Appendix B details the semantic specifications for a number of Lushootseed stems. I use this list as AGENT-ORIENTED or PATIENT-ORIENTED to capture these facts; I call the designated role the specification intransitive stem thing eaten, and its semantic specification is main clauses. The designated role is underlined in the semantic specifications detailed here. The universal inventory including Agent, Experiencer, semantic roles have a life only IN structure, and relates these in excerpts of lines from "Pheasant and Raven", presenting them within a story outline. The grammatical analysis shows the possible argument positions; a zero pronoun facilitates description of the mapping from predicate to argument position, and from argument position to story. Appendix A defines the abbreviations I employ here.

My discussion of semantic roles assumes little background from the large literature on lexical semantics in the generative tradition; readers familiar with this literature may detect some idiosyncracies not explicated here.

1. Semantic Roles

The semantic roles assigned by each transitive or intransitive stem are drawn from a small universal inventory including Agent, Experiencer, Possessor, Patient, Goal, and Instrument. Each stem designates the role it assigns to its direct complement, the one non-oblique determiner phrase in its clause. The designated role is underlined in the semantic specifications detailed here. The intransitive stem 'eat', for example, assigns Agent to its subject, but implies an eater and a Patient. This contrast can be observed in the intransitive main clauses 'I ate it', versus 'I got hit'. Hess (1995) categorizes stems as AGENT-ORIENTED or PATIENT-ORIENTED to capture these facts; I call the designated role the orientation role after his work. Informal definitions of the four most popular roles appear in (1); Appendix B details the semantic specifications for a number of Lushootseed stems. I use this list to ensure that I treat each stem consistently; it is my hope that such a list may invite comparative discussion.

2. Clause Structure

Different series of subject markers distinguish types of clause in Lushootseed; main clauses employ a subject marker series that also appears in some subordinate clauses, while nominalized clauses are always subordinate and employ a special subject series. The structure of nominalized clauses is outlined in (2), which highlights the positions in which arguments may appear. Spaces indicate word boundaries and coindexing indicates coreference. Typically, (1) would follow a superordinate predicate which may impose restrictions on the embedded DP.

(2)a. Nominalized Clauses Based on Intransitive Stems DET (asp)-<S>-nom-(asp)-/-root-(af)-<S,> (d,c,) (oblique)

b. Nominalized Clauses Based on Transitive Stems DET (asp)-<S,>-nom-(asp)/-root-(af)-tr<O,>-<S,> <d,c,> (oblique)

Angled brackets indicate complementary distribution: the subject of an intransitive predicate is either a prefix (1sg, 2sg) or a suffix; a transitive predicate has either an object suffix or a direct complement. The order of direct and oblique complements is free, although they both follow their

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1All my work on Lushootseed is informed by the published work of, and discussions with, Thom Hess, and inspired by Vi taq'Table Hilbert. Thanks to Toby Langen for valuable discussion. All errors are my own.

2If I circumscribe many of his generalizations as being in the realm of lexical semantics, as opposed to the syntactic rubric Hess himself employs, that is not to say that the present work replaces his; rather, it builds on the careful analyses of Lushootseed verb stems in Hess (1993,1995).


4Not mentioned in (2) are optional adjuncts, which may be added to any embedded clause, and the aspect enclitic '-ax', which may optionally follow the subject suffix in nominalizations.
governing predicates and focus constructions may front material to clause-initial position (Hess 1995)).

Main clauses differ from (2) in lacking an introductory determiner and using a different subject series. The main clause subjects (called PERSON PARTICLES or čad-words in Hess (1995)) are listed in (3b). The subject series used in nominalized clauses comes from the possessive affix series.

(3) a. Possessive Series Subjects b. Main Clause Subjects

- d- 1sg čad 1pl
- ad- 2sg -lap 2pl
- s 3

Contra Hess (1995) and Beck (1996), (3b) crucially employs a zero third person subject in main clauses. Hess eschews the notion sancer and although the present analysis is consonant with Beck's claim that the term is relevant for Lushootseed, it is inconsistent with his analysis of null third person subjects as always the result of elision of a direct complement. I will not argue specifically for the zero pronoun analysis here; it is my hope, though, that any coherence in the present discussion will provide support for my grammatical analysis, which was originally formulated to account for separate facts (Bates 1997b).

3. Details on Mapping

The semantic roles in (1) map to the argument positions in (2) by regular principles I detail below, referring to the structure in (2) and extending the analysis to main clauses. As shown in (2), valence assumes a central role in the present analysis; the transitivity of a given predicate determines its role-mapping behavior.6 Passivized predicates are intransitive, as in (2a), but they inherit the semantic specifications of their transitive bases.

Every clause has one of the subjects listed in (3); an intransitive predicate assigns its orientation role to its subject and a transitive predicate assigns Agent or Experiencer to its subject.7 An intransitive predicate allows a direct complement coreferent with its subject, as shown by the corefering in (2a); in this case, the subject shares the orientation role with the direct complement. A transitive predicate assigns its orientation role to its first or second person object suffix or third person direct complement; its direct complement is never coreferent with its subject. This direct complement, the object of a transitive, may be elided; the definite and specific reference of such zero direct complements supports the elision analysis, as will be shown below.8 Nominalized intransitive and transitive complements differ in their behavior toward oblique complements; an oblique may replace a third person subject -s and map the orientation role of a passive or question.

The 1pl possessive marker is imported from the main clause subject series and is written as a separate word in the standard Lushootseed orthography.

Hess's (1995) analysis does not require reference to valence; his account captures the vast majority of the facts in Lushootseed, and my extra layer of structure may ultimately prove unwarranted. As Beck (1996) notes, however, standard descriptive machinery including terms like SUBJECT and (IN)TRANSITIVE facilitates comparison of Lushootseed with other (Salish) languages.

Agent and Experiencer are the common roles for transitive subjects cross-linguistically; by convention, they appear leftmost in semantic specifications.

Bates (1997b) argues for a zero 3 object suffix, an analysis one degree more abstract than the present analysis.

nominalized intransitive predicate, but this option is not available for any other subject.9 Any predicate can employ an oblique to map a non-orientation Patient, Goal or Instrument, but only passivized predicates allow a non-orientation Agent oblique.10

"Pheasant and Raven" is a story of sufficient length and rhetorical complexity that I thought (Bates 1997a) it represented all relevant Lushootseed grammatical structure in context, but I was wrong; there are no object suffixes in subordinate clauses in this story, but they appear in other stories, and the analysis reflects this possibility.

After this (admittedly brief) explanation of the mapping between argument positions and semantic roles, I turn to the story.

4. "Pheasant and Raven"

Hess's (1996) draft of "Pheasant and Raven" prepares the text for classroom use, starting a new line at the beginning of most clauses that employ the main clause subject series. I follow Hess's line numbers; the transcription is a composite of transcriptions by Thom Hess, Vi Hilbert, Toby Langen and me. For the most part, I have used Hess's draft line glosses and annotated them with reference subscripts.11 I count twelve principal referents in the discourse, and give each of them an identifying subscript in (4).

(4) Referents in "Pheasant and Raven"

a. Characters

Pheasant  Raven, the hunters,
Pheasant's wife  Raven's wife, the elk-pack_
Pheasant's children  Raven's children, the dogs_

b. Settings

dom, the journey path, in the high country

In the presentation below, I subscript as many referents as are consistent with the discourse meaning as I understand it. Thus, the reference subscripts might be the result of several different grammatical and discourse processes; some syntactic constructions require two syntactic positions to be coreferent, for example, and there are pervasive discourse conventions that require all pronouns to receive reference from discourse actants. The semantic mapping principles are the cause of many of the subscripts; these are the only ones fully described here.

This option is related to a periphrastic alternative to the affixal possessive construction: it bad-s 'his father' vs. it bad ḥa 'ḻč̣̱u'as 'the father of the boy'.

As Beck (1996) suggests, the oblique in a passive expresses the demoted subject of the corresponding active transitive.

I employ square brackets for three distinct uses. First, I maintain Hess's convention of enclosing in square brackets any Lushootseed he edits into a line; these additions mostly replace morphemes commonly deleted in casual speech. Second, I maintain (though not completely consistently) his use of brackets to enclose English gloss material implied, but not specifically mentioned, in a given Lushootseed line. Third, I enclose referential phrases in brackets and subscript them, e.g. [ṯiʔiŋ səḻub], 'that Pheasant'.

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To detail all 308 lines of the story here would be too ambitious, so I will provide overview statements by line numbers and insert the lines I wish to detail into this overview. The line numbers are on the left. The episode divisions are from Hess's draft, with a few revisions by Tob Langen, are marked here with a basket design ### (cf. Bierwert (1996)).

"Pheasant and Raven"

1-3
ML sets scene and introduces discourse referents Pheasant and Raven.

1. 7os-~/Talil-ll 0_s- [tii7i7i 7i sg*olub]p 7i [tii7a7 qaw'qsi], asp~/dwell-incep(Ag.Loc_home) 3S DET conj pheasant conj DET DET

'Pheasant and Raven, dwelled there home.'

In this opening sentence, Mrs. Lamont uses a conjoined DP to complement intransitive dwell. This is a main clause, so the pronoun subject is null and coreferent with the conjoined phrases. The predicate implies a Location not specified in the syntax here, but the English gloss reflects it. The predicate locates the home setting so later deictics can refer to that setting.

4-7
Pheasant's children and wife are introduced.

8-10
Raven's children and wife are introduced.

11-19
Pheasant identified as episode topic; tells his wife he's going to travel and sets out. The reason given for this journey is Pheasant's hungry children.

20-23
Pheasant comes upon two people, later identified as hunters, with dogs.

The direct complement, which maps orientation Patient of call, invite, has been elided.

Note the definite and specific gloss: this does not mean 'I won't call anyone' or 'I won't call someone'; the dogs give reference to this zero object, and an elision analysis accounts for this reference. Beck (1996) makes a similar argument in favor of an elision analysis.

The hunters, not overtly mentioned, tell Pheasant to call "his" dogs off. The use an appositive vocative for Pheasant, which helps to track discourse referents.

Pheasant replies that the dogs aren't his. He respectfully suggests that they belong to the hunters.

The hunters call off their dogs.

More questions from the hunters to Pheasant, about the nature of his visit to the high country. They are impressed with his replies.

"Where are you, traveling from, Pheasant?"

The 2sg subject maps orientation Agent of travel overland, and the fronted question word maps its non-orientation role. The final word is an appositive vocative; Mrs. Lamont employs them often when she performs direct dialogue, perhaps to facilitate referent tracking by her audience. (I know I appreciate the help.)

The focused adjunct maps non-orientation Goal of travel overland, which the 1sg subject prefix maps its orientation Agent.13

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13Focus structures trigger a zero main clause subject coreferent with the rest of the sentence, but I omit this detail here. Focus constituents generally map a non-orientation role of an embedded predicate; Hess (1995) gives a much more complete description of focus constructions than I attempt here.
46. tux' tuf'kal (o ʔ)u(h) 
Adv from DET vbe.there(Pat_home) 1sgS-nom-/be.there(Pat_p) 

dp_dax*-as-tut-il 
1sgS-nom-as-dwell-incep(Ag_p,Loc_home) 

'But [from] over there home is where I p [come from], where home I p live.'

The subject prefixes each map the orientation roles of their intransitive predicates. Intransitive tut-il 'dwell' implies a Location, but rarely realizes it syntactically.

### 50-57 
A butchered elk, all wrapped up, is introduced. The hunters question Pheasant about it.

### 58-62 
Pheasant replies that he can't hunt, that the elk-pack isn't his.

### 63-69 
The hunters tell Pheasant that they will butcher the elk for him; they explain that this is the reason they were asking about it.

67. tu-/k'iel-d 
asp-/butcher-tr(Ag_p,Pat_p) 1plS DET elk 

'Veh will butcher that elk.'

The 1pl subject maps Agent, and the direct complement maps orientation Patient, of transitive k'iel 'butcher'.

69. til-d 
give food-tr(Ag_p,Pat_p,Gol_p) 1pl DET 2sgS.emph 

ti?H dax*-u-wiliq"i-d 
DET nom-asp-/ask-tr(Ag_p,Pat_p) 1plS 0 zero d.c. 

'Veh are giving it to you_p which is why we_p questioned [you_p].'

The matrix transitive til-d 'give food' takes an emphatic 2sg direct complement object to which it assigns Goal, the recipient.14 The same direct complement is elided in the embedded clause. The matrix clause leaves the Patient role unexpressed.

### 70-73 
Pheasant thanks the hunters.

### 101-110 
The hunters explain to Pheasant what they've done and warn him not to turn his head to look at the pack during his journey home.

14Jelinek and Demers, and Beck (1996), show that emphatic second and first person arguments have the syntactic properties of third person DPs.
The matrix subject and the embedded subject are both 2sg and both map Agent, the orientation role of their respective intransitive predicates. The Goal role implied by "go" is unexpressed, but the Goal role of the embedded predicate is assigned to the directional PP.

The focus phrase maps non-orientation Patient, and the 1pl subject maps Agent. The direct complement is a recipient Goal.

The direct complement has been elided here; it maps the orientation role of the nominalized transitive and gets its reference from the elk-pack, a discourse referent salient in this episode.

The tallow isn't a salient discourse referent, so I subscript it with its full name. It is focused here, and maps non-orientation Patient. The oblique replaces the subject -s and maps the orientation Agent of 'eat'.

A focus adjunct introduces the passive nominalized clause, in which the subject -s maps the orientation Patient of transitive laK"ad 'eat' and the demoted Agent is realized by the oblique.

A wrap-up of Pheasant's saga.
A time adverbial is focused in this sentence, triggering the nominalized intransitive clause, which has an -s subject modified by the plural marker mapping the orientation role. The reference for this plural pronoun comes from the discourse.

184-185
Raven reintroduced, sets off.

186-187
The hunters are reintroduced as Raven meets up with

187.
Raven reintroduced, sets off. The hunters are reintroduced as Raven meets up with them.

There are two obliques here, with two very different functions: the first replaces the -s subject of nominalized dax?ta 'be there', while the second is the Agent oblique of passivized transitive ?ay'dx? 'find'.

The non-orientation role is assigned to the focus phrase; I am tentatively using the term OBJECT-PREDICATIVE for the appellation in an event of naming. The named ones appear in direct complement position.

236-7.
The dogs bark in their reintroduction. The hunters question Raven about the dogs and he lies, says they are his.

238-243
Raven boasts about his hunting prowess.

244-246
Raven, not overtly mentioned, sets off on his journey home with the elk-pack.

245.
Raven talks to himself.

Both intransitive predicates assign Agent to their pronominal subjects, and each of them picks up its reference from the episode topic, Raven.
Raven takes the forbidden look at the elk-pack.

When Raven returns home, he has rotten wood in his pack.

Raven's children throw sucker fish at Pheasant's children.

Raven's children throw sucker fish at Pheasant's children.

Then he, vomited nothing but rotten wood, which he had eaten.'

Then he, vomited nothing but rotten wood, which he had eaten.'

'True to form, Raven was just gulping down what the children were playing with.'

The focus manner adjunct introduces the nominalized intransitive qah+i(h) 'cat', and the oblique

Replicates its subject -s, mapping orientation Agent. The Patient role implied by qah+i(h) 'cat' is left unrealized in the syntax.

'As soon as he, managed to get one, he, ate it.'

The transitive k'ad(d) 'get' takes a demonstrative pronominal as its direct complement and assigns its orientation role, Patient, to it. These demonstrative pronominals may be the result of deletion of the substantive complement (in this case, sk'up 'sucker fish') of the determiner. In the final clause, the entire DP is elided under identity with ti?H sk'up. The final zero subject is an Agent of the transitive lkek'ad 'eat' and gets its reference from Raven, who is the Agent of the matrix transitive, too.

The oblique here receives a non-orientation role, Patient, from the intransitive matrix predicate. The zero matrix subject maps orientation Experimenter and receives its reference from Raven, who also gives reference to the embedded Agent subject -s of intransitive qah+i(h) 'eat'.
The initial focus constituent skwup 'sucker fish' maps a non-orientation role, Patient, of the embedded intransitive pusil 'throw', the entity thrown. Its other non-orientation role, Goal, the direction of throwing, is not realized in this utterance, but the discourse seems to indicate that Pheasants's children are the targets of these projectiles, and that Raven's children are the Agents of the throwing.

### 305-308 ###
Concluding remarks about Raven. End of story.

### 309-312 ###

REFERENCES


Langen, T. C. S. This volume. (A manuscript on "Pheasant and Raven" for which I lack complete citation information; my apologies to Toby Langen.)

Appendix A: Abbreviations

1 first person
2 second person
3 third person
Adv adverb
af affix (string) of unspecified type
Ag agent
appl applicative
asp any of several aspect morphemes
bf benefactive
d.c. direct complement
DET determiner
dir directional prefix
DP Determiner Phrase
BHH Bates, Hess and Hilbert (1994)
E event
emph emphatic
Exp experiencer
f feminine
Gol goal
incep inceptive intransitive
instr instrument/instrumental
intr detransitivizing suffix
irr irrealis
lx lexical suffix
neg negative
nom nominalizing prefix
O object
obl oblique phrase
P preposition
Pat patient
pass passive
pl plural
poss possessive, possessor
red1 diminutive reduplication
red2 distributive reduplication
red3 reduplication for random action
red7 reduplication for counting people
QA quantifying adverb
S subject
sg singular
tr transitiivizing suffix

Boundary symbols:
- affix
= lexical suffix
✓ root
+ reduplication
Appendix B: Semantic Specifications

wait.for-incep-tr(Ag,Pat)
give-bf-tr(Ag,Pat,Gol)
meet-tr(Ag,Pat)
bef(Pat)
be.there(Pat)
ed(Exp)
eat(Ag,Pat)
come(Ag,Gol)
find-tr(Ag,Gol)-pass
travel,overland(Ag,Gol)
trav(Ag,Gol)
travel-tr(Ag,Gol)-pass
say-tr(Ag,Gol)-pass
"say something to someone"
say(Ag,Pat)
sing/interpret(Ag,Pat)
throw-tr(Ag,Gol)
throw-tr(Ag,Gol)-pass
play(Ag,Instr)
water-travel(Ag)
"take"
will(tr)
fall(Pat)
bring down=game(Ag,Pat)
eat(Ag,Pat)
tell(Ag,Pat,Gol)
red2+/say(Ag,E)
af-\think-mv(Exp,Pat)
tell-tr(Ag,Gol)-pass
gather.berries-intr(Ag,Pat)
fry(Pat)
manage.to.get.down.to.shore-tr(Ag,Pat)
hide.from-appl-tr(Ag,Pat,So)
chase-tr(Ag,Pat)-pass
pack(Ag,Pat)
pack-tr(Ag,Pat)
gobble-tr(Ag,Pat)-pass
caulk=throat(Exp)
send-tr(Ag.clause)
twist=foot(Exp) "turn one's ankle"
beat=tail-mv(Ag,Instr)
clever(Exp)
nametral(Ag,Gol,object-predicative)
nametral(Ag,Gol,object-predicative)-pass
visit-appl-tr(Ag,Gol)
visit-appl-tr(Ag,Gol)-pass
"look over shoulder at"
turn=face-appl-tr(Ag,Pat)
dl=us-bi-d
wrong-tr(Ag,Pat)
dgressor(Exp,Pat)
man=bi-d
"get well"
know-tr(Exp)
do(Ag)
huy-du-b
make-bf-tr(Ag,Pat,Go)-pass "make for"

huy-tu-b
make-tr(Ag,Pat) "prepare/package"

huyu-d
make-tr(Ag,Pat)

huyu-t-ob
make/do-tr(Ag,Pat)

jac-tx
use-tr(Ag,Pat)

kiis
stand(Ag)

kiis-tx
cause.to-stand-tr(Ag,Pat)

kiis-tu-b
cause.to-stand-tr(Ag,Pat)-pass

k'ayi
pretend(Ag,E)

k'il-d
squir-tr

k'ax"a-d
help-tr(Ag,Pat)

k'oda-d
take-tr(Ag,Pat)

k'oda-t-ob
take-tr(Ag,Pat)-pass

k"ad-(dx)
manage.to-get-tr(Ag,Pat)

k"asa-d
roast-tr(Ag,Pat)

k"e'i-d
twist-tr(Ag,Pat)

laš-dx
remember-tr(Exp,Pat)

lak"-od
eat(Ag,Pat)

lak"-t-ob
eat-tr(Ag,Pat)

lali-d
different-tr-(Ag,Pat) "change something"

laq-du-b
hear-tr(Exp,Pat)

luk'ill
old-incep(Exp) "grow up, get older"

luu-t-ob
hear-tr(Exp,Pat)-pass

tal-il-tu-b
beach-incep-tr(Ag,Pat) "bring ashore"

tāl-il
dwell-incep(Ag,Loc)

tē-il
arrive(Ag,Gol)

tie-il-š
arrive-incep-tr(Ag,Gol) "come upon someone"

tē-il-tx
arrive-with-incep-tr(Ag,Pat,Gol)

tēs-od
slurp-tr(Ag,Pat)

tēs-od
slurp-tr(Ag,Pat)

tiid
tie(Pat)

tie-di
tie-tr(Ag,Pat)

tiid
give.food-tr(Ag,Pat,Gol)

tiid-ob
give.food-tr(Ag,Pat,Gol)-pass

tya?·t-ob
shoot.harmful.objects.into-tr(Ag,Pat)-pass

x'ala-b
strand-mv(Pat)

x'al = a = √q'ur7
sail = link = √water(Ag)

x'aš
cold(Exp)

x'ala-d
stop-tr(Ag,Pat)

x'ol-b
mature-intr(Exp)

x'ol-b-il
mature-intr-incep-(Exp)

pus-il
throw-incep(Ag,Pat,Gol)

p'ayiq
hew(Ag,Pat)

p'is"-ob-ad
drip-intr-tr(Ag,Pat) "flood (an area)"

qa?kW
rest(Ag)

qol-d
wake-tr(Ag,Pat)

qop'
sight(Ag)

q'ax"w
freeze(Pat)

q'il
load(Pat)

q'ill-d
load-tr(Ag,Pat,Gol)

q'ill-du-b
load-tr(Ag,Pat,Gol)

q"ac-ta"-bi-d
doubt-tr-appl-tr(Exp,Pat,E)

q"ulač
dip.net(Ag)

q"ol
cooked,ripe(Pat)

q"ol-il
warm-incep(Pat)

sag"w
fly(Ag)

sag"q-ad
whisper.to(Ag,Gol)

sux"t-aş
recognize-tr(Exp,Pat)

lab
dry(Pat)

laf'
end(Pat)

sù-dx
see-tr(Exp,Pat)

sù-e
look.at-tr(Ag,Pat)

ta?·t-ob
put-tr-(Agi,Pat,Go)-pass

tag"ox"w
hunger(Exp)

taq"n7
thirst(Exp)

taq"m= ači?-b
clap= hands-intr(Ag)

tolaw-il
run-incep(Ag)

taq"du-b
tight-tr(Ag,Pat)-pass "get cornered"
tal
fix(Pat) "done in"

taq' = ašā(?-a)d
slap= hand-tr(Ag,Pat)

tnx
stretch(Pat)

tx'ad
take.to.flight(Ag)

t'ac-dx
shatter-tr(Ag,Pat)

fili-b
sing-intr(Ag)

f'aw-il-tx
pray-incep-tr(Ag,Pat,Gol) "ask"

t'uč'u-t-ob
shoot-tr(Ag,Pat,Instr)-pass

t'uk'-tx
go.home-tr(Ag,Pat) "take something home"

wak-t-ob
distribute-tr(Ag,Pat)-pass

wiliq'
ask(Ag)

wiliq'-t-d
ask-tr(Ag,Pat)

x"aa-c
forbid-tr(Ag,Pat,E)

x"ak"-il
tire-incep(Exp)

x"ok" = ēad
break= leg(Exp)

x"Yīx"?ī-
hunt(Ag,Pat)

x"it-il
lower-incep(Pat)

xak'-tx'
desire-tr(Exp,Pat)

zac
fear(Exp,E)

zō
sick(Exp)

zak"-t-ab
invert-tr(Ag,Pat)-pass

šiliš
fight-(Ag)

ž"īl-d
lose-tr(Ag,Pat,Gol)

ž"isi-d
make.much.noise-tr(Ag,Pat)

yak'a-b
fetch water-intr(Ag,Pat)

yayus
work(Ag)

yayus-bi-d
work-appl-tr(Ag,Pat) "work at something"

yoc-ob
tell-mv(Ag)

yoc-ab-tx
tell-mv-tr-(Ag,Pat,Gol)

yoqi = qid
speak.up(Ag)