM] (BP 12–4).

Derived nominals in \*-nna can also refer to the incremental theme: e.g., Ti *na-mu'iha-nna* 'picture, drawing, painting, mark, writing, petroglyph, photo(graph)' [REFL-draw-NOM] (Da 126); Mo 'a=*nna-babo-du-nna* 'braided hair' [3SG.POSS=REFL-braid-make-NOM] (La 52), 'a=*nna-wakii-nna* 'ditch' [3SG.POSS=REFL-make.ditch-NOM] (La 93); NP *mi=ti-woisa-na* 'washing' [PL=APS-wash.clothes-NOM] (T 170), *kammi wigia na-kwisi-na* 'Rabbit blanket weaving' [jackrabbit blanket REFL-weave-NOM] (T 452).

**7. The patient and event nominalizer \*-ppi.** There is one more patient and event nominalizer, attested in only three Numic languages—and productively only in Southern Paiute, as shown in figure 6. In Southern Paiute, -ppi derives nominals that bear approximately the same range of patient roles as those derived by \*-ppi. They can refer to things that undergo a change of state, as in *paraŋwara-šša'a-ppi* 'pumpkin-mush' [pumpkin-boil-NOM] (S 607), or are an incremental theme, as with *tigwiinna-ppi* 'story' [tell.a.story-NOM] (S 682). While the patient nominalization function of -ppi is clearly dominant, there are a significant number of event nominalizations with this suffix: e.g., *kia-ŋki-ppi* 'laughter' [laugh-ITER-NOM] (S 635), *ma-vogoi-ppi* 'game of making dirt-piles' [IP.hand-make.a.pile.of.dirt-NOM] (S 621).

While similar to Southern Paiute -ppi in the range of patient nominals it derives, -ppi differs in being able to co-occur with tense morphology, such as the future tense suffix -vaa in (8). Here, the referent of the derived nominal is the patient of an eating event that takes place, not prior to or at the time of utterance, but in the future.

(8) *tikka-vaa-ppi*

eat-FUT-NOM

'what shall (always) be eaten' (S 128)

Reconstructing a nominalizer *\*-ppi* with this function is somewhat tenuous unless evidence for a cognate suffix can be found elsewhere in Numic. While there are no productive cognates, relic forms containing *\*-ppi* can be identified in Timbisha and Northern Paiute.

In the Timbisha corpus, there are six forms ending in what looks like a reflex of *\*-ppi*, with either a patient nominalization function: *ia-ppi* 'crop, plantings, garden' [plant-NOM] (Da 368), *kotts-a-ppi* 'gravy, soup, gruel, mush' [make.gravy-NOM] (Da 64), *tikka-ppih* 'food' [eat-NOM] (Da 317); or an event nominalization function: *naaiyanwi-ppi* 'handgame, stickgame' [play.handgame-NOM] (Da 116), *nikka-ppi* 'dance' [dance-NOM] (Da 165), *Tipa Nikka-ppi* 'Pinenut Dance' [pinenut dance-NOM] (Da 328).

For Northern Paiute, there are five attested patient nominals, all in the Yerington variety of the language: *noho-pi* 'bread (old word)' [roast-NOM] (Y 56), *pida-pi* 'fire' [make.fire-NOM] (Y 10), *ti-bo-pi* 'letter' [APS-write-NOM] (Y 20), *tidzidadiggi-pi* 'tent (which is put up)' [put.up-NOM] (Y 21), *ti-ma-sia-pi* 'garden' [APS-plant-NOM] (Y 23). I have not found any attestations in either the Mono Lake or Oregon varieties of Northern Paiute. For the McDermitt, Nevada dialect, however, Snapp et al. (1982:27) include *-pi* in their discussion of deverbal nominalization as a patient nominalizer. They unfortunately cite only one form: *ti-bo-pi* 'letter' [APS-write-NOM].

If we reconstruct *\*-ppi* for Proto-Numic, we might expect it to have cognates in other branches of Uto-Aztecan. Indeed, as Heath (1985:442) points out, nominalizers with an identical form and similar function are found in Cupeño (9) and Luiseño (10).<sup>25</sup>

(9) *tíwa-pi-š*

see-NOM-ABS

'one who is looked at' (Hill 2005:311)

Cupeño

(10) *maw-pi-š*

knock.acorns.off.tree-NOM-ABS

'acorns ready to be knocked off (tree with pole)' (Kroeber and Grace 1960:147)

Luiseño

While the example in (10) is clearly a patient nominal, Kroeber and Grace (1960:147) state that *-pi-š* has a "purposive" sense, deriving nouns that refer to the "material, place, opportunity FOR doing" [emphasis in original]. This

<sup>25</sup> Hopi has a potentially cognate suffix *-pi* that derives instrumental and locative nouns (Hopi Dictionary Project 1998:489).

is a plausible semantic extension from the hypothesized patient nominalizer meaning.

**8. A functional explanation.** The nominalizers I am proposing for Proto-Numic, along with their functional correlates in the daughter languages, are provided again in table 3. Two main changes have taken place in the history of Numic. First, the habitual agent nominalizer *\*-pi* has mostly been lost; suffixes have been innovated in most of the daughter languages to take its place. The other change involves the patient and event nominalizer *\*-ppi*, which is still productive only in Southern Paiute, though relic forms are found in Timbisha and Northern Paiute.

What is interesting about these changes is that not all of the Proto-Numic nominalizers have changed. Three—*\*-ti*, *\*-nna*, and *\*-ppi*—exist virtually unchanged in all the daughter languages. Why is it that *\*-pi* and *\*-ppi* were subject to replacement, while the other nominalizers were not? An answer to this question comes from the history of another language, English.

Old English had several nominalizer suffixes that derived event nominals; they are given in table 4 (data from Kastovsky 1985). Of these, only one has survived to Modern English as a deverbal event nominalizer, *-ing*.<sup>26</sup> The other native suffixes were replaced by event nominalizers borrowed from French, i.e., *-al*, *-ancel-ence*, *-ation*, and *-ment*. Kastovsky (1985:255) suggests a reason for this selectivity—namely, the suffixes that were lost “serve[d] the naming function of word-formation rather than the function of syntactic recategorization. This definitely affects their productivity, which necessarily depends much more on pragmatic factors (need of a ‘name’) than genuine pure nominalizations do, which are governed primarily by syntactic (and possibly also stylistic) requirements.”

Nominalization, in other words, can serve one of two different purposes. In its NOMENCLATIVE function, nominalization creates names for things in the world, a process that is motivated by social and environmental pressures. Speakers need names for things in order to communicate effectively, so they take pre-existing verbs and make nouns out of them. The English event nominalizer *-ation* serves such a nomenclative function; consider, for instance, the derived nominal *passivization*, whose earliest attestation, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is in 1965:

- (11) *It accounts automatically for the restriction of passivization to Verbs that take Manner Adverbials freely.* (Chomsky 1965:104)

In Transformational Grammar, the passive voice was analyzed as a transformation that formed a passive sentence out of an active one. Practitioners of

<sup>26</sup> The *-ness* suffix started out as a deverbal nominalizer, but today it is deadjectival.

TABLE 3  
NOMINALIZERS ACROSS NUMIC

	PN	Ka	SP	Ti	Sh	Co	Mo	NP
Subject and event	*-ti	-ri/-di	-ri/-nti	-ti/-nti	-ti/-nti	-ri/-ti	-di	-di
Habitual agent	*-pi		-vi	-ti	-woppih, -V	-wapi, -'	-ti, -V	-V, -wabi
Perfect aspect patient	*-ppi	-pi	-ppi	-ppi	-ppi	-pi/hpi	-pi	-pi
Patient and event	*-nna	-na	-na	-nna	-nna	-na	-nna	-nna
Patient and event	*-ppi		-ppi	-ppi				-pi

TABLE 4  
EVENT NOMINALIZERS IN OLD AND MODERN ENGLISH

	Old English	Modern English
-ing/-ung	binding 'binding' ( <i>bindan</i> 'to bind')	drinking, driving, beating, ending
-ness	blinness 'cessation' ( <i>blinnan</i> 'to cease')	kindness, blindness, roughness
-(e)d/-(o)p/-t	flōd 'flood' ( <i>flōwan</i> 'to flow')	
-(e)/-l	onsitel 'a sitting on' ( <i>onsittan</i> 'to sit on')	
-els	rādeles 'counsel' ( <i>rādan</i> 'to counsel')	
-en	þigen 'taking' ( <i>þicgan</i> 'to take')	
-al		trial, reversal, arrival, perusal
-ance/-ence		acceptance, admittance, dependence
-ation		identification, christianization
-ment		admonishment, embezzlement

the theory needed a convenient way of referring to this process so they made a noun out of the verb *passivize*.

Nominalization can also be used for purely syntactic reasons; in this CONSTRUCTIONAL function, nominalization turns verbs into nouns, not for need of a name but to satisfy the requirements of a given syntactic construction. We can see this with the English event nominalizer *-ing*, which occurs in temporal adjuncts (12) and the complements of perception verbs like *see* (13).

(12) *The volunteers wore ID badges while registering voters.*

(13) *Max saw the volunteers registering voters.*

The nominal in *-ing* is a necessary part of both these constructions. If we replace it with a derived nominal in *-ation*, the sentences become ungrammatical:

(14) \**The volunteers wore ID badges while registration voters.*

(15) \**Max saw the volunteers registration voters.*

Of course, *-ing* does also have a nomenclative use; there are innumerable nouns in *-ing* that serve as names for things in the world; e.g., *building*, *painting*. But the key difference between *-ing* and *-ation* is that the former has a constructional use, while the latter lacks one.

Nominalizers with a constructional function will not be susceptible to the same diachronic pressures that nominalizers with only a nomenclative function are. The reason for this is that names are fundamentally arbitrary; whether something has one name or another is a matter of convention. As such, the distribution of a purely nomenclative nominalizer—that is, the range of verbs to which it attaches—will be a matter of convention. If the individual derived nominals are supplanted by other nouns, then the nominalizer itself will be lost. This is exactly what happened with the Old English event nominalizers. Following the Norman invasion, new names for things, especially French things, were needed. Numerous derived nominals in *-al*, *-ancel-ence*, *-ation*, and *-ment* were borrowed into the language, which, because of their prominence, supplanted their native English counterparts in *-(e)d/(o)þ/-t*, *-(e)l/-l*, *-els*, and *-en*. At a certain point, the number of native derived nominals became so few that the native English nominalizers could no longer be said to be productive.

The nominalizer *-ing* was not subject to these same pressures because it made nouns out of verbs in the context of a specific syntactic construction. In Old English, *-ing/-ung* derived nominals for an imperfective aspect construction, illustrated in (16), formed from the copula and the preposition *on* (Visser 1966:1093 and Miller 2002:321–22). Today, this construction is

found in dialectal English, as illustrated in (17), where *a* is the continuation of the preposition.

(16a) *hīe selfe wāron ālce dæg on þāre ondrāinge*  
 ‘they themselves were each day (in) dreading’

(16b) *þonne hī on heora leornunge wāron*  
 ‘when [*sic*] they were engaged in their reading’  
 (Miller 2002:321–22)

(17) *The tempest which had been so long a gathering was ready to break forth.* (William Robertson, 1769, *Charles V*, III.VIII.65)

The *-ing/-ung* suffix appears on the object of a preposition in noncopular clauses as well, as shown in (18). While the *-ung* variant has since been lost, the *-ing* variant still occurs in the same syntactic context in Modern English, as illustrated in (19).<sup>27</sup>

(18a) *here on Drysci 7 on Umbre sendon an hergiunge*  
 ‘an army on the Etruscans and the Umbrians they sent a-plundering’

(18b) *māre on huntunge heorta 7 rāna*  
 ‘noted for the hunting of stags and roedeer’ (Miller 2002:321–22)

(19a) *He was annoyed at discovering this.*

(19b) *She is a great fool for getting away.* (Jespersen 1940:92)

The presence of the event nominalizer *-ing* in these constructions makes sense, since, semantically, the derived nominals in (18) and (19) express events or propositions, even though the prepositions whose arguments they are select syntactically for nominal complements. Converting the verb into a noun by adding *-ing* is thus a way of resolving the mismatch between syntactic and semantic selectional requirements.

Since *-ing* must appear in every occurrence of these syntactic constructions, its productivity is tied to the fate of the constructions, not to the individual lexical items it occurs in. We accordingly expect such nominalizers to be affected only by changes that replace the larger syntactic construction. For English, following the Norman invasion, the contact situation with French favored lexical borrowing, and only a few constructions entered the language (see Thomason and Kaufman 1988:308 for discussion). Because

<sup>27</sup> As discussed above, *-ing* today appears in temporal adjuncts and the complements of perception verbs, a development that was produced by its coalescence with the Old English participial suffix *-ende/-inde* (Visser 1966:1081–86 and Miller 2002).



In addition to appearing on temporal adjuncts and the complements of perception verbs, the patient and event nominalizer *\*-nna* forms object relative clauses, as illustrated in (21).<sup>28</sup>

- (21a) *Mama'uč-uj nini pini-kai-va-n(a) pinajkw nini*  
 woman-SUBJ 1SG.OBJ see-RES-FUT-NOM later 1SG.OBJ  
*paa=n.*  
 aunt-1SG

'The woman that I will see later is my aunt'. (Bunte 1986:277)  
 Southern Paiute

- (21b) *Piia tammin nipi-nna tammi*  
 beer 1PL.INCL.POSS drink-NOM 1PL.INCL.OBJ  
*muiyaiŋkinna.*  
 make.intoxicated

'The beer we are drinking is making us drunk'. (Db 360)  
 Timbisha

- (21c) *Aitim painkwi nihin tikka-nna*  
 this.SUBJ fish 1DL.EXCL.POSS eat-NOM  
*pitsi-kamma-nna.*  
 rotten-taste-TNS

'The fish that we are eating tastes rotten'. (C 188) Shoshone

- (21d) *Naatsi'-u i-isabuku-a uga u-kinna-u*  
 boy-DX 1SG.POSS-dog-OBJ 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS-bite-NOM-DX  
*yaga-ti.*  
 cry-TNS

'The boy that my dog bit is crying'. (N 166) Mono

<sup>28</sup> Object relative clauses in Kawaiisu are also formed with *-na*:

- (i) *Ni'i putsugu-ri=ana momo'o-na ta'nipizi-a*  
 1SG.SUBJ know-NOM=that.ANIM woman-OBJ man-OBJ  
*tono-kee-na=ina.*  
 hit-REAL-NOM=this.ANIM

'I know the women the man hit'. (Z 126)

The absence of any nominals derived with *\*-nna* from Kawaiisu in the corpus may have just been an artifact of the lexicon I used. Or perhaps, as a reviewer suggests, only the constructional usage of this nominalizer has been preserved, providing additional support for the distinction I am drawing here.

- (21e) *Su=miiddi i=saa-kwi-**нна** pihipi.*  
 SUBJ=meat 1SG.POSS=cook-FUT-NOM rotten

‘The meat I’m going to cook is rotten’. (elicited, BP10–1)

Northern Paiute

The perfect aspect patient nominalizer *\*-ppi* also forms object relative clauses whose time precedes that of the matrix clause:

- (22a) *Ni’ ma’ai-ka-nt oča-ar imi*  
 1SG.SUBJ find-RES-NOM jar-OBJ 2SG.OBJ

*ma’aji-ti-**пи**-a-m.*

lose-CAUS-NOM-OBJ-2SG.OBJ

‘I found the water jar that you lost (a long time ago)’. (Bunte 1986:281)

Southern Paiute

- (22b) *Nimmī wasi-ppi-a tikkappihanti*  
 1PL.EXCL.SUBJ mountain.sheep-ABS-OBJ ate

*wa’ippiay kuukki-**пи**-ha.*

woman.POSS cook-NOM-OBJ

‘We ate the mountain sheep the woman cooked’. (Db 360)

Timbisha

- (22c) *Carol ukka tikkwinuhi-’a u watsinka-**пи**-ha*  
 Carol that.OBJ key-OBJ 3SG.POSS lost-NOM-OBJ

*ta’utannu.*

found

‘Carol found the keys that he lost’. (C 190)

Shoshone

- (22d) *Naatsi’i i-dotsa’wa-**пи**-i yo.*  
 boy-DX 1SG.POSS-slug-NOM-DX here

‘Here is the boy that I hit’. (N 166)

Mono

- (22e) *Ni ka=tooisa-bui yaa i=hani*  
 1SG.SUBJ OBJ=chokecherry-berry here 1SG.POSS=carry.PL

*pidi-**пи** tusu.*

arrive-NOM grind

‘I ground the chokecherries that I brought here’. (Snapp et al. 1982:85)

Northern Paiute

In sum, *\*-ti*, *\*-nna*, and *\*-ppi* are all used in a larger syntactic construction, such that they were not susceptible to the same diachronic pressures that *\*-pi* and *\*-ppi* were.

**9. Conclusion.** I have argued that, in order to understand why only some nominalizers were subject to replacement in the history of Numic, we need to recognize the difference between the nomenclative and constructional functions of nominalization. I drew a parallel between the Numic case and the history of event nominalizers in English, but the parallel is not quite perfect. While the turnover in English nominalizers can be attributed to contact with French following the Norman invasion, it is not so clear that the changes in Numic have an external source. The nominalizers that were innovated in the various Numic languages have readily identifiable sources elsewhere in the family, which suggests that these changes were internally motivated. If so, then future research will have to clarify how the different functions of nominalization modulated the development of the Numic languages to produce the patterns of nominalization we observe today.

## APPENDIX A

### TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

I have generally maintained the phonological and morphological analysis of the sources I consulted, with two exceptions. The first has to do with how the final features are represented. In Southern and Western Numic, if a morpheme's final feature was marked, I have omitted it, since they are not regularly represented in the orthography. I have not done this in Central Numic, however, where the nasal, fortis, and preaspirating final features are included in the orthography (as *n*, *ʔ*, and *h* respectively). Consequently, I have had to reparse examples in which the final feature does not occur word-finally so that it is included in the following morpheme. Thus, while 'flower, blossom' in Timbisha is recorded by Dayley (1989a:25) as *hipingkiün-tün* (lit., that which blooms), I have reparsed it as *hipin̄ki-nt̄in*, with the nasal final feature occurring to the right of the morpheme break. This more accurately reflects the unitary status of the prenasalized stop *nt*.

The second change involves the Southern Paiute data from Sapir (1930–31). It includes a lot of phonetic detail that is not relevant here. I have therefore retranscribed the Southern Paiute forms using the quasi-phonemic representations Sapir included in his lexicon. A sample lexical entry is provided below (Sapir 1930–31:545).

- (23) 'A:ʔINI- to be silent:  
 'a:ʔini-q-ai- res., to be silent: 'a:ʔim̄-k̄-a' to be silent; 'a:ʔim̄-k̄-a-nt̄i who is silent  
 'a:ʔini-ŋu- become silent: 'a:i'n-ŋU-campA though (their whooping) ceased (474, 34)  
 'a:ʔini-q-w'ai-ŋu- to grow silent: 'a:ʔim̄-k-wʔ'ai-ŋU-q(w)a:q-A

The derived nominal *'a-'im-k-a-nti* 'one who is silent' is thus rewritten as *'aa'ini-kkai-nti*, following the form of the headword at the beginning of the line. I have also changed all uvular stops to velar stops, since their distribution is predictable from the quality of the surrounding vowels.

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## APPENDIX B

### CORPUS OF DERIVED NOMINALS

MAZIAR TOOSARVANDANI

[*IJAL*, VOL. 76, NO. 1, JANUARY 2010, PP. 71–100]

This appendix contains the corpus of Numic derived nominals I constructed for this study. I have included only those forms that I was able to ascertain unambiguously to be derived nominals.

#### **Kawaiisu**

##### *-ri/-di*

Subject: *'agazi-nii-di* 'shiny scar tissue left after a scab comes off' [be.a.light-MOT-NOM] (Z 185); *hu'u-niva-havi-di* 'frost' [?-snow-lie-NOM] (Z 207); *kwižipi-kari-di* 'pile' [pile.up-sit.SG-NOM] (Z 221); *nipaha-ka-di=ika* 'storyteller's assistant' [answer-RES-NOM=this.INAN] (Z 240); *nipaha-ri=ika* 'storyteller's assistant' [answer-NOM=this.INAN] (Z 240); *niwi-noo-kari-di* 'crescent moon standing vertically' [person-carry.on.back-sit.SG-NOM] (Z 243); *paygarawi-kari-di* 'a position of the crescent moon' [turned.up-sit.SG-NOM] (Z 252); *piha-gama-di* 'candy' [sugar-taste-NOM] (Z 253); *tsoko-ponoho-ri* 'body odor' [testicles-smell-NOM] (Z 200); *tugu-bayaa-yozi-di* 'airplane' [sky-surface-fly.SG-NOM] (Z 286); *tugwiya-ri* 'storyteller' [tell.a.story-NOM] (Z 286); *wigaa-kari-di* 'slanting moon' [sideways-sit.SG-NOM] (Z 292); *yozi-di* 'airplane' [fly.SG-NOM] (Z 297); be/have-NOM: *'araga-ga-di* 'cliff' [cliff-be/have-NOM] (Z 185); *'atsi-ga-di* 'name of a mountain near Monolith' [louse-be/have-NOM] (Z 183); *hi'i-pihi-wa-ga-di* 'one who is glad' [good-feeling-POSS-be/have-NOM] (Z 254); *hii-bi-ga-di* 'one who has money' [money-ABS-be/have-NOM] (Z 204); *hivi-wa-ga-di* 'one who likes to drink; drunkard' [drink-POSS-be/have-NOM] (Z 204); *huviya-ga-di* 'curing shaman; musician' [song-be/have-NOM] (Z 208); *'iki-ga-di* 'Spaniard' [hat-be/have-NOM] (Z 191); *'ini-pi-niwia-ga-di* 'one who is part ghost, and thus capable of ghostly feats' [ghost-ABS-body-be/have-NOM] (Z 192); *'itaa-*

*pihi-wa-ga-di* ‘one who is sad’ [be.bad-feeling-POSS-be/have-NOM] (Z 192); *’iya-ga-di* ‘coward, one who is wild’ [wildness-be/have-NOM] (Z 190); *kuhma-ga-di* ‘married woman’ [husband-be/have-NOM] (Z 218); *kuna-ga-di* ‘Santa Claus’ [bag-be/have-NOM] (Z 218); *kwii-ga-di* ‘one who is left-handed’ [left-be/have-NOM] (Z 220); *kwita-ga-di* ‘liar’ [anus-be/have-NOM] (Z 221); *matasukwi-ga-di* ‘one who is expert in medicine’ [medicine-be/have-NOM] (Z 226); *mogowa-ga-di* ‘sharp’ [edge-be/have-NOM] (Z 230); *muguwa-ga-di* ‘one who is sensible’ [mind-be/have-NOM] (Z 232); *mukoyaa-zi-ga-di* ‘diamonds, in cards’ [point-DIM-be/have-NOM] (Z 232); *nabi-nawa-ga-di* ‘footsteps’ [foot-track-be/have-NOM] (Z 235); *naga-vi-dono-pi-ga-di* ‘name of a mountain having a rock with a hole in it’ [ear-ABS-pierce-NOM-be/have-NOM] (Z 236); *navupa-ga-di* ‘Cholla Canyon, or a mountain nearby’ [beavertail.cactus-be/have-NOM] (Z 239); *nawi-ga-di-mi* ‘a group of Indians, possible the Apache’ [apron-be/have-NOM-PL] (Z 239); *niyaa-ga-di* ‘chief; braggart’ [name-be/have-NOM] (Z 240); *niva-ga-di* ‘Mount Baldy’ [snow-be/have-NOM] (Z 242); *niwia-ga-di* ‘occupied’ [body-be/have-NOM] (Z 242); *’owaa-ga-di* ‘salty’ [salt-be/have-NOM] (Z 193); *paalaa-ga-di* ‘one who is insane’ [insanity-be/have-NOM] (Z 249); *pa-wahaa-ga-di* ‘hay’ [water-brush-be/have-NOM] (Z 251); *piya-tsi-ga-di* ‘child who clings to his mother’ [mother-DIM-be/have-NOM] (Z 255); *pii-wa-ga-di* ‘one who is menstruating’ [blood-POSS-be/have-NOM] (Z 257); *poha-ga-di* ‘evil shaman, witch; physician (modern)’ [power-be/have-NOM] (Z 259); *ponide-kovi-ga-di* ‘one who has a freckled face’ [be.spotted-face-be/have-NOM] (Z 259); *poro-ga-di* ‘policeman’ [cane-be/have-NOM] (Z 260); *pugu-ga-di* ‘one who has a pet’ [pet-be/have-NOM] (Z 261); *sapi-ga-di* ‘pregnant’ [stomach-be/have-NOM] (Z 265); *see-mutaka-ga-di* ‘bald-faced horse’ [white-forehead-be/have-NOM] (Z 265); *see-totsi-ga-di* ‘Hereford cow’ [white-head-be/have-NOM] (Z 265); *sii-ga-di* ‘one that is strong, of trees’ [willow-be/have-NOM] (Z 268); *sinoo-vi-ga-di* ‘one who is destructive’ [coyote-ABS-be/have-NOM] (Z 268); *togowa-ri-ka-di* ‘rattlesnake pattern on basketry’ [rattlesnake-NOM-be/have-NOM] (Z 284); *’uu-poha-ga-di* ‘rain shaman’ [rain-power-be/have-NOM] (Z 194); *woho-ga-di* ‘one who is jealous’ [rival-be/have-NOM] (Z 293); *woko-tibi-ga-di* ‘a type of basket’ [big-mouth-be/have-NOM] (Z 294); *yuna-ga-di* ‘gray’ [gravel-be/have-NOM] (Z 298); *yuwaa-ga-di* ‘flat’ [plain-be/have-NOM] (Z 298); Stative: *kaarukiti-bi keevo-wa-di* ‘mountain pennyroyal’ [moardella-ABS

mountain-on-NOM] (Z 212); *kami-naga-vi-vi keevo-wa-di* ‘groundsel, bitterweed’ [jackrabbit-ear-ABS-ABS mountain-on-NOM] (Z 212); *keevo-wa-di* ‘on the mountain’ [mountain-on-NOM] (Z 214); *mahaa-va’a-di=aka* ‘pass (through a mountain range)’ [pass-at-NOM=that.INAN] (Z 224); *miina hopaki-di* ‘mineshaft’ [mine be.a.hole-NOM] (Z 227); *motoo-bi po’o-va’a-di* ‘cinquefoil, five fingers’ [blue.larkspur-ABS water-at-NOM] (Z 231); *po’o woko-di* ‘lake’ [water big-NOM] (Z 257); *puhi-du’u-vi keevo-wa-di* ‘pine drops’ [green-pholisma-ABS mountain-on-NOM] (Z 261); *sanatso’o-vi-bi keevo-wa-di* ‘spineless horsebrush’ [goldenbush-ABS-ABS mountain-on-NOM] (Z 264); *šitui-di* ‘cold’ [be.cold-NOM] (Z 267); *tiviyahnidi-bi yuwaa-va’a-di=aka* ‘wild buckwheat’ [wild.buckwheat-ABS desert-at-NOM=that.INAN] (Z 282); *tugu-bayaa-va’a-di* ‘God’ [sky-surface-at-NOM] (Z 286); *tugu-bayaa-vi-di* ‘sky; upstairs’ [sky-surface-in-NOM] (Z 285); *wa’ada-bi-re’e-di* ‘Piute cypress’ [California.juniper-ABS-like-NOM] (Z 288); *woko-di* ‘anything big; one in an important position’ [be.big-NOM] (Z 294); Locatival: *’aaniida-vi-di* ‘Walker Basin Canyon’ [Walker.Basin.Creek-at-NOM] (Z 185); *’aga-kari-di* ‘Scodie Mountain’ [red-sit.SG-NOM] (Z 184); *’aga-nukwi-di* ‘Colorado River’ [red-run-NOM] (Z 184); *’aga-ti-(m)bi-pa’a-di* ‘Red Rock Canyon’ [red-rock-ABS-high-NOM] (Z 184); *hava-yugwi-di* ‘shaded resting place’ [shade-sit.PL-NOM] (Z 203); *hina-gari-di* ‘name of mountain’ [antelope.brush-sit.SG-NOM] (Z 205); *hina-vi-di* ‘Cameron Canyon’ [antelope.brush-at-NOM] (Z 205); *hubuwa-vi-di=aka* ‘Piute Mountain region’ [behind-at-NOM=that.INAN] (Z 207); *’iici-vi-vi-di* ‘Sand Canyon’ [squawbush-ABS-at-NOM] (Z 189); *kutuu-vi-vi-di* ‘name of hills near Tollhouse on Baker Grade Road, so called because they are covered with dark rock’ [charcoal-ABS-at-NOM] (Z 219); *kwinuuri-gari-di* ‘name of a mountain north of Tehachapi’ [yucca-sit.SG-NOM] (Z 221); *maha-va’a-di* ‘Sageland’ [weed-at-NOM] (Z 224); *maha-vi-di* ‘Sageland’ [weed-at-NOM] (Z 224); *miyi-va’a-di* ‘Upper Tollgate Canyon’ [gopher-at-NOM] (Z 229); *moho-gama-ri* ‘Soda Springs’ [bitter-taste-NOM] (Z 230); *moko-gari-di* ‘name of a place’ [granite-sit.SG-NOM] (Z 230); *moko-havi-di* ‘Jawbone Canyon’ [granite-lie.SG-NOM] (Z 230); *muruna-va’a-di* ‘name of a village at the junction of Sycamore and Caliente Creeks’ [shadscale-at-NOM] (Z 233); *muruna-vi-di* ‘Kelso Creek’ [shadscale-at-NOM] (Z 233); *’owa-vi-va’a-di* ‘lake at Monolith where salt was obtained’ [salt-ABS-at-NOM] (Z 193); *paayaa-vi-di=aka* ‘Kelso Valley Region’ [surface-at-NOM=that.INAN] (Z 251); *pa-wi’a-bi-*

*gari-di* ‘name of a mountain where live oak grows’ [water-oak-ABS-sit.SG-NOM] (Z 251); *pawiču’u-va’a-di* ‘a place on Stalf Creek’ [white.alder-at-NOM] (Z 251); *pika-va’a-di* ‘name of a flat rock’ [smooth-at-NOM] (Z 254); *saasi-va’a-di* ‘Tollgate Canyon’ [interior.scrub.oak-at-NOM] (Z 265); *sagwa-gari-di* ‘Blue Point in Jawbone Canyon where there is blue-green rock’ [blue-sit.SG-NOM] (Z 263); *sihwa-gari-di* ‘name of a mountain’ [sand-sit.SG-NOM] (Z 267); *šigaa-ga-di-ba’a-di* ‘name of a site in Kelso Valley’ [cleft-be/have-NOM-at-NOM] (Z 266); *takaa-vi-di=aka* ‘the Tehachapi area’ [flat.part-at-NOM=that.INAN] (Z 272); *taru’i-di-vi-di* ‘name of a sulphur spring on Piute Ranch’ [be.hot-NOM-at-NOM] (Z 274); *tiheshi-va’a-di* ‘name of a village site near modern Tehachapi’ [plant.sp-at-NOM] (Z 279); *tiva-kari-di* ‘name of a hill north of Monolith’ [pinyon-sit.SG-NOM] (Z 280); *tsoko-kari-di* ‘name of a mountain’ [pound-sit.SG-NOM] (Z 200); *wiya-vi-vi-di* ‘name of a place’ [mud-ABS-at-NOM] (Z 291); Event: *’ayatanii-tika-di* ‘butterfly basketry design’ [swallow.tail.butterfly-eat-NOM] (Z 188); *kosowaagi-di* ‘steam’ [steam-NOM] (Z 217); *na-vakadi* ‘bath’ [REFL-bathe-NOM] (Z 238); *nee-di* ‘wind’ [be.windy-NOM] (Z 239); *nonošši-di* ‘dream’ [dream-NOM] (Z 244); *tuuvigi-di* ‘noise’ [make.a.noise-NOM] (Z 288); *’uwa-ri* ‘rain’ [rain-NOM] (Z 195); Patient: *’ini-pi-ye’e-kwee-di* ‘nightmare’ [spirit-ABS-suffer.from-RES-NOM] (Z 192); *niwi-’abigi-di* ‘Kawaiisu language’ [person-talk.SG-NOM] (Z 242); *pa-rii-yawi-di* ‘wash, arroyo; flood’ [water-up-hold-NOM] (Z 249); *piine’e-di* ‘the remainder’ [leave-NOM] (Z 254); *tapatsa’a-ka-di* ‘patch’ [patch-RES-NOM] (Z 273); *tapazina-ka-di* ‘patched, pieced (like a quilt)’ [patch-RES-NOM] (Z 273); *tihani-ka-di* ‘jerky’ [dry.meat-RES-NOM] (Z 279)

*-ti*

be/have.NEG-NOM: *hani-pi-aa-ti* ‘silent, soundless’ [say-NOM-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 203); *hiwa-a-ti* ‘orphan’ [parent-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 205); *’iya-a-ti* ‘fearless person’ [fear-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 190); *kari-pi-aa-ti* ‘one who does not stay at home’ [sit.SG-NOM-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 212); *kina-vi-aa-ti* ‘cloudless, clear’ [cloud-ABS-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 215); *kovi-aa-ti* ‘one who has a small face’ [face-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 217); *mogowa-a-ti* ‘dull’ [edge-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 230); *muguwa-a-ti* ‘one who is senseless, crazy’ [mind-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 231); *nabi-ži-aa-ti* ‘one who has small feet’ [foot-DIM-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 235); *naga-ni-*

*aa-ti* ‘one who does not listen or obey’ [hear-NOM-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 235); *nawi-aa-ti* ‘one who is naked’ [apron-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 239); *niwia-a-ti* ‘vacant’ [body-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 242); *niya-a-ti* ‘one who is nameless’ [name-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 240); *’ohowa-a-ti* ‘not strong’ [strong-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 193); *pihi-aa-ti* ‘flat-breasted’ [breast-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 253); *piya-a-ti* ‘motherless’ [mother-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 255); *pu’i-aa-ti* ‘blind’ [eye-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 260); *pu’i-zi-aa-ti* ‘blind’ [eye-DIM-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 260); *putisii-vi-aa-ti-mi* ‘Indians from the north’ [eyebrow-ABS-be/have.NEG-NOM-PL] (Z 262); *putsugu-n-aa-ti* ‘know-nothing’ [know-NOM-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 261); *tiki’piya-a-ti* ‘fruitless, barren of fruit’ [fruit-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 279); *tugu-bi-aa-ti* ‘nothing’ [beads-ABS-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 286); *ye’e-na-waa-ti* ‘healthy’ [be.sick-NOM-be/have.NEG-NOM] (Z 296); Stative: *’i-dawi-ti* ‘that way’ [this-to-NOM] (Z 189); *miho-ti* ‘a long way, far’ [far-NOM] (Z 227); *na-vee-ti=ika* ‘half of it’ [REFL-half-NOM=this.INAN] (Z 238); *tivee-’i-dawi-ti* ‘west’ [down-this-to-NOM] (Z 281)

*-pi*

Patient: *huu-pi* ‘fart’ [fart-NOM] (Z 207); *’i’a-pi* ‘garden; any cultivated place’ [plant-NOM] (Z 191); *ka’a-pi* ‘food, prepared food; groceries’ [eat-NOM] (Z 210); *kaa-pi* ‘song’ [sing-NOM] (Z 210); *kwida-pi* ‘excrement, feces’ [defecate-NOM] (Z 221); *maha-pi* ‘clean laundry’ [wash-NOM] (Z 224); *nahna-pi* ‘old’ [grow-NOM] (Z 236); *niwi-’abigi-pi* ‘Kawaiisu language’ [people-talk.SG-NOM] (Z 242); *noo-pi* ‘something that is packed’ [pack-NOM] (Z 243); *novi-pi* ‘windbreak’ [put.bark.over-NOM] (Z 244); *pa-ra’asi-pi* ‘ice’ [water-freeze-NOM] (Z 249); *piki-pi* ‘pus; any mass of gelatinous material’ [rot-NOM] (Z 254); *pui-sa’a-pi* ‘boiled pinyon mush’ [seed-boil-NOM] (Z 262); *si’i-pi* ‘urine’ [urinate-NOM] (Z 266); *tavahi-pi* ‘burning brush’ [burn.brush-NOM] (Z 274); *tugu-bani-pi* ‘ground meal cooked and left overnight to harden’ [sky-set.down-NOM] (Z 285); *tugwiiya-pi* ‘story’ [tell.story-NOM] (Z 286); *’uwa’na-zi po’o-pi=ina* ‘pictographs’ [Rock.Baby-DIM mark-NOM=this.ANIM] (Z 195); Event: *kwidiri’i nika-pi* ‘circle or round dance’ [spin dance-NOM] (Z 221); *nika-pi* ‘dance’ [dance-NOM] (Z 241); *’ohni-pi* ‘cough’ [cough-NOM] (Z 193); *to’o-pi* ‘hole’ [be.a.hole-NOM] (Z 282); *tuwahani-pi* ‘festival, holiday; Christmas’ [celebrate.festival-NOM] (Z 288); Locative: *kaa-si’i-pi* ‘Bald Mountain’ [woodrat-urinate-NOM] (Z 213); *ma-zawaga-pi=ina*

*pogwiti-na* ‘name of a place where a grizzly bear scratched on a rock’ [IP.hand-scratch-NOM=this.ANIM grizzly.bear-OBJ] (Z 227); *paha-miniši-pi* ‘Harper Canyon, where rock containing mortar holes turned on its side’ [mortar-turn.around-NOM] (Z 248); *po-no-pi* ‘name of a mountain in Kelso Valley where people, coming for water, turned to stone’ [water-carry-NOM] (Z 259); Instrumental: *hia-pi* ‘trap’ [trap-NOM] (Z 205); *ti’niya-pi* ‘trap’ [trap-NOM] (Z 277)

### Southern Paiute

#### *-ri/-nti*

Subject: *aa’ini-kkai-nti* ‘one who is silent’ [be.silent-RES-NOM] (S 545); *ai-mi-nti-mmi* ‘those saying’ [say-USIT-NOM-PL] (S 130); *ai-n’ni-nči* ‘one who keeps saying’ [say-CONT-NOM] (S 544); *ai-nči* ‘saying, sayer’ [say-NOM] (S 130); *aŋko-vi-wini-ri* ‘dried up tree that was standing’ [dead.tree-ABS-stand-NOM] (S 549); *appii-či* ‘one who sleeps’ [sleep-NOM] (S 549); *avi-či* ‘lying down, i.e. mountain range, ridge’ [lie.SG-NOM] (S 550); *avi-mmi-mpa-či* ‘always accustomed to lie down’ [lie-USIT-USIT-NOM] (S 131); *čaŋwikka-vaa-nti* ‘destined to disappear’ [die.off-FUT-NOM] (S 698); *ittai-či-mmi* ‘sloping back’ [slope-NOM-PL] (S 557); *ivi-kka-ri-mmi* ‘those drinking’ [drink-PL-NOM-PL] (S 130); *iyaa-nti-ttui* ‘to cause to be apprehensive’ [fear-NOM-CAUS] (S 558); *kaa-ntu’i-nti* ‘something that sings’ [sing-become-NOM] (S 626); *kaa-ttui-či* ‘one who makes sing’ [sing-CAUS-NOM] (S 626); *kaiva-gari-ri* ‘peak’ [mountain-sit.SG-NOM] (S 627); *kakkari-ri* ‘one who runs away’ [run.away-NOM] (S 633); *kanni-nču-ri* ‘builder of a house’ [house-make-NOM] (S 630); *kari-ri* ‘sitter; knoll, hill, peak’ [sit.SG-NOM] (S 634); *kari-va-či* ‘who always sits’ [sit.SG-USIT-NOM] (S 131); *ko’i-ttii-ri-mmi* ‘of those who had been killed’ [kill.PL-PASS-NOM-PL] (S 638); *kukkwa-nnoo-ntsi-či* ‘little wood carrier’ [wood-carry-DIM-NOM] (S 642); *ku-pparaaga-va-či* ‘wont to pop in burning’ [IP.fire-pop-USIT-NOM] (S 607); *kwi’okki-či* ‘round and hollow, solid high ring, hollow ball, circular valley’ [be.hollow.and.round-NOM] (S 649); *maa-gari-ri* ‘brush-knoll, timbered knoll’ [brush-sit.SG-NOM] (S 562); *ma-gari-vaa-nti-mmi* ‘which will be protecting you’ [IP.hand-sit.SG-FUT-NOM-2SG.OBJ] (S 635); *mai-ttui-či* ‘spinner of the root’ [find-CAUS-NOM] (S 563); *mamarinna-ri-mwi-am aŋa* ‘they who were chasing them’ [pursue.PL-NOM-PL-3PL.ANIM.VIS 3SG.ANIM.VIS] (S 567);

*naro'o-ntu-ri* 'clothes-maker, tailor' [clothes-make-NOM] (S 583); *na-yogo-kka-nti* 'one who copulated' [REFL-have.sexual.intercourse-PAST-NOM] (S 726); *ni toogwa-nti* 'I am a fighter' [1SG.SUBJ fight-NOM] (S 695); *nokkom'mi-kka-nti* 'bent' [be.bent-RES-NOM] (S 589); *nontsi-n'ni-va-či* 'always flying around' [fly-USIT-USIT-NOM] (S 588); *oagaa-kka-ri* 'several waiting' [wait.for-PL-NOM] (S 593); *oa-n'ni-nči* 'one who spies' [spy-USIT-NOM] (S 593); *oa-ri* 'spy' [spy-NOM] (S 593); *ogo-ηkari-ri* 'fir-island' [fir-sit.SG-NOM] (S 595); *ogo-ηkari-tsi-či* 'little fir-knoll' [fir-sit-DIM-NOM] (S 595); *oogwai-va-či* 'provided with an arrow' [have.an.arrow-USIT-NOM] (S 131); *pagikkw'ai-kka-nti* 'having gone away' [go.away-RES-NOM] (S 131); *payi-ri* 'one who goes home' [return.SG-NOM] (S 609); *piči-ηki-ka-ri-mmi-aηa* 'several who engage with him' [arrive-TRANS-?-NOM-PL-3SG.ANIM.VIS] (S 614); *piči-ηki-ri-mmi-aηa* 'two who engage with him' [arrive-TRANS-NOM-PL-3SG.ANIM.VIS] (S 614); *pippiči-ri* 'he who arrives' [arrive-NOM] (S 614); *pučučugwari-ri* 'one who understands' [understand-NOM] (S 625); *sagwa-ri* 'lizard sp. of bluish color that was eaten roasted or boiled' [blue-NOM] (S 654); *sappiga-tti-ri* 'one who is overcome' [overcome-PASS-NOM] (S 653); *si'i-či* 'one who urinates' [urinate-NOM] (S 656); *si'i-kka-nti* 'one who has urinated' [urinate-RES-NOM] (S 656); *taraηkoo-vaa-nt ari* 'the (thing) from Durango, Col.' [Durango-at-NOM 3SG.INAN] (S 672); *tikka-ri* 'eating, one who eats' [eat-NOM] (S 679); *timpi-ssivavai-či* 'rock-percipientous, cliff, precipice' [rock-drop.sheer-NOM] (S 656); *tinnaa-gw'ai-či* 'one who goes out to hunt (from the house)' [hunt-MOT-NOM] (S 675); *tinnaa-kka-ri-mmi* 'hunters' [hunt-PRES-NOM-PL] (S 675); *tinnaa-tigaa-ri* 'hunting leader' [hunt-bring.about-NOM] (S 675); *tonnokki-či* 'knoll, swell in ground' [a.hill.rises-NOM] (S 692); *too'ai-mmi-nti* 'always rejecting suitors' [refuse.a.suitor-USIT-NOM] (S 691); *tugu-mpa-yiruvi-gari-ri* 'pine-covered knoll in the sky' [sky-ABS-sit-NOM] (S 695); *wa'aηi-nči* 'yeller' [yell-NOM] (S 712); *wa'augi-vaa-nti* 'destined to bark' [bark-FUT-NOM] (S 714); *winni-gari-ri* 'stand-sitting, stationed man' [stand.SG-sit.SG-NOM] (S 635); *yai-vaa-nti* 'destined to hunt' [hunt-FUT-NOM] (S 721); be/have-NOM: *atta-rakaa-ga-nti* 'sand flat' [sand-flat-be/have-NOM] (S 553); *ava'-tti nanarηkava-ga-nti* 'having big ears' [big-NOM ear.PL-be/have-NOM] (S 579); *ava-nnokkom'mi-tsi-ga-nti* 'bend of canyon that is shaded and not easily seen' [shade-bend-DIM-be/have-NOM] (S 589); *avuaa-ga-nti* 'semicircular valley' [semicircular.valley-be/have-NOM] (S

551); *čĩŋka-ga-ri* ‘rough’ [rough-be/have-NOM] (S 700); *čo’ĩŋki-gai-vaa-nti* ‘destined to be a bluejay’ [bluejay-be/have-FUT-NOM] (S 702); *kaakkaiva-ga-nti* ‘mountains-having, mountains’ [mountain.PL-be/have-NOM] (S 627); *kaakkaiva-ntsi-ga-nti* ‘those with mountains’ [mountain.PL-DIM-be/have-NOM] (S 627); *kaiva-ga-nti* ‘having a mountain’ [mountain-be/have-NOM] (S 627); *kammi-gai-va-či* ‘wont to be a jackrabbit’ [jackrabbit-be/have-USIT-NOM] (S 628); *kammi-šagwīaa-tsi-ga-nti* ‘having a jackrabbit stomach’ [jackrabbit-stomach-DIM-be/have-NOM] (S 628); *kanni-a’i-va-či* ‘no house that ever was’ [house-be/have.NEG-USIT-NOM] (S 629); *kanni-gai-kka-nti* ‘who had a house’ [house-be/have-RES-NOM] (S 629); *kanni-gai-vaa-nti* ‘going to be a house’ [house-be/have-FUT-NOM] (S 629); *kanni-gai-va-či* ‘always been a house, always having a house’ [house-be/have-USIT-NOM] (S 629); *kanni-ga-nti* ‘who has a house’ [house-be/have-NOM] (S 629); *kunna-kka-nti* ‘having fire’ [fire-be/have-NOM] (S 642); *kuna-ŋwa-gai-vaa-nti* ‘destined to have fire’ [fire-at-be/have-FUT-NOM] (S 642); *kunna-ŋwa-ga-nti* ‘containing fire’ [fire-at-be/have-NOM] (S 642); *kwīa-ga-nti* ‘grizzly bear’ [grizzly.bear-be/have-NOM] (S 648); *maa-yuaa-ga-nti* ‘brush-plain, level plain covered with timber’ [brush-plain-be/have-NOM] (S 562); *mīaa-ga-nti* ‘being a divide, divide’ [divide-be/have-NOM] (S 569); *monna-tsi-ga-nti* ‘father in law’ [son.in.law-NOM-be/have-NOM] (S 572); *nīaa-gai-va-či* ‘called, always having as name’ [name-be/have-USIT-NOM] (S 584); *nīŋwī-gai-va-či* ‘wont to be a person’ [person-be/have-USIT-NOM] (S 586); *nīŋwī-’a-ga-nti* ‘inhabitants’ [people-of-be/have-NOM] (S 586); *nīva-ga-nti* ‘snowy-mountain, name of mountain in Nevada’ [snow-be/have-NOM] (S 586); *ončogi-ga-nti* ‘with one eye lacking’ [one.eyed-be/have-NOM] (S 594); *oo-tsi-gai-va-či* ‘being wont to have a little arrow’ [arrow-DIM-be/have-USIT-NOM] (S 704); *paan’noa-ga-nti* ‘hollow’ [hollow-be/have-NOM] (S 600); *paappa-ga-nti* ‘(places) having water, springs’ [spring.PL-be/have-NOM] (S 597); *pai-mpaan’noa-ga-nti* ‘perfectly hollow (park, valley)’ [smooth-hollow-be/have-NOM] (S 599); *pai-yuaa-ga-nti* ‘level desert with no vegetation or only sagebrush’ [smooth-plain-be/have-NOM] (S 599); *pakkwan’a-gai-vaa-nti* ‘who is destined to be a toad’ [toad-be/have-FUT-NOM] (S 604); *panna-kka-ri-’ŋwa-gai-kka-nti* ‘one who has had money’ [metal-be/have-NOM-3SG.ANIM.INV-be/have-RES-NOM] (S 600); *panna-kka-ri-’ŋwa-gai-nti* ‘one who has money’ [metal-be/have-NOM-3SG.ANIM.INV-be/have-NOM] (S 600); *parugu-ga-nti* ‘prophet, one who

leads the round dance and prophesies the future’ [prophet-be/have-NOM] (S 607); *pavaan’noa-ga-nti* ‘those (countries) that have hollow valleys’ [hollow.PL-be/have-NOM] (S 600); *pikka-oaa-ga-nti* ‘having a sore back, sore-backed (horse)’ [sore-back-be/have-NOM] (S 593); *pini-kkai-kka-nti* ‘having seen’ [see-RES-be/have-NOM] (S 131); *pira-ga-nti* ‘right-handed (personal name)’ [right.side-be/have-NOM] (S 619); *po’a-ga-nti* ‘lousy’ [louse-be/have-NOM] (S 619); *poa-ga-nti* ‘having supernatural powers, medicine-man’ [supernatural.power-be/have-NOM] (S 622); *potton’ni-kka-nti* ‘round like a ball’ [round-CONT-be/have-NOM] (S 621); *sagwaga-gaičogo-ga-nti-ηwi-ηwa-nti* ‘of those who had blue-hats; blue-jays’ [be.blue-hat-be/have-NOM-PL-at-NOM] (S 628); *sarii-vuηku-gai-va-čī* ‘always owning a dog’ [dog-pet-be/have-USIT-NOM] (S 655); *sarii-tsi-gai-va-čī* ‘always being a dog’ [dog-DIM-be/have-USIT-NOM] (S 655); *sig-ga-nti* ‘crack in the rocks’ [crack-be/have-NOM] (S 657); *šii-ga-nti* ‘strong’ [strong-be/have-NOM] (S 658); *šinnarηwa-vi-ηka-nti* ‘being a coyote, inordinately amorous, (boy) who is crazy for girls, (girl) inordinately fond of boys’ [coyote-ABS-be/have-NOM] (S 660); *šinnarηwa-vi-ηkai-va-čī* ‘always being a coyote, “sissy”’ [coyote-ABS-be/have-USIT-NOM] (S 660); *takkaa-ga-nti* ‘flat (country), spread out flat’ [flat-be/have-NOM] (S 670); *tavi-ηwa-ga-nti* ‘sun-having, canyon wall (or mountain slope) that gets the sunlight’ [sun-?-be/have-NOM] (S 669); *ti’arηwaa-ga-nti* ‘mountain range’ [mountain.range-be/have-NOM] (S 673); *tikkiaa-ga-nti* ‘shaded slope (of a mountain, where the sun does not reach and the snow stays long)’ [shaded-be/have-NOM] (S 680); *timpi-nnaro’o-ηka-nti arηa* ‘the stone-clothes-haver, Iron-Clothes (mythical person)’ [stone-clothes-be/have-NOM 3SG.ANIM] (S 583); *tira-šinna’a-vi-gai-vaa-nti* ‘destined to be a desert-wolf, coyote’ [plain-wolf-ABS-be/have-FUT-NOM] (S 660); *tira-vaan’noa-ga-nti* ‘plain valley surrounded by mountains’ [desert-hollow-be/have-NOM] (S 683); *to’šša-kkaiva-ga-nti* ‘white-mountain having, having a white mountain’ [white-mountain-be/have-NOM] (S 627); *too-ppuηku-gai-vaa-nti* ‘one who will have a black horse’ [black-horse-be/have-FUT-NOM] (S 623); *too-uηwa-ppui-kka-nti* ‘having-black-clouds, black clouds’ [black-rain-cloud-be/have-NOM] (S 622); *tugu-mpa-yoaa-ga-nti* ‘being sky-plain, level sky’ [sky-ABS-plain-be/have-NOM] (S 695); *uiηwa-ga-nti* ‘canyon’ [canyon-be/have-NOM] (S 704); *ukkwioo-tsi-gai-va-čī* ‘one who has always one little arrow’ [arrow-DIM-be/have-USIT-NOM] (S 709); *uvia-ga-nti* ‘song-having, singer’ [song-be/have-NOM]

(S 708); *wa'aŋi-ga-nti* 'one who always yells' [yell-be/have-NOM] (S 712); *waččëŋwi-kku nampa-ga-nti* 'four foot-having, having four feet' [four-? foot-be/have-NOM] (S 576); *wikkonnui-kka-nti* 'circle-round' [round-be/have-NOM] (S 719); *wiwiššiaa-ga-nti-mi* 'those with feathers' [feather.PL-be/have-NOM-PL] (S 720); *yuaa-ga-nti* 'being level, desert' [level-be/have-NOM] (S 727); *yuu-ga-nti* 'fat' [fat-be/have-NOM] (S 727); Stative: *aŋka-mm'unukkwi-čë* 'red and round' [red-be.round-NOM] (S 573); *atturootsi-čë paa* 'hot water' [hot-NOM water] (S 553); *impin'i-nii-nčë* 'something raised' [be.in.a.raised.position.while.resting.on-CONT-NOM] (S 559); *kaiva-gwičuva-ri* 'mountain-peak' [mountain-be.peaked-NOM] (S 627); *kanni-agai-nti ari* 'the village, camp' [house-have-NOM 3SG.INAN] (S 630); *kiŋwaa-vaa-nti* 'at the edge' [edge-at-NOM] (S 637); *kwičuva-ri* 'mountain peak, knoll' [be.peaked-NOM] (S 650); *kwičuva-tsi-čë* 'knoll' [be.peaked-DIM-NOM] (S 650); *mukkunta-ri* 'straight' [be.straight-NOM] (S 573); *o'nokki-tsi-čë* 'small path (not a regular trail)' [there.is.a.small.path-DIM-NOM] (S 594); *onno-ttugwar-ui-nti* 'early night-becoming, early in the night' [early-dark-become-NOM] (S 594); *pa'a-nti* 'high' [high-NOM] (S 598); *pa'a-ttogo-nti* 'long' [long-NOM] (S 598); *paappa'-ttogo-nti* 'long ones' [long.PL-NOM] (S 598); *pai-ntogi-mukkunta-ri* 'perfectly straight' [smooth-just-be.straight-NOM] (S 599); *paiŋka-ri* 'smooth' [be.smooth-NOM] (S 599); *pampinni wiġaa-vaa-nti* 'on the edge of the bucket' [bucket top.edge-at-NOM] (S 719); *sogo-agai-nti* 'moist' [moist.earth-have-NOM] (S 662); *sua-rogo-mukkunta-ri* 'nearly straight' [nearly-?-straight-NOM] (S 664); *šoo-ppa'a-nti* 'very high' [very-high-NOM] (S 663); *taššippa-nti* 'at sundown, dusk, early evening' [dusk-NOM] (S 672); *tiragua-vaa-nti* 'in the middle' [middle-at-NOM] (S 683); *togi-kkwaššë-ri* 'just ripe' [just-be.ripe-NOM] (S 687); *tugwa-ru'i-nti* 'turning dark, at night' [dark-become-NOM] (S 695); *tuu-m'unukkwi-čë* 'black and round' [black-be.round-NOM] (S 573); *wa'a-ppi-agai-nti* 'cedar grove' [cedar-ABS-have-NOM] (S 711); *yuuttui-čë* 'warm (water)' [be.warm-NOM] (S 730); Event: *ai-nčë* 'saying' [say-NOM] (S 544); *ai-vaa-nti* 'will be saying' [say-FUT-NOM] (S 544); *anni-nčë* 'doing so' [do-NOM] (S 130); *aŋka-kkwišša-ri* 'lightning' [red-flash-NOM] (S 549); *avi-m'mia-ri* 'lying while moving' [lie.SG-MOT-NOM] (S 550); *ivi-čë* 'drinking' [drink-NOM] (S 556); *kaa-n'ni-nčë* 'standing around singing' [sing-CONT-NOM] (S 626); *kaa-ri* 'singing' [sing-NOM] (S 625); *kwiŋkwinnuŋkwaa-ri* 'turning around' [revolve.PL-NOM]

(S 648); *maṅwava-ri* ‘creeping’ [creep-NOM] (S 565); *na’ai-nči*, *na’ai-nti* ‘(something) burning’ [burn-NOM] (S 575); *na-gučči’a-či* ‘burning, being on fire’ [REFL-burn-NOM] (S 645); *nana’ai-nči-ni* ‘like (something) burning here and there’ [burn.PL-NOM-?] (S 576); *nia-ri* ‘blowing, wind’ [blow-NOM] (S 585); *nonnošši-či* ‘dreaming’ [dream-NOM] (S 588); *nukkwi-nti* ‘flowing, stream’ [flow-NOM] (S 130); *pa’-sororoi-či* ‘water-falling, waterfall’ [water-fall.in.a.waterfall-NOM] (S 663); *pakkaṅu-mpaa-nti* ‘going to kill, will kill’ [kill.SG-FUT-NOM] (S 130); *pa-gari-ri* ‘lake, water-sitting’ [water-sit.SG-NOM] (S 634); *piči-ṅki-ri-ni* ‘engaging with me’ [arrive.SG-TRANS-NOM-1SG] (S 614); *piči-vaa-nti* ‘being about to arrive’ [arrive.SG-FUT-NOM] (S 614); *pippiči-vaa-nti* ‘shall be arriving’ [arrive.SG-FUT-NOM] (S 614); *tača-tt’ui-nti* ‘turning summer, summer’ [summer-become-NOM] (S 672); *tagwa-ri* ‘smoking’ [smoke-NOM] (S 671); *tamma-r’ui-nti* ‘turning spring, spring’ [spring-become-NOM] (S 666); *tašši-a-nti* ‘early morning, before sunrise’ [dawn-NOM] (S 671); *tikka-ri* ‘eating, one who eats’ [eat-NOM] (S 679); *tomo-r’ui-nti* ‘commencing winter’ [winter-become-NOM] (S 685); *tsippi-ṅu-mmi-nti* ‘going out one by one’ [appear-MOM-USIT-NOM] (S 700); *туру’-nia-ri* ‘whirlwind’ [whirl-blow-NOM] (S 696); *uṅwa-ri* ‘rain’ [rain-NOM] (S 706); *yivanna-ttu’i-nti* ‘fall’ [autumn-become-NOM] (S 725); *yogo-ri* ‘copulating’ [have.sexual.intercourse-NOM] (S 726); Locative: *atta-nnokki-nti* ‘sand-stream (place name), Cottonwood Spring’ [sand-flow-NOM] (S 553); *kavaa-agai-nti* ‘(country) filled with horses’ [horse-have-NOM] (S 632); *kwičašši-vi-agai-nti* ‘(country) that has wild onions’ [wild.onion-ABS-have-NOM] (S 650); *maa-vaa-gari-ri* ‘brush-lake (place name), a spot on Kaibab Plateau considered particularly liable to be haunted by ghosts and evil spirits’ [brush-water-sit.SG-NOM] (S 562); *niva-gari-ri* ‘Pine Valley mt.[...]big mountain northeast of Flagstaff always covered with snow’ [snow-sit.SG-NOM] (S 586); *pagiu-vaa-nokki-nti* ‘fish-water-flowing, Fish-stream, Panguitch Creek’ [fish-water-flow-NOM] (S 590); *poo-agai-nti* ‘full of trails’ [trail-have-NOM] (S 619); *too-kka-ri-nokki-nti* ‘Ashe Creek’ [black-be/have-NOM-flow-NOM] (S 690); *too-ppaa-gari-ri* ‘black water-sitting, black lake (place name)’ [black-water-sit.SG-NOM] (S 690); Patient: *o-ppakki-či* ‘hole’ [IP.round.object-tear-NOM] (S 592); *o-vagi-čai-či* ‘openings’ [IP.round.object-tear-PL-NOM] (S 592); *pačča’i-kka-nti* ‘hanging’ [hang-RES-NOM] (S 608); *u-ru-kka-nti* ‘feathered arrow’ [arrow-make-RES-NOM] (S 704); *wi-’yaṅkii-n’na-ka-nti* ‘having notches

cut into (it)' [IP.knife-cut-MOM-RES-NOM] (S 722)

-*tti*

*kaču appi-ηwa'ai-tti* 'one who does not sleep' [NEG sleep-NEG-NOM] (S 549); *kaču piyaganηki-ηwai-tti-mi* 'not easily overcome' [NEG be.easy.to.overcome NEG-NOM-PL] (S 615); *kaču warigi-ηwai-tti* 'not being in need' [NEG be.in.need-NEG-NOM] (S 713); *kwittu-yogo-tti* 'anus-copulating-place, passive pederast' [buttocks-have.sexual.intercourse-NOM] (S 726); *naηkava-'ai-tti* 'having no ears' [ear-be/have.NEG-NOM] (S 579); *ni kaču yurava-ηwai'-tti-mi* 'I (am) not to be overcome in any way, I (am) very powerful' [1SG.SUBJ NEG be.overcome-NEG-NOM-PL] (S 730); *paiya-ηwai'-tti-mi-ššu* 'lots of (them)' [be.many-NEG-NOM-PL-?] (S 599)

-*vi/-mpi*

Agent: *ampaga-vi* 'one who talks' [talk-NOM] (S 546); *appi-vi* 'sleeper, one who always sleeps' [sleep.SG-NOM] (S 549); *oroηwi-mpi* 'grunter (name of horse)' [roar-NOM] (S 596); *ina-nniaa-vi* 'badger chief' [badger-call.upon-NOM] (S 560); *kaa-vi* 'singer' [sing-NOM] (S 626); *kianki-vi* 'laughter, one who always laughs' [laugh-NOM] (S 635); *nagariηki-vi* 'dodger' [dodge-NOM] (S 581); *noo-vi* 'packer' [carry.on.one's.back-NOM] (S 587); *niaa-vi* 'chief, war-leader, captain' [call.upon-NOM] (S 584); *niηwi-mmariinna-vi* 'person-chaser, sp. of lizard' [people-pursue-NOM] (S 586); *niηwi-noo-vi* 'person-carrier, mythical bird that carries people away in his talons' [people-carry.on.one's.back-NOM] (S 586); *taηa-mpi* 'kicker' [kick-NOM] (S 667); *taηa-tsin'na-vi* 'knee-joiner, bone from knee to foot' [knee-make.a.joint-NOM] (S 700); *taηa-vi* 'knee' [kick-NOM] (S 667); *tinnia-vi* 'teller' [tell-NOM] (S 675); *wa'a-mpi-mmowaragi-vi* 'cedar-berry crusher, Spermophila' [cedar.berry-NOM-crush-NOM] (S 572); *wi'i-vi* 'dancer' [dance-NOM] (S 717)

-*ppi*

Patient: *aapporušši-xwašši-ppi* 'apple-ripened, ripe apples' [apples-be.ripe-NOM] (S 550); *ia-šša'a-ppi* 'boiled corn' [plant-boil-NOM] (S 653); *iga-ppi* 'mouth-entering, bit and bridle' [enter-NOM] (S 560); *iya-ppi* '(meat) sliced for drying' [cut.meat.for.drying-NOM] (S 557); *kavaa-sa'ma-ppi* 'horse-cover, saddle blanket' [horse-spread.out-NOM] (S 653); *ko'i-ppi-a-i* 'who (plur.) had been killed' [kill.PL-NOM-?-?] (S 638); *koššo-vi-ru-ppi-a-ni* 'my cedar-bark roll prepared for starting a fire'

[tinder-ABS-make-NOM-POSS-1SG] (S 640); *kovo-kki-ppi* ‘broken (person, arrow)’ [break-MOM-NOM] (S 639); *kwašši-ppi-akka* ‘ripened-it, it (is) ripe’ [be.ripe-NOM-3SG.INAN.VIS] (S 129); *kwiča-ppi* ‘what is defecated, excrement’ [defecate-NOM] (S 650); *nanta-kkwašši-ppi* ‘“yant”-done, “yant” done in cooking’ [yant-be.ripe-NOM] (S 578); *noo-ppi* ‘carried on one’s back, pack’ [carry.on.one’s.back-NOM] (S 129); *novi-ppi* ‘bark covering’ [put.bark.over-NOM] (S 588); *ogo-ntavaššu-ppi* ‘fir-dried, dead dried-up fir tree’ [fir-dry-NOM] (S 595); *oo-ppi-ni* ‘my discharge of wind’ [break.wind-NOM-1SG] (S 704); *pi-kkwotsayai-ppi* ‘breech-clout’ [IP.buttocks-wrap.around-NOM] (S 652); *piηwa-rooηwai-ppi-ni* ‘my picked-up wife, my wife formerly another’s and rejected by him’ [wife-pick.up.cast.off.object-NOM-1SG] (S 692); *piηwa-gwii-ppi-ηwa* ‘wife-taken-his, whom he had taken as wife’ [wife-take-NOM-3SG.ANIM.INV] (S 129); *puppuččučugwa-ppi* ‘what has been learned by several, learning of several’ [know.PL-NOM] (S 625); *sa’ma-ppi* ‘spread out, cover on which something is laid or put’ [spread.out-NOM] (S 653); *sappi-ηwičča-ppi* ‘belly-wrapped, cinch’ [belly-wrap-NOM] (S 653); *si’i-ppi* ‘what is urinated, urine’ [urinate-NOM] (S 656); *tattavaššu-ppi* ‘all dry’ [dry.PL-NOM] (S 669); *tavai-kka-ppi* ‘brush-fires made (by them)’ [burn.brush-PL-NOM] (S 668); *tavaššu-ppi* ‘dried up, dry’ [dry-NOM] (S 669); *timpa-iga-ppi* ‘mouth-entering, bit and bridle’ [mouth-enter-NOM] (S 560); *tuttučua-ppi* ‘sign made (by them)’ [make.a.sign.PL-NOM] (S 696); *wi’a-kkava-kki-pi-η* ‘penis-broken (personal name)’ [penis-break-MOM-NOM-?] (S 632); *wičča-ppi* ‘tied around, band, ribbon’ [wrap.around-NOM] (S 716); be/have-NOM: *ači-gai-ppi* ‘formerly used bow, cast-away bow’ [bow-be/have-NOM] (S 554); *inniaa-gai-ppi-ni* ‘my dead relative’ [relative-be/have-NOM-1SG] (S 556); *murū’i-gai-ppi* ‘cast-away (rabbit-skin) blanket’ [blanket-be/have-NOM] (S 575); *očča-gai-ppi* ‘discarded water jug’ [water.jar-be/have-NOM] (S 596); *očča-vi-gai-ppi* ‘formerly used water jug’ [water.jar-ABS-be/have-NOM] (S 596); *ovi-gai-ppi* ‘dead wood’ [wood-be/have-NOM] (S 594); *pimpin’noa-vi-gai-ppi* ‘toad’ [toad-ABS-be/have-NOM] (S 618); *tonna-vi-ηkai-ppi* ‘one who used to be a puncher’ [punch-NOM-be/have-NOM] (S 124); *ukkwioo-gai-ppi* ‘once an arrow, discarded arrow’ [arrow-be/have-NOM] (S 709); *yivi-ntirinna-gai-ppi* ‘long-leaved pine stump that used to be’ [long.leafed.pine-butt-be/have-NOM] (S 684); Event: *kiya-ppi* ‘play, dance, round-dance, “sqaw dance”’ [have.a.round.dance-NOM] (S 636); *nanaua-ppi* ‘shinny game’

[play.shinny.PL-NOM] (S 583); *tu'un'nikka-ppi* 'scalp dance, war dance' [dance.the.scalp.dance-NOM] (S 691); *yaga-ppi* 'cry, mourning ceremony' [cry-NOM] (S 723); Stative: *aŋka-ppi* "'reddish" (name of a large spring)' [red-NOM] (S 548); *ši-ppi-vaa* 'cold water' [cold-NOM-water] (S 658); Locative: *nammi-gwavi-ŋu-pi-a-i* 'first place of camping over night' [first.lie.down-MOM-NOM-?-?] (S 646)

-na

Patient: *'aššintu'i-na-mmi* 'one whom you like' [like-NOM-2SG.OBJ] (S 553); *ai-ŋki-kkai-na* 'what (he) said to (them)' [say-TRANS-RES-NOM] (S 544); *kiča-ri'ma-ttivi-ču-kkai-nna-ni* 'blood-roast that I have asked for' [blood-roast-ask-TRANS-RES-NOM-1SG] (S 678); *kwiča-nna-ŋa* 'his defecating, excrement' [defecate-NOM-3SG.ANIM.VIS] (S 650); *mwaŋ 'ani-kka iavuru-ŋu-kkwai-na-ni* 'that one that is whom I have wounded' [that.one.VIS do-RES wound-MOM-RES-NOM-1SG] (S 125); *na'ai-ttui-kka-na-raŋwa* 'what we (incl.) burn' [burn-CAUS-RES-NOM-1PL.INCL] (S 576); *na-riŋsin'a-kkai-na* 'joined together, cane-joint' [REFL-join.together-RES-NOM] (S 684); *ni' ooppa' ani-vaa-ni imi ai-na-mi* 'I shall do as you say' [1SG.SUBJ thus do-FUT-1SG 2SG.SUBJ say-NOM-2SG.OBJ] (S 125); *nini noo-na-ni* 'my pack' [1SG.OBJ carry-NOM-1SG] (S 125); *o-ppakki-nna* 'hole' [IP.round.object-tear-NOM] (S 592); *tattavikai-nna-ni* 'which I strike several times' [hit.by.throwing.PL-RES-NOM-1SG] (S 669); *to'ooi-vi-'ora-n'n-aŋw ari* 'the bulrushes he digs (dug) up' [bulrush-ABS-dig-NOM-3SG.ANIM.INV 3SG.INAN] (S 125); *tugu-o'wi-na-kka* 'what fell from the sky... it' [sky-fall-NOM-3.INAN.VIS] (S 695); *wiŋo-o-ppakki-nna* 'vulva-hole, vagina' [vulva-IP.round.object-tear-NOM] (S 592); Event: *mamma'kkoo'-na-uvi-ttu-ppiŋai* 'sang a bear-dance song' [bear-dance-NOM-song-make-PAST] (S 564); *niŋwi-rukkwa-ttugwa-kka-nna-raŋwa* 'our going under a person, our being beaten' [person-under-to-PL-NOM-1PL.INCL] (S 125); *nonnošši-kkai-na-ni* 'what I dreamt' [dream-RES-NOM-1SG] (S 588); *nonošši-vaa-nna-ni* 'what I shall dream' [dream-FUT-NOM-1SG] (S 588); *paa-ttsippi-kkai-na* 'water coming-out, water-bubbling, Moccasin spring' [water-appear-RES-NOM] (S 701); *si'yu-gi-na* '(glass, stones, snow, ice) coming sliding' [slide-MOT-NOM] (S 658); *tava-i maŋ'wišši-na* 'sun's rising sunrise' [sun-? rise-NOM] (S 566); *tika-vaa-na-ŋw ur* 'his being about to eat, for him to eat' [eat-FUT-NOM-3SG.ANIM.INV 3SG.INAN] (S 125); *wa'aŋi-nnaa-mmi ur 'aai'ni*

*ηu-šampa* ‘but their shouting became silent’ [yell-NOM-3PL.ANIM.INV 3SG.INAN silent-become-but] (S 125)

*-ppi*

Patient: *akki-šša’a-ppi* ‘sunflower mush’ [sunflower.seed-boil-NOM] (S 551); *ivi-ppi-a-ni* ‘I (see) drink, something to drink’ [drink-NOM-POSS-1SG] (S 556); *ia-ppi* ‘corn’ [plant-NOM] (S 559); *kammi-ri’ma-ppi* ‘rabbit-roasted, roasted rabbit’ [jackrabbit-roast.under.ashes-NOM] (S 628); *kammi-uva-šša’a-ppi* ‘boiled rabbit’ [jackrabbit-soup-boil-NOM] (S 628); *kiča-ri’ma-ppi* ‘blood-roast, blood held in a paunch and roasted under ashes’ [blood.for.roasting-roast.under.ashes-NOM] (S 638); *koi’ni-vaanna-ru-ppi* ‘corn-bread, corn-cake’ [corn-bread-make-NOM] (S 639); *koššo-vi-ču-ppi* ‘something made for tinder’ [tinder-ABS-make-NOM] (S 640); *kwittu-o-ppakki-ppi* ‘buttocks-holed, anus’ [buttocks-IP.round-tear-NOM] (S 592); *paraηwara-nti’ma-ppi* ‘pumpkin-roast’ [pumpkin-roast.under.ashes-NOM] (S 607); *paraηwara-šša’a-ppi* ‘pumpkin-mush’ [pumpkin-boil-NOM] (S 607); *pootsi-gwiča-ppi* ‘star-excrement, shooting stars’ [star-defecate-NOM] (S 625); *sa’a-ppi* ‘mush, Mush (personal name)’ [boil-NOM] (S 652); *sappiga-mmi-ppi* ‘one always overcome’ [overcome-USIT-NOM] (S 653); *tavi-kka-mmi-ppi* ‘who are (were) always hit’ [hit-PRES/PAST-USIT-NOM] (S 128); *tigwiinna-ppi* ‘story’ [tell.a.story-NOM] (S 682); *tikka-vaa-ppi* ‘what shall (always) be eaten’ [eat-FUT-NOM] (S 128); *tinnia-ppi* ‘something told’ [tell-NOM] (S 675); *totsi-tti’ma-ppi* ‘roasted’ [?-roast.under.ashes-NOM] (S 673); *tugoo-ppi* ‘cached’ [put.food.away.in.cache-NOM] (S 695); *uηwa-ppui-ppi* ‘clouded-up, clouds’ [rain-cloud-NOM] (S 706); Event: *ampaga-ppi* ‘sound of talking’ [talk-NOM] (S 546); *ini-ppi-ntu-ppi* ‘ghost-making, ghost game played by children’ [evil.spirit-ABS-make-NOM] (S 560); *kaakkaa-ppi* ‘several singing’ [sing.PL-NOM] (S 626); *kaa-ppi* ‘singing’ [sing-NOM] (S 626); *kia-ηki-ppi* ‘laughter’ [laugh-ITER-NOM] (S 635); *maittui-ppi* ‘game of shooting arrows at a root’ [play.game.of.shooting.arrows-NOM] (S 563); *ma-vogoi-ppi* ‘game of making dirt-piles’ [IP.hand-make.a.pile.of.dirt-NOM] (S 621); *naaηw’aiča-ppi* ‘arrow-game’ [play.an.arrow.game-NOM] (S 580); *na-raččikkwi’i-ppi* ‘arrow-game’ [REFL-play.arrow.game-NOM] (S 672); *na-yaηwi-ppi* ‘hand game’ [REFL-carry-NOM] (S 723); *nonnošši-ppi* ‘dreams’ [dream-NOM] (S 588); *pagan’aina-ppi* ‘arrow game’ [play.arrow.game-NOM] (S 605); *wi’i-ppi* ‘dancing’ [dance-NOM] (S 717);

Locative: *na-gigi-ppi* ‘tight place between two hills’ [REFL-narrow-NOM] (S 636); *paa-nna-gigi-ppi* ‘water-narrow, spring in a tight place (willow creek between two mountains), Iron Springs’ [water-REFL-narrow-NOM] (S 636); *paga-oi-ppi* ‘Colorado river canyon’ [great.water-canyon-NOM] (S 605); *šoppaar’ua-ppi* ‘gathering-place’ [assemble-NOM] (S 665)

## Timbisha

### -ti/-nti

Subject: *hipiŋki-ntin* ‘flower, blossom’ [bloom-NOM] (Da 25); *kamma-nnuwi-tin* ‘invalid, sickly person’ [sicken-walk.around.SG-NOM] (Da 44); *kee ti-naŋka-tin* ‘be deaf’ [not APS-hear-NOM] (Da 53); *kuhma tiyaiŋki-tin* ‘widow’ [husband die.on-NOM] (Da 66); *noppitsaha-ntin* ‘bent, crooked’ [bend-NOM] (Da 157); *nukkwi-ntin* ‘train, railroad car’ [run.SG-NOM] (Da 160); *paa-(ttsi) pa-kati-tin* ‘body of water, lake, ocean’ [water-DIM water-sit.SG-NOM] (Da 176); *pinnahapi tiyaiŋki-tin* ‘widower’ [wife die.on-NOM] (Da 232); *sia-tin* ‘plant (wild)’ [grow-NOM] (Da 255); *tape punikka-tin* ‘bittern’ [sun look.at-NOM] (Da 276); *ti-ŋwini-tin* ‘cliff’ [rock-stand.SG-NOM] (Da 326); *ti-wittikwa-tin* ‘scorpion; stinging nettle; striker’ [APS-spank-NOM] (Da 337); *totoŋkwaa-(n)tin* ‘yellowjacket wasp’ [sting-NOM] (Da 298); *toya-hapi-tin* ‘mountain range, sierra’ [mountain-lie.SG-NOM] (Da 299); *toya-kati-(nnai)-tin* ‘hill’ [mountain-sit.SG-?-NOM] (Da 299); *Tsakwatan Tikka-tin* ‘Chuckwalla Eaters, Death Valley Shoshone’ [chuckwalla eat-NOM] (Da 341); *waa’e-ttsi-a teewi-tin* ‘praying mantis’ [enemy-DIM-OBJ point-NOM] (Da 374); *wainni-ha hipi-tin* ‘wino, wine drinker’ [wine-OBJ drink-NOM] (Da 376); *waya-nna tsi-ttikwa-tin* ‘fire engine’ [burn-NOM IP.pointed.instrument-strike-NOM] (Da 382); *yitsi-tin* ‘airplane’ [fly.SG-NOM] (Da 416); Stative: *iitsi’i-ntin* ‘cold place or thing’ [be.cold-NOM] (Da 369); *kwinawen naŋkwa-(tin)* ‘northward’ [north in.direction.of-NOM] (Da 66); *Kwinawe-tin* ‘Owens Valley Paiute, Mono’ [north-NOM] (Da 84); *mu-pin tawi-ntin* ‘nostril, nose perforation’ [nose-NOM be.hole-NOM] (Da 472); *nasuwai-ntin* ‘ashamed’ [be.ashamed-NOM] (Da 135); *pia-ntin* ‘big, large, thick’ [big-NOM] (Da 201); *tammaniyu-ntin* ‘barefoot’ [be.barefooted-NOM] (Da 270); *tawi-ntin* ‘hole, cave, burrow’ [be.hole-NOM] (Da 285); *tipiiŋa tawi-nnuwi-tin* ‘pineapple’ [center be.hole-go.around.SG-NOM] (Da 328); *tsawi-ntin* ‘good, nice’ [good-NOM] (Da 349); *tsuma-tin* ‘end of, last of; all gone’

[be.all.gone-NOM] (Da 362); *wikkati-tin* ‘pile, stack’ [be.a.pile-NOM] (Da 392); *yuwai-ntin* ‘warm’ [be.warm-NOM] (Da 413); be/have-NOM: *eku-ka-ntin* ‘porcupine’ [thorn-be/have-NOM] (Da 13); *ia-ηka-ntin* ‘wild’ [wild-be/have-NOM] (Da 34); *ima-ppuha-ka-ntin* ‘rain doctor’ [rain-power-be/have-NOM] (Da 370); *kahni-ka-ntin* ‘dweller, resident; housed, having a house, dwelling’ [house-be/have-NOM] (Da 40); *kasa-ttsi-ka-ntin* ‘bird’ [wing-DIM-be/have-NOM] (Da 47); *kee kuhma-ka-ntin* ‘not married, old maid’ [not husband-be/have-NOM] (Da 51); *kee mukua-ka-ntin* ‘mute, retarded’ [not mind-be/have-NOM] (Da 52); *kee pinnahapi-ka-ntin* ‘bachelor, unmarried man’ [not wife-be/have-NOM] (Da 52); *kee pui-ka-ntin* ‘blind’ [not eye-be/have-NOM] (Da 52); *kee so’o naηkawi-tin* ‘silent or quite person’ [not a.lot speak-NOM] (Da 52); *kee tsao punni-kka-ntin* ‘be blind’ [not well see-NOM] (Da 54); *kuhma-ka-ntin* ‘married (of a women), having a husband’ [husband-be/have-NOM] (Da 65); *kwitasuu-ppi-hka-ntin* ‘farther’ [fart-ABS-be/have-NOM] (Da 86); *mukua-ka-ntin* ‘sage, learned one, smart, intelligent’ [mind-be/have-NOM] (Da 109); *mukuttsi-ka-ntin* ‘diamonds (of cards); Delphinus constellation’ [diamond.shaped-be/have-NOM] (Da 110); *muttukua-ka-ntin* ‘powerful one, potentate’ [power-be/have-NOM] (Da 112); *nattusu’u-ηka-ntin* ‘doctor (medical), herbalist’ [medicine-be/have-NOM] (Da 137); *niha-ka-ntin* ‘have a name; be named, called’ [name-be/have-NOM] (Da 147); *pinnahapi-ka-ntin* ‘married (of man); having a wife’ [wife-be/have-NOM] (Da 232); *poto-ηkwa-ntin* ‘policeman, cop’ [cane-be/have-NOM] (Da 220); *puha-ka-ntin* ‘medicine man, shaman, traditional doctor’ [supernatural.power-be/have-NOM] (Da 224); *tapa-ka-ntin* ‘stud’ [testicles-be/have-NOM] (Da 275); *wia-kka-ntin* ‘gelding’ [penis-be/have-NOM] (Da 391); *Yatta-ηka-ntin* ‘Darwin area’ [creosote-be/have-NOM] (Da 406); *yuhu-ka-ntin* ‘fat (person)’ [fat-be/have-NOM] (Da 409); Event: *imaa tikka-tin* ‘breakfast’ [morning eat-NOM] (Da 35); *ima-tin* ‘rain’ [rain-NOM] (Da 370); *nikka-ntin* ‘dance, dancing’ [dance-NOM] (Da 165); *nue-tin* ‘wind, blowing’ [blow-NOM] (Da 164); *okwe-tin* ‘flowing; Panamint Valley; spring near Darwin, Armagosa Wash including Beatty’ [flow-NOM] (Da 170); *paa okwe-tin* ‘river’ [water flow-NOM] (Da 175); *soko-pi nimika-ntin* ‘earthquake’ [earth-NOM move-NOM] (Da 246); *tape(ni) tikka-tin* ‘lunch’ [noon eat-NOM] (Da 276); *tiwa-hanni-tin* ‘gathering, get-together’ [together-do-NOM] (Da 336); *tooyakai-tin* ‘thunder’ [thunder-NOM] (Da 295); *tukwanni tikka-tin* ‘dinner’ [night eat-NOM] (Da 308); *waya-ntin* ‘fire, burning’ [burn-NOM] (Da 382); *yiwittikka-*

*tin* ‘dinner, supper’ [eat.dinner-NOM] (Da 416); Locative: *itii-ntin* ‘heat, hot place’ [be.hot-NOM] (Da 373); *naha tukkwa-ntin* ‘armpit, under arm’ [arm under-NOM] (Da 119); *Oma-ka-tin* ‘Trona’ [salt-at-NOM] (Da 171); *Timpisa-kka-(tin)* ‘Death Valley’ [red.ochre-at-NOM] (Da 322); *Tokowa Kati-tin* ‘Sitting Snake area on Bear Mountain near Beatty’ [snake sit.SG-NOM] (Da 291); Patient: *tsao na-puni-tin* ‘good looking, pretty, handsome’ [good REFL-see-NOM] (Da 344)

*-tti*

Agent: *hipi-tti* ‘drinker, drunkard’ [drink-NOM] (Da 26); *hupiatiki-tti* ‘singer’ [sing-NOM] (Da 29); *naŋka-tti* ‘hearer, listener’ [hear-NOM] (Da 128); *naŋkawi-tti* ‘talker, speaker’ [talk-NOM] (Da 129); *nikka-tti* ‘dancer’ [dance-NOM] (Da 165); *nokoitsoi-tti* ‘bather, swimmer’ [swim-NOM] (Da 153); *paŋwi-yukwi-tti* ‘fisherman’ [fish-do-NOM] (Da 189); *puŋku-to’e-tti* ‘rider, horseman’ [horse-go.on-NOM] (Db 237); *titiai-tti* ‘worker’ [work-NOM] (Da 333); *tumo’i-tti* ‘write, sketcher, drawer, painter, photographer’ [mark-NOM] (Da 308); *wasiwikki-tti* ‘hunter’ [hunt-NOM] (Da 380); *yikwi-tti* ‘doer, gatherer, getter’ [do-NOM] (Da 411); Stative: *appiŋkoyo’i-tti* ‘bald-headed person’ [be.bald.headed-NOM] (Da 8); *wimmani-ttin* ‘naked’ [be.naked-NOM] (Da 394)

*-ppih*

Patient: *hanna-ttai-ppih* ‘grown’ [grow-COMPL-NOM] (Da 19); *heyokotai-ppih* ‘loose’ [loosen-COMPL-NOM] (Da 20); *hipiŋki-ppih* ‘flower, blossom’ [bloom-NOM] (Da 25); *hipi-ttai-ppih* ‘drunk’ [drink-COMPL-NOM] (Da 26); *ia-ppih* ‘crop, plantings, garden’ [plant-NOM] (Da 368); *iatua-ppih* ‘wounded, grazed, nicked, scratched’ [wound-NOM] (Da 368); *ippii-tai-ppih* ‘asleep, sound asleep’ [sleep-COMPL-NOM] (Da 372); *itii-(tai)-ppih* ‘hot, be heated up’ [be.hot-COMPL-NOM] (Da 373); *ka’a-tai-ppih* ‘broken (flexible object)’ [break-COMPL-NOM] (Da 39); *kamma-tai-ppih* ‘completely sick, gravely ill’ [be.sick-COMPL-NOM] (Da 44); *kia-ttai-ppih* ‘be out, be up’ [emerge-COMPL-NOM] (Da 75); *kimi-ttai-ppih* ‘tight’ [get.tight-COMPL-NOM] (Da 76); *kipa-tai-ppih* ‘broken (rigid object)’ [break-COMPL-NOM] (Da 77); *ko’i-ttai-ppih* ‘dead’ [die.PL-COMPL-NOM] (Da 59); *kotsa-ttai-ppih* ‘smashed, bashed in’ [get.smashed-COMPL-NOM] (Da 64); *kuhma tiyaiŋki-ppih* ‘widow’ [husband die.on-NOM] (Da 66); *kukko’i-(tai)-ppih* ‘dead from heat; too hot’ [die.from.heat.PL-

COMPL-NOM] (Da 67); *kukkwii-ppisi-ppih* ‘soot, smut, riflings’ [smoke-rot-NOM] (Da 68); *kuppia-tai-ppih* ‘cooked, done (of food cooking)’ [cook-COMPL-NOM] (Da 70); *kuttapinai-ppih* ‘lit, light(ed)’ [be.lit-NOM] (Da 72); *kuttiyai-(tai)-ppih* ‘dead from heat; too hot’ [die.from.heat.SG-COMPL-NOM] (Da 73); *kuttsiwa-(tai)-ppih* ‘dead from heat; too hot’ [die.from.heat.PL-COMPL-NOM] (Da 74); *kwasi-(ttai)-ppih* ‘ripe, ripened’ [ripen-COMPL-NOM] (Da 83); *kwayiŋki-ppih* ‘shed skin (of a snake)’ [shed.skin-NOM] (Da 83); *kwisi-ttai-ppih* ‘tangled up, entangled’ [weave-COMPL-NOM] (Da 84); *kwitaa-tai-ppih* ‘ruined, worn out’ [defecate-COMPL-NOM] (Da 85); *kwita-ppih* ‘shit, feces, excrement’ [defecate-NOM] (Da 85); *kwitasuu-ppih* ‘fart’ [fart-NOM] (Da 86); *mi’a-ttai-ppih* ‘gone, left’ [go.SG-COMPL-NOM] (Da 101); *muiyai-(tai)-ppih* ‘drunk, intoxicated’ [get.drunk-COMPL-NOM] (Da 108); *mu-pisi-ppih* ‘snot, mucus, phlegm’ [IP.nose-rot-NOM] (Da 111); *nahna-ppih* ‘grown up; eldest child’ [grow-NOM] (Da 120); *na-kuu-ppih* ‘burial; buried’ [REFL-bury-NOM] (Da 123); *na-kwaa-ttai-ppih* ‘beaten, lost’ [REFL-beat-COMPL-NOM] (Da 123); *nammeesa wommopo’a-ppih* ‘table cloth’ [table cover-NOM] (Da 124); *na-nopi-(ppih)* ‘windbreak’ [REFL-cover-NOM] (Da 131); *na-pakka-(tai)-ppih* ‘killed’ [REFL-kill.SG-COMPL-NOM] (Da 132); *na-puhaa-tai-ppih* ‘bewitched, hexed’ [REFL-bewitch-COMPL-NOM] (Da 133); *na-tsakkimi-(ttai)-ppih* ‘tight, tightened’ [REFL-tighten-COMPL-NOM] (Da 139); *na-tsattama-(tai)-ppih* ‘secure, tied tight’ [REFL-tighten-COMPL-NOM] (Da 140); *na-tsattawi-(tai)-ppih* ‘open’ [REFL-open-COMPL-NOM] (Da 140); *na-tsattima-(tai)-ppih* ‘closed, locked up’ [REFL-close-COMPL-NOM] (Da 140); *na-tusu-ppih* ‘meal, ground (stuff)’ [REFL-grind-NOM] (Da 137); *na-wasi-(ttai)-ppih* ‘killed’ [REFL-kill.PL-COMPL-NOM] (Da 142); *na-wihi-ttai-ppih* ‘spent shell casing; fired’ [REFL-shoot-COMPL-NOM] (Da 143); *na-wisiwa-ppih* ‘scab, scratch, cut’ [REFL-cut-NOM] (Da 144); *na-wisomma-(tai)-ppih* ‘bent’ [REFL-bend-COMPL-NOM] (Da 144); *na-wittama-(tai)-ppih* ‘secure, tied tight’ [REFL-secure-COMPL-NOM] (Da 144); *na-wittima-ppih* ‘closed; door, opening of a bucket or barrel’ [REFL-close-NOM] (Da 145); *no-motama-ppih* ‘bridle’ [REFL-bridle-NOM] (Da 154); *no-ppitsaha-tai-ppih* ‘bent, crooked’ [REFL-bend-COMPL-NOM] (Da 157); *okko’i-tai-ppih* ‘asleep’ [sleep-COMPL-NOM] (Da 170); *okwai-(ttai)-ppih* ‘wash-out, arroyo’ [flow-COMPL-NOM] (Da 170); *paha-(ttai)-ppih* ‘split’ [split.SG-COMPL-NOM] (Da 179); *pakia-(tai)-ppih* ‘split’ [split.PL-COMPL-NOM] (Da 184); *pakwi-ttai-ppih* ‘swollen’ [swell-COMPL-NOM]

(Da 186); *pasa-ppih* ‘dry, dried; dried meat’ [dry-NOM] (Da 194); *pasa-ttai-ppih* ‘dry, dried up, stale’ [dry-COMPL-NOM] (Da 194); *pa-tiasi-(tai)-ppih* ‘ice’ [water-freeze-COMPL-NOM] (Da 196); *patso’i-tai-ppih* ‘soaked’ [perspire-COMPL-NOM] (Da 197); *pikkwa-tai-ppih* ‘broken, shattered’ [break-COMPL-NOM] (Da 206); *pisi-ppih* ‘rot, rotten (stuff); pus’ [rot-NOM] (Da 211); *pisi-ttai-ppih* ‘rot, rotten (stuff); pus’ [rot-COMPL-NOM] (Da 211); *pinnahapi tiyaiŋki-ppih* ‘widower’ [wife die.on-NOM] (Da 232); *puhi-tikka-ppih* ‘greens, watercress’ [green-eat-NOM] (Da 225); *sii-ppih* ‘piss, urine’ [urinate-NOM] (Da 242); *sia-ttai-ppih* ‘grown (of plants only)’ [grow-COMPL-NOM] (Da 255); *sikko’i-(tai)-ppih* ‘dead from cold; feeling real cold’ [die.from.cold-COMPL-NOM] (Da 256); *somma-(tai)-ppih* ‘bent’ [bend-COMPL-NOM] (Da 247); *tamminoi-(tai)-ppih* ‘tired’ [be.tired-COMPL-NOM] (Da 271); *tiyai-(tai)-ppih* ‘dead’ [die.SG-COMPL-NOM] (Da 287); *tiasi-tai-ppih* ‘paralyzed; completely frozen’ [freeze-COMPL-NOM] (Da 314); *tiasi-ppih* ‘frozen’ [freeze-NOM] (Da 313); *tia-tai-ppih* ‘painted, tattooed’ [paint-COMPL-NOM] (Da 314); *tikka-ppih* ‘food, eatens’ [eat-NOM] (Da 317); *timu’i-ppih* ‘design; devil’s claw, cat claw’ [draw-NOM] (Da 323); *tippekie-tai-ppih* ‘full’ [get.full-COMPL-NOM] (Da 330); *ti-ppisi-ppih* ‘trash, garbage’ [APS-rot-NOM] (Da 330); *titakai-ppih* ‘born, birth’ [be.born-NOM] (Da 331); *ti-wittima-ppih* ‘door’ [APS-tie.tightly-NOM] (Da 337); *to’e-tai-ppih* ‘out, up’ [emerge-COMPL-NOM] (Da 288); *tsiatiyai-ppih* ‘starved, hungry’ [starve-NOM] (Da 352); *tsiiwatai-ppih* ‘dead’ [die.PL-NOM] (Da 363); *tsuma-tai-ppih* ‘all gone, empty’ [be.all.gone-COMPL-NOM] (Da 362); *tukkua pasa-ppih* ‘jerky, dried meat’ [meat dry-NOM] (Da 303); *tusi-ppih* ‘spit’ [spit-NOM] (Da 310); Stative: *kee tuttsaa-ppih* ‘clean, not dirty’ [not clean-NOM] (Da 53); *kittaa-ppih* ‘very, really, hard’ [hard-NOM] (Da 79); *manakwa-ppih* ‘far away, a long ways away’ [away.from-NOM] (Da 93); *oo-ppih* ‘strong, sturdy, strength’ [be.strong-NOM] (Da 172); *pa’a-ppih* ‘tall, high’ [high-NOM] (Da 176); *pia-ppih* ‘big, large, thick’ [big-NOM] (Da 201); *takukko’i-ppih* ‘thirsty’ [be.thirsty-NOM] (Da 269); Instrumental: *kapaayu no-motama-ppih* ‘bridle’ [horse REFL-bridle-NOM] (Da 46); *kapaayu no-tompe’okko-ppih* ‘horse bit’ [horse REFL-bit-NOM] (Da 46); *no-tompe’okko-ppih* ‘bit’ [REFL-bit-NOM] (Da 158); *tappattsana-ppih* ‘button, fastener’ [fasten-NOM] (Da 278); *tompe’okko-ppih* ‘bit’ [bit-NOM] (Da 293); Event: *kosoowa-ppih* ‘steam’ [be.steamy-NOM] (Da 62); *kukkwii-ppih* ‘smoke’ [smoke-NOM] (Da 68); *na-kuu-ppih* ‘burial, buried’ [REFL-

bury-NOM] (Da 123); *nasuwai-(ppih)* ‘shame’ [be.ashamed-NOM] (Da 135); *pittsu’u-ppih* ‘crash, crashing noise’ [crash-NOM] (Da 215); Locative: *Suwii Takkiina-ppih* ‘“Rock on Top of Pubic Hair” trail in Wild Rose Canyon’ [pubic.hair cover-NOM] (Da 254); *wittutuwai-ppih* ‘windebreak, shelter’ [take.shelter-NOM] (Da 400); Agent: *ti-tasattama-ppi* ‘cop, policeman’ [APS-tie.secure.with.hands-NOM] (Da 333)

*-nna*

Event: *hipi-nna* ‘to drink, drinking’ [drink-NOM] (Db 234); *hippaiya-nna* ‘shadow’ [be.shade-NOM] (Da 32); *imaa tikka-nna* ‘breakfast’ [morning eat-NOM] (Da 35); *kamma-nna* ‘sore, ache, hurt, pain, illness, sickness’ [be.sick-NOM] (Da 43); *kee ti-nan̄ka-nna* ‘be deaf’ [NEG APS-hear-NOM] (Da 53); *koŋoyoppo’e-nna* ‘lightning near by’ [lightning.near.by-NOM] (Da 60); *kuppiā-nna* ‘to cook, cooking’ [cook-NOM] (Db 234); *na-wini-nna* ‘weekday(s)’ [REFL-stand-NOM] (Da 143); *nukkwi-nna* ‘race, running’ [run-NOM] (Da 160); *paa okwe-nna* ‘river’ [water flow-NOM] (Da 175); *pia-tika-nna* ‘feast, party, picnic’ [big-eat-NOM] (Da 202); *pusikwa-nna* ‘to know, knowing’ [know-NOM] (Db 234); *tape(ni) tikka-nna* ‘lunch’ [noon eat-NOM] (Da 276); *tape-(ttsi) to’eki-nna* ‘sun up, sunrise’ [sun-DIM emerge-NOM] (Da 277); *tape-(ttsi) to’e-nna* ‘light, morning’ [sun-DIM emerge-NOM] (Da 277); *tatsiu-mpi nukkwi-nna* ‘shooting star’ [star-ABS run-NOM] (Da 282); *tikka-nna* ‘to eat, eating, meal’ [eat-NOM] (Db 234); *titiāi-nna* ‘work(ing)’ [work-NOM] (Da 332); *tukwanni tikka-nna* ‘dinner, supper’ [night eat-NOM] (Da 308); *yiwittikka-nna* ‘dinner, supper’ [eat.dinner-NOM] (Da 416); Patient: *kwayiŋki-nna* ‘shed skin (of a snake)’ [shed.skin-NOM] (Da 83); *na-’iaha-nna* ‘plants, crops’ [REFL-plant-NOM] (Da 142); *nampuni-nna* ‘footprints, tracks’ [track-NOM] (Da 126); *na-mu’iha-nna* ‘picture, drawing, painting, mark, writing, petroglyph, photo(graph)’ [REFL-draw-NOM] (Da 126); *nan̄kawī-nna* ‘speech, speaking, talking, language, words’ [talk-NOM] (Da 129); *na-tikka-nna* ‘to be eaten, edible, something to eat’ [REFL-eat-NOM] (Da 138); *noohinna na-puni-nna* ‘circus’ [something REFL-see-NOM] (Da 156); *no-tottsōa-nna* ‘ramrod’ [REFL-wipe.off-NOM] (Da 158); *sokopitta na-mu’iha-nna* ‘map’ [land REFL-draw-NOM] (Da 246); *un na-tikka-nna* ‘edible, something to eat’ [3SG.POSS REFL-eat-NOM] (Da 365); Locative: *kwita-ttawī-nna* ‘anus, asshole’ [ass-be.hole-NOM] (Da 86); *mupin tawī-nna* ‘nos-tril, nose hole for nose ring’ [nose be.hole-NOM] (Da 111); *paanni-a*

*na-timeni-nna* ‘bakery’ [bread-OBJ REFL-sell-NOM] (Da 175); *summo’a na-timeni-nna* ‘clothing store’ [clothes REFL-sell-NOM] (Da 251); *tama-nna tsonnopii-nna* ‘dentist’ [tooth-OBJ pull.PL-NOM] (Da 271); *tikkappi-ha na-timeni-nna* ‘grocery store’ [food-OBJ REFL-sell-NOM] (Da 317); *tiwa nikka-nna* ‘dance arena’ [together dance-NOM] (Da 336); *tsao na-puni-ki-nna* ‘daylight’ [good REFL-see-INCEP-NOM] (Da 344); *wisikki-a na-timeni-nna* ‘liquor store’ [whiskey-OBJ REFL-sell-NOM] (Da 385); Stative: *paho-mpi-pai-nna* ‘cigarette paper’ [tobacco-ABS-have-NOM] (Da 180); Agent: *toya-hapi-nna* ‘mountain range, sierra’ [mountain-lie-NOM] (Da 299); Instrumental: *na-wittamaha-nna* ‘tyings (to secure something)’ [REFL-secure-NOM] (Da 144); *sokopitta na-kwiha-nna* ‘map’ [land REFL-own-NOM] (Da 246)

*-ppi*

Patient: *ia-ppi* ‘crop, plantings, garden’ [plant-NOM] (Da 368); *kottsappi* ‘gravy, soup, gruel, mush’ [make.gravy-NOM] (Da 64); *tikka-ppih* ‘food’ [eat-NOM] (Da 317); Event: *naaiyaŋwi-ppi* ‘handgame, stickgame’ [play.handgame-NOM] (Da 116); *nikka-ppi* ‘dance’ [dance-NOM] (Da 165); *Tipa Nikka-ppi* ‘Pinenut Dance’ [pinenut dance-NOM] (Da 328); Locative: *tikka-ppih timeni-ppi* ‘grocery store’ [eat-NOM sell-NOM] (Da 317); *timeni-ppi* ‘store’ [sell-NOM] (Da 319); *kwita-ppi* ‘bottom, butt’ [defecate-NOM] (Da 85); Stative: *kipita-ppi* ‘long, tall’ [long-NOM] (Da 78)

## Shoshone

*-ti/-nti*

Subject: *atsa na-pui-tin* ‘ugly’ [bad REFL-see-NOM] (C 264); *hipi-tin* ‘drinker, drunk’ [drink-NOM] (C 266); *kai na-tikka-tin* ‘inedible, poisonous’ [NEG REFL-eat-NOM] (C 268); *kai pui-tin* ‘blind’ [NEG see-NOM] (C 268); *kai-sua-ntin* ‘thoughtless, dumb’ [NEG-think-NOM] (C 268); *kai-tsaan na-pui-tin* ‘ugly, looking bad’ [NEG-good REFL-see-NOM] (C 268); *nanisuntihai-tin* ‘person who prays, Christian’ [pray-NOM] (C 273); *na-pui-tin* ‘looking, appearing’ [REFL-see-NOM] (C 274); *natia sua-ntin* ‘smart, intelligent’ [very think-NOM] (C 274); *na-tikka-tin* ‘edible food’ [REFL-eat-NOM] (C 274); *natimaka-tin* ‘merchant, seller’ [sell-NOM] (C 274); *nommi’a-tin* ‘mover, person who moves’ [move-NOM] (C 276); *noo-kati-tin* ‘hill’ [hill-sit.SG-NOM] (C 276); *pahapi-tin* ‘bather, swim-

mer' [swim-NOM] (C 277); *tikai-tin* 'hunter' [hunt-NOM] (C 286); *ti-mii-tin* 'buyer, shopper' [APS-buy-NOM] (C 287); *tinihanni-tin* 'judge' [judge-NOM] (C 287); *tiniwaa-tin* 'teacher' [teach-NOM] (C 287); *tsaan na-pui-tin* 'good looking, pretty, handsome' [good REFL-see-NOM] (C 290); *tsaan ti-niyahnai-ntin* 'humorous (person), comic (by words)' [APS-make.laugh.with.words-NOM] (C 290); Stative: *kai-tsa-ntin* 'bad, no good' [NEG-good-NOM] (C 268); *kipataa-ntin* 'long, tall' [long-NOM] (C 268); *kittaa-(ntin)* 'hard' [hard-NOM] (C 268); *maniyu-ntin* 'naked' [naked-NOM] (C 271); *nanati'iya-ntin* 'dangerous' [dangerous-NOM] (C 273); *pia-ntin* 'big, large' [big-NOM] (C 279); *pitti-ntin* 'heavy' [heavy-NOM] (C 279); *tiai-tin* 'small, little' [small-NOM] (C 286); *ti'iya-ntin* 'afraid, scared' [fear-NOM] (C 286); *tisu'aimia-tin* 'mentally ill (person)' [be.mentally.ill-NOM] (C 287); *tittiha-(ntin)* 'pitiful, sad, mournful, grieving' [pitiful-NOM] (C 288); *tokai-ntin* 'right, correct' [right-NOM] (C 288); *tsaa-ntin* 'good, nice, pretty' [good-NOM] (C 290); be/have-NOM: *hupia-ka-ntin* 'singer, composer of songs' [song-be/have-NOM] (C 266); *kahni-ka-ntin* 'have a house; dwell, live' [house-be/have-NOM] (C 267); *kuittsu-ηka-ntin* 'cattleman, cattle owner' [cow-be/have-NOM] (C 269); *mutsi-ka-ntin* 'sharp-pointed' [point-be/have-NOM] (C 272); *nattahsu'u-ηka-ntin* 'one who has medicine, doctor' [medicine-be/have-NOM] (C 274); *pihyaa ti'oi-ka-ntin* 'having sugar diabetes' [sugar sickness-be/have-NOM] (C 279); *puha-ka-ntin* 'doctor; healer, medicine person, shaman' [power-be/have-NOM] (C 281); *sana-ka-ntin* 'sticky' [pitch-be/have-NOM] (C 281); *ti-mii-hkahni-ka-ntin* 'store owner' [APS-buy-house-be/have-NOM] (C 286); *ti-paika-ppi-hka-ntin* 'murderer' [APS-kill.SG-NOM-be/have-NOM] (C 287); *tipia-ka-ntin* 'land owner' [land.owned-be/have-NOM] (C 287); *yuhu-ka-ntin* 'fat, fatty' [grease-be/have-NOM] (C 295); Event: *ima-tin* 'rain' [rain-NOM] (C 265); *itii-ntin* 'heat' [be.hot-NOM] (C 265); *niai-tin* 'wind' [blow-NOM] (C 274); *okwai-tin* 'flowing; stream, creek' [flow-NOM] (C 276); *sua-ntin* 'thinking' [think-NOM] (C 283); *waihya-ntin* 'fire; burning' [burn-NOM] (C 293); Patient: *niittima-hka-ntin* 'inmate' [lock.up-RES-NOM] (C 275)

*-tti/-hti*

Stative: *aapi-htin* 'pale' [pale-NOM] (C 260); *mattipiha nanjku-htin* 'ring finger' [middle.finger.on.the.side.of-NOM] (C 271); *waha-ttin* 'two; hermaphrodite' [two-NOM] (C 293); be/have.NEG-NOM: *oo-wa-ttin* 'leg-

less' [leg-be/have.NEG-NOM] (C 131); *naiŋkwi-wa-ttin* 'earless' [ear-be/have.NEG-NOM] (C 274); *pita-wa-ttin* 'armless' [arm-be/have.NEG-NOM] (C 279); *pui-wa-ttin* 'eyeless, blind' [eye-be/have.NEG-NOM] (C 281)

*-woppih*

Agent: *taikwa-woppih* 'speaker, talker' [speak-NOM] (C 62); *nikka-woppih* 'dancer' [dance-NOM] (C 62); *tipoo-woppih* 'writer' [write-NOM] (C 62); *titiiai-woppih* 'worker' [work-NOM] (C 62); *wookka-woppih* 'worker' [work.for.wages-NOM] (C 62)

*-'V*

Agent: *akai tikka-'a* 'salmon eater' [salmon eat-NOM] (C 67); *satii tikka-'a* 'dog eaters' [dog eat-NOM] (C 67); *tipa-ttikka-'a* 'pine nut eaters' [pine.nut-eat-NOM] (C 66); Nonagent subject: *na-'kamma-'a* 'delicacy, favorite food' [REFL-taste-NOM] (C 67); *na-'kwana-'a* 'perfume' [REFL-smell-NOM] (C 67)

*-ppi/-hpi*

Patient: *aato'i-htai-ppih* 'faded' [fade-COMPL-NOM] (C 253); *hanni-ppih* 'done, made, prepared, fixed' [make-NOM] (C 140); *hipiŋki-ppih* 'flower' [bloom-NOM] (C 266); *hipi-ttai-ppih* 'completely drunk up' [drink-COMPL-NOM] (C 266); *hota-ppih* 'dug out; hole' [dig-NOM] (C 266); *ina-ppih* 'jerky' [hang.meat.to.dry-NOM] (C 55); *itii-htai-ppih* 'completely hot' [be.hot-COMPL-NOM] (C 252); *iitsi'i-htai-ppih* 'completely cold' [be.cold-COMPL-NOM] (C 252); *kia-ppih* 'emerged, come out, gone out' [emerge.PL-NOM] (C 142); *kittsu'a-ppih* 'all gone (of food), drunk up, eaten up' [consume-NOM] (C 140); *koi-ppih* 'bodies, dead people' [die.PL-NOM] (C 63); *koitsoi-ppih* 'washed' [wash-NOM] (C 140); *kotts(a)-ppih* 'pudding, gravy, gruel' [make.pudding-NOM] (C 269); *kukkwas-i-ppih* 'done, cooked' [be.done.cooking-NOM] (C 140); *kuppi'a-ppih* 'cooked' [cook-NOM] (C 140); *kwakkuhu-ppih* 'winnings' [win-NOM] (C 269); *kwasi-ppih* 'ripe' [ripen-NOM] (C 133); *kwatts(a)-ppih* 'pudding' [make.pudding-NOM] (C 55); *kwita-ppih* 'feces' [defecate-NOM] (C 54); *maka-ppih* 'given, fed' [give-NOM] (C 140); *mi'a-htai-ppih* 'left, gone away' [go-COMPL-NOM] (C 272); *mi'a-ppih* 'gone, left' [go-NOM] (C 272); *mii-ppih* 'done, gathered' [do-NOM] (C 271); *mii-ppih* 'rations, commodities' [do-NOM] (C 271); *mu-pisi-ppih* 'snot, nasal mu-

cus' [IP.nose-rot-NOM] (C 72); *na-'uttu-htai-ppih* 'given away' [REFL-give.SG-COMPL-NOM] (C 241); *na-himi-htai-ppih* 'given away' [REFL-give.PL-COMPL-NOM] (C 272); *nahna-ppih* 'grown' [grow-NOM] (C 140); *na-kittsuma-ppih* 'consumed, eaten up' [REFL-consume-NOM] (C 272); *na-ku-ppih* 'buried' [REFL-bury-NOM] (C 140); *namasua-ppih* 'clothes' [dress-NOM] (C 273); *nanakwaha-ppih* 'lost, beaten' [lose-NOM] (C 140); *naŋka-ppih* 'heard' [hear-NOM] (C 273); *na-pisa-ppih* 'made up' [REFL-put.paint.on-NOM] (C 140); *natikwina-ppih* 'story' [tell.a.story-NOM] (C 274); *natimaka-ppih* 'sold' [sell-NOM] (C 142); *na-tipaha-ppih* 'bet, wager; payment' [REFL-bet-NOM] (C 274); *na-tsattima-ppih* 'closed' [REFL-close-NOM] (C 141); *nihanni-ppih* 'discussed, decided, judged' [discuss-NOM] (C 141); *nittia-ppih* 'cursed' [curse-NOM] (C 275); *nii-ttima-ppih* 'locked' [REFL-lock.up-NOM] (C 141); *noittsi'i-ppih* 'semen, sperm' [squirt-NOM] (C 276); *nokko-ppih* 'a roast, loaf of bread' [roast-NOM] (C 55); *oosaanto'i-ppih* 'rusted, rusty' [rust-NOM] (C 276); *paa-tikka-ppih* 'watermelon' [water-eat-NOM] (C 277); *paikka-ppih* 'killed' [kill.SG-NOM] (C 141); *paikwi-ppih* 'swollen' [swell-NOM] (C 278); *paitittai-ppih* 'thrown away' [throw.away.PL-NOM] (C 143); *pasa-ppih* 'dry, dried' [dry-NOM] (C 141); *pisi-ppih* 'pus' [rot-NOM] (C 72); *pisuu-ppih* 'intestinal gas, fart' [fart-NOM] (C 63); *saa-ppih* 'boiled meat, boiled food' [boil-NOM] (C 55); *sii-ppih* 'urine' [urinate-NOM] (C 54); *sua-ppih* 'breath; mind' [breathe-NOM] (C 283); *ta'uta-ppih* 'found' [find-NOM] (C 141); *taikwa-ppih* 'spoken, said' [speak-NOM] (C 141); *tiyai-ppih* 'body, dead person' [die.SG-NOM] (C 63); *ti'ahwai-ppih* 'told' [tell-NOM] (C 141); *tiaika-ppih* 'painted, made up' [paint-NOM] (C 141); *tikka-htai-ppih* 'eaten up' [eat-COMPL-NOM] (C 286); *tikka-ppih* 'food, bread' [eat-NOM] (C 55); *tikuhanni-ppih* 'cooking, cooked food' [cook-NOM] (C 286); *ti-mapai-ppih* 'made, built, created' [APS-make-NOM] (C 286); *(ti)-matinŋka-ppih* 'finished, completed' [APS-finish-NOM] (C 140); *timii-ppih* 'bought' [buy-NOM] (C 141); *ti-noo-ppih* 'lunch, food carried for a meal' [APS-carry.on.back-NOM] (C 64); *tiŋkwisi-ppih* 'thread' [thread-NOM] (C 242); *ti-paikka-ppih* 'game someone has killed' [APS-kill.SG-NOM] (C 287); *tipa-kkwattsa-ppih* 'pine nut pudding' [pine.nut-make.pudding-NOM] (C 287); *tipoo-ppih* 'paper, letter' [write-NOM] (C 63); *tipoota-ppih* 'born' [be.born-NOM] (C 142); *titappo'ihapiŋka-ppih* 'well-worn footpath' [lay.a.footpath-NOM] (C 254); *tsattawi-ppih* 'open(ed)' [open-NOM] (C 142); *tsu'a-ppih* 'empty, all gone, no more, out of' [run.out.of-NOM]

(C 142); *tusi-ppih* ‘spit’ [spit-NOM] (C 54); *uttu-ppih* ‘given’ [give-NOM] (C 143); *wasi-ppih* ‘killed’ [kill.PL-NOM] (C 141); *wasi-ttai-ppih* ‘all killed’ [kill.PL-COMPL-NOM] (C 293); *watsiŋka-ppih* ‘lost’ [lose-NOM] (C 142); *wittai-ppih* ‘thrown away’ [throw.away-NOM] (C 142); *wippa’i-ppih* ‘spanked’ [spank-NOM] (C 142); *wippahka-ppih* ‘split’ [split.SG-NOM] (C 142); *wippako’i-ppih* ‘split’ [split.PL-NOM] (C 142); *witto’i-ppih* ‘vomit’ [vomit-NOM] (C 63); *yu’ito’i-htai-ppih* ‘weak, weakened’ [get.weak-COMPL-NOM] (C 143); Event: *ni-ai-ppih* ‘wind’ [blow-NOM] (C 54); *ohi-ppih* ‘a cold’ [cough-NOM] (C 54); *waihya-ppih* ‘fire’ [burn-NOM] (C 63); Stative: *pats’o’i-ppih* ‘wet’ [wet-NOM] (C 141); *pinnai-ppih* ‘left over’ [behind-NOM] (C 133); *tiki-ppi-nai-ppih* ‘left over (of food)’ [eat-NOM-behind-NOM] (C 134); Agent: *nisummaa-ppih* ‘humorous person, joker’ [joke-NOM] (C 275)

-*nna*

Patient: *mihin niwai-nna* ‘what you asked for’ [2DL.POSS ask-NOM] (C 12); *matiin niwini-nna* ‘what they’re saying’ [3DL.POSS say-NOM] (C 119); *sua-nna* ‘thoughts’ [think-NOM] (C 233); *sikin kamma-nna* ‘sour’ [sour taste-NOM] (C 242); *pihyaa kamma-nna* ‘sweet tasting’ [sugar taste-NOM] (C 279); *tan tikka-nna* ‘food’ [4.POSS eat-NOM] (C 285); Event: *i hipi-nna* ‘your drinking’ [2SG.POSS drink-NOM] (C 65); *isannai-nna* ‘lying, lie’ [lie-NOM] (C 267); *utiin naha-nna* ‘their doing’ [those.INV.POSS do-NOM] (C 65); *naŋkih kamma-nna* ‘earache’ [ear-hurt-NOM] (C 273); *pampi kamma-nna* ‘headache’ [head hurt-NOM] (C 241); *puŋkun kwasi na-timukku-nai-nna* ‘horsehair rope-making’ [horse tail REFL-rope-make-NOM] (C 65); *tam pia tikka-nna* ‘feast’ [4.POSS big eat-NOM] (C 66); *tan nataya-nna* ‘preliminary ritual in religious ceremony’ [4.POSS walk.in.procession-NOM] (C 66); *tan naaiyaw-i-nna* ‘handgame’ [4.POSS play.handgame-NOM] (C 66); *taman kamma-nna* ‘toothache’ [tooth hurt-NOM] (C 285); *un ti’ahkwai-nna* ‘his telling’ [that.POSS say-NOM] (C 66); *tan niwi nikka-nna* ‘Indian dance’ [4.POSS person dance-NOM] (C 66); Instrumental: *tan wi-yakai-ŋka-nna* ‘violin, stringed instrument’ [4.POSS IP.long.instrument-cry-APPL-NOM] (C 66); *tan ti-tsa-yakai-ŋka-nna* ‘piano’ [4.POSS APS-IP.grasp-cry-APPL-NOM] (C 66); Locatival: *kwita-ttai-nna* ‘anus’ [defecate-COMPL-NOM] (C 270)

## Comanche

### -ri/-ti

Subject: *ekainii-'a tihka-'ee-ti* 'anteater' [red.ant-OBJ eat-REP-NOM] (R 15); *Esi-habii-ti* 'Gray-streak, Gray-flat-lying-object' [gray-lie-NOM] (R 16); *hibi-ti* 'drunk person' [drink-NOM] (R 18); *hia-'e-ti* 'fisherman, trapper' [trap-REP-NOM] (R 22); *ke-ti-naka-ti* 'deaf, disobedient' [NEG-APS-hear-NOM] (R 28); *Ke-tokwe hina hanii-ti* 'Satan, devil (lit. not exact whatever do)' [NEG-exact what do-NOM] (R 27); *kwasinaboo wihkitsu'tsu'ika-ti* 'rattlesnake' [snake rattle-NOM] (R 37); *na-boo-ri* 'marked, striped, spotted' [REFL-write-NOM] (R 50); *natsaka'uhtu'e-ti* 'traitor, betrayer' [betray.someone-NOM] (R 60); *nipikaa-'ee-ti* 'fortune-teller, shaman' [tell.fortune-REP-NOM] (R 64); *nimi hima-'e-ti* 'policeman' [people catch-REP-NOM] (R 67); *nimi makwinuma-'e-ti* 'marijuana' [people make.dizzy-REP-NOM] (R 68); *nimi noo-'e-ti* 'bus, taxi' [people haul.away-REP-NOM] (R 68); *noo-kari-ri* 'one hill standing alone' [hill-sit-NOM] (R 66); *oha-hpi-ti siki-'kama-ti* 'lemon (lit. yellow sour-tasting)' [yellow-ABS-NOM sour-taste-NOM] (R 71); *pihna-kama-ri* 'taste sweet (have a sweet taste)' [sweet-taste-NOM] (R 81); *pihtsa-'e-ti* 'dynamite, explosive' [burst-REP-NOM] (R 90); *po'aya-'ee-ti* 'thistle (lit. many blown away)' [blow.away-REP-NOM] (R 85); *puha'ai-ti* 'shaman' [prepare.medicine-NOM] (R 86); *ti-boo hima-'ee-ti* 'postman, mailman' [APS-write take-REP-NOM] (R 128); *ti-boo-'e-ti* 'camera' [APS-write-REP-NOM] (R 128); *ti-boo-rii pia* 'female teacher' [APS-write-NOM mother] (R 128); *tiniwai-ti* 'tax collector, bill collector' [collect.money-NOM] (R 134); *tiyai-pi-ha noo-'ee-'ti* 'hearse, undertaker' [die.SG-NOM-OBJ carry-REP-NOM] (R 140); *waha-bi-sua-ti* 'undecided, doubtful' [double-ABS-think-NOM] (R 144); *wini-ri* 'standing' [stand-NOM] (R 155); be/have-NOM: *huuku-ka-ti* 'dusty (be dusty)' [dust-be/have-NOM] (R 20); *kasa-ka-ti* 'winged' [wing-be/have-NOM] (R 26); *kwii-ka-ti* 'married (of a man)' [wife-be/have-NOM] (R 39); *mia-ka-ti* 'moonlight' [moon-be/have-NOM] (R 49); *naki tooni-ka-ti* 'pierced ear' [ear hole-be/have-NOM] (R 52); *ni'inehki-ka-ti* 'belted, sash (lit. wearing something around waist)' [belt-be/have-NOM] (R 70); *oha-ahna-ka-ti* 'fox, coyote (lit. yellow under arms)' [yellow-armpit-be/have-NOM] (R 71); *ohta-ka-ti* 'earth-covered (as a cellar)' [dirt-be/have-NOM] (R 72); *oti sua-ka-ti* 'stingy (lit. think brown)' [brown mind-be/have-NOM] (R 73); *oti-hti mapo'a-*

*ka-ti* ‘brown-skinned’ [brown-NOM human.skin-be/have-NOM] (R 72); *pahtsi ba-pi-ka-ti* ‘bald (lit. smooth headed)’ [smooth head-ABS-be/have-NOM] (R 74); *pakinai-ka-ti* ‘foggy’ [fog-be/have-NOM] (R 75); *Pu’e-ka-ti* ‘Christian (lit. one who has a path)å’ [path-be/have-NOM] (R 89); *puha-ka-ti* ‘heal-all plant (acts as a stimulant)’ [power-be/have-NOM] (R 86); *sahtotsito’i-ka-ti* ‘fermented’ [foam-be/have-NOM] (R 91); *taa-hka-ti* ‘morning’ [morning-be/have-NOM] (R 99); *tosa niibai-ka-ti* ‘frost’ [white dew-be/have-NOM] (R 111); *tsa’niki-ka-ti* ‘have underwear on’ [underwear-be/have-NOM] (R 119); *wihtsabeya-ka-ti* ‘rattlesnake’ [rattle-be/have-NOM] (R 153); *yoka-ke-ti* ‘spongy, soggy, soft’ [phlegm-be/have-NOM] (R 158); Patient: *ina-ri* ‘meat jerky, jerked meat’ [jerk.meat-NOM] (R 23); *kohtsaa-ri* ‘cooked cereal, stewed food’ [stew-NOM] (R 29); *kuitsimariki-ti* ‘strangled’ [strangle-NOM] (R 30); *ma-rironii-ti* ‘braced, supported’ [IP.hand-brace-NOM] (R 43); *mupihabii-ti* ‘bent over’ [bend.over-NOM] (R 48); *na’ribomi-ti* ‘divided, broken up’ [drivide-NOM] (R 62); *panaai-ti* ‘proud’ [praise-NOM] (R 75); *pa-yi’yika-ti* ‘softened’ [water-soften-NOM] (R 78); *pia tsatua-ka-ti* ‘wide open’ [big open-RES-NOM] (R 80); *puha’ai-ti* ‘prepared medicine’ [prepare.medicine-NOM] (R 86); *puhi tiyai-ti* ‘dead grass’ [grass die.SG-NOM] (R 87); *puhka-ri* ‘burst open (as a cloud)’ [tear-NOM] (R 87); *soko boo-ki-ti* ‘title deed, deed (title to land)’ [land write-APPL-NOM] (R 93); *sutai-ti* ‘blessed’ [bless-NOM] (R 96); *taka’ai-ti* ‘duplicate (lit. make a sibling)’ [copy-NOM] (R 102); *ta-kwisa-ri* ‘loosened by foot’ [IP.foot-loosen-NOM] (R 103); *ta-si’kwai-ti* ‘torn by a foot’ [IP.foot-tear-NOM] (R 104); *tihima-ri* ‘rations’ [get.rations-NOM] (R 129); *tsaa manisu’i-ti* ‘pleased’ [please-NOM] (R 113); *tsahto’i-ti* ‘forced out, pulled up’ [bring.out.SG-NOM] (R 115); *tsikika-ti* ‘crowded into narrow place, stuck between two things’ [crowd.with.people-NOM] (R 123); *winiihkupa-ri* ‘knocked down’ [knock.down-NOM] (R 155); *wino’yai-ti* ‘stirred’ [stir-NOM] (R 155); Stative: *ai-ti* ‘bad, wicked, evil’ [bad-NOM] (R 12); *ati-ri* ‘different’ [different-NOM] (R 13); *ke-ho’yopiti* ‘healthy, whole’ [NEG-ill-NOM] (R 27); *ke-tokwe-ti* ‘deficient, not good enough’ [NEG-proper-NOM] (R 27); *nohi-tie-ti* ‘doll (lit. toy child)’ [play-little-NOM] (R 65); *paa tipinaa-ti* ‘island’ [water middle-NOM] (R 73); *pa-kwi’simi-ti* ‘filled with water by drinking’ [water-filled.up-NOM] (R 75); *puibiiti-ti* ‘sleepy’ [be.sleepy.eyed-NOM] (R 88); *pu’i-wini-ri* ‘suffer gull-bladder pain’ [gall.bladder-suffer.pain-NOM] (R 89); *tie-’ti* ‘child, little one’ [little-NOM] (R 129); *tomo-ba’a-ti* ‘sky, heavens’ [cloud-above-

NOM] (R 109); *tsuhni wiminahka-ti* ‘rheumatic’ [bone be.ill.for.long.time-NOM] (R 122); Event: *kuhtsu taibo nohii-ti* ‘rodeo (lit. cowboy play)’ [cow non.Indian play-NOM] (R 30); *natsihtoo-’e-ti* ‘double ball’ [play.lacrosse-REP-NOM] (R 61); *nie-ti* ‘wind, breeze’ [blow-NOM] (R 67); *nihka-ri* ‘powwow, dance’ [dance-NOM] (R 67); *nipika-rii* ‘funeral, burial ceremony’ [bury.someone-NOM] (R 69); *okwee-ti* ‘creek, stream, small river’ [flow-NOM] (R 72); *soko yi’yimuhku-ti* ‘earthquake’ [land quake-NOM] (R 94); *tinaka-ti* ‘hearing’ [hear-NOM] (R 134); *totsiya-ka-ti* ‘blooming’ [bloom-RES-NOM] (R 111); Instrumental: *hia-’ee-ti* ‘fish hook’ [trap-REP-NOM] (R 22);

*-hti*

be/have.NEG-NOM: *kima-wa-hti* ‘dull’ [sharpened.edge-be/have.NEG-NOM] (R 35); *mutsi-wa-hti* ‘dull (unpointed)’ [point-be/have.NEG-NOM] (R 48); *nimi-wa-hti* ‘prairie (open, uninhabited land)’ [people-be/have.NEG-NOM] (R 68); *sua-pi-wa-hti* ‘stupid, senseless’ [thought-ABS-be/have.NEG-NOM] (R 96); *tutitsaai-wa-hti* ‘clean, spotless, pure (in mind an soul, lit. without spots)’ [spot-be/have.NEG-NOM] (R 126); Stative: *pahi-hti* ‘three’ [three-NOM] (R 74); *pi-hti* ‘heavy’ [heavy-NOM] (R 90); *topo-hti* ‘round (ball-like), spherical’ [round-NOM] (R 110)

*-wapi*

Agent: *hia-wapi* ‘fisherman, trapper’ [trap-NOM] (R 22); *kabiri’a tahkoni-wapi* ‘shepherd (hired sheep lord)’ [sheep domineer-NOM] (R 24); *kohtoo-wapi* ‘fire-builder (one who builds fires)’ [make.fire-NOM] (R 29); *ni’atsi-wapi* ‘commander’ [order-NOM] (R 65); *nibawihitia-wapi* ‘baptizer (one who baptizes)’ [baptize-NOM] (R 67); *nimi-rekwaki-wapi* ‘interpreter of Comanche’ [people-interpret-NOM] (R 68); *ta’ahpi’a takwa-wapi* ‘prophet’ [? tell-NOM] (R 105); *tekwaki-wapi* ‘interpreter’ [interpret-NOM] (R 107); *tekwa-wapi* ‘speaker, spokesman’ [speak-NOM] (R 107); *tekwini-wapi* ‘a brave, Indian brave, town crier’ [announce-NOM] (R 107); *ti-bawihitia-wapi* ‘baptizer’ [APS-water-put.under-NOM] (R 127); *ti-boo-wapi* ‘male teacher (middle and high-school grades)’ [APS-write-NOM] (R 128); *ti-nipika-wapi* ‘fortune teller (person with extrasensory perception)’ [APS-tell.fortune-NOM] (R 134); *tinisuabetai-wapi* ‘teacher’ [teach-NOM] (R 134); *ti-noo-wapi* ‘pack-animal leader’ [APS-carry-NOM] (R 135); *tiri’ai-wapi* ‘workman’ [work-NOM] (R 137); *turua-wapi* ‘hen, laying hen (as

leghorn)’ [bear.offspring-NOM] (R 125); *tuu-wapi* ‘water boy’ [draw.water-NOM] (R 126)

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Instrumental: *animui wihtokwe’a-* ‘flyswatter (lit. thing with which to hit and kill flies)’ [fly kill-NOM] (R 12); *awo-matsuma-* ‘teatowel, dish-towel, towel’ [cup-wipe-NOM] (R 14); *huu na-tsihtu’ye-* ‘wooden comb’ [wood REFL-comb-NOM] (R 21); *huu-na-ro’i-* ‘ladder, stairs’ [wood-REFL-appear.PL-NOM] (R 21); *hiari-* ‘trap’ [trap-NOM] (R 22); *kawohwi-* ‘bell’ [ring-NOM] (R 26); *kobe nabo-* ‘camera (lit. face marking)’ [face write-NOM] (R 28); *matsuma-* ‘cloth (piece of fabric)’ [wipe-NOM] (R 44); *mo’o ri-boo-* ‘typewriter (lit. hand writer)’ [hand APS-write-NOM] (R 46); *na-boo-* ‘pencil, marking instrument’ [REFL-write-NOM] (R 50); *na-buni-* ‘mirror, looking glass’ [REFL-see-NOM] (R 50); *na-mo’o matsuma-* ‘napkin’ [?-hand wipe-NOM] (R 54); *natsaweni-* ‘hanger, hook’ [hang-NOM] (R 60); *natsihpe’aka-* ‘hair-parter (wooden artifact used by Comanches to part hair)’ [part.hair-NOM] (R 61); *natsihtu’ye-* ‘comb, hair-brush’ [comb.hair-NOM] (R 61); *na-tsi-wekwa-* ‘spur’ [REFL-IP.point-jab-NOM] (R 61); *nohi-* ‘plaything, toy’ [play-NOM] (R 65); *puhi yikwiti-* ‘hoe (implement)’ [hoe-NOM] (R 87); *tirawina-* ‘tent pin, stake, nail’ [stake-NOM] (R 136); *tirayu’ne-* ‘wooden pestle (made of hardwood tree knot, used for pounding meat or corn)’ [pound.meat-NOM] (R 136); *tirohtsani-i-* ‘clothesline’ [hang-REAL-NOM] (R 136); Agent: *awo-no’o-* ‘armadillo (lit. carries its own container)’ [cup-carry-NOM] (R 14); *ebi-muura ya’ke-* ‘bullfrog (lit. gray mule that cries)’ [gray-mule cry-NOM] (R 14); *ku’e woo-* ‘dove, pigeon (lit. top moaning, moaning on top)’ [top moan-NOM] (R 33); *ma-yake-* ‘piano’ [IP.hand-cry-NOM] (R 45); *noyika-* ‘roamer, vagabond’ [wander-NOM] (R 66); *pekwi tihka-* ‘kingfisher’ [fish eat-NOM] (R 79); *ta-’si’woo’-* ‘buffalo’ [IP.foot-paw.earth-NOM] (R 106); *yitsi-* ‘airplane’ [fly.SG-NOM] (R 160); Patient: *akwari-* ‘belch, burp’ [belch-NOM] (R 12); *eka-yi’yi’ka-* ‘jelly (lit. quivering red [substance])’ [red-soften-NOM] (R 15); *kohtsaa-* ‘cooked cereal, stewed food’ [stew-NOM] (R 29); *na-rihka-* ‘groceries’ [REFL-eat-NOM] (R 58); *na-tsohkwe-* ‘mesquite’ [REFL-pound.fine-NOM] (R 61); Locatival: *eka-narimii-* ‘red store, trading post (type of store for Indians in earlier years)’ [red-trade-NOM] (R 14); *huu-na-kari-* ‘wooden bench’ [wood-REFL-sit-NOM] (R 21); *huu-narimii-* ‘lumberyard (lit. wood store)’ [wood-trade-NOM] (R

21); *narimii-* ‘town, store’ [trade-NOM] (R 58); Event: *awo-nohi-* ‘dice game’ [cup-play-NOM] (R 13); *pahtsi okwe-* ‘clear stream (lit. clean-flowing; spring-fed stream)’ [smooth flow-NOM] (R 74)

*-pi/-hpi*

Patient: *aawisi-pi* ‘braid’ [braid-NOM] (R 11); *arika rikha-pi* ‘deer meat, deer food’ [deer eat-NOM] (R 13); *atakwa’si’ai-pi* ‘quick-dried corn, roasted corn’ [roast.corn-NOM] (R 13); *eko-tiyai-pi* ‘tongue-tied person’ [tongue-die.SG-NOM] (R 16); *esi ina-pi* ‘dried meat, jerky (very dry)’ [gray jerk.meat-NOM] (R 16); *haitsi ihtai-pi* ‘former friend (lit. thrown away; one who is no longer a friend)’ [same.sex.friend throw.away-NOM] (R 17); *hani-kotsa-pi* ‘cornmeal mush’ [corn-cook-NOM] (R 18); *hani-nooko-pi* ‘corn bread’ [corn-bake-NOM] (R 18); *hani-pi* ‘prepared food’ [make-NOM] (R 18); *hani-tusu-pi* ‘ground corn, cornmeal’ [corn-grind-NOM] (R 18); *hibi-pi* ‘drunk person, intoxicated person’ [drink-NOM] (R 18); *hooki tihtima-pi* ‘hog-pen fence’ [hog fence-NOM] (R 19); *humasia-pi* ‘domestic tree’ [tree-raise.garden.plant-NOM] (R 20); *huutsu’a tiahka-pi* ‘sumac (lit. bird food)’ [bird eat-NOM] (R 21); *huu-tusu-pi* ‘sawdust’ [wood-grind-NOM] (R 21); *ina-pi* ‘jerky, jerked meat’ [jerk.meat-NOM] (R 23); *kabirii tihka-pi* ‘mutton (lit. sheep meat)’ [sheep eat-NOM] (R 24); *kahni tibana ri-boo-pi* ‘wallpaper’ [house wall APS-write-NOM] (R 25); *kahni ti-boo-pi* ‘wallpaper’ [house APS-write-NOM] (R 25); *kohpa-pi* ‘broken object’ [break.up-NOM] (R 28); *kohtsa-pi* ‘cooked cereal, stewed food’ [stew-NOM] (R 29); *kooi-pi* ‘dead person’ [die.PL-NOM] (R 29); *ku’e tsasima-pi* ‘scalp (war trophy)’ [scalp-NOM] (R 33); *ku’ina-pi* ‘roasted meat (possibly jerked)’ [roast.meat-NOM] (R 33); *kukime-pi* ‘parched corn, toasted maize’ [parch.corn-NOM] (R 31); *kutihora-pi* ‘fireplace, hearth, fire hole’ [dig.fire.hole-NOM] (R 32); *kuu-pi* ‘cache (food stored by animals or birds)’ [cache-NOM] (R 32); *kwasi taiboo’a tika-pi* ‘coconut (lit. monkey food)’ [tail non.Indian eat-NOM] (R 37); *kwasiki-pi* ‘cooked food’ [roast.food-NOM] (R 37); *kwasinaboo’a tiahka-pi* ‘tomato, arch. goat rue (lit. snake food)’ [snake eat-NOM] (R 37); *kwinuma-pi* ‘drunk, intoxicated person’ [make.dizzy-NOM] (R 38); *kwih-pi* ‘captive’ [arrest-NOM] (R 39); *masia-pi* ‘home-grown garden product’ [raise.garden.product-NOM] (R 44); *mia-ri-boo-pi* ‘calendar (lit. month paper)’ [month-APS-write-NOM] (R 49); *moo-tekwo-pi* ‘sign language (lit. hand talk)’ [hand-talk-NOM] (R 46); *mubi po’roo rika-pi* ‘pork (lit. pig

meat) [pig eat-NOM] (R 46); *mubohtohki-pi* 'bubble, balloon' [inflate-NOM] (R 47); *na-binai ti-boo-pi* 'deed or title to land' [REFL-choose APS-write-NOM] (R 49); *na-bika-pi* 'grave, burial mound' [REFL-bury-NOM] (R 50); *na-boo-pi* 'picture' [REFL-write-NOM] (R 50); *na-hora-pi* 'hole dug by man' [REFL-dig.a.hole-NOM] (R 51); *na-koo'i-pi* 'pieces (anything cut into pieces, as dried fruit or nuts)' [REFL-cut-NOM] (R 52); *na-ma-hkia-pi* 'cut on hand' [REFL-IP.hand-cut-NOM] (R 53); *namisi buhi-hwi tekwa-pi* 'telegram (quick money word)' [quick money say-NOM] (R 54); *namisoa-pi* 'clothing, apparel' [change.clothes-NOM] (R 54); *na-naarimu'i ti-boo-pi* 'story-book' [REFL-tell.story APS-write-NOM] (R 54); *na-naki-tona-pi* 'pierced ear (lit. pierced through)' [REFL-ear-pierce-NOM] (R 55); *nana-puni-pi* 'footprint' [REFL.PL-see-NOM] (R 55); *na-ra-hki'a-pi* 'a cut on foot, foot wound' [REFL-IP.foot-cut-NOM] (R 56); *na-ra-hpuni-pi* 'footwear tried on, attempt (anything)' [REFL-IP.foot-see-NOM] (R 57); *na-ra-puni-pi* 'footprint' [REFL-IP.foot-see-NOM] (R 57); *na-rihka-pi* 'partly eaten food' [REFL-eat-NOM] (R 58); *narikuyuni ri-boo-pi* 'history (lit. story on paper)' [story APS-write-NOM] (R 58); *narimu'i ti-boo-pi* 'newspaper, storybook' [story APS-write-NOM] (R 58); *narimu'i-pi* 'story, tale' [tell.story-NOM] (R 58); *na-saa-pi* 'boiled food' [REFL-boil-NOM] (R 58); *nasupeti-pi* 'faithful person, dependable person' [hope.in-NOM] (R 59); *nasuwatsi-pi* 'fogotten' [lose-NOM] (R 59); *na-tsahki'a-pi* 'cut, gash' [REFL-cut-NOM] (R 59); *nimi kutsu tihka-pi* 'buffalo meat' [people cow eat-NOM] (R 68); *nimi nohko-pi* 'Indian corncake, biscuit' [people bake.biscuits-NOM] (R 68); *nimi ribora-pi* 'present generation' [people procreate-NOM] (R 69); *nipika-pi* 'grave, graveyard' [bury-NOM] (R 69); *nohko-pi* 'biscuit' [bake.biscuits-NOM] (R 65); *noo-pi* 'load' [haul.away-NOM] (R 66); *norina-pi* 'bed (made up with linens)' [make.a.bed-NOM] (R 66); *oha-htihka-pi* 'domestic carrot' [yellow-eat-NOM] (R 71); *oti nohko-pi* 'cookies (lit. brown biscuits)' [brown bake.biscuits-NOM] (R 73); *pa-hora-pi* 'water well, well' [water-dig-NOM] (R 74); *pahtsi kwasi tika-hpi* 'mulberries (lit. opossum food)' [smooth tail eat-NOM] (R 74); *papisi-pi* 'rotten' [rot-NOM] (R 75); *pasa-pi* 'dry object' [dry.off-NOM] (R 77); *patowo'ne-pi* 'eroded soil' [wash.out-NOM] (R 77); *pa-wihtima-pi* 'dam (lit. water banked up)' [water-bank.up-NOM] (R 77); *pekwi-pi* 'swollen' [swell-NOM] (R 79); *peti toya-pi* 'adopted daughter (lit. daughter to carry)' [daughter carry.in.arms-NOM] (R 79); *peti-boo-pi* 'adopted daughter' [daughter-APS-write-NOM] (R 79); *pihisi'a-pi* 'cowardly, piker

(lit. heart-chipped-off) [heart-chip.off-NOM] (R 80); *pimoroo'a tiyi'wi-pi* 'cow's cud' [cow swallow-NOM] (R 82); *pihtsa-pi* 'broken, burst, blown out (as a tire)' [burst-NOM] (R 89); *pokopi masia-pi* 'orchard, garden' [berries raise.garden.product-NOM] (R 85); *poma-pi* 'picked berries, harvested crop, produce' [pick.fruit-NOM] (R 85); *po'ro tihka-pi* 'pork' [pig eat-NOM] (R 85); *po'ro tihtima-pi* 'fence of hog pen' [pig fence-NOM] (R 85); *Puha ri-boo-pi* 'Bible (lit. holy writings)' [power APS-write-NOM] (R 86); *puhi koo'i-pi* 'dead grass (burned by the sun)' [leaf die.PL-NOM] (R 86); *puhi tihka-pi* 'lettuce (lit. leaf food)' [leaf eat-NOM] (R 87); *puhwhi ti-boo-pi* 'check, bank draft (for transfer of money)' [money APS-write-NOM] (R 87); *puhka-pi* 'ripped, torn' [tear-NOM] (R 87); *saa-pi* 'boiled meat' [boil-NOM] (R 91); *sii-pi* 'urine' [urinate-NOM] (R 93); *sikwe tiyai-pi* 'paralyzed person' [nerves die.SG-NOM] (R 97); *soko na-boo-pi* 'map (lit. land picture)' [land REFL-write-NOM] (R 93); *soko ri-boo-pi* 'geography, map' [land APS-write-NOM] (R 93); *soko rimanahke-pi* 'quarter section' [land measure-NOM] (R 93); *soko tsihka'a-pi* 'quarter-section of land' [land cut.off-NOM] (R 94); *soni tihtima-pi* 'fenced pasture' [grass fence-NOM] (R 94); *soni wihtima-pi* 'pasture, feeding lot (around haystack)' [grass fence-NOM] (R 94); *taa-rihka-pi* 'pancakes, cereal' [morning-eat-NOM] (R 99); *tahpa-pi* 'broken object (as a dish or glass)' [crack-NOM] (R 100); *takwikakwo'a-pi* 'wrinkled all over' [wrinkle-NOM] (R 103); *ta'siwoo rihka-pi* 'buffalo meat' [buffalo eat-NOM] (R 106); *tekwa-pi* 'word, speech' [speak-NOM] (R 107); *tekwa-pi ri-boo-pi* 'grammar (lit. words on paper)' [speak-NOM APS-write-NOM] (R 107); *tibanaa ri-bo-pi* 'wallpaper' [wall APS-write-NOM] (R 127); *tibehka-pi* 'animal killed or butchered for food' [butcher.SG-NOM] (R 127); *tibitsi basa-pi* 'dried, dry' [really dry-NOM] (R 127); *ti-boo-pi* 'letter, paper' [APS-write-NOM] (R 128); *tihka-pi* 'meat, food' [eat-NOM] (R 129); *tihtima-pi* 'fence' [fence-NOM] (R 140); *tikariki-pi* 'cloth patch, stewed food' [patch-NOM] (R 130); *tiki mani-pi* 'meal (prepared food)' [food make-NOM] (R 131); *tiki noo-pi* 'lunch (food carried along)' [food carry-NOM] (R 131); *tiki timii-pi* 'groceries, store-bought food' [food trade-NOM] (R 131); *tiki tusu-pi* 'sausage, ground food of any type' [food grind-NOM] (R 131); *tiki wesi-pi* 'crumbs, scraps (leftovers after a meal)' [food burn-NOM] (R 131); *ti-ko-hpoo-pi* 'brand' [APS-heat-write-NOM] (R 130); *tikwusiki-pi* 'roasted meat' [roast.meat-NOM] (R 132); *timisia-pi* 'garden crop, garden product' [plant-NOM] (R

134); *ti-noo-pi* ‘pack for an animal (loaded and ready to go)’ [APS-carry-NOM] (R 135); *tirahya-pi* ‘meatball’ [prepare.meatballs-NOM] (R 136); *tirana’i-pi* ‘marrow (cooked out from bones)’ [cook.out.marrow-NOM] (R 136); *tirayu’ne-pi* ‘pounded meat’ [pound.meat-NOM] (R 136); *tirina-pi* ‘planted crops’ [plant-NOM] (R 137); *tiro-htima-pi* ‘canned food’ [lid-open.by.punching-NOM] (R 137); *tiro-pisa-pi* ‘beadwork’ [bead-NOM] (R 137); *tiso’i-pi* ‘tanned hide’ [tan.a.hide-NOM] (R 138); *ti-tsihpomi’i-pi* ‘object cut into pieces’ [APS-cut.up.into.pieces.PL-NOM] (R 139); *tiyai-pi* ‘corpse, dead body’ [die.SG-NOM] (R 140); *tohtia’ rihka-pi* ‘Communion (sacrament), Mass (sacrament)’ [bread eat-NOM] (R 108); *tohtima-pi* ‘closed off, stopped up’ [stop.flow-NOM] (R 109); *tsoa narimu’i-pi* ‘gospel, good news’ [good tell.story-NOM] (R 113); *tso’me-pi* ‘harvest (picked or gathered items)’ [gather-NOM] (R 122); *tua boo-pi* ‘adopted son’ [son write-NOM] (R 123); *tuhhu rihka-pi* ‘bone marrow’ [bone eat-NOM] (R 123); *tusi-pi* ‘saliva’ [spit-NOM] (R 125); *tusu-pi* ‘pulverized or grated object, grounds’ [grind-NOM] (R 126); *tuu-pi* ‘water (in container, having been brought in)’ [draw.water-NOM] (R 126); *wasape-’a tihka-pi* ‘pear’ [bear-OBJ eat-NOM] (R 146); *wihturu’ai-pi* ‘windbreak’ [make.a.windbreak-NOM] (R 154); *wiyumi’i-pi* ‘flailed material (as fruit or nuts knocked from tree)’ [flail.PL-NOM] (R 156); *wo’a-rihka-pi* ‘rice (lit. worm food, because of resemblance to larvae)’ [worm-eat-NOM] (R 150); *yaa-pi* ‘object or item taken’ [take-NOM] (R 157); *yuhu nohko-pi* ‘fried bread, frybread’ [grease make.bread-NOM] (R 158); *yuhu riki-hmani-pi* ‘fried meat, meat’ [grease meat-make-NOM] (R 158); Event: *hi’nii-pi* ‘hiccough’ [hiccough-NOM] (R 23); *ima-pi* ‘rain’ [rain-NOM] (R 143); *muhrai-pi* ‘kiss’ [kiss-NOM] (R 47); *nabusi’ai-pi* ‘dream’ [dream-NOM] (R 50); *naha-pi* ‘happening, event’ [happen-NOM] (R 50); *sibe-pi* ‘shaving, scraping’ [shave-NOM] (R 93); *tabe rihka-pi* ‘dinner, lunch’ [sun eat-NOM] (R 99); *ti-bekwi-pi* ‘mumps’ [APS-swell-NOM] (R 127); *tiri’ai-pi* ‘work’ [work-NOM] (R 137); *tisu’atsi-pi* ‘judicial power, power, authority’ [have.authority-NOM] (R 138); Agent: *kaanatsaka’uhtu-pi* ‘one who betrays’ [betray-NOM] (R 24); *kwahisia-pi* ‘covetous person’ [covet-NOM] (R 37); *tsihhabihkama-pi* ‘menopausal woman’ [menstruate-NOM] (R 120); Stative: *ke-makima-pi* ‘dulled edge, dulled’ [NEG-sharp-NOM] (R 27); Instrumental: *puhhiwi tekwa-pi* ‘telephone (lit. money talk)’ [money talk-NOM] (R 87)

*-na*

Patient: *kamaki-na* ‘loved one, beloved’ [love-NOM] (R 26); *nimaihka-na* ‘called one’ [call.to.someone-NOM] (R 64); *noo-na* ‘load’ [haul.away-NOM] (R 66); *suahke-na* ‘breath’ [breathe-NOM] (R 95); *tihima-na* ‘rations’ [get.rations-NOM] (R 129); *tihka-’e-na* ‘food’ [eat-REP-NOM] (R 129); *tokwisuaki-na* ‘belief, faith’ [believe-NOM] (R 109); Event: *ebi wimi-na* ‘influenza, flu (lit. blue illness)’ [blue bear.pain-NOM] (R 14); *nie-na* ‘wind’ [blow-NOM] (R 67); *nihka-na* ‘powwow, dance’ [dance-NOM] (R 67); *yahne-na* ‘laughter’ [laugh-NOM] (R 157); Locative: *piki-ra nohko-’e-na* ‘oven (lit. place in which one bakes biscuits)’ [place-POSS bake.biscuits-REP-NOM] (R 90); *piki-ra yikwi-’e-na* ‘parlor, livingroom (lit. place in which to sit)’ [place-POSS say.SG-REP-NOM] (R 90)

**Mono**

*-di*

Subject: *hubia-du-di* ‘the one who is singing’ [song-make-NOM] (N 256); *miya-di* ‘one who is going, one who went’ [go.SG-NOM] (Lb 171); *nagii-di* ‘bitten one’ [REFL-bite-NOM] (N 52); *pahabi-di* ‘a swimming person or thing’ [swim-NOM] (N 52); *tika-di* ‘one who is eating, one who ate’ [eat-NOM] (Lb 171); *tiwayanigi-di* ‘those who work’ [work-NOM] (N 282); *yotsi-di* ‘airplane’ [fly-NOM] (N 52); Stative: *idi-di* ‘hottest one’ [hot-NOM] (N 118); *padatsiga-di* ‘shiny thing’ [shine-NOM] (N 52); *tipusudugi-di* ‘tunnel, hole’ [be.a.hole-NOM] (B 186) Event: *nazitaya-di* ‘breast-cooking ceremony’ [milk.flow-NOM] (B 85); *pa-huu-di* ‘river, stream’ [water-flow-NOM] (La 25); *patsibuhi-di* ‘mourning ceremony; annual mourning anniversary’ [climb.out-NOM] (B 112); *tibizi-huu-di* ‘big river; San Joaquin river’ [important-flow-NOM] (B 177);

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Agent: *kwiza-bi-dika-ti* ‘Mono Lake Paiute’ [brine.fly.larvae-ABS-eat-NOM] (B 51); *miya-wai-ti* ‘one who intends to go soon’ [go-FUT-NOM] (Lb 171); *pahabi-ti* ‘swimmer’ [swim-NOM] (N 52); *poyoha-ti* ‘racer’ [run-NOM] (N 52); *siyee-ti* ‘one who gets scared customarily, coward’ [be.afraid-NOM] (La 77); *ti-boo-ti* ‘barber’ [APS-cut.hair-NOM] (La 59, B 177); *ti-buhaawi-ti* ‘doctor, curer’ [APS-treat-NOM] (B 178); *ti-dana-ti* ‘stinging nettle’ [APS-sting-NOM] (B 179); *tihoo-wi-ti* ‘diggers, grave dig-

gers' [dig-NOM] (B 182); *tī-boŋŋo-tī* 'barber' [APS-shear-NOM] (N 52); *tī-siba-tī* 'barber, shaver, one who shaves' [APS-shave-NOM] (B 186); *tī-wīi-tī* 'sheriff' [APS-catch-NOM] (Lb 170); *yaduha-tī* 'office speaker, announcer, speaker' [speak-NOM] (B 248); *yotsi-tī* 'a flier; a pilot' [fly-NOM] (N 52, B 252); Stative: *Aposowa-dobo-maa-tī* 'Manzanita Hill' [manzanita-hill-LOC-NOM] (B 6); *kwiwī-wīi-tī* 'from the north' [north-at-NOM] (N 57); *mi'i-tī* 'those of nowadays, contemporaries' [nowadays-NOM] (La 38); *Mutsi-pi-wee-tī* '(at the) recreation center in South Fork' [flea-ABS-LOC-NOM] (B 67); *'unapaa-tī* 'he who/that which is on the other side; Auberry Mono' [on.the.other.side-NOM] (Lb 171); *nobi-wee-tī* 'one who/that which is in the house' [house-LOC-NOM] (Lb 171); *pa-naŋa-tī* 'a westerner' [west-from-NOM] (N 56); *Pihadagi-wee-tī* 'Soda Springs' [be.sweet-LOC-NOM] (B 118); *tunaapaa-tī* 'straight (one)' [straight-NOM] (B 220); *yaba-tī'i-wee-tī* 'White Oak Grove' [white.oak.tree-?-LOC-NOM] (B 249)

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Subject: *aagai-tika-* 'Shurz Indians' [salmon-eat-NOM] (N 53); *kwidza-dika-* 'Mono Lake Paiute: "larvae-eaters"' [brine.fly.pupae-eat-NOM] (La 87); *noqaba-* 'thief' [steal-NOM] (La 46, B 94); *pakwi-dika-* 'crane: "fish-eater"' [fish-eat-NOM] (La 87); *qosso-noo-* 'automobile, railroad train: "fire-hauler"' [fire-carry-NOM] (La 65); *tika-* 'one who eats a lot' [eat-NOM] (N 53); *tī-niwaa-* 'teacher' [APS-teach-NOM] (N 35); Nonagent subject: *sikkibada-* 'perch' [flat-NOM] (La 73); Locative: *pitsi-* 'breast, milk' [suckle-NOM] (La 55); *tabiha-* 'morning star' [get.light-NOM] (La 61)

-*pi*

Patient: *i-hoba-sawa-pi* 'soup I cooked' [1SG.POSS-soup-cook-NOM] (N 55); *i-na-waga-pi* 'gossip about me' [1SG.POSS-REFL-tell-NOM] (N 55); *kwida-pi* 'excrement' [defecate-NOM] (La 35); *kwida-pi* 'feces' [defecate-NOM] (B 50); *muu'atsi-yee-pi* 'something has become old; Mount Tom' [old-become-NOM] (B 67); *naa-pi* 'log, timber' [grow-NOM] (La 42); *nana-naa-pi* 'elders, older people' [PL-REFL-grow-NOM] (B 76); *nasukwai-pi* 'private parts, genitalia (male or female)' [be.ashamed-NOM] (B 80); *sii-pi* 'urine' [urinate-NOM] (Lb 166); *tuhi-pi* 'spittle' [spit-NOM] (Lb 166); *yaba-pi* 'tears; wax (of ears); sap (of tree)' [cry-NOM] (La 28); *yaba-pi* 'tears; ear wax, tree sap' [cry-NOM] (B 249); Stative: *piditi-pi* 'young/new

object/being' [just.beginning.to-NOM] (La 62); *tsikwida-pi* 'person (or animal) with a great deal of stamina or endurance' [with.effort-NOM] (La 16); *tsikwida-pi* 'person with much stamina, fast (one)' [be.great.effort-NOM] (B 216); Subject: *pannee-wini-pi* 'sugar pine' [sugar-stand.SG-NOM] (La 50); *qonno-pi* 'hood of basket-cradle' [stand.PL-NOM] (La 66); *wini-pi* 'tree (generic term)' [stand.SG-NOM] (La 98); *wini-pi* 'tree' [stand.SG-NOM] (B 239); Event: *hiw̃a-pi* 'wind' [blow-NOM] (N 23)

*-nna*

Patient: *'a=nna-wakii-nna* 'ditch' [3SG.POSS=REFL-make.ditch-NOM] (La 93); *'a=nna-babo-du-nna* 'braided hair' [3SG.POSS=REFL-braid-make-NOM] (La 52); *i-sawa-ku-nna* 'what I cooked' [1SG.POSS-cook-PAST-NOM] (N 55); *i-sawa-w̃ai-nna* 'what I will cook' [1SG.POSS-cook-FUT-NOM] (N 54); *kwata-n* 'shed skin' [shed-NOM] (B 49); *ma-wiweni-nna* 'something he hangs up' [this.POSS-hang.up-NOM] (N 54); *na-babodo-na* 'braided hair' [REFL-braid-NOM] (B 71); *na-digwisi-n* 'twining' [REFL-twine-NOM] (B 72); *na-niya-nna* 'name' [REFL-call-NOM] (La 45, B 75); *na-tigi-n* 'clothing, adornment' [REFL-put-NOM] (B 81); *na-tsiha-noo-n* 'lunch' [REFL-hunger-carry-NOM] (B 82); *na-woowi-n* 'drawing, picture, tattoo' [REFL-design-NOM] (B 84); *na-zi-moowi-n* 'drawing, pattern' [REFL-IP.with.fingers-design-NOM] (B 84); *simi' a-na-zi-n* 'one hundred' [one its-REFL-count-NOM] (B 152); *ti-naa-ki-n* 'that which is planted, garden' [APS-grow-CAUS-NOM] (B 184); *ti'-nokaga-nna* 'what he stole' [APS-steal-NOM] (N 54); *ti-noo-nna* 'load, burden' [APS-haul-NOM] (La 46); *tsitsuga-nna* 'that which is being pointed at' [point.at-NOM] (Lb 167); *yaduha-nna* 'what is being said; language' [talk-NOM] (Lb 167); Event: *i-sawa-nna* 'your cooking' [2SG.POSS-cook-NOM] (N 110); *miya-nna* '(...)'s departure; the place to which ... went/is going' [go.SG-NOM] (Lb 167); *paya-na a-qwatsa'i-n* 'water fall(s)' [water-OBJ its-fall-NOM] (B 113); *pitti-nna* 'arrival' [arrive-NOM] (Lb 167); *gamma-nna* 'illness' [be.sick-NOM] (La 63); *u-na-uhi-nna* 'Saturday' [that.POSS-REFL-end-NOM] (N 121); *u-nna-baaw̃i-nna* 'getting rained on' [that.POSS-REFL-rain-NOM] (N 122); *u-nna-gati-nna* 'Sunday' [that.POSS-REFL-sit.SG-NOM] (N 120); *u-nna-wini-nna* 'Monday' [that.POSS-REFL-stand.SG-NOM] (N 120); Stative: *masiwaki-na* 'fingers (collectively)' [have.fingers-NOM] (B 58)

## Northern Paiute

-*dì*

Subject: *agai tika-dì* ‘Schurz Indian’ [trout eat-NOM] (Y 2); *gai taniga-dì* ‘barefoot’ [NEG wear.shoes-NOM] (Y 16); *himmá-ma tími-dì* ‘salesman’ [thing-PL sell-NOM] (Y 42); *hoawai-dì* ‘hunter’ [hunt-NOM] (T 118); *kaazi ma-hanni-dì* ‘mechanic’ [car IP.hand-make-NOM] (Y 34); *kaazi-ma tími-dì* ‘car salesman’ [car-INSTR sell-NOM] (T 308); *ka=mi=aapo títiha-ga-dì* ‘those who were stealing apples’ [OBJ=PL=apple steal.PL-TRANSL-NOM] (T 261); *kati-dì* ‘sitter; resident’ [sit.SG-NOM] (T 116); *koi-nimmi-dì* ‘hunter’ [kill.PL-walk-NOM] (BP06-2); *koso-no nakoi-dì* ‘fire fighter’ [fire-COM fight-NOM] (Y 35); *kwana-dì* ‘smell’ [smell-NOM] (BP05-2); *kuyui díka-dì* ‘Pyramid Lake Paiute people’ [cui.ui eat-NOM] (BP01-2); *kwisi-dì* ‘basket maker’ [weave-NOM] (Y 41); *mogo’ni natizua waaki-dì* ‘nurse’ [woman medicine work-NOM] (Y 47); *mui hubia-ddu-dì* ‘lead singer’ [? song-make-NOM] (Y 47); *na-bu-dì* ‘patient’ [REFL-heal-NOM] (Y 49); *na-díka-dì* ‘garden’ [REFL-eat-NOM] (Y 50); *na-díka-dì na-na* ‘edible plants’ [REFL-eat-NOM grow-NOM] (Y 50); *na-do-pagita-dì* ‘boxer’ [REFL-IP.fist-beat-NOM] (Y 50); *na-dzikwinui-dì* ‘a screw’ [REFL-stir-NOM] (Y 50); *na-kuhani-dì* ‘(the) cooked; what is cooked’ [REFL-cook-NOM] (T 119); *na-mayia-dì* ‘mixed colors’ [REFL-stir-NOM] (Y 52); *nana paggwi-ga-dì* ‘fisherman’ [man fish-hunt-NOM] (Y 8); *nanisudíhe-dì* ‘one who prays’ [pray-NOM] (BP06-1); *na-tíhona-dì* ‘that which is dug’ [REFL-dig.roots-NOM] (T 279); *na-tí-gu-hanni-ki-wini-dì* ‘(s/he) who is cooking for (her/him)self’ [REFL-APS-IP.heat-do-APPL-stand.SG-NOM] (T 344); *na-to-pakida-dì* ‘boxer’ [REFL-IP.fist-beat-NOM] (T 121); *na-we-ta’ni-dì* ‘buckberries’ [REFL-IP.long-gather-NOM] (T 84); *nayaggwi-dì* ‘handgame player’ [play.handgame-NOM] (Y 49); *nayakwi-dì* ‘gambler’ [play.handgame-NOM] (T 118); *ními ddaie-na no-dì* ‘undertaker’ [person die-NOM carry-NOM] (Y 56); *ními ddaie-na tígi-dì* ‘undertaker’ [person die-NOM put.SG-NOM] (Y 56); *ními ddíka-dì* ‘giant flesh eaters’ [person eat-NOM] (Y 56); *ními gubati yadua-dì* ‘lawyer’ [person above-NOM speak-NOM] (Y 56); *ními ma-ními-tu-dì* ‘creators (indian creators)’ [person IP.hand-person-make-NOM] (Y 71); *ními nihanni-dì* ‘judge, lawyer’ [person judge-NOM] (Y 56); *ními siba-dì* ‘barber’ [person shave-NOM] (Y 56); *ními tígi-dì* ‘undertaker’ [person put-NOM] (Y 56); *ními tiniddui-dì* ‘teacher’ [person teach-NOM] (Y 111); *ními tsoho-dì* ‘bigfoot’ [peo-

ple crush-NOM] (Y 56); *noyo-di* ‘snake’ [crawl-NOM] (BP01-2); *nuyu’a-di dika-di* ‘eater of crawling things’ [crawl-NOM eat-NOM] (Y 56); *nuyua-di* ‘snake’ [crawl-NOM] (Y 56); *oho-bi sunammi-di* ‘very powerful’ [strong-ABS think-NOM] (Y 4); *oŋa dika-di* ‘Topaz’ [salt eat-NOM] (Y 4); *paa’a noyo-di* ‘water snake’ [water crawl-NOM] (BP01-2); *pa-gadi-di* ‘puddle, waterspots’ [water-sit.SG-NOM] (Y 8); *pasa-kati-di* ‘island’ [dry-sit.SG-NOM] (Y 9); *piaga-dika-di* ‘Owens Valley’ [Ponderosa.moth.larvae-eat-NOM] (Y 9); *pisa-mani-di* ‘those who do good’ [good-do-NOM] (T 142); *soŋoi’i ddoti-di* ‘helicopter’ [hummingbird fly-NOM] (Y 30); *taba-tsiboi-kwa kati-di* ‘the President’ [sun-emerge-LOC sit.SG-NOM] (T 120); *ta’e-di* ‘dead one’ [die-NOM] (BP08-1); *tigi-di* ‘someone that bets, gambler’ [put-NOM] (Y 22); *timi-di* ‘vendor’ [sell-NOM] (Y 23); *tiničui-di* ‘teacher’ [teach-NOM] (T 118); *tī-woidzami-di* ‘watchman’ [APS-watch-NOM] (Y 22); *togogwa dika-di* ‘rattlesnake eater’ [rattlesnake eat-NOM] (Y 18); *toi dika-di* ‘Fallon’ [tule eat-NOM] (Y 17); *toi dika-di* ‘Fallon Paiute people’ [cattail eat-NOM] (BP12-1); *tona-di* ‘Puncher, Winnemucca’s Indian name’ [hit-NOM] (Y 18); *too-tu-di* ‘one who makes holes’ [hole-make-NOM] (T 46); *winai-di* ‘fisherman’ [fish.with.pole-NOM] (Y 40); *wini-di* ‘tree’ [stand.SG-NOM] (BP01-1); *wohi-ddi* ‘swan’ [cry-NOM] (Y 38); Event: *apija-di* ‘somebody’s talking’ [talk.PL-NOM] (T 451); *bu-di* ‘healing’ [heal-NOM] (Y 6); *gai yitsiŋa-di paatisu-ba* ‘north wind’ [NEG move-ABS star-NOM] (Y 61); *huu-di* ‘river’ [flow-NOM] (T 51); *huu-di* ‘river’ [flow-NOM] (BP02-1); *na-mia-tabidua-di* ‘moonlight’ [REFL-moon-shine-NOM] (T 77); *na-tihona-di* ‘the digging’ [REFL-dig.roots-NOM] (T 486); *natsitsaka-di* ‘woman’s hockey’ [move.out.of.way.with.stick-NOM] (Y 51); *nosi-di* ‘dream’ [dream-NOM] (BP11-4); *paba-huu-di* ‘Snake River’ [big-flow-NOM] (T 116); *pidi nodiggwa-du-di* ‘wedding’ [new wife-make-NOM] (Y 12); *pui huu-di* ‘tears’ [eye flow-NOM] (BP02-1); Stative: *gai totsa-di* ‘clean’ [NEG dirty-NOM] (Y 33); *nazui-di* ‘strong one’ [strong-NOM] (T 118); *niima-di* ‘patient’ [be.in.pain-NOM] (Y 57); *patsiponoa-di* ‘round one’ [round-NOM] (T 118); *puhi-di* ‘blue one’ [blue-NOM] (T 118); Instrumental: *kati-di* ‘chair’ [sit.SG-NOM] (BP06-2); *mui-bi patsa-di* ‘fly swatter’ [fly-ABS kill.SG-NOM] (Y 47); Patient: *kai himma ma-si’a-di* ‘brave one’ [NEG nothing CAUS-be.afraid-NOM] (T 329);<sup>1</sup> *naki-di* ‘chased one’ [chase-NOM] (Y 51); Locative: *na-kwii-di* ‘smoke pit’

<sup>1</sup>Tim Thornes (p.c.) suggests that perhaps the correct morphological analysis here is one in which *ma* is an instrumental postposition on the noun *himmā*:

[REFL-smoke-NOM] (Tim Thornes, p.c.)

-wabi

Agent: *pida-wabi* ‘wife, sweetheart’ [make.fire-NOM] (Tim Thornes, p.c.); *tīdzai-wabi* ‘driver of team horses’ [drive?-NOM] (Y 21); *yadua-wabi* ‘interpreter, speaker’ [talk.SG-NOM] (Y 13)

-’V

Agent: *kidi-dika-’a* ‘Surprise Valley Band’ [groundhog-eat-NOM] (T 122); *kudza dika-’a* ‘Mono Lake Paiute’ [brine.fly.pupae eat-NOM] (BP01-2); *na-to-pakida-’a* ‘boxer’ [REFL-IP.fist-beat-NOM] (T 121); *wada-dika-’a* ‘Harney Valley Band’ [seepweed.seed-eat-NOM] (T 122); *yapa-wini-’i* ‘wild-carrot-stand (place name)’ [ipos-stand.SG-NOM] (T 122); Stative: *waa-konogi-’i* ‘juniper-all-around (place name)’ [juniper-be.around-NOM] (T 122)

-pi

Patient: *ko-ba-tsaniga-pi* ‘halter’ [face-ABS-bring-NOM] (Y 34); *kwasi-pi* ‘to be ripe’ [become.ripe-NOM] (Y 41); *na-mananui-pi* ‘it’s been rolled away’ [REFL-roll-NOM] (Y 52); *na-tsagguna-pi* ‘door’ [REFL-open-NOM] (Y 50); *pasa-pi* ‘something dried up’ [dry-NOM] (BP12-4); *passa-pi* ‘dry’ [dry-NOM] (T 205); *pihi-pi* ‘rotten’ [rot-NOM] (Y 10); *saa-pi* ‘something cooked completely’ [cook-NOM] (BP12-4); *sagwaggwinai-pi* ‘something thrown away’ [throw.away-NOM] (Y 29); *sida manni-pi* ‘spoiled’ [bad become-NOM] (Y 31); *tiasi-pi* ‘frozen; ice’ [freeze-NOM] (T 68); *tiazī-pi* ‘frozen up’ [freeze-NOM] (Y 20); *tī-basa-pi* ‘something dried out like jerky’ [APS-dry-NOM] (Y 20); *tī-masia-pi* ‘plant’ [APS-plant-NOM] (T 126); *wana-pi* ‘cloth’ [scrape-NOM] (T 58); *wikatiggi-pi* ‘stuff piled up’ [pile.up-NOM] (Y 39); Event: *agai-wai-ti huu-pi* ‘Walker River’ [trout-LOC-NOM flow-NOM] (Y 2); *higgwa-pi* ‘the wind’ [blow-NOM] (Y 43); *higgwa-pi* ‘wind’ [blow-NOM] (BP02-2-2); *huu-pi* ‘river’ [flow-NOM] (BP12-4); *na-tīgi-pi* ‘funeral’ [REFL-put-NOM] (Y 50); *paa-toha-woyu-’a-pi* ‘Milky Way (white streak in sky)’ [high-white-be.in.single.file-NOM]

- (i) *kai himma-ma si-’a-di*  
NEG nothing-INSTR be.afraid-NOM  
‘brave one’

This does not affect its status as a derived nominal.

(Y 9); *tiitsi'yu huu-pi* 'stream, small river' [small flow-NOM] (Y 43); Instrumental: *na-matima-pi* 'cap, cork' [REFL-cap-NOM] (Y 14); *paa'a natsadagwi-pi* 'bucket' [water pick.up.with.handle-NOM] (Y 66); Agent: *nimi ma-nimi-tu-pi* 'Indian Creators' [person IP.hand-person-make-NOM] (Y 46); *nimi patsa-pi* 'murderer' [person kill.SG-NOM] (Y 7)

-na

Patient: *buuki pi-ggwai na-hani-na* 'book case' [book 4-LOC REFL-make-NOM] (Y 64); *hani-na* 'work' [do-NOM] (T 452); *i=čadua-na* 'what you said' [2SG.POSS=talk.SG-NOM] (T 444); *i=mmu-boi-na* 'my white stuff that squeezes out of nose' [1SG.POSS=IP.nose-blow-NOM] (Y 49); *kammi wigia na-kwisi-na* 'Rabbit blanket weaving' [jackrabbit blanket REFL-weave-NOM] (T 452); *kwo-winudi-nna* 'head covering, wrapped around like turban' [IP.head-wrap-NOM] (Y 40); *mi=ti-woisa-na* 'washing' [PL=APS-wash.clothes-NOM] (T 170); *mi=ddigi-nna* 'bets' [PL=put-NOM] (Y 14); *na-ma-tsabi-ggi-nna* 'seal (the kind that sticks to paper)' [REFL-IP.hand-stick-TRANS-NOM] (Y 52); *na-nia-nna* 'name' [REFL-call-NOM] (Y 59); *na-nie-nna* 'name' [REFL-call-NOM] (BP01-1); *na-saa-nna* 'something cooked' [REFL-cook-NOM] (BP12-4); *na-tigi-nna* 'money bet in handgame' [REFL-put-NOM] (Y 50); *nimi dda'i-nna* 'dead body' [person die-NOM] (Y 56); *pida-nna* 'fire' [make.fire-NOM] (Y 10); *pi-kuba u kati-čai-na* 'the one he was riding' [4-on.top that sit.SG-HAB-NOM] (T 478); *saa-nna* 'something cooked' [cook-NOM] (BP12-4); *tika-nna* 'meal' [eat-NOM] (BP11-4); *ti-noti-nna* 'supplies you stored up' [APS-keep-NOM] (Y 55); *ti=ti-patsa-na* 'his kill' [POSS=APS-kill.SG-NOM] (T 484); *tohi-nna* 'spit' [spit-NOM] (BP12-4); *tsomibi madabii-nna* 'beadwork' [? make-NOM] (Y 28); *u=yadua-nna* 'his speech' [3SG.POSS=speak-NOM] (Y 13); *yabi paba manni-na* 'outgrown (becomes big fast)' [quickly big become-NOM] (Y 12); Event: *i=haba-na* 'my shadow' [1SG.POSS=shade-NOM] (T 128); *i=nossi-na* 'my dreams' [1SG.POSS=dream-NOM] (T 128); *kwiiida-pi pi-ddugu hu-na* 'sewer line' [feces-ABS 4-LOC flow-NOM] (Y 41); *na'a-na* 'growing, growth' [grow-NOM] (T 57); *nosi-nna* 'dream' [dream-NOM] (BP08-2); *tadzari-nna* 'card or dice game' [gamble-NOM] (Y 15); Instrumental: *mi=himma witsimo'o pi-ma na-kwiba-na* 'things for hitting a ball with (i.e. baseball bats)' [PL=what ball 4-INSTR REFL-strike-NOM] (T 170); *nimi ddadua-nna pi-ggwai na-naka-nna* 'tape, recorder' [person speak-NOM 4-LOC REFL-hear-NOM] (Y 14); *pi-ggwai-*

*tì na-yadua-na* ‘microphone’ [4-LOC-NOM REFL-speak-NOM] (Y49 );  
*yadua-nna* ‘tape recorder’ [talk.SG-NOM] (BP01-3); Locative: *nabaga-  
bba pì-ggwai-tì nana-tìmisá-na* ‘bullet store’ [bullet-ABS 4-LOC-NOM  
REFL.PL-sell-NOM] (Y 49); *tua-ki pì-kwai na-tsahani-na* ‘children’s shel-  
ter home’ [child-ALIEN 4-LOC REFL-keep-NOM] (T 170); *u pì-ggwai-tì*  
*nìmi ddiatia-na* ‘course, playing field’ [that 4-LOC-NOM person play-  
NOM] (Y 71); Stative: *aawayá’i-na* ‘moldy ones’ [moldy-NOM] (T 292)

*-pì*

Patient: *noho-pì* ‘bread (old word)’ [roast-NOM] (Y 56); *pida-pì* ‘fire’  
[make.fire-NOM] (Y 10); *tì-bo-pì* ‘letter’ [APS-write-NOM] (Y 20);  
*tìdzidadi-ggì-pì* ‘tent (which is put up)’ [put.up-NOM] (Y 21); *tì-masia-  
pì* ‘garden’ [APS-plant-NOM] (Y 23); Locative: *tìggwini-pì* ‘the dump’  
[dump-NOM] (Y 24)