Publications. [AM. ARCH. ETH.

ul is dashed to death on a rock, a village where he stays. falcon loses everything. (Cf. 31).

At night, accompanied by his d. As he goes he sings. When makes food and water for him, go on. The prairie falcon still ird night they reach the Kaweah Chowchilla.

live together, with the eagle as on is a successful gambler. The cave. Next day he gambles with he loses one ear and stakes the falcon’s wife and cohabits with ng that he has. (Cf. 31.) That uses to an old woman and a girl. thers, who constantly fight, come e catches rabbits. Next day he es the boat out to sea. The two em back to land. Next day the en falls into the water and is le, knows of his nephew’s death e two boys show him where the dives down. Coming to seven mch to follow. He comes to a rat for fuel. The prairie falcon es him to life.

a and her daughter live alone. e girl gives birth to twins. She were when the girl is away. He openwork basket and steals the er, who is their father, cannot has warned them against their coyote comes. The panther kills ren.
INTRODUCTION.

The following information on the Washo or Washoe language was obtained during two visits of a few days each, devoted partly to other purposes, at Reno, Nevada. A number of Indians, both Washos and so-called Paiutes of Shoshonean stock, live on the outskirts of the town and can daily be found about its streets. The information secured was from Robert Schermerhorn, a young educated Indian speaking good English. The time devoted to investigations was so short that the progress made is due to the satisfactory interpreter and to the fact that the language does not present great phonetic and structural difficulties. From the material obtained a number of points are touched upon but necessarily left undetermined, and probably there are others which a further study may show to be of importance. Sufficient information seems however to have been secured in the study of the language to recognize with certainty some of its principal characteristics, sufficiently at least to compare the language morphologically with the neighboring lexically unrelated languages and to determine its place among them.1 Like the preceding linguistic contributions published in this series, the present paper is the product of the Ethnological and Archaeological Survey of California which the Anthropological Department of the University owes, together with its foundation and support, to Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst.

The territory of the Washo was situated both in California and Nevada in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe and the lower Carson valley, east of the Sierra Nevada. On the west were the Maidu and slope of the Sierra. On all of whom belonged to the Mono and the so-called Pavi on the west. There appears no reason to consider the Washo territory lay more than California, it was so restricted that there is the question of interest in regard to one of the numerous shoshones. They are the only part of the great Uto-Aztekan family in this region, east of the Shoshoneans. They are the only part of the great Uto-Aztekan family, in this region, east of the southern Central dialects with which it is chiefly related. Its lexical and genetic inferences of a such as a; closed vowels, do not occur. The vowels are u, o, o; i; a, and o. Long vowels are often heard as long vowels are often heard as two i's in certain stems according with varying affixes, but the distinction is at best so slight that

1 R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, Amer. Anthr., n. s., V. 1, 1903.
The Washo language

The Washo or Washoe language is spoken by a few days each, devoted partly to the study of its streets. A number of Indians, both Shoshonean stock, live on the valley, east of the Sierra Nevada. The neighbors of the Washo on the west were the Maidu and the Miwok, living on the western slope of the Sierra. On all other sides were Shoshoneans, probably all of whom belonged to a dialectic group comprising the Mono and the so-called Paviotso or "Paiute" of northwestern Nevada. The Washo language was definitely established as a distinct family by Powell on the basis of its lexical content, and there appears no reason to change this classification. Although the Washo territory lay more largely in Nevada than in California, it was so restricted that the Washo present all the appearances of one of the numerous small linguistic families characteristic of California. They constitute, however, the only small family, in this region, east of the Sierras, and their cultural relationships, whether through the force of environment or through affiliation, have been apparently mainly with the neighboring Shoshoneans. They are the only Indians in Nevada that do not form part of the great Uto-Aztekan family. For this reason the first question of interest in regard to their language from a comparative point of view, is whether in its morphological characteristics, -its lexical and genetic independence being recognized,-it resembles more nearly the neighboring widely spread Shoshonean dialects with which it is chiefly in territorial contact, or the many distinct smaller families constituting a morphological group in northern and southern Central California. This question can be better discussed after a consideration of the information secured upon the language, and the answer will therefore be found in the conclusion of this paper.

PHONETICS.

The vowels of Washo are u, o, a, e, i. E and o are open. Modifications of a such as ä; closed e and o; ö and ü; and nasalized vowels, do not occur. The vowels are both long and short. At times they are so short as to be obscure in quality. Accented or long vowels are often heard as doubled. The Indians distinguish two i’s in certain stems according as these stems are combined with varying affixes, but the dissimilarity in sound between these i vowels is at best so slight that it is difficult to say whether a dif-
ference actually exists or is only heard by the interpreter because he is conscious of a difference in meaning.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  i & i & i \\
  e & ë & E \\
  a & ã & A \\
  o & ë & O \\
  u & ù & U \\
\end{array}
\]

The chief difficulty to a foreign ear in the consonants of Washo is presented by the surd and sonant classes. There are probably three of these classes, whose true nature and relations have not been exactly determined. The sonants are apparently spoken as in English. The surds may be formed differently. The third class may consist of the surds aspirated. In recording the language, surds, "intermediate sonants," and aspirates, k, k, and k', were written in addition to sonants; but it seems likely that actually these symbols represent only two sounds. In the fact that its sonants seem more nearly than its surds to resemble the corresponding sounds of English, Washo differs from most Californian and many other Indian languages, in which the sonants are usually more different from their nearest European equivalents than are the surds.

Outside of the question of surds and sonants the consonants present no great difficulties to the English ear. There are only three series, represented by k, t, and p. In each of these there is found, besides the probable surd, sonant, and aspirate, only a nasal. Spirants other than s sounds do not occur. A sound resembling the spirant of k, found occasionally between vowels and written x, is probably only h, for it does not occur either initially or finally. Ts is treated by the language as a single sound. S at times is a very pointed sound, dissimilar from English s. C (sh) approximates s. L is frequent, but r does not occur. A d which approximates r has been found in a number of words, but as it seems to occur neither initially nor finally it is doubtful whether it represents a distinct sound. Y, w, and h require no comment. Characteristic sounds wanting in the language are spirants directly related to surds or sonants, velars, lateral l, te, and r.

All the vowels occur both initially and finally. Vowels have been found initial and w appear finally as i and u. Finally, though it is probable that the sound of syllables is usually a vowel. The typical monosyllabic stem is a single sound for the last sound of syllables is usually a vowel. The typical monosyllabic stem is a single sound for the last sound of syllables is usually a vowel.

COMBINATIONS

Combinations of sounds are common. Principal diphthongs are au and aw. The consonants either at the beginning or end of words, although it must be reemphasized that h and ts, which cannot occur, is a simple sound for the last sound of syllables is usually a vowel. The typical monosyllabic stem is a single sound for the last sound of syllables is usually a vowel. The typical monosyllabic stem is a single sound for the last sound of syllables is usually a vowel.

There is every probability that all the combinations of the language contain no combinations at all, or that no combinations at all are possible. Double consonants occurring within words, can be actually explained as due to...
Frequent and characteristic sounds occurring are g, d, b, ŋ (ng), l, and y.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>(p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>(ng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>(r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INITIAL AND FINAL SOUNDS.

All the vowels occur both initially and finally. All the consonants have been found initially and most of them finally. Y and w appear finally as i and u. H, ts, and n have not been found finally, though it is probable that at least n occurs. The initial sound of syllables is usually a consonant, the final sound a vowel. The typical monosyllabic stem formula thus is consonant-vowel, less commonly consonant-vowel-consonant or vowel-consonant.

COMBINATIONS OF SOUNDS.

Combinations of sounds are not carried very far. The principal diphthongs are au and ai. There are no combinations of consonants either at the beginning of words or at the end of words, although it must be remembered in this connection that ts is a simple sound for the language. Within words practically any combination of two consonants can occur; but there are no combinations of three consonants. The only exceptions to the rule that any two consonants can be put in juxtaposition seem to be that h and ts, which cannot occur finally, are not found as the first member of combinations; and that w and n have so far not been found as second members of combinations.

There is every probability that the stems and elementary syllables of the language contain no consonantal combinations. The fact that no combinations at all are found either at the beginning or end of words, is overwhelming evidence to this effect. Of the double consonants occurring within words a considerable number can be actually explained as due to affixion or reduplication.
INFLUENCE OF SOUNDS UPON ONE ANOTHER.

The various sounds, both vowels and consonants, influence each other comparatively little by coming into contact or proximity. There is a certain amount of vowel modification, usually of a to e and i to e. Thus, lak’a, one, lek’i:ni, one person, lek’ek’e:n, one each. Before certain verbs the transitive pronominal prefix la- appears as le-; before initial i stems it becomes l: lagalami, le-giti, l-i:li. Before similar stems the intransitive and possessive prefix l-, originally perhaps le-, changes i- to e-; a:nal, l-a:nal; èmlu, l-èmlu; but iyek, l-èyek; ibu, l-èbu; i:ye, l-èye-i. Dal-, prefixed to color adjectives, becomes del- before i stems: dal-yawi, dal-cocofi; but del-pilpili, del-e:legi.

Contraction of vowels is uncommon. There are a few instances, such as lace, in me, from le, I, and -aca, inside of.

There is some duplication of stems, with consequent juxtaposition of consonants. The mutual contact of such consonants does not affect either of them. Dogdogi, beat, del-pilpili, blue.

In the final reduplication characteristic of the collective or distributive noun, the final consonant is usually lost by the first of the pair of syllables. Thus, -xat becomes -xa-xat, sa:n becomes sa-sa:n. If the reduplicated syllable is not final but in the middle of a word, the final consonant seems to be retained in both its occurrences but the initial consonant is lost in the second syllable of the pair. Thus hel-el-mi from hel-mi and lek’-ek’e:n from lak’a.

Such cases of reduplication in the interior of polysyllabic words make it almost certain that these words, however unanalyzable they may otherwise seem to be, are composed of monosyllabic elements.

An idea of the phonetic character of the language is given by the fact that the English word quicksilver (kwiksilver) is pronounced gâ:ts’iluwe in Washo.

SUMMARY.

The phonetic character of Washo is thus seen to be marked by a certain simplicity, regularity, and smoothness of sounds, at least from a European standpoint, qualities which are foreign to many American languages, though they are typical of a majority spoken in Central California Pomo, Wintun, Yana, Costal and of the aspirates and perhaps peculiar s, there is hardly a tongue accustomed to English of spirant, velar, and lateral from most American languages consonants and vowels are word without modifying.modal of consonants, and words are built up appearing either of vowels or consonant language at once easy and i.

REDUPLICATION.

A number of words appear in their simplest forms. These include in addition have a prefix dal-mological duplication of words distinguished from the monosyllabic elements.

dal-tsatsami
dal-cocofi
del-pilpili
dal-pôpoi
de-lèlegi
tamòmo
tewiwi
ña:na:n
-bapa
-e:le
-câ’ea
tsi-guguc
nc:mu
ts’ats’a
tupipiwi
le’lem
spoken in Central California, including Maidu, Miwok, Yuki, Pomo, Wintun, Yana, Costanoan, Esselen, and Yokuts. Outside of the aspirates and perhaps “intermediates” and the somewhat peculiar s, there is hardly a sound which is not readily spoken by a tongue accustomed to European pronunciations. The absence of spirant, velar, and lateral sounds distinguishes the language from most American languages. The freedom with which both consonants and vowels are brought into contact within the same word without modifying one another, the very limited accumulation of consonants, and the fact that the elements of which words are built up appear never to contain any combinations either of vowels or consonants, make the pronunciation of the language at once easy and its structure transparent.

**REDUPLICATION.**

A number of words appear duplicated or reduplicated in their simplest forms. These include nearly all color adjectives, which in addition have a prefix dal-, and a number of nouns. This etymological duplication of words in their absolute form must be distinguished from the more grammatical reduplication to indicate iteration or distribution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplicated</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dal-tatsami</td>
<td>yellow, green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal-coconí</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>del-pílpili</td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal-pópoi</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-lèlegi</td>
<td>dark red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamòmo</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tewiwi</td>
<td>youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñauñañ</td>
<td>baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bapa</td>
<td>paternal grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-elel</td>
<td>maternal grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ca’ca</td>
<td>mother’s sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsi-guguc</td>
<td>belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>memeu</td>
<td>ribs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts’ats’a</td>
<td>chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupipìwi</td>
<td>skunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le’lem</td>
<td>midnight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COMPOSITION AND STRUCTURE.

Washo appears to be a language in which, as in most American tongues, composition and derivation for grammatical purposes are developed to a considerable extent. Its study in the present instance has really been carried on to so limited a degree that little isolation and determination of derivative and inflectional elements was to have been expected. Such elements are however comparatively so prominent, and the transparent phonetic character of the language so much facilitates their discernment, that a considerable number of morphological affixes have been determined. It is certain that the number of these is much greater than for instance in Yokuts, a language the study of which has been carried much further than that of Washo, and probably also considerably greater than in Yuki, an equally simple language from which a still greater volume of material has been subjected to analysis.

While composition and derivation for formative or etymological purposes have not been specially investigated in Washo, it seems that they are not particularly highly developed. It is probable that binary composition, as of two nouns, is of little importance. That processes of word-building by derivation occur to some extent is evident from such suffixes as the -hu which occurs on the words for man, girl, and boy. The usual class of suffixes serving to derive nouns from verbs in many Californian languages, is but little developed or lacking in Washo, its place being taken by a group of d-prefixes. Nominal affixes or stems of substantial meaning used only in composition, of the type found in Algonkin and in greater development in Selish and Kwakiutl, have not been discovered. The principal observed instances of etymological composition or derivation follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composition or derivation instances</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teliw'hu</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caulam-hu</td>
<td>girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-hu</td>
<td>boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nauwani-añal</td>
<td>navel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu-meli</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu-añali</td>
<td>son-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal-yawi</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mal-yawi</td>
<td>a black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>núci</td>
<td>worth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duk-núci</td>
<td>dislike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-emli</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gúc</td>
<td>noise,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>èmile-gúc</td>
<td>heart-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emle-gúc-i</td>
<td>it is b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-ibe</td>
<td>sun,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>èbe</td>
<td>to-day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-ibe-luc</td>
<td>noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kum-èbe-yi</td>
<td>days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapauwit</td>
<td>night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gua-pauud-i</td>
<td>nights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daw-ad-ąeaa</td>
<td>before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daup-ad-ąeaa</td>
<td>after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daup-ad-umua</td>
<td>evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dek-mel-bolewi</td>
<td>five-c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>del-pilpili</td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'awi-pilpili</td>
<td>iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'awi</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Composition or derivation instances have been noted wherever possible. Composition is richly developed, and determined prefixes and suffixes of etymological nature.
STRUCTURE.

which, as in most American
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t. Its study in the present
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Such elements are however
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for formative or etymological,
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in many Californian lan-
ing in Washo, its place being
al affixes or stems of sub-
sition, of the type found in
it in Selish and Kwakiutl,
cipal observed instances of
follow.

Composition or derivation with grammatical function have been noted wherever possible, and it has become certain that such composition is richly developed. The following list comprises the ascertained prefixes and suffixes of a grammatical or morphological nature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix/Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teliw' -hu</td>
<td>man (te-wiwi, young man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caulam -hu</td>
<td>girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me -hu</td>
<td>boy (me-hu, old man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñauwañ -añal</td>
<td>navel-string (&quot;baby-live&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu -meli</td>
<td>husband (meli, make a fire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu -añali</td>
<td>son-in-law (añal-i, live)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal -yãwi</td>
<td>black (dal-, prefix of all color adjectives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mal -yãwi</td>
<td>a black object, charred wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>núcí</td>
<td>worthless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duk -núcí</td>
<td>dislike, hate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t -emli</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gúc</td>
<td>noise, sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>èmle -gúc</td>
<td>heart-beat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emle -gúc -i</td>
<td>it is beating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d -ibe</td>
<td>sun, moon, month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>èbe</td>
<td>to-day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d -ibe -luc</td>
<td>noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kum -ibe -yi</td>
<td>days (when preceded by a numeral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapauwit</td>
<td>night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gua -pauud -i</td>
<td>nights (when preceded by a numeral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daw -ad -acaa</td>
<td>before day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daup -ad -acaa</td>
<td>afternoon, before evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daup -ad -umua</td>
<td>evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dek -mel -bolewi</td>
<td>five-cent piece, said to mean small and thick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>del -pilpili</td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'awi -pilpili</td>
<td>iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'awi</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF GRAMMATICAL AFFIXES.

Pronominal prefixes:

1-, di- first person, subject of verb or possessive with noun
m-, um- second person, subject of verb or possessive with noun
mi- subject of first person with object of second
la- subject of third person with object of first
ma- subject of third person with object of second
le-un- subject of second person with object of first
ke- second person imperative
ka- second person imperative with object of third person
de-, da- possessive of third person
gi-, ge-, ga- emphatic or reflexive of third person
gum—ci denotes "a person and his." Compare the reflexive and dual suffixes.

Suffixes of pronominal stems:

-ci dual (on the numeral for two this suffix denotes that persons are referred to)
-ci inclusive of first person (first and second persons)
-u plural (on numerals above three this suffix denotes that persons are referred to)
-di formative of demonstratives from demonstrative adverbial stems
-k emphatic
-kum reflexive object. (Perhaps a prefix of verbs and nouns.)
-a a frequent suffix of interrogatives

Local and instrumental case-suffixes of nouns:

-a adessive, terminative, inessive, general locative
-adi inessive
-aca inessive
digu inessive
-aci ablative

Noun and verb suffixes denoting:

-awic ablat
-iwi term
-elmu super
-dulil sub
-lelen juxta
-haka comi
-lu instr

Intrumental prefixes of verbs:

de- with
dun- with
uga-, yuga- with
liwi- with
nì- with
le- with
blu- (k)- by time
u-
ugal-
be-
-lup- instr

Verbal suffixes relating to:

-uk, -huk toward
-ne, -bue from
-giti up
-giliwe down
-e motion
-a-hat through
-am, -awam to?
-us up?
w-a
-aya
-u
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Affixes.

Object of verb or possessive

Subject of verb or possessive

Person with object of second

Person with object of first

Imperative with object of first

Imperative with object of third

Flexive of third person

Son and his.” Compare the dual suffixes.

Numerals for two this suffix designates (Persons referred to)

First person (First and second

Numerals above three this suffix designates (Persons referred to)

Demonstratives from demonstrative stems

(Perhaps a prefix of verbs

Of nouns:

Native, inessive, general loca-


-whe ablativie

-awice terminative

-iwi superessive

-elmue suessive

-dulile juxtapositive

-leleul approximative

-hake comitative

-lu instrumental

Noun and verb suffixes denoting number or distribution:

-kic distributive or collective on nouns and verbs

-da-d distributive on verbs

Instrumental prefixes of verbs:

dum- with the end of a long object

uga-, yugie- with a long object

di- with the hand

liwi- with the foot

ni- with the head

le- with the teeth, by rubbing

bilu-(k)- by turning (?)

u-

ugal-

be-

-lup- instrumentality

Verbal suffixes relating to motion:

-uk, -bk toward the speaker

-ue, -bue from the speaker (cf. ablativie of nouns, -uwe)

-giti up

-giliwe down

-e motion

-a-hat through

-am, -awam to?

-us up?

-wa

-aya

-u
Modal-temporal suffixes of verbs:

-ye imperative
-ee optative
-ès negative
-i present
-a aorist, narrative past
-ie present participle
-ae past participle
-lèki recent preterite, completed
-aksi more distant preterite, completed
-gul-aksi distant preterite, completed
-alarta indefinite perfect
-hi future
-aka future-desiderative
-iki, -iaki future-potential
-gañia inchoative
-ue inchoative? (cf. suffix of motion from)
-learning, usitative (cf. suffix of motion toward)
-du-we, du-we-we, conative
-hai, -ihai
duñia dubitative

It will be seen, first of all, that the affixes in this list include both prefixes and suffixes. In this respect Washo differs radically from several Californian languages, such as Yokuts and Yuki, and probably Costanoan and Esselen, which employ only suffixes. Among the more distinctly grammatical affixes the pronominal prefixes, both those indicating a single person and those indicating the relation of two persons to one another as subject and object, are conspicuous. In the fact that the pronominal elements when joined to other stems appear only as prefixes, Washo agrees with probably the majority of North American languages, there being evidently some tendency on this continent, broadly speaking, for the pronominal elements, and besides these but few classes of affixed elements, to be prefixes rather than suffixes. Among Californian languages, in Yokuts and Yuki the pronouns are neither prefixed nor suffixed words; in Costanoan this is true also, the pronouns are quite regular.

As distinguished from stems, there are in Washo affixes to indicate number and of noun is subject to a large number of instrumental relations, but denoting purely logical or purely logical or grammatical relations, but denoting purely logical or purely logical or purely logical or purely logical number. Affixes to the stems, comprise both prefix and suffix into three classes: first, indicating motion or direction; and the suffixes analogous to those in Washo are numerous differences in these classes occur in other American languages. In California they are absent. Dr. Dixon has found similar differences in the languages that are, as it were, remembered, is territorial. Words of Shoshonean. The Washo prefix, such as those denoting motion from the speaker. The exact sense determined. Suffixes of inchoative verb those of the third class.

1 Athabascan (P. E. Goddard, Athabascan series, Vol. III) possesses verbs as mouth, fire, water, and only with reference to mouth, but only hollow object; no-end; so-end; used in such compounds as "mouth," but only in words like "mouth," where motion (or position) is probable of a number of number.

Vol. 4] Kroeber.—
The affixes in this list include those which are neither prefixed nor suffixed, but are always independent words; in Costanoan this is also virtually the case, although the pronouns are quite regularly preposed.

As distinguished from the prefixes consisting of pronominal stems, there are in Washo a number of suffixes added to pronouns to indicate number and other grammatical ideas. The Washo noun is subject to a large series of suffixes indicating local and instrumental relations, but to no others. There are no affixes denoting purely logical or grammatical cases and practically none of number. Affixes to the verb, other than the pronominal elements, comprise both prefixes and suffixes and fall quite distinctly into three classes: first, instrumental prefixes; second, suffixes of motion or direction; and third, the various modal and temporal suffixes analogous to those found in most languages. All three classes are numerously developed in Washo. Instrumental prefixes occur in other American linguistic families, such as Siouan. In California they are also found. They occur in Pomo, and Dr. Dixon has found similar affixes in Maidu, which, it will be remembered, is territorially adjacent to Washo. Yokuts and Yuki are known to lack such instrumental prefixes, and the same is probable of a number of other Californian languages, besides Shoshonean. The Washo suffixes of motion sometimes occur in pairs, such as those denoting motion respectively toward and from the speaker. The exact meaning of a number remains to be determined. Suffixes of motion precede in their position on the verb those of the third class, the modal and temporal suffixes.

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PRONOUN.

As in many if not most American languages, the part played in Washo by the pronouns themselves, that is the independent pronominal words, is slight, being largely made up for by the all-important pronominal affixes. These affixes and the independent words are generally more or less similar, so that the affixes may be regarded as abstractions of originally independent stems, or these words as expansions of originally synthetically used word-fragments. In the objective verb, where two persons are in question, there are forms appearing to be combinations of two simple pronominal elements, but there are also forms which are not thus derivable. While, owing to the absence of complications on account of number, these bi-personal transitive pronominal affix-forms are not very numerous or formidable, still, because the relation or similarity to the independent pronouns fails in the case of certain of these double forms, Washo must be reckoned with the pronominally incorporating languages, or those in which the pronominal verb affixes are so closely amalgamated with the verb stem or other component parts of the verb as not to be identical with the independent unaffixed pronominal stems of the same meaning.

The pronominal affixes of the noun and of the intransitive verb, in the one case possessive, in the other subjective, are identical and their use is exactly analogous. This is a common phenomenon in American languages and it does not seem necessary to derive from it the conclusion, as has often been done, that the verbal-pronominal relation is in fact a possessive one and that the form which is the equivalent of I run means really my running. Such explanations originate from conceptions based on our own European languages, for which, if such phenomena occurred in them, the explanations would perhaps be justifiable. In the Indo-European languages the pronouns are whole words independent of any others in the sentence, and the possessive pronouns are possessive case-forms of these stems, even though the phonetic form and origin of these case-forms may be different from the corresponding possessive case-forms of nouns. If therefore a possessive pronoun in an American language is used as the subject of a verb, it well be other than the one which in English we call my. However, especially those so-called pronominal incorporations are different. Pronouns are not independent stems but by a possessive particle used with reference to the case of the pronominal stem, the noun, say, no case-expression of the possessed. The only means of indicating the use of the pronominal elements, there is therefore one element being actually possessive pronouns of Indo-European languages, though not in the noun as a crudity of form as actually subjective, in the noun as a crudity of case-expression of the noun and its use in the verb an overt verbal action as being a part of the verb stem. It can not be affirmed that it uses an undifferentiated possessive nor subjective, but with the verbal action as being a part of it.

An explanation similar to the above can be applied to a phenomenon in American languages, though not in the verb-pronominal elements expressing the verb and the object of a transitive verb, this circumstance has been noted in the case of verbs of mental action.
languages, the part played by the all-affixes and the independent parts, so that the affixes may be synthetically used word-combinations of two simple or even two persons are in questions of complications on account of the affixes used with nouns being a possessive case formation of the pronominal stem, there often, as in Washo, is absolutely no case-expression of the possessive relation in the language, the only means of indicating this category being in fact through the use of the pronominal element itself. Such being the circumstances, there is therefore first of all no real possibility of this element being actually possessive in form, analogously to the possessive pronouns of Indo-European languages; and secondly, there is no reason why it should be considered so. With the possessive my lacking in the language, I house, if the context or the form of the word shows house to be a noun, can only mean what in English we call my house. There is therefore theoretically nothing lost by the employment in these languages of the same pronominal element in the verb and noun in such ideas as I live and my house; and this being the case, it is not surprising that only one form does occur. But to regard this undifferentiated form as actually subjective, and its use with possessive function in the noun as a crudity of the language, or as actually possessive and its use in the verb an indication of a material conception of verbal action as being a possessive relation, is without warrant. It can not be affirmed that Washo says either I house or my live; it uses an undifferentiated affix, which in itself is neither possessive nor subjective, but which has possessive force in the noun and subjective force in the verb.

An explanation similar to the one here discussed has been applied to a phenomenon occurring in a number of American languages, though not in Washo, namely, the similarity of the pronominal elements expressing the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb. The explanation for this circumstance has been that the intransitive, especially in the case of verbs of mental action or experience, is really an imper-
sonal transitive verb with the person in question as its object, so
that when the language says "me thinks" it really says "it thinks
to me." But here again the incorporating American language
differs from Indo-European in that its pronominal forms are in-
herently not words but only fragments of words, which need no
case suffixes, or if they had them would lose them in composition;
and second, in that there are no forms whatever to express the
logical case relations, whereas in Indo-European the pronoun,
appearing as an independent word, is like the noun unable ever
to escape the stamp of case. In Indo-European I and my and me
must always be differentiated; even if their forms become homon-
ymous, the three are kept clearly apart in the consciousness of the
language. In the American languages in question, the three ideas
of I, my, and me are not thus inevitably differentiated, and there
is no a priori reason why they should be. If there is anything to
show that a certain pronominal element is the object of the verb
which it accompanies, there is nothing lost in efficiency of expres-
sion if this objective element is identical in form with the element
which is the subject of verbs or the logical possessor of a noun.
There is thus no necessary reason whatever for the differentia-
tion of the forms expressing these three categories, except in the
case where two pronominal forms occur directly in combination,
namely, in the subjective and objective relations of the transitive
verb. This double relation, if position and other means of gram-
matical expression fail, practically enforces at least one differen-
tiation in the pronominal forms. But given this one differentia-
tion, with its resultant two forms for each person, there is no
theoretical reason why either of these two forms should not be
used for any combination of two or three of the four categories:
—possessive, intransitive subject, transitive subject, and object,—
except of course the last two. As long as usage has once definitely
established in a language, from whatever cause, that the object
and the intransitive subject are alike in form, and the transitive
subject and possessive also alike, the expression of ideas is as clear
as under any other arrangement. If this distribution of the two
or more differentiated pronominal forms among the four cate-
gories of meaning expressed by pronouns, were the only one found
in all languages, there might be some reason for believing that the
transitive subject was really an object, and the

The Washo pronoun shows
plural. The stems, contrary
to the nouns, remain the same for
members, being modified only by a
American language, there is not
person. In the pronominal a

\[1\] At least similar in Creek.
\[2\] Haida, Tlingit.
\[3\] Nahuatl, Otomi, Heiltsuk.
\[4\] Chumash, Costanoan.
a question as its object, so it really says "it thinks". American language personal forms are in- s of words, which need no lose them in composition; s whatever to express the o-European the pronoun, like the noun unable ever o-European I and my and me heir forms become homon- in the consciousness of the n question, the three ideas y differentiated, and there e. If there is anything to t is the object of the verb lost in efficiency of expres- l in form with the element gical possessor of a noun. ver for the differentiation categories, except in the r directly in combination, relations of the transitive and other means of gramm- are at least one differen- given this one differentia- each person, there is no two forms should not be e of the four categories: tive subject, and object,— s usage has once definitely ver cause, that the object a form, and the transitive pression of ideas is as clear its distribution of the two ms among the four cate- s, were the only one found ason for believing that the transitive subject was really a possessive and the intransitive subject really an object, and that instead of I see him and he looks, languages said my seeing him and it looks to him. But the fact that there are languages in which other combinations of the four categories are expressed by single forms, shows such an explanation to be untenable. When, for instance, the objective pronom- inal element is identical with the possessive1 instead of the intransitive subjective,2 when the intransitive subject is in one language identical with the transitive subject,3 in another with the possessive,4 in another with the objective,5 no reasoning of the kind can be sustained. The fundamental error in such explana- tions is that they apply ideas derived from the independent pronominal words, necessarily marked for case, in Indo-European, to the essentially synthetic pronominal elements, which are both undifferentiated and undifferentiable for case, in many incorporating American languages. It is undoubtedly true that when in one language the objective element is identical in form with the subjective and in another with the possessive, these circum- stances are not meaningless and fortuitous; and a knowledge of the causes of the phenomenon in each language, and of the differ- ence between them, if it can be obtained, is of the highest interest and value. But such inquiries must be made on the basis of the specific internal evidence furnished by each language and not by the mere direct application of principles derived from the knowledge of more familiar languages; principles which may be, and in certain cases unquestionably are, inapplicable to American languages.

INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

The Washo pronoun shows three numbers, singular, dual, and plural. The stems, contrary to what occurs in many American languages, remain the same for each person throughout all numbers, being modified only by affixes. As is frequently the case in American languages, there is no independent form for the third person. In the pronominal affix-elements forms occur not only

1 At least similar in Creek.
2 Haide, Tlingit.
3 Nabatu, Otomi, Hculitsuk.
4 Chumash, Costanoan.
for a reflexive but not for a direct third person; but even then the third person is often indicated by the omission of any affix, not by any positive element. The stem of the first person seems to be l-, of the second person m-. In the independent forms of the pronoun these appear as le and mi. In the affixed forms the first person is represented either by l- or di-, the second person by m- or um-, according to phonetic circumstances; the third person either not at all or by da-, and the reflexive by gi-. When two pronouns are brought together in the verb in the transitive objective conjugation, these same forms are in some cases merely placed together, whereas in other instances there are forms which cannot be derived from any simple combination of the single forms. The dual in the independent pronoun is indicated by the suffix -ci, the plural by -u. In the first person, at least in the dual, the inclusive is distinguished from the exclusive by the addition of another -ci. It is curious that the same suffix should thus be used, even to duplication in the same word, to express ideas apparently as distinct logically as duality and the inclusion of the second person with the first. It would seem from this case, as from others, such as Dakota, that there exists a tendency in language, or at least in American languages, to connect, or to fail to distinguish between, the two categories of duality in the pronoun and of the difference between inclusion and exclusion of the second person.

The independent personal pronouns accordingly are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Excl</td>
<td>Incl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. lè</td>
<td>lèci</td>
<td>lècici</td>
<td>lèu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. mì</td>
<td>mici</td>
<td>mici</td>
<td>miu</td>
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</table>

These independent personal pronouns receive the locative case suffixes or appositions exactly like nouns. Thus: lè-wi, l-on, on me.

As has been stated, the syntactical functions of the pronoun are expressed normally through the synthetically used affix-forms, so that the independent pronouns occur chiefly with an emphatic force. This being so, it is not surprising that these independent forms seem to be used alike subjectively, objectively, and possessively. They must be regarded as structure of the sentence or with it by being in apposition combined with the noun or verb.

The pronouns are made of the suffix -k.

mi-k m-idi, you your
le-k l-ecd-ae, I am the

The essentially reflexive

suffix.

gi-k iidi, he said.

Even the demonstrative suffix -k.

le-yuli-duhai ha-k l-è
I said that.

DEM

The demonstratives show coördinated with the three

stems occur in the demonstr

adjectival demonstrative pro

verbs by the addition of the

form for substantival or ad

one goes” or “this man goes

here, near me wà

there, near you hà

there, distant di

INT

The interrogative pronouns

ku- and a less frequent hu-

gative particle hee, an indep

all interrogative pronouns.

interrogatives without the in

meaning.

who
what
where
why
how many
Publications. Arch. Eth.

I person; but even then the omission of any affix, not the first person seems to be dependent forms of the pronoun the affixed forms the first person, the second person by substitu-ces; the third person reflexive by gr-. When two instances; the third person reflexive by gi-. When two verb in the transitive ob- phrases are in some cases merely there are forms which combination of the single pronoun is indicated by the t person, at least in the dual, exclusive by the addition of the same suffix should thus be word, to express ideas ap- in the dual, he exclusive by the addition of the same suffix should thus be word, to express ideas ap-

m-s accordingly are the fol-

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
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<tr>
<td>lécicí</td>
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<td>léu</td>
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<tr>
<td>miú</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The pronouns are made especially emphatic by the addition of the suffix -k.

mi-k m-iidi, you yourself told it.
le-k l-eed-ac, I am the one who said it.

The essentially reflexive stem gi is frequently used with this suffix.

gi-k iidi, he said.

Even the demonstrative stems appear with this emphatic suffix -k.

le-yuli-duhai ha-k l-èedi-c-da, they want to kill me because I said that.

DEMONSTRATIVES.

The demonstratives show three stems, which are more or less coordinated with the three persons. The simplest forms of these stems occur in the demonstrative adverbs. The substantival or adjectival demonstrative pronouns are built up from these adverbs by the addition of the suffix -di. There is no distinction in form for substantival or adjectival use: whether it is said "this one goes" or "this man goes," "this" is identical.

here, near me wā this, near me widi
there, near you hā that, near you hàdi
there, distant dī that, distant didi

INTERROGATIVES.

The interrogative pronouns go back to two stems, a commoner ku- and a less frequent hu-. Most forms end in -a. The interro-
gative particle hec, an independent word, is regularly used with all interrogative pronouns. It would seem from this that the interrogatives without the interrogative particle may be indefinite in meaning.

who kudīñ-a
what kuñate hutañ-a
where kuñ-a
why huña
how many kutečiuña
Huña and kutečiña are the only ones of these forms that have not sometimes been found without final -a, though all usually have it.

NOUN.

There are three principal subjects to be considered in connection with the Washo noun. First, while there is no trace of any syntactical cases, there is a vigorous development of locative cases and other suffixes of more or less material as opposed to formal meaning. Second, while a pure plural seems to be wanting, there is some development of categories related to the plural. Third, is the combination of the noun with the pronominal elements.

CASE-SUFFIXES.

As in so many American languages, syntactical cases are wanting in Washo, the subjective, objective, and possessive being identical in form. The language being an incorporating one, that is, one in which the relations of subject and object are indicated in the verb and the possessive relation is expressed by pronominal suffixion to the noun, this lack of formal cases is not so much felt. What would in other languages be the possessive case relation is expressed by juxtaposition of the two nouns standing in this relation, the possessor showing the form indicative of the third person possessive,—which, it must be remembered, is expressed not by an affix but by the absence of affixes from the stem.

The locative and instrumental case suffixes, postpositions, or appositions, as some would prefer to call them, are numerous, and the following list probably does not exhaust their number. There is no doubt that as they are used on the noun they are actually suffixes and not independent postposed particles equivalent in their employment to our prepositions. Nevertheless their union with the word to which they refer is not very close, as appears from the fact that in the case of pronominal words a syntactical suffix or particle is sometimes interposed between the stem and the “case suffix.” Thus, in huńate hee lu, what with ?, the intervening hee is the independent interrogative particle. On the other hand forms like laca

- -a in, to
- -aci from
- -awie¹ to, toward
- -uwe¹ from
- -adi¹ in, with
- -digu¹ in, with
- -aea in, within
- -dul¹ next to
- -leln¹ near, close
- -wi on
- -elmu under
- -haka in comp
- -lu with, by

There does not seem to correspond to that of English.

There is no doubt that in both forms, the first with finite suffix -kie. The fact that the numeral adjectives, and the fact where there was little doubt makes it almost certain that this language. What the two forms

The reduplication naturally or distributive. The suffix body seems to designate locates from parts of the body in the individual. Most nouns seem to the two forms. This apply mate objects. Nouns deno plicated instead of having has been found in both forms said to mean separate knees.

¹ Found once.
ones of these forms that final -a, though all usually
to be considered in connec-
tion there is no trace of any velopment of locative cases
eval as opposed to formal seems to be wanting, there
to the plural. Third, is pronominal elements.

s.

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l them, are numerous, and suast their number. There 
the noun they are actually ed particles equivalent in 

Nevertheless their union not very close, as appears ominal words a syntactical used between the stem and 
ec lu, what with ?, the interrogative particle. On the

other hand forms like lae, for le-aea, are evidence of closer union between stem and suffix.

- a in, to
- aci from
- awie\textsuperscript{1} to, toward
- uwe\textsuperscript{1} from
- adi\textsuperscript{1} in, within
- digu\textsuperscript{1} in, within
- aca in, within
- dulil\textsuperscript{1} next to
- lelen\textsuperscript{1} near, close to
- iwi on
- elnu under
- haka in company with
- lu with, by means of, within a period of time

PLURAL.

There does not seem to be a plural in Washo which corresponds to that of English. Questions in sentences so framed as to bring out the plural, usually resulted in words showing one of two forms, the first with final reduplication, the second with the suffix -kie. The fact that neither of these forms was used with numeral adjectives, and that both were wanting in other cases where there was little doubt that the noun had a plural meaning, makes it almost certain that there is no true plural in the language. What the two forms used actually designate, is not clear. The reduplication naturally leads to the surmise of a collective or distributive. The suffix -kie when appended to parts of the body seems to designate loose or acquired parts as distinguished from parts of the body in their normal position in the living individual. Most nouns seem to be used with only one or the other of the two forms. This applies both to names of animals and inanimate objects. Nouns denoting persons seem always to be duplicated instead of having the -kie form. The word moko, knee, has been found in both forms, moko-ko and moko-kie, the latter said to mean separate knees scattered about, or a pile of knees.

\textsuperscript{1} Found once.
Nouns found with final reduplication:

- dim-layaa-ya: my wives
- dik-milu-lu: my friends
- tamomodo: women
- me’lu-lu: old men
- me’hu-hu: boys
- wacii-eii: Washoes (wacii-ei’)
- paloe-leu: Paiutes, Paviotsos (paloeu)
- taboboo’o: whites (taboo = taboo’t)
- di-gncu-eu: my dogs
- gusu-su: buffalo
- memdewi-wi: deer
- hunaamuwe-we: elk
- k’ewee-we: coyotes
- malosa-sa-n: stars
- meskitse-tsa-t: arrows (meskitset)
- baloxa-xa-t: bows (baloxat)
- tawii-wi: knives
- moko-ko: knees
- telii-wei: men (telii’wi)
- cau-au-lamhu: girls (caulamhu)
- nau-aa-aa-n: babies (nauaana)
- da-n-lal: houses (daa’nal)
- metuntucu: old women (metuntucu)

Nouns found with the suffix -kie:

- aiyas-kie: antelopes
- tulici-kie: wolves
- peleu-kie: jackrabbits
- tsali-kie: cottontail-rabbits
- mogop-kie: foxes
- tubupiwi-kie: skunks
- hola-kie: badgers
- basat-kie: ground-squirrels
- biwi-kie: tree-squirrels
- delem-kie: gophers
- patalnii-kie: eagles

The final reduplication of the unreduplicated noun is a vowel. When the last syllable of a reduplicated form on the first. It can there is a consonant this final consonant the reduplication. Certain within the word or are some.

That the suffix -kie does of a plural on nouns suffix is not the exact equi terms denoting parts of the stated, that they are detachable to any inherent or primary to its collective or distributive applicable to parts of the bounding.

A suffix -kie occurs also of productive or distributive meaning could not be determined textual material.

dik-milu-lu: my-hair pulled-out.
dik-milu-lu lek’-ek’-en: my-hair pulled-out.
dik-milu-lu pakaree la-b: beef L-give.
dik-milu-lu pakaree la-b: beef L-give.
i s-aal dibike were-full-of.
dik’eu-kie-as, many co-
The final reduplication is quite regular when the last syllable of the unreduplicated noun consists of a consonant followed by a vowel. When the last syllable ends in a consonant this occurs in a reduplicated form on the second of the pair of syllables, but not on the first. It can therefore be said that in words ending in a consonant this final consonant is lost before the syllable added by the reduplication. Certain words show reduplication of a syllable within the word or are somewhat irregular.

That the suffix -kic does not occur with any meaning akin to that of a plural on nouns denoting persons, may show that this suffix is not the exact equivalent of final reduplication. That on terms denoting parts of the body this suffix signifies, as has been stated, that they are detached or acquired, does not seem to be due to any inherent or primary significance of the element, but rather to its collective or distributive denotation which is not ordinarily applicable to parts of the body in their living function or position. A suffix -kic occurs also on verbs with an unquestionably collective or distributive meaning, though whether collective or distributive could not be determined on account of lack of connected textual material.

\[ \text{dik-milu-lu l-ayue yok'am-kie-i, my-friends my-hair pulled-out.} \]

\[ \text{dik-milu-lu lek'ek'eñ l-ayue yok'am-i, my-friends one-each my-hair pulled-out.} \]

\[ \text{dik-milu-lu pakāree l-ecl-i, my-friends a-head-of-beef I-give.} \]

\[ \text{ieda mile d-añal dibikeñ mîpul-kie-a, then all the-houses bones were-full-of.} \]

\[ \text{dék'eu-kic-as, many coming.} \]
POSSESSIVE PRONOMINAL AFFIXES.

The union of the possessive pronominal elements with the noun discloses some of the most characteristic features of the Washo language. To begin with, the topic can be simplified by eliminating the dual and plural from consideration. As there are no special pronominal forms for these numbers, the dual and plural of the possessive pronouns are expressed in two ways: either by placing before the noun, but as a separate word, the independent form of the pronoun in the number required; or by suffixing to the noun to which the pronominal element is prefixed -ci or -hu, the suffixes of duality and plurality otherwise added to the independent pronouns. The latter method has been found only in the first person. The former, that of indicating the number by the apposition of an independent pronoun in the dual or plural, has been found in both the first and second persons. The plurality of the noun as distinguished from that of its modifying pronominal element, that is to say the presence or absence of its final reduplication or the suffix -kie, does not affect the prefixed pronominal elements and may also be disregarded in the present connection.

1-añal
leci l-añal
m-añal
miu m-añal
di-tawi
leci di-tawi
leu di-tawi
leu di-tawi
di-hañ
di-hañ-ai
di-hañ-hu
l-ádu
l-ádu-hu
miu m-ádu

my house
our (d.) house
thy house
your house
my knife
our (d.) knife
our knife
our knives
my mouth
our two mouths
our mouths
my hand
our hands
your hands

In their relation with the possessive pronominal elements, which are always prefixed, the nouns are divisible into two great classes, those beginning with consonant. Those with initial 1- and the second by m-.

In the first person by di- and the presence of greater importance difference of the prefix forms fact that initially vocalic say when unaccompanied prefix or initial element dis- consonant lack this d-. If it is the absolute form of the name phonetic form of the begin to avoid the conclusion that function. The two initial nouns differ also in the es beginning in a vowel expres person by the absence of an absolute form of the we learned, gives the erroneous is lost. D-aádu is hand, a consonantal class of noun absolute form of the noun, usual prefix in the third person nouns of this initially con of the initially vocalic class the third person. These which differ in the absolute form, but nouns like tawi ingly are alike in the absolute third person.

The following therefore
pronominal elements, divisible into two great classes, those beginning with a vowel and those beginning with a consonant. Those with initial vowel indicate the first person by l- and the second by m-. Those with initial consonant indicate the first person by di- and the second person by um-. A difference of greater importance between the two classes than this difference of the prefix forms for the first and second persons, is the fact that initially vocalic words in the absolute form, that is to say when unaccompanied by any pronominal element, show a prefix or initial element d-, whereas words beginning with a consonant lack this d-. If it were not that the presence of this d- in the absolute form of the noun is conditioned so rigorously by the phonetic form of the beginning of the word, it would be difficult to avoid the conclusion that this d- had some important structural function. The two initially vocalic and consonantal classes of nouns differ also in the expression of the third person. Nouns beginning in a vowel express pronominal possession of the third person by the absence of any prefix, so that the initial d- of the absolute form of the word,—which, as the language is first learned, gives the erroneous impression of being the stem form,—is lost. D-aadu is hand, aadu his hand. The second or initially consonantal class of nouns, which lack the initial d- in the absolute form of the noun, usually but not always show a pronominal prefix in the third person. This prefix is da- or de-. Certain nouns of this initially consonantal class, however, resemble those of the initially vocalic class in lacking every pronominal prefix in the third person. These nouns include not only words like dog, which differ in the absolute (suku) from the pronominal (gucu) form, but nouns like tawi, knife, and mayop, foot, which accordingly are alike in the absolute form and with the possessive of the third person.

The following therefore are the two classes of formations.
I. Initially Vocalic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Absolute Form of word</th>
<th>My</th>
<th>Thy</th>
<th>His</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>d-añal</td>
<td>l-añal</td>
<td>m-añal</td>
<td>añal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>d-ñmu</td>
<td>l-ñmu</td>
<td>m-ñmu</td>
<td>ñmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair</td>
<td>d-ayne</td>
<td>l-ayne</td>
<td>m-ayne</td>
<td>ayne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tooth</td>
<td>d-lyek</td>
<td>l-lyek</td>
<td>m-lyek</td>
<td>lyek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leg</td>
<td>d-ñil</td>
<td>l-ñil</td>
<td>m-ñil</td>
<td>ñil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neck</td>
<td>d-ñu</td>
<td>l-ñu</td>
<td>m-ñu</td>
<td>ñu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>d-ñu</td>
<td>l-ñu</td>
<td>m-ñu</td>
<td>ñu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm</td>
<td>d-ñil</td>
<td>l-ñil</td>
<td>m-ñil</td>
<td>ñil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart</td>
<td>d-ñil</td>
<td>l-ñil</td>
<td>m-ñil</td>
<td>ñil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urine</td>
<td>d-ñal</td>
<td>l-ñal</td>
<td>m-ñal</td>
<td>ñal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father-in-law</td>
<td>d-ñuk</td>
<td>l-ñuk</td>
<td>m-ñuk</td>
<td>ñuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>d-ñuk</td>
<td>l-ñuk</td>
<td>m-ñuk</td>
<td>ñuk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Initially Consonantal.

| Dog             | suku                 | di-güen | um-güen | güen |
| Knife           | täwi                | di-täwi | um-täwi | täwi |
| Nose            | cuyep               | di-cuyep | um-cuyep | cuyep |
| Foot            | mayop               | di-mayop | um-mayop | mayop |
| Knee            | mëko               | di-mëko | um-mëko | mëko |
| Eye             | wigi                | di-wigi | um-wigi | wigi |
| Finger          | tultsek             | di-tultsek | um-tultsek | tultsek |
| Belly           | tsigüge             | di-tsigüge | um-tsigüge | tsigüge |
| Son             | di-ñam             | um-ñam | da-ñam | ñam |
| Daughter        | di-ñamu             | um-ñamu | da-ñamu | ñamu |
| Father          | di-ñi              | um-ñi | da-ñi | ñi |
| Mother          | di-lä              | um-lä | da-lä | lä |
| Sister-in-law   | di-yäfål            | um-yäfål | da-yäfål | yäfål |
| Paternal grandfather | di-ñi  | bäpa | um-bäpa | bäpa |
| Man's son's child | la-ñi | bapa' | u'bapa | bapa' |
| Elder sister    | di-ñå              | um-ñå | da-ñå | çå |
| Elder brother   | di-ñå              | um-ñå | da-ñå | çå |
| Paternal grandmother | di-ñå  | ama | um-ama | ama |
| Woman's son's child | la-ñå | bapa' | u'bapa | bapa' |
| Father's brother | di-ñå         | um-ñå | da-ñå | çå |
| Wife            | um-laya            | di-m-laya | mi-m-laya | m-laya |
| Friend          | um-laya            | di-m-laya | mi-m-laya | m-laya |
| Tongue          | madut              | di-madut | um-madut | madut |
| Arrow           | meskitsat          | di-meskitsat | um-meskitsat | meskitsat |
| Mouth           | haña                | di-haña | um-haña | haña |
| Thigh           | yowi               | di-yowi | um-yowi | yowi |
| Rib             | mënæn              | di-mënæn | um-mënæn | mënæn |
| Younger brother | di-hëyu            | di-hëyu | um-hëyu | hëyu |
| Younger sister  | di-wita'uk         | di-wita'uk | um-wita'uk | wita'uk |
| Dream           | mëts'uk            | di-mëts'uk | um-mëts'uk | mëts'uk |

From the fact that the great majority of nouns obtained with initial d- in the absolute form designate parts of the body, it might at first sight seem that this element was an indefinite pronominal prefix analogous to affixes in languages with the meaning 'of.' The case appears both from the occurrence of several stems with the meaning 'of' the body, like madut, ton- and d-, and from the fact that nouns of verbs, such as d-ñuk, house, d-ñuk, eat, and drink. It is possible that the prefix d- is from the d-suffix of the first person singular pronoun as in Washo. Pre-

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1 Salinan shows a complete prefixed possessive pronoun with a prefix of unknown value, which has the conditions in Washo. Prefix
prefix analogous to affixes found in certain other American languages with the meaning "'someone's.'" That this is however not the case appears both from the fact that words like d-añal, house, show this initial element, and that many nouns denoting parts of the body, like madut, tongue, and haña, mouth, do not take initial d-

It is possible that the initial d- is at least in origin an affix making nouns of verbs. There is evidence for this in words such as d-añal, house, d-émlu, eat, and d-ime, water, whose stems, lacking the d-, are used as verbs with the meanings respectively of live, eat, and drink. It is true, however, that the more considerable number of nouns denoting parts of the body which begin in the absolute form with d- are not thus analyzable, at least in the present stage of knowledge of the language. On the other hand the explanation of d- as a noun-agent prefix is strengthened by the occurrence of several forms similar to d- and with similar force.

It is to be noted that a few words beginning with m show the prefix of the first person in the form dik- instead of di-. The reason for this anomaly is not clear. That the k is not part of the stem is seen in their absolute form, as madut, tongue, dik-madut, my tongue.

Terms of relationship furnish the only exception to the rule that all nouns of the first class begin with a vowel and all of the second with a consonant. -ísa, older sister, -át'u, older brother, -ama, paternal grandmother, -euci, father's brother, and -elel-i,
maternal grandfather, all belong to the second class in taking the possessive prefixes di-, -um, and da-. As terms of relationship are not used without possessive prefixes, there is no opportunity of knowing whether or not these words would in their absolute form also belong to the second class and lack initial d-: whether for instance “older sister” per se would be d-isa or isa. On the other hand two terms of relationship, -ayuk, father-in-law, and -eyec, daughter-in-law, have been found to belong to the first class, to which one would expect their initial vowels to refer them if they were not terms of relationship, and form possessives respectively by l-, m-, and -, like other initially vocalic nouns.

A curious phenomenon is displayed by certain terms of relationship which denote two persons standing in reciprocal relationship to one another, such as paternal grandfather and a man’s son’s child. These are both expressed by one stem, for instance -bapa. When the older of these two reciprocal relatives is meant, the possessive of the first person is expressed by di-. When the younger is meant, the prefix of the same person is la-, recalling the l- prefix of the first or initially vocalic class of nouns. Thus, di-bapa, my paternal grandfather, and la-bapa, my son’s child. In the second person no such distinction was observed. In the third person, according to the informant, there is a difference, perhaps of accent or length of vowel; but the same prefix da- is used for both significations.

The reflexive possessive of the third person, or the possessive referring to the subject of the sentence, is not expressed by da- or lack of a prefix, but by the prefix gik-. Thus: da-isa, his, another’s, older sister; gik-isa, his own older sister; gik-beyu-haka afal-i-a, her-own-younger-brother-with she-lived; gi gik-famin ugaiani, his-own-child he strikes; da-famin ugaiani, her-child he-strikes; gik-isa-y-es ipu-a, not-his-own-elder-sister he-found; tabo de-isa-haka g-ipu-a, a-white-man his-(the white-man’s)-elder-sister-with he-(another person)-found.

A double affix consisting of the prefix gum- and the suffix -ci denotes “so and so and his,” as in phrases like “he and his brother.” Gum- is probably the reflexive gum or kum.

John gum-beyu-ci pâleu ipu-a, John and his brother found a Paiute.

Nearly everything that comprised under the head of four well-marked classes, First are the pronominal forms. Second, also prefix tactical function, is a class or explicitly limiting the verb. Third, perhaps some but still scarcely purely group- ing motion. Fourth and la- tense, mode, and a number of certain verbal ideas differ- ence of number, the singular, d- plural. There is no incorpora-
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possessives respectively lie nouns.
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with she-lived; gi gik-
; da-ñamin ugaiami, her-
t-his-own-elder-sister he-
ite-man his-(the white-
son)-found.
x gum- and the suffix -ci
rases like “he and his
re gum or kum.
and his brother found a

VERB.

Nearly everything that can be said about the Washo verb is
comprised under the head of affixes. These fall of themselves into
four well-marked classes, differing both in use and in meaning.
First are the pronominal elements, which are always prefixed,
and for which there are transitive-objective as well as intransitive
forms. Second, also prefixed, but of etymological as well as syn-
tactical function, is a class of prefixes expressing instrumentality
or explicitly limiting the nature of the dynamic action of the
verb. Third, perhaps somewhat less etymological than the last,
but still scarcely purely grammatical, is a class of suffixes denot-
ing motion. Fourth and last is a large group of suffixes denoting
tense, mode, and a numerous category of related ideas. With the
discussion of these four classes of prefixes and suffixes the exami-
nation of the verb is practically exhausted. The stem does not
seem to undergo any essential changes. Reduplication is unim-
portant. A distributive or collective is occasionally indicated by
the suffix -kic, which is used for the same purpose in the noun.
The plural is not expressed, except for the fact that in the case
of certain verbal ideas different stems occur for the singular and
plural. There is no incorporation of the noun into the verb.

I. PRONOMINAL INCORPORATION.

Pronominal incorporation in the verb must be declared to
exist, since not only are the pronominal elements fully joined
into one word with the verb stem, but they are simpler than the
independent pronominal forms and sometimes differ from them.
As in the case of possessive incorporation in the noun, the process
of incorporation, in many American languages so intricate, is
considerably simplified in Washo by the absence of any indication
of number, the singular, dual, and plural being identical.
The intransitive and transitive-objective pronominal incorpora-
tions in the verb must be considered separately.
Intransitive.

The intransitive conjugation is exactly parallel to the incorporation of the possessive elements in the noun. There are the same two classes of stems, those beginning with vowels and those beginning with consonants; and the same prefixes, respectively l- and m- in the first class, and d- and um- in the second, denote the first and second persons, with absence of any prefix for the third person. This parallelism between the noun with a possessive pronominal element, and the intransitive verb with a subjective pronominal element, becomes especially interesting in those cases in which the same stem is used for nouns and verbs of kindred meaning. Thus the stem añal means both to live and house, dwell or dwelling. The prefixes used being the same, my house and I live are identical except for the fact that as a verb the stem is not used without a modal-temporal suffix. L-añal is my house and l-añal-i I live. Exactly the same relation exists in the case of the stem emlu, food or eat, and ime, water or drink.

The initial d- which forms the absolute or non-possessed form of many nouns, and which appears to indicate the object, instrument, or agent of the verbal action expressed by the stem, bears a close relation to the pronominal prefixes, not through any similarity in the nature of its meaning, but on account of being a functional equivalent. Not only is it prefixed exactly like the pronominal elements, but it is alternative with them, being lost when a possessive prefix is used and universally reappearing on certain stems whenever the possessive or subjective prefix is lacking. This d- prefix has been discussed in connection with the noun and its pronominal elements. It need only be said again here that several similar prefixes, such as t', dam-, and det-, having agentive force and probably related to d- in origin and meaning, have been found. D- seems more frequently to denote the object of action, that which is eaten, drunk, inhabited; t', dam-, and det- appear to refer to an agent.

D-èmlu is food, t'èmlu, eater; t'iyé, walker; d-añal, house; d-ime, water; d-àea, urine; det-múè-i, runner; dem-gít-i, biter; tam-atki, murderer, killer.

In the transitive conjugation, subject and object, the bare stem is possible. Nevertheless these are cases not simply compositional, but inseparable more or less inextricable combination of the subject, the independent pronoun le, I, making the subject or possessive, occurs also as lem. It is to be remembered that the stem is, joined to the verb.

The remaining transi- tionally prefixes. An -m- represented either as sub- jacent to the subject, this -m- forms the last part of the verb, is at the beginning of the formation of these prefixes. The object farther from it; in some cases the final element was prefixed.

In the transitive first intransitive and possessive combination of the first and second person, where the prefix of the second person has the first to the exclusion of the second.

In the third person no
exactly parallel to the incor-

n the noun. There are the

iing with vowels and those ame prefixes, respectively l-
m- in the second, denote the

of any prefix for the third

oun with a possessive pro-

verb with a subjective pro-

nteresting in those cases in

and verbs of kindred mean-
to live and house, dwell or

same, my house and I live

verb the stem is not used

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ists in the case of the stem

ink.

ute or non-possessed form

icate, intransitively by the stem, bears a

es, not through any simi-

out on account of being a

ixed exactly like the

tive with them, being lost

versally reappearing on

jective prefix is lack-

ed in connection with the

ed only be said again

as t', dam-, and det-, hav-

to d- in origin and mean-

frequently to denote the

vink, inhabited; t', dam-

, walker; d-añál, house;

unner; dem-git-i, biter;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>Thou</th>
<th>He</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eat</td>
<td>emlu</td>
<td>l-émlu-yi</td>
<td>m-iyi</td>
<td>(gi-)yiyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walk</td>
<td>iye</td>
<td>l-ye-yi</td>
<td>m-iyi</td>
<td>añál-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live</td>
<td>añál</td>
<td>l-añál-li</td>
<td>m-añál-li</td>
<td>ibi-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come</td>
<td>ibi</td>
<td>l-ibi</td>
<td>l-eme-i</td>
<td>l-eme-i</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drink</td>
<td>ime</td>
<td>l-eme-i</td>
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<td>l-áca-i</td>
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<tr>
<td>Run</td>
<td>múc</td>
<td>l-itic-múc-i</td>
<td>u'-múc-i</td>
<td>(gik-)múc-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungry</td>
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<td>l-bica 'pu-i</td>
<td>u-bica 'pu-i</td>
<td>bica 'pu-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dream</td>
<td>gamsúc</td>
<td>l-gamsúc-i</td>
<td>u-gamsúc-i</td>
<td>bica 'pu-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chew</td>
<td>gumsúc</td>
<td>l-gamsúc-i</td>
<td>u-gamsúc-i</td>
<td>bica 'pu-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive.

In the transitive conjugation, or the incorporation of both

ject and object, the bases of the pronominal elements are vis-

Nevertheless these transitive pronominal forms are in most
cases not simply composites of the subjective and objective pro-
nouns, but inseparable monosyllables. The only exception is the
combination of the subject of the second person and object of
the first person, where the form is le-um, consisting of the inde-
dependent pronoun le, I, me, and the pronominal prefix um- denot-
ing the subject or possessive of the second person. This form
occurs also as lem. It is doubtful whether it is actually prefixed,
that is, joined to the verb stem, or whether it is only preposed.

The remaining transitive pronominal elements are unques-

ionably prefixes. An -m- occurs wherever the second person is
represented either as subject or object. When it is the subject,
this -m- forms the last part of the prefix; when it is the object,
it is at the beginning of the prefix. This would show that in the
formation of these prefixes the subject stood nearer the stem, the
object farther from it; in other words, that the objective pronom-
inal element was prefixed to the subjective prefix.

In the transitive first person the l- or d- characteristic of its
intransitive and possessive forms always appears, except in the
combination of the first person as subject with an object of the
second person, where the form is simply mi-, the phonetic sign
of the second person having evidently predominated over that of
the first to the exclusion of the latter.

In the third person matters are somewhat different. It will
be remembered that the third person has no indication in the
intransitive verb, and that in the possessive noun it is represented by a prefix da- occurring only in certain cases. In the transitive conjugation, when the object is of the third person, it seems not to be expressed. The transitive form of the third person objective with a subject of the first person is di-, and with a subject of the second person um-, the same as for initially consonantal intransitive verbs. When however the subject is of the third person and the object of the first or second, an -a- appears as the sign of the third person. This, combined with the elements l- and m- characteristic of the first and second persons, forms the prefixes la-, he me, and ma-, he you. This -a- characterizing the subjective transitive third person does not occur as a separate prefix, much less as a separate word; but it is probably more than a coincidence, though possibly only the influence of analogy may have been operative, that the possessive prefix of the third person found before initially consonantal nouns, da-, also contains -a-. It must of course not be supposed that the analysis which has just been made of the prefixes l-a- and m-a- necessarily represents their actual origin and development, although the order of the two elements in the prefix, object before subject, is the same as in the other transitive prefixes. When both subject and object are of the third person, there is no pronominal indication or incorporation, as is the case also in the intransitive verb of the third person, and in the possessive noun when this is initially vocalic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>me</th>
<th>thee</th>
<th>him</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l, di-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>leum</td>
<td></td>
<td>m-um-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>la-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

- mi-yatki: I kill you
- mi-galami: I like you
- mi-ugatsap: I kick you
- mi-dam: I strike you
- di-yatki: I kill him
- di-galami: I like him
- di-ugatsap: I kick him
- di-dam: I strike him

There are certain phonetic changes to be noted. Before stems commencing with a final vowel are replaced by l-, after which t- is sometimes changed to l-, and um-, yatki- to um-, yatki-. Occasionally other verbs beside the intransitives have the vowels undergo similar changes, and ma-, just as the possessive prefix, is often de-

- mi-l-ecl-i
- leum-galami
- leum-giti
- lem-dam
- lem-i-ugatsap
- um-yatki
- um-galami
- um-giti
- mi-ugatsap
- la-galami
- la-ugatsap
- la-dam
- ma-galami
- yatki
- giti
- dam-
In the transitive third person, it seems not a of the third person object is di-, and with a subject as for initially consonantal he subject is of the third cond, an -a- appears as the ed with the elements 1- and ad persons, forms the pre-
-a- characterizing the sub-
occur as a separate prefix, is probably more than a influence of analogy may in a prefix of the third person ms, da-, also contains -a- at the analysis which has n-a- necessarily represents although the order of the subject, is the same as at both subject and object nominal indication or intransitive verb of the third this is initially vocalic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>-transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td>la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-</td>
<td>la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>um-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- kill you
- like you
- kick you
- strike you
- kill him
- like him
- kick him
- strike him

There are certain phonetic modifications in the transitive verb. Before stems commencing with i, di-, I him, is not used, being replaced by 1-, after which the initial i of the stem is changed to e. This is analogous to the process occurring in intransitive i-verbs in the first person, such as ime, l-eme-, ibi, l-ebi-, iye, l-eye-. Before transitive verbs beginning with i the prefix la-, he me, is also changed to 1-, and um-, you him, seems to become simply m-. Occasionally other verbs beginning either with consonants or vowels undergo similar changes. Le- and me- are common for la- and ma-, just as the possessive prefix of the third person da- is often de-.

- leum-galami
- leum-giti
- lem-dam-
- lem-i-ugatsap-
- um-yatki
- um-galami
- um-giti
- mi-ugatsap
- la-galami
- la-ngatsap-
- la-dam
- ma-galami
- yatki
- giti
- dam-

- you kill me
- you like me
- you bite me
- you strike me
- you kick me
- you kill him
- you like him
- you bite him
- you kick him
- he likes me
- he kicks me
- he strikes me
- he likes you
- he kills him
- he bites him
- he strikes him

- mi-l-ecel-i
- l-ecel
- l-iel-i
- mi-l-ikilëki
- lêm-ikilëki
- mi-ikilëki
- i-ikilëki
- l-ikilëki
- l-ikilëki

- I give you
- I give
- he gives me
- I saw you
- you saw me
- you saw him
- he saw him
- I saw him
- he saw me
The i- in the last two words is said to differ in quality.

le-giti he bites me
me-giti he bites you
le-dukanü he dislikes me
me-dukanü he dislikes you
le-yuli they kill us
me-yuli they kill ye

As has been stated, number of the subject or object is not indicated in the verb, at least not in connection with the pronouns. The verb forms I run and we run are alike; but to indicate the latter form the dual or plural independent pronoun is used in the sentence. The dual or plural forms of the pronoun are thus used in apposition, as it were, to the numerically indeterminate pronominal elements incorporated in the verb. In certain cases, however, especially if the subject is of the third person and the object of the first or second, or when both subject and object are dual or plural, the incorporation seems to be dropped entirely and the independent pronouns alone to be used.

téliwu di-yat'k iweyesi men I-kill constantly
tabiboo di-galümi the-whites I-like
tabiboo la-galümi the-whites me-like
dimlayaya la-dami my-wives hit-me
dimlayaya di-dami my-wives I-shall-hit
miu mi-galümi ye I-like
lecici cacuduwa us-two they-fear
miu lécí di-cacudwiesi ye we-two do-not-fear
John miu gitili John ye bit

Reflexive.

The reflexive is not indicated by incorporation. It is formed by a suffix -kum, which is combined with the pronominal elements di-, mi-, and gi- respectively for the first, second, and third persons. The resulting forms, dikum, mikum, and gikum, are perhaps independent words, as they were heard, or possibly compound prefixes in which the reflexive element kum intervenes between the subjective prefix and the verb stem. Compare the gum-ci form with terms of relationship, meaning “he and his.”
to differ in quality.
e bites me
e bites you
e dislikes me
e dislikes you
they kill us
they kill ye

subject or object is not
connection with the pro-
form are alike; but to indi-
dependent pronoun is
ral forms of the pronoun
, to the numerically inde-
orated in the verb. In
ec subject is of the third
and, or when both subject
orporation seems to be
ouns alone to be used.
e I-kill constantly
ie-whites I-like
ie-whites me-like
y-wives hit-me
y-wives I-shall-hit
I I-like
s-two they-fear
we-two do-not-fear
chn ye bit

corporation. It is forma
the pronominal elements
first, second, and third
ikum, and gikum, are
heard, or possibly com-
lement kum intervenes
 verb stem. Compare the
, meaning "he and his."

le dikum galǎmi,
I like myself
dikum yāpak-hi,
I will cut myself
len dikum beheecelagaàa, we began to shoot at each other
mi hec mikum lapnapi, did you crush yourself?
tabòò gikum galami, the white man likes himself

Imperative.

The imperative is expressed by a prefix ge or ke, the original
force of which is not clear, but which in general phonetic char-
acter, in position, and in use, is like the noun-forming prefix d-
and the pronominal prefixes. This similarity is carried further
by the fact that those verbs beginning with m which have the
prefix of the first person dik- instead of di-, show an imperative
in gek- instead of ge-. The resemblance of this imperative ge- to
the pronominal forms is brought out still further by the circum-
stance that when it is accompanied by a pronominal object of the
third person, it becomes ga-, just as the indicative forms of the
first and second person subject with an object of the third person
are la- and ma-. In many cases a suffix or enclitic -ye is used with
the verb in the imperative; in other cases it is absent. This -ye
would seem to be a particle, and probably an enclitic rather than
a structural suffix.

ge-bemùkul
chew!

k'-eye
walk!

k'-eme
drink!

g-èiti
bite!

g-ègel
sit down!

g-lùwe
sit down! (plural)

g-uùn
lick up!

gek-mùe-ye
run!

ge-yeñì
run! (plural)

k'-èmlu-ye
cat!

ga-ugatsap-ye
kick him!

ka-bali
shoot him!

le-gìti-ye
bite me!

ka-yali
stand up!

ka-huguipùs
stand up! (plural)

ga-ugaya
speak to him!
la-ugaya
ka-lapnap
ge-ugisu

The optative of the first person, such as let us, is indicated by
the ordinary pronominal prefix of the first person, which it will
be remembered is numerically indeterminate, with a suffix -ce.
Whether this suffix is related to the pronominal sign of the dual,
-ci, is not certain.

l-ëmlu-ce
l-eye-ce
l-eme-ce
dik-muc-e

let us eat
let us walk
let us drink
let us run

II. INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES.

Verb formatives, that is to say, affixes which affect the meaning
of the verb itself but not its relation to other parts of the
sentence, occur both as prefixes and suffixes. As stated above, the
prefixes and the suffixes of this kind each form a class with a
different type of meaning. The suffixes seem all to define or re-
strict the kind of motion expressed in the verb. The prefixes are
instrumental. They tell whether the action is performed with the
hand, the foot, the head, by grinding, rubbing, or chewing, with
the side or with the end of a long object, and so on. Such affixes
are found in other American languages and it is probably not an
accident that like the incorporated pronominal elements they
appear usually as prefixes. In the Dakota language there are
five or six such prefixes which are very freely used. Many verbs,
comprising about all those expressing dynamic action, are not
ordinarily employed as stems, but only with one of these prefixes
or with a correspondingly used causative. In California these
instrumental verb prefixes are developed in Pomo, and according
to the statement of Professor R. B. Dixon similar affixes occur in
Maidu. Other languages, such as Yuki and Yokuts, lack them
entirely. It is characteristic that both these latter languages are
purely suffixing, even their pronouns being used as independent
words.

The instrumental prefixes obtained show some variation of
forms and their number has almost certainly not been exhausted.

There is only one which has a fixed meaning. This is dum-,
with the meaning: with the hand, as referring to a long object
have always, and others
before the verb stem; but
body, such as liwi- and ni-
they are prefixed to the ver-
mental case-suffix -lu.

dum-
uga-, yugi-
deli-
ni-
le-
pilu-k-
lup-

Examples:
dum-bam
dum-p'op'o
dum-bee
uga-yam

yugi-dip
ugal-dabem
dei-dip
liwi-lup-gip-us
liwi-lup-gie-ne
ni-dip
ni-lup-gip-us
le-dip
le-gege
di-pilukw-kikeleuhaj
ge-pilu-gep-us-haya
Kroeber.—The Washo Language. 287

There is only one which is sometimes other than instrumental in meaning. This is dum-, which seems to be used instrumentally with the meaning: *with the end of a long object*, and objectively as referring to a long object. Some of these instrumental prefixes have always, and others sometimes, been found placed directly before the verb stem; but those denoting action with a part of the body, such as liwi- and nī-, are sometimes followed by -lup- before they are prefixed to the verb stem. This -lup- suggests the instrumental case-suffix -lu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dum-</td>
<td>with the end of a long object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uga-, yugi-</td>
<td>as object of the verb: a long one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-</td>
<td>with a long object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liwi-</td>
<td>with the hand (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nī-</td>
<td>with the foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le-</td>
<td>with the head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilu-</td>
<td>with the teeth, by grinding, by rubbing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lup-</td>
<td>by turning (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dum-bam</td>
<td>hit with the end of, jab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dum-p'op'ō</td>
<td>mash with the end of, as a pestle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dum-bee</td>
<td>throw something long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uga-yam</td>
<td>hit with (the side or edge of) something long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yugi-dip</td>
<td>crush with something long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugal-dabem</td>
<td>hit with the palm, slap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-dip</td>
<td>crush with the hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liwi-lup-gip-us</td>
<td>raise with the foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liwi-lup-gic-ne</td>
<td>roll with the foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nī-dip</td>
<td>crush with the head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nī-lup-gip-us</td>
<td>raise with the head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le-dip</td>
<td>crush with the teeth, grind with a stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le-gege</td>
<td>rub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-pilukw-kikeleuhai</td>
<td>I turn it around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge-pilu-gep-us-haya</td>
<td>turn (raise) it up flat!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III. SUFFIXES OF MOTION.

The formative verb suffixes, constituting, after the pronominal elements and instrumental prefixes, the third class of verb affixes, are numerous. Some eight or ten have been determined and their number is probably considerably larger. Their meanings are much more difficult to determine than their existence. Two of the most important, which show parallelism in form, denote motion toward and from, especially with reference to the speaker. Another pair, also showing some analogy in form, denote motion up and down. Others also have a specific force, such as expressing motion through a flat surface like a wall. Others, like the suffix -e, are used on verbs of motion, but without any force that has been determined, and are not unlikely indicative merely of motion as such without further definition. Still others probably have exact meanings but these have not been ascertained.

-uk, -buk motion toward the speaker
-ue, -bue motion from the speaker
-giti motion up
-giliwe motion down
-a-hat motion through a surface
-e frequent on verbs of motion
-am, -awam motion to (?)
-us motion up (?)
-wa motion (?)

Examples:

bece-uk-i blows against us
bebe-uk-a shot at us
ga-ya-buk run hither!
ge-yeusiu-ok slide to me!
tugia-uk look here!
ge-emic-uk throw it!
ge-yeusiu-uwe slide away!
di-liwi-lup-gie-ue-hi 1-foot-with-roll-thither-will
ga-ya-bue run off
di-dum-bue-uwe throw it away endwise!
mi le-uwe yeusiu-uwe-aecai to-you me-from slide-hence-will

di-yeusiu-awam-hi
di-emu-ahat-hi
di-baya-hat-hi
ge-yeusiu-giti
ge-yeusiu-giliwe
leye-wa-a
diyatkiña-wa-a
baacu-wa-a
bip-os
u-lep-us
gip-us
goa-hugip-us

IV.

The fourth and last signs of mode and tense, and, like the group of together of suffixes. When or mode are used on a verb shows that Washo, like tense affixes as more for than indications of the other. Besides tenses, conative -ue, -gaña, -a, -hi. The list of tense even after the limited str can scarcely be doubted many other suffixes. This is quite clear. In other concerned, the meaning is not finer shades of difference another. Besides tenses, tative, inchoative, conative found.

The imperative seems ge- or k'e analogous to cases this is accompanied let us shows a suffix -ee,
motion.

uting, after the pronominal third class of verb affixes, been determined and their ger. Their meanings are their existence. Two of ilism in form, denote mo-
1 reference to the speaker. gy in form, denote motion dle force, such as express-
3 a wall. Others, like the but without any force that likely indicative merely of ion. Still others probably t been ascertained.

toward the speaker from the speaker up down through a surface nt on verbs of motion to (?)
up (?) (?)

against us us her! me! re! t!

away! /th-roll-thither-will

away endwise! ne-from slide-hence-will

di-yeusiu-awam-hi I will slide to you
di-cum-ahat-hi I-throw-through-will
di-baya-hat-hi I-shoot-in-through-will
ge-yeusiu-giti slide down!
ge-yeusiu-giliwe slide up!
leye-wa-a I went home
diyatkiňa-wa-a we killed one more
baaci-wa-a he went in
bip-os pick up, raise
u-lep-us lift
gip-us lift
ga-hugip-us stand up, ye!

IV. TENSE AND MODE.

The fourth and last class of verbal affixes comprises all the signs of mode and tense, using these terms in their widest sense, and, like the group of affixes expressing motion, is composed altogether of suffixes. When both a suffix of motion and one of tense or mode are used on a verb, the latter takes the last place. This shows that Washo, like most languages, regards its mode and tense affixes as more formal and less etymological or derivative than indications of the nature of motion. Just so the inchoatives and conative -ue, -gañä, -duwe precede the pure tense suffixes -i, -a, -hi. The list of tense and mode signs determined is a long one even after the limited study so far given to the language, and it can scarcely be doubted that a thorough investigation will reveal many other suffixes. The meaning of some of the endings found is quite clear. In other cases, especially where the tenses are concerned, the meaning is more doubtful, especially as regards the finer shades of difference of significance between one suffix and another. Besides tenses, participles or dependent modes, a dubi-

tative, inchoative, conative, frequentative, and potential have been found.

The imperative seems to be expressed primarily by a prefix ge- or k’e analogous to the pronominal elements; but in many cases this is accompanied by a suffix or enclitic -ye. The optative let us shows a suffix -ce, which may be only the pronominal suffix
of duality -ci. The interrogative is not expressed by a suffix but by the independent interrogative particle hec. The negative is indicated by ès, meaning no or not. This element is used both as an independent word and as a suffix. The simple phonetic character of Washo sometimes makes it difficult to determine whether two or more syllables are independent words or particles, or merely constituents of a single word; but the fact that this negative particle ès, which at times indubitably occurs as a separate word, is found also between the verb stem and a tense suffix, shows it to be at other times unquestionably a formative suffix.

-ye          imperative (sometimes)
-ce          optative
-ès          negative
hec (particle) interrogative
-i           present
-a           indefinite past, aorist, narrative tense
-ic          present participle
-ae          past participle
-ıeki         immediate past (to-day) completed
-aiki         recent past (yesterday, several days ago) completed
-gul-ıeki    distant past, completed
-almamaik     indefinite perfect (action completed but the time of its occurrence indefinite)
-hi           future, without further implication
-acə          future, implying volition
-iki, icki    potential (can, will, do)
-ue           inchoative
-gañə         inchoative
-uc           frequentative, usitative
-du-we        } conative
|  }-du-we-we   
|  }-du-hai
|hái, -ihái     ?
|idnūn         dubitative, quotative

1 In the totally unrelated Yurok language, spoken about the mouth of the Klamath river, hec, hæc, is also the interrogative particle. In the same language ës, water, is identical with ës, water, of many Shoshonean dialects—and equally unindicative, so far as known, of contact or common origin.

Examples:

hec:
mi hec lem dam-i
di-γuæn hec me-giatan
le miki hec iye
mi hec um-γatki
um-baloxad-i hec-i
hunûate hec lu
mi he mi-kum lapnab
kuteciña hec mi-mi
gudiñ hec la-dam-i

-es:  
es
ki-γ-ye
mi l-iki-es-leki
l-emlu-γ-ec-leki
lak ‘aia es ilbi-i
le ec di-ugatsab-i
um-bali-es-icki k’lei
l-adu-es-i
ic δ sa wayatsim-es-a
gik-ısa-γ-es
hada-γ-es
le-γ-ec-tiwa-i
di-γ-ùli-γ-es-i-ña k’lei

-i:  
dik-mue-i
m-γ-ye-i
di-mlaya bicapu-i
wdi d-emlu añaw-i

-a:  
l-iki-es-a
dík-milu di-degêm-a
dík-milu iid-a
ic le-ec di-lu-a
The Washo Language.

Examples:

hec:

mi hec lem dam-i
di-gneu hec me-giti-i
le miki hec iye
mi hec um-yatki
um-baloxadi hec-i
huñate hec lu
mi he mi-kum lapnab-i
kuteiniñ hec mi-nlaya
gudĩñ hec la-dam-i
did you hit me?
did my dog bite you?
you saw me?
did you kill him?
have you a gun?
with what?
did you crush yourself?
how many your wives?
who struck me?

-es-:
es
ki-y-es
mi l-iki-es-leki
l-emlu-y-ec-leki
lak'aa es iibi-i
le ec di-ugatsab-i
um-bali-es-icki k'lei
l-adu-es-i
ieda wayatsim-es-a
gik-isa-y-es
hada-y-es
le-y-ec-tiwa-i
di-yuli-y-es-iña k'lei
no
it is not he
I did not see you
I have not eaten
together not come
I did not kick him
ye cannot shoot us
I have no hand
then there was no smoke
not his own elder sister
not there
I did not do it
I am not dead

-i:
dik-muc-i
m-iye-i
di-nlaya bicapu-i
widi d-emlu añaw-i
I am running
you walk
my wife is hungry
this food is good

-a:

l-iki-es-a
dik-milu di-degem-a
dik-milu iid-a
ie le-ci di-lu-a
he did not see me
I met my friend
my friend said
then we two sat down
-ic, -ac:

paaleu dek'en gie-ae len di-mhahau-gañ-a
Purutes many coming-up, we began-to-fight.
dik-miin de-tulitsek-a bali-ie-na ien ieiw-a
My-friend in-his-fingers being-shot, nevertheless recovered.
ieda di-bali-a d-emli-a di-bali-ic yuli-ae le-pam-a
Then I-shot, in-heart shooting, having-killed, I-went-there.
le-pam-ae di-bali-a
Having-gone-there, I-shot.
ida mile deudie mukagem-a ic miile
Then upon all trees he-asked. Then all
siisu yaasa mukagem-ie gii-sa gaklaac-es-a
birds also asking, they-too did-not-tell-him.

-leki:

mi l-iki-leki
John l-iki-leki eebe
l-emlu-leki
I saw you
l-emlu-y-aki
I saw John to-day
l-emlu-leki
I dreamed
yensiu-wuwe-leki
he slid away (several hours ago)

-aiki:

lot di-gel-ue-i-aiki
yesterday we ran
mi l-ecl-aiki
I gave it to you
lot John gum-suuc-aki
yesterday John dreamed
l-emlu-y-aki
I ate (several days ago)

-gul-aiki:

mi l-emlu-gul-aiki
I gave it to you long ago

-alamaik:

lak'aliiñ dimdañal-alamaik
once I went hunting
dik-mue-alamaik
once I was running

-hi:

di-mdañal-hi
I am going hunting
da-le-pam-hi
I am going there
dek-lu di-cum-ahat-hi
I will throw through with a rock
l-em-e-hi
I drink, I will drink
mi-mutsuk-hi
I will doctor you

-aca:
  John me-giti-aca-i
  le-yuli-y-aca-hai
  miw-aca-i
  yensu-nuwe-aca-i
  John wants to bite you
  they will kill me
  you will be eaten up
  will begin to slide off

-iki:
  yat-k-i k'ei
  mi-yat-ki k'le-i
  le-ci-i yat-ke-i k'ele
  peteli miu heic-iki
  helmil gua-galisi l-ebikab-iki
  it can be killed
  I am able to kill you
  they cannot kill you and me
  do ye eat lizard?
  in three years I will return

-ue:
  mue-ue-i
  i-aca-ue-i
  he is beginning to run
  I begin to urinate

-gaä:
  di-mhahau-gaä-a
  beheeecla-gaä-a
  di-bekel-gaä-a
  our battle began
  began to shoot at each other
  I began to cut it up

-duwe, -duweewe, -duhai:
  leem-yatek-duwe-a
  le-giti-duwe
  le-yuli-duhai
  l-iki-duweewe-hi
  iki-duweewe-hi
  l-aca-duwe-i
  mi-giti-duwe
  you tried to kill me
  he tries to bite me
  they wish to kill me
  I will look for her
  they are trying to see him
  I must urinate
  I will (try to) bite you

-hai, -ihai:
  gi-laklaë-c-hai-aiki
  gudi-n-a-hec m-aklaë-c-hai-i
  di-yuli-y-aca-hai
  di-pa-ihai
  mi-ku-kal-depem-ihai
  he told me
  who told you?
  I will kill them
  I lost them
  I will slap you
A number of Washo verbs show different stems in the singular and plural. Sometimes one of the stems seems modified from the other; in other cases they differ radically. This phenomenon is of some frequency in American languages. It has been mentioned by Powell as occurring in Shoshonean, and Dr. Goddard has recently shown it to exist in a very marked form in Athabascan. In California the Pomo linguistic family presents a number of cases, and sporadic instances occur in other native languages of the state. There is not necessarily anything radically different from Indo-European conditions in such existence of totally distinct stems for singular and plural. The phenomenon loses much of its strangeness when we reflect that we have numerous verbs in English which denote only repeated or multiple action. The word thrash, for instance, cannot be used of a single striking. It is very probable that the relation between the totally diverse singular and plural stems of apparently the same meaning in Indian languages is to be conceived of as somewhat similar to the relation between our English kill and exterminate.

At least it is not impossible to understand how the relation of meaning between these two English verbs could under certain conditions come to be like that found in the Indian languages between distinct singular and plural stems of the same meaning. One difference is that while we have verbs such as thrash and exterminate which apply only to plural action, we apparently have none that are necessarily limited to a single action. While the existence of such distinctly singular verbs seems to be contrary to the spirit of the Indo-European languages, yet it must be plain that their occurrence theoretically is not more remark-
I think he is coming running.
I guess he has gone.
the Paiutes are coming to kill us, I hear.
I heard someone speaking.

**Table:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Stem</th>
<th>Plural Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sit</td>
<td>gegel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand</td>
<td>yal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lie</td>
<td>macam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run</td>
<td>mu-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run off</td>
<td>mo-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall over</td>
<td>piwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall off</td>
<td>piti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distributive or collective suffix -kie which has been discussed in connection with the plural of nouns, occurs also on verbs. Instances have been previously given.
A curious phenomenon which has not become very clear is a change of stem in certain verbal roots according to modification of meaning. This takes place both with and without the addition of affixes. In some cases the stem vowel changes, in others the initial consonant. The changes whether in vowel or consonant are always to a related sound, between a and e, e and i, l and d, l and n, etc. Somewhat similar are certain series of apparently distinct verb roots which are akin in meaning and resemble each other in form. It thus appears that more thorough study will either lead to a further analysis of Washo verbs than is now possible, or will discover new processes of stem modification.

The number of verbs obtained is not inconsiderable, but only in the minority of these has the simplest stem form been determined with any degree of certainty. Even in such cases the roots seem to be frequently polysyllabic. The purely dynamic stems show a greater tendency to be monosyllabic than others. Of the following apparent stems a number will probably ultimately be found to be derivative. It should be borne in mind that the monosyllable mue, to run, is not a radical, as mo-y is to run off, to flee. The plurals of these words, yeñi-e and yaña-y, show a similar relation. It is clear that there are numerous formative affixes that
not become very clear is a result of modification, h and without the addition of a vowel changes, in others the order in vowel or consonant a and e, e and i, l and d, certain series of apparently meaning and resemble each other in vowel or consonant a and e, e and i, l and d, certain series of apparently meaning and resemble each other in sound study will show verbs than is now post-stem modification.

Monosyllabic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>lose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iw, eu</td>
<td>eat (transitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu</td>
<td>run (sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ip-am</td>
<td>go to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gue</td>
<td>noise, sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yak, yap'k</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sue</td>
<td>dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bip, gip, u-lep</td>
<td>lift, raise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dam, bam</td>
<td>strike, hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lep, dep, lal-u</td>
<td>crush, mash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bec, cum</td>
<td>throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gie, lel-b</td>
<td>roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yal</td>
<td>stand (sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bal-i</td>
<td>shoot, kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>id</td>
<td>say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia</td>
<td>take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yok-am</td>
<td>pull out, pluck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mae-am</td>
<td>lie (sing.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apparently Polysyllabic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>añal</td>
<td>live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giti</td>
<td>bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iki</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuli</td>
<td>kill, dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yatok</td>
<td>kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoma</td>
<td>kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emlu</td>
<td>eat (intransitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iye</td>
<td>walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipu</td>
<td>find</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bicapu</td>
<td>hungry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>íbi</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwa</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A number of adjectives have the appearance of noun-formative d-. Aña without the initial d-, and be regarded as verbal and substantival and attributive such as tiyeli, large, and to undergo any change wi
tively, except that the pro
pies a place at the end of the adjective precedes its noun.

di-guén tiyeli

The Washo numeral sy
there on regularly decimal
gesimal method of counti
Eight seems to be a plural
or one less. Ten is one ten
and two, and so on. Twent
on. Similarly, one hundred

The numerals take sever
be provided with classifying
numerals up to five end in -i
-a. When persons are desi
which the final -i disappear
which is the sign of the plu
probable from the fact that t
and that the word for one s
ADJECTIVE.

A number of adjectives, such as d-añau, good, t-iyeli, large, have the appearance of being derived from verb-stems by the noun-formative d-. Añau, good, has actually once been found without the initial d-, and it is not impossible that this form is to be regarded as verbal and predicative, as contrasted with the substantival and attributive form with initial d-. Other adjectives, such as t-iyeli, large, and dalyawi, black, have not been observed to undergo any change whether used attributively or predicatively, except that the predicative adjective, like the verb, occupies a place at the end of the sentence, whereas the attributive adjective precedes its noun.

\[
\begin{align*}
di-gueu & \quad t-iyeli & \quad my-dog is-large \\
t-iyeli & \quad suku l-epu-i & \quad a-large dog I-found \\
huñ-a & \quad t-iyeli & \quad hee k'eiki & \quad I wonder if he is large \\
d-añau & \quad d-ime & \quad a good drink \\
widi & \quad d-emlu & \quad añaw-i & \quad this food is good
\end{align*}
\]

NUMERALS.

The Washo numeral system is quinary up to ten and from there on regularly decimal without any discovered trace of a vigesimal method of counting. Six is five one; seven, five two. Eight seems to be a plural of four. Nine is either five and four or one less. Ten is one ten. Eleven is ten and one, twelve ten and two, and so on. Twenty is two ten, thirty three ten, and so on. Similarly, one hundred is one ten ten.

The numerals take several forms but can scarcely be said to be provided with classifying affixes. In ordinary counting the numerals up to five end in -n, except one and four, which end in -a. When persons are designated, a suffix -u is added before which the final -n disappears. This -u is apparently the suffix which is the sign of the plural in pronouns. This is the more probable from the fact that the word for two has -ei instead of -u and that the word for one shows neither suffix. When animals
or inanimate objects are spoken of, the pronominal number suffixes are not used and the final -a is also absent. Only the word for one, which in counting lacks the final -a, uses it when an animal or an object is designated. When periods of time, or measures other than money, are referred to, the inanimate forms are used, while the noun to which they refer is preceded by a prefix gua- or -kum. This prefix is also used on nouns after the interrogative kutecifia, how many? To express a distributive or collective, such as one each or three at a time, a reduplication is employed: lek'-ek'-eñ, hel-el-mi-u. As in the reduplication of the noun, this is final, not initial, but it is the first or stem syllable, not the whole word or its last part, which is subject to the reduplication. An appearance of reduplication in the interior of the word is thus given. When persons are designated, these reduplicated forms take the same suffixes as the unreduplicated forms, -i for one and -u for numbers above two. A few other forms have been found which give indication of still further modifications of the numerals. Lak'aliñ is once, one time. Heskefiñ is two only. Lak'-aia is separately, alone. Numerals are not subject to any modification for designating differences in shape, as in certain languages of the North Pacific Coast.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counting</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Animals and Objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 lak'a</td>
<td>lek'liñ</td>
<td>lak'añ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 heskeñ</td>
<td>heskelei</td>
<td>heske</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 helmiñ</td>
<td>helmiu</td>
<td>helme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 hawa</td>
<td>hawaan</td>
<td>hawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tubaldui</td>
<td>tubaldu</td>
<td>tubaldi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 tubalte lak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 tubalte heskeñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 hawaawa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 tubalde ida hawa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 lak'a mütsumi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 lak'a mütsumi 'da lak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 lak'a mütsumi 'da heskeñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 heske mütsumi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 helme mütsumi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 la' mütsum' mütsumi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Connectives or intrinsically between sentences and contrasts with shades of meaning than is of which one or two such monotonous service. The sentence now opening. Usually Ac, and, contrasts with the action expressed in the preceding sentence, then, and then from ie.

Ida has about the form of the action expressed in the sentence which it opens. Ieñ is but.

Iña or -ña has the meaning of something of a break. Udi is after.

Other particles with different action are da, a, ude.

The order of words is the end of the sentence. The normal order is subject in the compound word. But in transitive words. The verb subject in the compound precedes the noun. When the place of the verb at the end is connected by a possessive prefix preceeds the one in

\[1\] Cf. the interminable Yoku.
Connectives or introductory particles are frequently used between sentences and show a much greater variety and finer shades of meaning than in some Californian languages, in certain of which one or two such particles are made to do universal and monotonous service. The principal connectives whose meaning has become more or less clear are the following.

Ic, then, appearing to indicate that the action described in the previous sentence is completed or is not continued in the sentence now opening. Usually there is a change of subject.

Ac, and, contrasts with ic and indicates a continuance of the action expressed in the previous sentence.

Ieda, then, and then, is difficult to distinguish in meaning from ic.

Ida has about the force of thereupon. It indicates that the action expressed in the previous sentence is over, and denotes something of a break. Usually the same subject is kept in the sentence which it opens.

Iena is but.

Iça or -ña has the meaning of because and although.

Udi is after.

Other particles with force evidently related to the preceding are da, a, udic.

ORDER OF WORDS.

The order of words is fairly fixed in Washo. The verb is at the end of the sentence. The subject, if a noun, precedes the object. The normal order thus is subject, object, predicate. The independent pronouns occupy the same position as nouns. As the pronominal affix-elements are prefixed, their general position as regards the verb stem thus is the same as that of independent words. But in transitive forms the object seems to precede the subject in the compound prefix. The attributive adjective precedes the noun. When the adjective is predicate it occupies the place of the verb at the end of the sentence. Of two nouns connected by a possessive pronoun, the one with the pronominal prefix precedes the one in its absolute form.

1 Cf. the interminable Yokuts ama, then.
Several unsuccessful efforts were made to obtain connected original texts from the informant employed. Two brief narratives given in English were however successfully rendered by him; and while they may at times depart from true Washo idiom and may not be entirely accurate translations, they are at least approximately correct and their internal structure shows them to be of sufficient coherence to give that invaluable safeguard and necessary means to arriving at an understanding of a language—a context.

I

`lak’a-liün `dim-nañali-alamiik `i-da memdeuwi `l-iki-a
At one time I went hunting. Thereupon a deer I saw.

`ieña `l-iki-ës-a `la-palal-ës-a `da-y-ës `huc-uwë-e
But it did not see me, did not scent me, not the air moving from me.

`ic-da `di-bali-a `d’ëmli-a `di-bali-ic `yuli-ae
Then I shot it. In the heart shooting it, having killed,

le-pam-a `di-bëbel-gaña `ae `tanu `wokayay-iduñ
I went up to it. I began to cut it up. Then someone I seemed to hear

`iid-ae `paleu-duñ `iid-ae `ieña `l-iki-ës-a `a-di-yábë-a
speaking, Painte, it seemed, speaking; but I did not see. I ran off

` dik-mila-y-awic `a` dik-mila `di-dëgem-á `pale` `le-ci
in the heart toward my friend. My friend I met.

`ien’o-iduñ `iid-i `di-atuk-ëi `dik-mila `di-yäm-a
seem to be coming I think! Let us kill them!” to my friend I said.

`ic `ëi `iid-á `le-ci-ei `k’ë `degumbisi `léi-ci-le
Then: “Good,” he said: we (are) brave, we are;

`kikëtë’èkët’ëede `ae `le-ci-ei `heskil-cin’ `léi-ci-le
they are many, while we two only we are;

`ic-ëñ `le-ci-ei `yatk-ës-iki `k’ële `le-ci-ei `caenduwa’a’
but us they cannot kill (us.) Us they fear,”

`iid-á `dik-mila `ic `le-ci `di-lú-‘a `himu-nea
said my friend. Then we sat down in the willows.

`iid-á `dik-mila `tawi `l-ès-a `mekkitset `l-ëc-oc
Then my friend’s knives I took, arrows having given him.

päleu `laka'ë `t’ew’ës `ékayabikikal-ae `le-ci
Painte one near by being about somewhere (though not seen) we

k’i-sa `ka-bali-oc `yë `he also `hitting him,
d’ihep `di-bësá-‘æ `le-ñ `having skinned,
le-ñ `di-mhañai-gañá’ `we and they began to fight.

`i-da `laka'ë `di-thereupon one I
`di-caenduwi-ës’ `leci do not fear” But
mi-u `ke `um-yuñì-ì
You pursued.

`heskil-ëi `le-ci `two we
`dik-mila-baka `le-ci
(1) together with my friend
`laka'ë `le-ci `di-yá
one we killed
`le-ci `di-k’ëlëiwa(ñ) `we
they pursued.
`di-yatek-ìman’ `t’ìhep `killed others. The head
`îhep `dik-mila their heads. My friend
`îciw-a `üdi `le-
he became. After that we well.
`di-yewikel `loc-a `war-dance danced.

Iòwi’ * maduk-tsaitayi Ioi
Blue-jay
`denh-yuli’ `ëibi-a u
guest came.
`ie-da `k-ùmlay-ëf’
Then they were married.

* Cf. Boas, Chinook Texts, 161, a
ade to obtain connected oyed. Two brief narrations successfully rendered by: from true Washo idiomiations, they are at least al structure shows them invaluable safeguard and standing of a language—

memdeuwı l-iki-a

da-y-ės huc-uwe-c not the air moving from me.
di-bali-ic yuli-ac shooting it. having killed, tanu wokayay-idun I did not see.
l-iki-ės-a a-di-yābu-a I did not see. dı-ge-a paletna le-ci I met.
dik-milu haka le-ci to my friend I said.
degumbisi lēi-ıc-le brave, we are;
heskil-ci'n le-ci-le two our.
le-ći caeuduwA'a We they fear.7
di-lā-ic himu-aca sat down in the willows.
meckitset l-eel-oc arrows having given him.
čkayabikičal-ic le-ci being about somewhere (though not seen)

di-byeelo de-wigi-a4 di-bali-ic dik-milu de-tsefuguc-a shot at him. in his eye hitting him, my friend in his belly
ki-sa ka-bali-oc yuli-a' dik-muw-am-ac5 ma'ac-am-a5 he also hitting him, he died. I having run up to him (lying there),
d'ihep di-basa-ec pāleu dew'es d'ek'eu-gie-as6 the head I having skinned, the Paiutes near having come in numbers,
le-u di-mhahai-gaña'-a lęu di-kunm behec-ec-la-gaña'-a' we and they began to fight. we and they each began to shoot at.
i-da laka'3 di-bali-a di-ukayec̓a miuu le-ci Thereupon one I shot. I shouted: "You we di-caeuduwet-ec̓i leci-ńa mi-ń um-bali-ės-icki k'leit You don't fear! But us you cannot shoot (us).
mi-ń ke um-yul-y-aca-ikimële' I-ćecu hamukolà You will die will be." I said (1) they were afraid (1) hesktci le-ci di-yatłk-ic ina behe'ću-ga'mt two we killing because, Shooting at us theuce dik-milu-haka le-ci di-ku akmuyaphay-ac hayeda (1) together with we dodging and there (?)
laka'3 le-ci di-yatłk-ınaw-а10 ie yana-y-a ie-da one we killed another. Then they fled and le-ci di-k'leiciva(nu) yana-y-a-icinā hawa-u le-ci we parsed. Although they fled, four of them we di-yatłk-ınau10 ifihep di-yákomay-a lę-ci hawa-u killed others. The heads we cut off we, the four ifehep dik-milu de-tulitseK-a bali-ic-ňa ie-ňa their heads. My friend was in his fingers although being shot, nevertheless ieci-a ūdi le-ci le-iyawa'-a ūdi le-u he became After that we two went home. After that we all le-ci di-yewikel lęc-a war-dance danced.

II.

Iōwi9 maduk-tsatisiayí gik-beyu-haka ańal-i-a lēlém Ioi Blue-jay her younger brother with lived. At night dehu-yul9 li-bi-a umlaya beyu-ic Iōwi ka-dage12 ghost came, wife bought, Ioi it was (1) ie-da k-umlaya-efi'-a11 ūdi-c watli Ioi Then they were married. Thereupon in the morning Ioi

*Cf. Boas, Chinook Texts, 161, and, for a Yokuts version, 11, 275, of the present series.
miiki-ē-etyi-y-a was gone from there. Then her younger brother Blue-Jay 

ha'īni'-a č'a lak'a gna-galisi ūdi di-isa for a long time there. One year after, "My older sister 

l-i-k'i-d'wewa-hi i'da ida mile deudie mukāgēm-a I will try to see," he said. Therupon all trees he asked.

gūn-a t'am in yewe-hēc-igi yuli-ya'ī io-ña "Where a person go can after he dies!" But 

deudie ga-kla-ē-ē-a ic mile sisu yā-sa† the trees did not tell him. Then all birds also 

mukāgēm-ic gi-sa ga-kla-ē-ē-a ic yā-sa teek asking, they too did not tell him. Then also stone 

mukāgēm-īkī le-peyu-ya' ac da mi-kw-am-hi ic he could (?) ask. "Having paid me, then I will carry you there." Then 

ke-peyu-ya' ac deul-yu itūw-a'y-a ke-gūw-am-a he paid it and ghosts' country to it carried him 

d-a-nal-a ic-da wayatsim-ēs-a ic laka t'iyelī to a village. Then smoke was not there. Then one large 

d-a-nal-a yā-sa i'pam-a i-da pā-ciwa-a i-da house to also he went to. Therupon he entered. Therupon 

gik-isa i'pu-a tat um-yul-hēc-i mē'ī di-bēyū his elder sister he found. "(indicating are you dead (are you), my younger brother?"

ēs-i di-yul-y-ēs-i-ña k'lē'i10 deek lē gubi'-i "No, I am not dead, but (I) stone me brought.

ie-da k'ā-li11 i-da mile t'a-nal bēyetsekā-gana-a (then) (I)." Therupon all houses he began to open.

ie-da mile t'a-nal dibikeń mipul-gie-a ic-da Then all houses bones were full of. Then 

lak'a (n) deul-yūūi māc-am-a dē-īsa leleu ic one skeleton lay his older sister close by. Then 

huñ-a mād-a-nea-a ḥēci hādī-ke t'eu-h-yūlī iid-a "What do you wish to do with (question) that (near you) skeleton?" he said 

g† to her.

NOTES TO TEXTS.

1 A number of compositions or enclitic postpositions of an adverbial nature occur in these texts. They affect numeral, pronominal, and verbal stems. It will be noted that some of these: -udi, after, and -ha, but, however, although, occur also as connectives or parts of them. In all instances represented in the texts these adverbial elements were heard and written as forming one word with the preceding stem, however which does not exclude their being in reality only postpositions.
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heskii-eii two only
lecii-ei but us
ballie-ei although shot
wally-ei after he dies
yas-sa also
gii-sa they too, also

It is not certain whether this word contains the conative -duwe.

3 In two of the three occurrences of the numeral one with a reference to a person in these texts, its final sound seemed to be -i. In sentences obtained independently of the texts, this form laka-fl was used of objects or animals, and a form lek-lifi when persons were referred to.

4 There seems very little doubt that the stems wii, eye, and ili, to see, have a common origin.

5 Several instances of the use of the suffix -am occur. It seems likely, but cannot be positively determined, that this suffix expresses the idea of motion toward.

6 In the two instances of the use of the suffix -ise appended to verb stems in these texts, its meaning appears to be collective. This is the same suffix that has been described on nouns.

7 The three forms of the stem behec, to shoot at, occurring in the first text, include a finally reduplicated form behec-ec- in the passage where repetition or reciprocity is expressed.

8 This form is not clear and may consist of two separate words. The suffix -aca is usually a future desiderative but in the present case can scarcely express a wish. The following suffix, -iki-, is the usual potential suffix.

9 The suffix -ifiaw, occurring in these two words, has not been found otherwise. If the translation is correct, its force is that of again, another, or additionally.

postpositions of an adverbial, pronominal, and verbal -udi, after, and -sa, but, however, do not exclude

/lications. [AM. ARCH. ETH. uto maduk-tsaitsaiyi
brother Blue-jay
isi udi di-isita
after, "My elder sister
dediie mukagem-ai
trees he asked
yuli-y-udi1 le-ua
after he dies? But
mle sisu yii-sa
all birds also
tic yii-sa look
Then also stone
mi-kw-amiie'ie ic
I will carry you there." Then
awa-a ke-gw-ami-a
stray to it carried him
ic laka t'i'yi
Then one large
la p'aeiwa-a i-da
upon he entered. Thereupon
ad iic mi'er di-beyu
are you, my younger brother?

dee k'le gubia-i
stone me brought
ful byetsaks'a-ga'a-a
ses he began to open
mipul-gie'a ic-da
were full of Then
d-e isa lele u ic
his older sister close by. Then
-k'e t'euy-yii'id-a
ar your skeleton? he said

10 This form is not clear and may consist of two separate words. The suffix -aca is usually a future desiderative but in the present case can scarcely express a wish. The following suffix, -iki-, is the usual potential suffix.

1 The suffix -ifiaw, occurring in these two words, has not been found otherwise. If the translation is correct, its force is that of again, another, or additionally.
The connection between deub-yuli, a ghost, and yuli, the stem meaning to die, is certain.

The form ka-dâge cannot be analyzed. It seems to contain the pronominal element ka, i.e., gi of the third person, and possibly the demonstrative of distance or indefinite reference di.

The two forms here given containing the suffix -eti have not been paralleled in the remaining material obtained. It seems not unlikely that they amplify the verb stem by adding to it the idea of there.

Although a potential does not seem called for in this verb by the context, the suffix -icki has been otherwise found with a potential meaning, though less frequently than the similar suffix -iki. Cf. um-bali-ës-icki k’lî, you cannot hit us, in the first text; also gik-ilî-iche ëkî-duwew-e-i, the-one who-said-it they-are-looking-for, and tabo mâcám-icke lepu, a-white-man lying 1-found.

The verb wayatsim-ës-a, there was no smoke, is apparently formed from a noun stem wayatsim, the negative ës, and the preterite -a.

The frequent form gi (ka, ke, etc.) does not ordinarily seem to occur in Washo except as a prefix. Its position in the sentence proves it to be an independent word in the present instance. It has been stated that when there is any idea of distinguishing between a reflexive third person and a third person which is not so, as between Latin se and sum or susu and ejus, gi-is used for the reflexive and de- for the non-reflexive. From the present texts it seems that in connected discourse gi serves to indicate a change of subject; or, when objective, to express that the person referred to by it is the same as the one indicated by the subject of the preceding sentence. Fuller material is necessary to confirm this interpretation, which if correct would show the Washo pronominal form gi-not to be the exact equivalent of the Latin reflexive, but to possess a force that is primarily distinctive or emphatic. In other words, as long as the same person continues to be the subject, no specific indication of the third person by this or any other element seems to be regarded as necessary. Gi-is reserved to indicate the appearance in the discourse of another person; or, if this person is already sufficiently distinguished by the presence of the noun denoting it or by the context, gi-is then used for the person previously referred to, who has now become affected by the second.

**SPECIMEN PHRASES.**

mi-1-ëcel-hi
mi-1-ëcel-aiki
mi-1-ëcel-gul-aiki
di-tâwi dik-milu l-ëcl-i
dik-milu-lu tâwi l-ëcl-i
l-ëmhu-y-i
l-ëmhu-hi
l-ëmhu-lëki
l-ëmhu-y-aiki

I will give it to you
I gave it to you
I gave it to you long ago
I gave my friend my knife
I gave my friends (each) a knife
I am eating
I shall eat
I was eating
I ate several days ago

le-di-ëum-galâm-i
tabb-bo di-galâm-i
widi tabb le-di-ëum-i
mi-1-lëli-ar John um-giti-leki
helme gua-galis-i
helme gua-p’æuud-i
heske lûm-ëbey-i
gute-ch-a lûm-ëbey-i bêe
heske lûm-tsifiam l-hme-i
John laka bëca l-ëcl-i
John kawaiu l-ec-i
laka lûm-tsifiam d-åca
l-åca
l-åca-hi
l-åca-ne-i
hô’-uwe
hôc’-uvi
la-yâb’-uk
la-yâb’-ue
di-kinfl-âh-ri
la-kinfl-âh
dik-mû-e-alamai
yakt-i-ki k’ëi
mi-yakt-i-ki k’ëi
di-atu-bak lëci di-igelhuca
It seems to contain the pronoun possibly the demonstrative suffix -eti have not been paraled seems not unlikely that they are of there.

As for in this verb by the conjunction with a potential meaning -iki. Cf. um-bali-és-icki k'lí, ñidi-icke ñi-ðuwewe-i, the-one-nécam-icke lepui, a-white-man

due, is apparently formed from a preterite -a.

As not ordinarily seem to occur the sentence proves it to be an unusual state has been stated that when there exists third person and a third one or some and ejus, gi- is exive. From the present texts it is indicated a change of subperson referred to by it is the he preceding sentence. Fuller explanation, which if correct would be the exact equivalent of the is primarily distinctive or emerson continues to be the sub- person served to indicate the appearance if this person is already sufficient denoting it or by the consiely referred to, who has now

let us eat
I will eat you
our food
hair
my hair
your hair
his hair
the hair of this one here
the hair of this one near you
the hair of that one
my nose
my friend's nose
tooth, teeth
my teeth
this one's teeth
dog's teeth
a large one
my friend killed three grizzly bears
my friends killed three grizzly bears each
I like myself
I like the whites the whites like me
this white-man dislikes me
he dislikes you also
this white-man likes himself
I saw you bite John (I seeing you, you hit John)
three years
three nights
two days
how many days?
two baskets I drink
I gave John one dollar
John gave me a horse
one basketful of urine
my urine
I shall urinate
I begin to urinate
blows (away)
blows bither
run either!
run away!
I shall go to hunt
go hunt!
one time I was running
it can be killed
I can kill you
my older brother and I were running
Vocabulary.

In the brief field study given to Washo, no attention was paid to securing a vocabulary other than as a means toward phonetic and grammatical investigation. There was no intention of presenting the imperfect lexical material thus obtained, until it was realized that no vocabulary of Washo has ever been published, and that the determination of the language by Powell as constituting an independent family, however correct it may be, has never been rendered verifiable by the general availability of the information used for the determination. May this be justification for the quality of the appended vocabulary. While no lexical comparisons with other languages have been made, an acquaintanceship with Shoshonean and most the languages of California leads the author to conviction that Powell’s pronouncement is right, and that Washo is genetically unrelated to any of the neighboring linguistic families.

Persons:

- téliw’hu: man
- tamôno: woman
- mē’lu: old man
- nêntceu: old woman
- tewiwi: young man
- mēh: boy
- caulambu: girl
- fänufän: baby

Terms of Relationship:

- t’ann
- tabô
- wä’é’iu
- pälé
- mënliu
- deu-beyu
- deuh-yuli
- mœcëkeu

- koi
- la
- malolo
- ñam
- ñam-u
- ñam-iñ
- ñt’u
- peyu
- isa
- wits’uk
- la-pa
- cæl
- ama
- gu
- eneci
- ta
- ya
- ce’en
- mëca
- mág
- cémuk
- mïaya
- bu-melí
- ayuk
- bu-afali
- eye
- ñôdat
- män-da-la
- yañil
- ñam-iñ de-encei
I killed one more who said it, they are searching. 

I said it, I ran off. 

Told me, I ran. 

Run, he told it. 

To hand. 

Something long so as to be flat.

Y.

Y. 

Sho, no attention was paid to a means toward phonetic was no intention of previous obtained, until it was has ever been published, usage by Powell as constituting or correct it may be, has general availability of the general. While no lexical has been made, an acquaintance of California leads. Pronunciation is right, to any of the neighboring languages of the Washo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term of Relationship</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-koi</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-la</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-malolo</td>
<td>parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ñun</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ñun-u</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ñun-iñ</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ñu</td>
<td>older brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-peyu</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-isa</td>
<td>older sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-witsºuk</td>
<td>younger sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kaa</td>
<td>paternal grandfather, man's son's child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-elee</td>
<td>maternal grandfather, man's daughter's child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ama</td>
<td>paternal grandmother, woman's son's child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>maternal grandmother, woman's daughter's child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-euci</td>
<td>father's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>mother's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>father's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-enete</td>
<td>mother's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-máca</td>
<td>man's brother's child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mágu</td>
<td>man's sister's child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cmuk</td>
<td>woman's brother's or sister's child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-maya</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bu-meli</td>
<td>husband (meli, make a fire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ayuk</td>
<td>parent-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bu-añali</td>
<td>son-in-law (añali, live)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-eye</td>
<td>daughter-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uládu</td>
<td>man's brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-máca-da-la</td>
<td>man's brother's wife (&quot;my brother's child its mother&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yañil</td>
<td>woman's brother's wife, husband's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ñam-iñ de-euci</td>
<td>woman's husband's brother (&quot;child its father's brother&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Parts of the Body:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d-ihep</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-ayne</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curep</td>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi'ji</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haña</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madat</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-lyek</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuli'tsak</td>
<td>finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuli-pi</td>
<td>nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-áfu</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-ali'la</td>
<td>arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-utsu</td>
<td>elbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móko</td>
<td>knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-a'hil</td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo'wi</td>
<td>thigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'en</td>
<td>breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-acuk</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsu-güge</td>
<td>belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>memeu</td>
<td>ribs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukue</td>
<td>penis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-ibis</td>
<td>vagina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsuña'lu</td>
<td>anus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsu-mibi</td>
<td>hip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-ípu</td>
<td>navel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñauwa'ñañal</td>
<td>umbilical cord (&quot;baby live&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áy'a</td>
<td>intestines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-emli</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-ílæk</td>
<td>liver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsu-gal</td>
<td>kidney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-íceu</td>
<td>gall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-íhu</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsu'nts'a</td>
<td>chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsu-me'l</td>
<td>beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pogubul</td>
<td>eyebrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-biheñ</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Natural Objects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d-ine, t-ine</td>
<td>dek, tek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-ihe</td>
<td>èbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haña</td>
<td>ma'losañi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faumahum</td>
<td>teweskim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deudic</td>
<td>màk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da-pauwit</td>
<td>galis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'iyu</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Animals:

<table>
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<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>soku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gucu</td>
<td>memewi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haña'ño'we</td>
<td>gusu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayas</td>
<td>è'we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulic'he</td>
<td>made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ííba</td>
<td>peleu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsali'</td>
<td>mogop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupipiwi</td>
<td>hò'la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>báan'at</td>
<td>biwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>delem</td>
<td>sisu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patañi</td>
<td>lági</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mąki</td>
<td>kóta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi'telí</td>
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### Artificial Objects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d-ñañal</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolohat</td>
<td>bow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meskisst</td>
<td>arrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawi</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muntsuk</td>
<td>medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsu'ñañam</td>
<td>basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bëne</td>
<td>money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dayalini</td>
<td>earth-covered dance-house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Natural Objects:
- d-ime, t-ime: water
- dûk, tûk: rock
- d-ibe: sun, moon, month
- ëbe: day
- ënawâ: earth
- ma'losâfi: star
- tawnahum: cloud
- teweskim: wind
- dendic: tree
- mak: stick, wood
- da-pauwit: night
- galis: year
- t'-iyu: fire

Animals:
- suku: dog
- gueu: dog (with pronominal prefix)
- memdewi: deer
- hañakmuwe: elk
- gusu: bison
- nyas: antelope
- te'we: coyote
- tulici: wolf
- made: bear
- t'ába: grizzly bear
- peleu: jackrabbit
- tsali': rabbit
- mogop: fox
- tupipiwi: skunk
- hò'la: badger
- bâsat: ground squirrel
- biwi: tree squirrel
- delem: gopher
- sisu: bird
- patañi: eagle
- kâgi: crow
- mâki: rattlesnake
- kòta: frog
- pi'teli: lizard

Adjectives and Adverbs:
- mile: all
- milla'a: everywhere (all-at)
- ëwe: several
- iweyêsi: constantly
- t'ëkyu: many
- t'iyali: large
- behêtsñi: small
SUMMARY.

Washo is of a comparatively simple phonetic character which results in transparence of its structure. There is no evidence that all of its radicals are monosyllabic, but it is probable that none contain combinations of consonants. The sounds of radicals and affixes are very little modified by contact with other radicals and affixes. Little composition of independent words has been discovered, but derivation and the expression of grammatical ideas by affixion are considerably developed. Besides suffixes, prefixes are well represented. Reduplication occurs in the verb, noun, and numeral to express repetition, distribution, or collectivity. This reduplication takes place at the end, not at the head of radicals. The independent personal pronouns are little used except for emphasis or distinction. In such cases they are treated like nouns and may receive locative suffixes. The grammatical functions of the pronouns are principally expressed by them in the form of affixes. These are always prefixed. Pronominal prefixes of verb and noun are identical, but there are different prefixes for initially vocalic and initially consonantal words. Certain stems, whose meaning perhaps sometimes as verb and at times being indicated only incidentally or other category as there.

Most nouns whose initial prefix is pronominal absolute form, d- to initially vocalic sound. Everything of this prefix is a noun-finite. All pronominal forms this noun, as in certain cases and not by the presence of cases an apparent apocopation. say, his hand is in Washo the pronominal prefix to both, to allow of the language and this characteristic is the transitive conjugation of objective pronoun cannot be positively resolved objective elements as they are. If also, the pronominal is through a complete lack of plural of the pronominal suffixes of number to the conjunctive, plural cannot be positively resolved the instrumental suffixes are not by the presence of no syntactical cases in the language in instrumental suffixes rely are but loosely attached to nothing from preposition.

A true plural is wanting. Its place is expressed either by this same suffix is used as a reduplication is employed or to show considerably or to be plural, but the majority category as the noun. With
stems, whose meaning permits, are used with the same prefix at times as verb and at times as noun, these two different functions being indicated only incidentally by such suffixes of case, tense, or other category as there may be present, and by the context. Most nouns whose initial sound is a vowel are used in their non-pronominal absolute form only with a prefixed d- or related dental sound. Everything except the nearly complete limitation of this d- to initially vocalic stems, argues for the supposition that this prefix is a noun-forming affix or deriver from verbs. In all pronominal forms this d- is lost. As the third person in such nouns, as in certain cases in the verb, is expressed by the absence and not by the presence of any pronominal prefix, there is in such cases an apparent apocope to form the third person. That is to say, *his hand* is in Washo shorter than *hand*. The union of the pronominal prefix to both noun and verb is sufficiently intimate to allow of the language being classed as an incorporating one, and this characteristic is further apparent in the objective or transitive conjugation of the verb, in which the subjective and objective pronominal constituents in some cases form a unit which cannot be positively resolved into the individual subjective and objective elements as they occur separately. But although genuine, the pronominal incorporation is comparatively simple through a complete lack of variation for number, the dual and plural of the pronominal elements being expressed either by opposition of the independent prefixes or by the addition of their suffixes of number to the verb or noun stem. As is theoretically probable and actually usual in incorporating languages, there are no syntactical cases in the noun. There are numerous local and instrumental suffixes resembling cases. In certain instances these are but loosely attached to the noun or pronoun. They differ in nothing from prepositions except in being postponed or suffixed. A true plural is wanting. A distributive or collective which takes its place is expressed either by final reduplication or by a suffix. This same suffix is used also in the verb, in which, however, final reduplication is employed to indicate repetition. Several verbs show considerably or totally different stems for singular and plural, but the majority are as free from any expression of this category as the noun. Verb stems are frequently augmented by
suffixes descriptive of motion and by instrumental prefixes. There are other derivative suffixes, such as inchoatives and conatives, and a considerable number expressing mode and tense. In a combination of several suffixes the more derivative precede, the more grammatical ones follow. There is no passive, and the imperative is indicated by a quasi-pronominal form. Dependent clauses are used, but they are participial or introduced by conjunctions, that is to say non-pronominal, and not relative or pronominal. Demonstrative pronouns correspond in some measure to the three persons of the personal pronouns. They appear to be derived from adverbial stems and not to be used as syntactical elements. There are a number of connectives which indicate with some precision the relation of successive sentences, especially as regards time.

On comparison with neighboring linguistic families Washo shows much morphological distinctness. In general phonetic character and structural transparence it belongs to the Central Californian class, which includes the Maidu, Wintun, Pomo, Yuki, Yokuts, Costanoan, and other families. But it differs from these languages in the important characteristics of lacking syntactical cases and possessing pronominal incorporation, so that it cannot be more than partially included with the Central Californian morphological type. In its possession of instrumental prefixes Washo agrees with Pomo and Maidu of this Central type, but differs from other families of the same group, such as Yuki and Yokuts. As yet there seem to be no special resemblances between Washo and any single families of the Central group. The absence of a true plural from Washo is not indicative of morphological affinity, for with but one or two exceptions all the Californian languages north of the latitude of San Francisco appear to lack a plural, and all to the south to possess it.

The Washo reduplication to express distribution or collectivity recalls the languages of the North Pacific Coast, where this feature is frequently well-developed. It occurs as far south as the Klamath or Lutuami of southern Oregon and northeasternmost California. In California a well-developed reduplication of the noun is found only among the Chumash on the coast of Southern California. Other resemblances of Washo to the North Pacific Coast languages are the characteristic substantive and instrumental prefixes, the Kwakiutl type, nor the Selish, and differs widely in the languages of this region.

As the only California and in intimate contact with possible morphological relationships, particularly important. The phonetic system is one of the important points. Above all, and of the family, for they have some degree of contact and similarity in the absence of a true plural from Washo is not indicative of morphological affinity, for with but one or two exceptions all the Californian languages north of the latitude of San Francisco appear to lack a plural, and all to the south to possess it.

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linguistic families Washo essays. In general phonetic ess, it belongs to the Central e Maidu, Wintun, Pomo, families. But it differs from characteristics of lacking syn- nal incorporation, so that it ed with the Central Cali- Kossession of instrumental maidu of this Central type, same group, such as Yuki e no special resemblances ies of the Central group. lash is not indicative of e or two exceptions the stiude of San Francisco south to possess it.

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Pacific Coast languages are however lacking. It does not possess the characteristic substantival word-forming affixes of the Selish- Kwakiutl type, nor the sex-gender of Chinuk, Kalapuya, and Selish, and differs widely in phonetic character from almost all the languages of this region.

As the only Californian language at once east of the Sierras and in intimate contact with Shoshoneans, the question of a possible morphological resemblance of Washo to Shoshonean is particularly important. There is but little evidence of such affinity. The phonetic systems of the two families differ in important points. Above all Washo does not possess the obscure ü and o sounds of Shoshonean. These characteristic vowels occur in all the dialectic groups of the Shoshonean family except one in Southern California. They are evidently of some antiquity and possessed of a foothold in the fundamental phonetic system of the family, for they have been impressed by the Shoshoneans on a number of contiguous but independent linguistic stocks, including practically all with which the Shoshoneans are in contact in California\(^2\) and one or more in the Pueblo region. That these sounds are however wanting among the Washo, who as regards degree of contact and similarity of environment and culture are probably more closely linked with the neighboring Shoshoneans than any of the stocks which have adopted these sounds, argues for the inability of Shoshonean phonetics to impress Washo. This conclusion is confirmed by the general phonetic appearance of the two languages, which is decidedly different. Structural affinities are equally lacking. So far as its dialects are known, Shoshonean is without any objective incorporation of the pronoun in the verb. It does affix subjective and possessive pro- nomen elements, but that these partake of the nature of abbreviations of the independent personal pronouns, and are therefore enclitics rather than essentially affixes, is shown by the fact that at least in certain dialects they can be detached from the verb stem to which they refer and added to any other part of speech;\(^2\) a trait suggesting certain of the languages of the North

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Pacific Coast rather than any truly incorporating or truly non-incorporating language. Moreover the Shoshonean pronominal affixes are usually suffixed to the verb, whereas in Washo all strictly pronominal elements are prefixed. One of the most characteristic features of all Shoshonean dialects—a feature which occurs in far separated groups of the Uto-Aztekan family and goes far toward establishing their affinity, the occurrence of the noun in its absolute form with certain meaningless suffixes which are invariably lost upon the affixion of a possessive pronominal element—this typical process of Shoshonean is unrepresented in Washo. There appears to be a much smaller development of derivative or semi-grammatical verb affixes in Shoshonean than in Washo. So far as known the instrumental affixes of the latter language are entirely wanting. As regards locative and instrumental case-suffixes the two languages present a similar development, but this they share with numerous other languages, notably in California, so that the force of the resemblance is weakened. Of more importance is the absence from Washo of the Shoshonean objective case. Shoshonean also possesses a true plural, which Washo lacks. Distribution or collectivity seems to be indicated to some extent by reduplication at least in certain Shoshonean dialects, and at times this process may partially replace the usual formation of the plural; but after all such reduplication is comparatively restricted in Shoshonean, however it may be developed in other branches of the Uto-Aztekan family, and does not replace the expression of the regular plural by means of a suffix as it does replace it in Washo. The morphological resemblances of Shoshonean and Washo are therefore even fewer than one

1 It might seem that the loss or apocope of the initial d- from so many Washo nouns when the possessive prefixes are added to them, resembles the Shoshonean process referred to, but there are several points of difference. The lost element in Shoshonean is always a suffix, in Washo always a prefix. In Washo it therefore occupies the place taken by the pronominal prefix, whereas in Shoshonean this is usually not the case. In Shoshonean there are at least several suffixes quite distinct in form, whereas in Washo they all go back to a single sound, d or t. In Shoshonean the suffixes occur on so to speak every noun and are quite clearly meaningless and functionless. In many nouns it is certain that they are not the means of deriving the noun from a verb stem. In Washo in many cases they do thus directly serve to turn verb stems into nouns. Finally, the Washo prefix is restricted to stems that are initially vocalic, whereas in Shoshonean there appears to be no such limitation of the prefix on phonetic grounds.

But with no leaning to languages of the North Pacific Coast rather than any truly incorporating or truly non-incorporating language. Moreover the Shoshonean pronominal affixes are usually suffixed to the verb, whereas in Washo all strictly pronominal elements are prefixed. One of the most characteristic features of all Shoshonean dialects—a feature which occurs in far separated groups of the Uto-Aztekan family and goes far toward establishing their affinity, the occurrence of the noun in its absolute form with certain meaningless suffixes which are invariably lost upon the affixion of a possessive pronominal element—this typical process of Shoshonean is unrepresented in Washo. There appears to be a much smaller development of derivative or semi-grammatical verb affixes in Shoshonean than in Washo. So far as known the instrumental affixes of the latter language are entirely wanting. As regards locative and instrumental case-suffixes the two languages present a similar development, but this they share with numerous other languages, notably in California, so that the force of the resemblance is weakened. Of more importance is the absence from Washo of the Shoshonean objective case. Shoshonean also possesses a true plural, which Washo lacks. Distribution or collectivity seems to be indicated to some extent by reduplication at least in certain Shoshonean dialects, and at times this process may partially replace the usual formation of the plural; but after all such reduplication is comparatively restricted in Shoshonean, however it may be developed in other branches of the Uto-Aztekan family, and does not replace the expression of the regular plural by means of a suffix as it does replace it in Washo. The morphological resemblances of Shoshonean and Washo are therefore even fewer than one...
incorporating or truly non-he Shoshonean pronominal verb, whereas in Washo all fixed. One of the most char-dialects—a feature which is Uto-Aztekan family and nity, the occurrence of the meaningless suffixes which of a possessive pronominal bonean is unrepresented in smaller development of suffixes in Shoshonean than mental affixes of the latter wards locative and instru-presents a similar develop-ment. But with no leaning toward Shoshonean, and none toward the languages of the North Pacific Coast, the morphological affinities of Washo, unless they are to be renounced altogether, must after all be sought in California. Perhaps when information as to the structure of Maidu and Miwok, the two Californian families in direct contact with Washo, becomes available, such affinities will be apparent. For the present it must be admitted that detailed resemblances between Washo and the Central Californian languages cannot be successfully pointed out, even though a comparison certainly gives a general impression of fundamental likeness. This impression probably rests mainly on the phonetic character and structural clearcutness which Washo shares with the Central Californian languages. The languages of this group which are best known to the author, Yokuts and Yuki, certainly do not show many specific morphological resemblances to Washo. But it must be remembered that these two languages are at some distance, as distances go in the ethnology of California, from Washo, sufficient at least to be separated from it by one or more intervening families; and in comparing a family not with single other families, but with an entire group of families, it is obvious that no resemblances, except in a few points of the most fundamental nature, can be looked for.

The degree of morphological resemblance of Washo to the simple Californian languages therefore still awaits its determina-tion. Positive evidence of any considerable similarities in this direction has not yet been adduced. Significant resemblance to Shoshonean or non-Californian families is clearly wanting. Everything therefore points to an unusual degree of morphological distinctness of Washo. Its lexical distinctness and lack of genetic relationship with any other family are obvious under present conditions of knowledge.