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HANDBOOK OF
AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

BY
FRANZ BOAS

PART 1

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCHES
By ROLAND B. DIXON, P. E. GODDARD, WILLIAM JONES
AND TRUMAN MICHELS0N, JOHN R. SWANTON,
AND WILLIAM THALBITZER

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., March 11, 1908.

Sir: I have the honor to submit herewith for publication, subject to your approval, as Bulletin 40, Part 1, of this Bureau, the manuscript of a portion of the Handbook of American Indian Languages, prepared under the editorial supervision of Dr. Franz Boas.

Yours, respectfully,

W. H. Holmes,
Chief.

Dr. Charles D. Walcott,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D. C.
PREFACE

The Handbook of American Indian Languages, the first Part of which is here presented, had its inception in an attempt to prepare a revised edition of the "Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages," by Major J. W. Powell.

During the first twenty years of the existence of the Bureau of American Ethnology much linguistic material had been accumulated by filling in the schedules contained in Major Powell's Introduction, and in this manner many vocabularies had been collected, while the essential features of the morphology of American languages remained unknown.

It seemed particularly desirable to call attention, in a new edition of the Introduction, to the essential features of the morphology and phonetics of American languages, and to emphasize the necessity of an analytical study of grammar. The object next to be attained by linguistic studies of American languages is a knowledge of their phonetic processes and of the psychological foundation of their structure. The former of these objects has hardly been attempted; knowledge of the latter has been obscured by the innumerable attempts to represent the grammars of Indian languages in a form analogous to that of the European grammars.

It was originally intended to give a somewhat elaborate introduction, setting forth the essential psychological characteristics of American languages; but with the development of the plan of work it was found necessary to relegate this discussion to the end of the whole work, because without a somewhat detailed discussion of the various languages the essential points cannot be substantiated by reliable evidence.

I have not attempted to give either exhaustive grammars or exhaustive discussions of phonetics, because the object of the whole work has been to describe as clearly as possible those psychological principles of each language which may be isolated by an analysis of grammatical forms. A detailed discussion of phonetics and of the probable historical development of grammatical forms belongs rather to detailed studies of linguistic stocks, which should be the next step in the progress of our knowledge of American languages.

In the collection of the material embodied in the present volume, I have been liberally assisted by investigators employed by a number
of institutions, particularly the American Museum of Natural History and the University of California. Most of the material contained in the first Part, except that contained in the sketches of the Athapascan, by Dr. P. E. Goddard, and of the Eskimo, by Dr. William Thalbitzer, was collected in connection with extended ethnological research conducted under the joint auspices of these institutions and the Bureau of American Ethnology; and the grammatical sketches are based on the discussion of texts published by the Bureau of American Ethnology and by other institutions, and which are referred to in the various sketches.

The work of collecting and of revision has extended over the period from 1897 to 1908. Lack of funds prevented a more rapid completion of the work.

I desire to express my sincere thanks to the collaborators who have contributed to the volume, and who have willingly adopted the general plan of presentation of grammar outlined by the editor.

New York, February 26, 1910.

Franz Boas.
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FRANZ BOAS
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INTRODUCTION

By Franz Boas

I. RACE AND LANGUAGE

Early Attempts to Determine the Position of the American Race

When Columbus started on his journey to reach the Indies, sailing westward, and discovered the shores of America, he beheld a new race of man, different in type, different in culture, different in language, from any known before that time. This race resembled neither the European types, nor the negroes, nor the better-known races of southern Asia. As the Spanish conquest of America progressed, other peoples of our continent became known to the invaders, and all showed a certain degree of outer resemblance, which led the Spaniards to designate them by the term “Indios” (Indians), the inhabitants of the country which was believed to be part of India. Thus the mistaken geographical term came to be applied to the inhabitants of the New World; and owing to the contrast of their appearance to that of other races, and the peculiarities of their cultures and their languages, they came to be in time considered as a racial unit.

The same point of view still prevailed when the discoveries included more extended parts of the New World. The people with whom the Spaniards and Portuguese came into contact in South America, as well as the inhabitants of the northern parts of North America, all seemed to partake so much of the same characteristics, that they were readily classed with the natives first discovered, and were considered as a single race of mankind.
It was only when our knowledge of the Indian tribes increased that differences between the various types of man inhabiting our continent became known. Differences in degree of culture, as well as differences in language, were recognized at an early time. Much later came a recognition of the fact that the Indians of our continent differ in type as much among themselves as do the members of other races.

As soon as investigators began to concern themselves with these questions, the problem of the position of the natives of America among the races of mankind came to be of considerable interest, and speculations in regard to their origin and relationships occurred even in the early descriptions of the New World.

Among the earlier attempts we find particularly endeavors to prove that certain parts of the beliefs and customs of the Indian agree with those of the Old World. Such agreements were considered proof that the Indians belong to one of the races enumerated in biblical history; and the theory that they represent the lost tribes of Israel was propounded frequently, and has held its own for a long time. In a similar way were traced analogies between the languages of the New World and those of the Old World, and many investigators believe even now that they have established such relationships. Attempts were also made to prove similarities in appearance between the American races and other races, and thus to determine their position among the races of the Old World.

Classifications based on Physical Type, Language, and Customs

The problems involved in the determination of the relations of the various races have been approached from two different points of view—either the attempt has been made to assign a definite position to a race in a classificatory system of the races of man, or the history of the race has been traced as far back as available data may permit.

The attempts to classify mankind are numerous. Setting aside the classifications based on biblical tradition, and considering only those that are based on scientific discussion, we find a number of attempts based on comparisons of the anatomical characteristics of mankind, combined with geographical considerations; others are based on the discussion of a combination of anatomical and cultural character-
ics—traits which are considered as characteristic of certain groups of mankind; while still others are based primarily on the study of languages spoken by people representing a certain anatomical type.

The attempts that have thus been made have led to entirely different results. Blumenbach, one of the first scientists who attempted to classify mankind, first distinguished five races—the Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay. It is fairly clear that his classification is based as much on geographical as on anatomical considerations, although the description of each race is primarily an anatomical one. Cuvier distinguished three races—the white, yellow, and black. Huxley proceeds more strictly on a biological basis. He combines part of the Mongolian and American races of Blumenbach into one, assigns part of the South Asiatic peoples to the Australian type, and subdivides the European races into a dark and a light vision. The numerical preponderance of the European types has evidently led him to make finer distinctions in this race, which divides into the xanthochroic and melanochroic races. It could be easy to make subdivisions of equal value in other races. Still clearer is the influence of cultural points of view in classifications like those of Gobineau and Klemm (who distinguishes the active and passive races), according to the cultural achievements of the various types of man.

The most typical attempt to classify mankind from a consideration of both anatomical and linguistic points of view is that of Riederich Müller, who takes as the basis of his primary divisions the form of hair, while all the minor divisions are based on linguistic considerations.

Relations between Physical Type, Language, and Customs

An attempt to correlate the numerous classifications that have been proposed shows clearly a condition of utter confusion and contradiction. If it were true that anatomical form, language, and culture are all closely associated, and that each subdivision of mankind is characterized by a certain bodily form, a certain culture, and a certain language, which can never become separated, we might expect that the results of the various investigations would show better agreement. If, on the other hand, the various phenomena which were made the leading points in the attempt at classification are not
closely associated, then we may naturally expect such contr
ations and lack of agreement as are actually found.

It is therefore necessary, first of all, to be clear in regard to
significance of anatomical characteristics, language, and culture
characteristic of any subdivision of mankind.

It seems desirable to consider the actual development of the
various traits among the existing races.

**Permanence of Physical Type; Changes in Language
and Culture**

At the present period we may observe many cases in which a com-
plete change of language and culture takes place without a cor-
sponding change in physical type. This is true, for instance, am-
ong the North American negroes, a people by descent largely African:
culture and language, however, essentially European. While it
is true that certain survivals of African culture and language
are found among our American negroes, their culture is essentially t
of the uneducated classes of the people among whom they live, and
their language is on the whole identical with that of their neigh-
bors—English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, according to the
prevailing language in various parts of the continent. It might
objected that the transportation of the African race to America
was an artificial one, and that in earlier times extended migrations
and transplantations of this kind have not taken place.

The history of medieval Europe, however, shows clearly that
extended changes in language and culture have taken place ma
times without corresponding changes in blood.

Recent investigations of the physical types of Europe have sh
with great clearness that the distribution of types has remained th
same for a long period. Without considering details, it may be see
that an Alpine type can easily be distinguished from a nor
European type on the one hand, and a south-European type on th
other. The Alpine type appears fairly uniform over a large territo
no matter what language may be spoken and what national cultu
may prevail in the particular district. The central-European Fren
men, Germans, Italians, and Slavs are so nearly of the same ty
that we may safely assume a considerable degree of blood relation
ship, notwithstanding their linguistic differences.
Instances of similar kind, in which we find permanence of blood through far-reaching modifications of language and culture, are found in other parts of the world. As an example may be mentioned the Eddah of Ceylon, a people fundamentally different in type from the neighboring Sinhalese, whose language they seem to have adopted, and from whom they have also evidently borrowed a number of cultural traits. Still other examples are the Japanese in the northern part of Japan, who are undoubtedly, to a considerable extent, Ainu in blood; and the Yukaghirs of Siberia, who, while retaining to a great extent the old blood, have been assimilated a culture and language by the neighboring Tungus.

Permanence of Language; Changes of Physical Type

While it is therefore evident that in many cases a people, without undergoing a considerable change in type by mixture, have changed completely their language and culture, still other cases may be adduced in which it can be shown that a people have retained their language while undergoing material changes in blood and culture, or in both. As an example of this may be mentioned the Magyars of Europe, who have retained their old language, but have become mixed with people speaking Indo-European languages, and who have, to all intents and purposes, adopted European culture.

Similar conditions must have prevailed among the Athapascans, one of the great linguistic families of North America. The great body of people speaking languages belonging to this linguistic stock live in the northwestern part of America, while other dialects are spoken by small tribes in California, and still others by a large body of people in Arizona and New Mexico. The relationship between all these dialects is so close that they must be considered as branches of one large group, and it must be assumed that all of them have sprung from a language once spoken over a continuous area. At the present time the people speaking these languages differ fundamentally in type, the inhabitants of the Mackenzie river region being quite different from the tribes of California, and these, again, differing from the tribes of New Mexico. The forms of culture in these different regions are also quite distinct; the culture of the California Athapascans resembles that of other Californian tribes, while the culture of the Athapascans of New Mexico and Arizona is influenced by that of other peoples of that area. It seems most
plausible to assume in this case that branches of this stock migrate from one part of this large area to another, where they intermingle with the neighboring people, and thus changed their physical characteristics, while at the same time they retained their speech. Without historical evidence this process can not, of course, be proved. I shall refer to this example later on.

Changes of Language and Type

These two phenomena—a retention of type with a change of language, and a retention of language with a change of type—apparently opposed to each other, are still very closely related, and in many cases go hand in hand. An example of this is, for instance, the distribution of the Arabs along the north coast of Africa. On the whole, the Arab element has retained its language; but at the same time intermarriages with the native races were common, so that the descendants of the Arabs have often retained the old language and have changed their type. On the other hand, the natives have to a certain extent given up their own languages, but have continued to intermarry among themselves and have thus preserved their type. So far as any change of this kind is connected with intermixture, both types of changes must always occur at the same time, and will be classed as a change of type or a change of language, as our attention is directed to the one people or the other, or, in some cases, as the one or the other change is more pronounced. Cases of complete assimilation without any mixture of the people involved seem to be rare, if not entirely absent.

Permanence of Type and Language; Change of Culture

Cases of permanence of type and language and of change of culture are much more numerous. As a matter of fact, the whole historical development of Europe, from prehistoric times on, is one endless series of examples of this process, which seems to be much easier, since assimilation of cultures occurs everywhere without actual blood mixture, as an effect of imitation. Proof of diffusion of cultural elements may be found in every single cultural area which covers a district in which many languages are spoken. In North America, California offers a good example of this kind; for here many languages are spoken, and there is a certain degree of differentiation of type, but at the same time a considerable uniformity of culture pre-
ails. Another case in point is the coast of New Guinea, where, notwithstanding strong local differentiations, a certain fairly characteristic type of culture prevails, which goes hand in hand with arong differentiation of languages. Among more highly civilized peoples, the whole area which is under the influence of Chinese culture might be given as an example.

These considerations make it fairly clear that, at least at the present time, anatomical type, language, and culture have not necessarily the same fates; that a people may remain constant in type and language and change in culture; that they may remain constant in type, but change in language; or that they may remain constant in language and change in type and culture. If this is true, then it is obvious that attempts to classify mankind, based on the present distribution of type, language, and culture, must lead to different results, according to the point of view taken; that a classification based primarily on language alone will lead to a system which represents, more or less accurately, the blood relationships of the people, which do not need to coincide with their cultural relationships; and that, in the same way, classifications based on language and culture do not need at all to coincide with a biological classification.

If this be true, then a problem like the much discussed Aryan problem really does not exist, because the problem is primarily a linguistic one, relating to the history of the Aryan languages; and the assumption that a certain definite people whose members have always been related by blood must have been the carriers of this language throughout history; and the other assumption, that a certain cultural type must have always belonged to this people—are purely arbitrary ones and not in accord with the observed facts.

Hypothesis of Original Correlation of Type, Language, and Culture

Nevertheless, it must be granted, that in a theoretical consideration of the history of the types of mankind, of languages, and of cultures, we are led back to the assumption of early conditions during which each type was much more isolated from the rest of mankind than it is at the present time. For this reason, the culture and the language belonging to a single type must have been much more sharply separated from those of other types than we find them to be at the present period. It is true that such a condition has nowhere
been observed; but the knowledge of historical developments almost compels us to assume its existence at a very early period in the development of mankind. If this is true, the question would arise, whether an isolated group, at an early period, was necessarily characterized by a single type, a single language, and a single culture, or whether in such a group different types, different languages, and different cultures may have been represented.

The historical development of mankind would afford a simpler and clearer picture, if we were justified in assuming that in primitive communities the three phenomena had been intimately associated. No proof, however, of such an assumption can be given. On the contrary, the present distribution of languages, as compared with the distribution of types, makes it plausible that even at the earliest times the biological units may have been wider than the linguistic units, and presumably also wider than the cultural units. I believe that it may be safely said that all over the world the biological unit is much larger than the linguistic unit: in other words, that groups of men who are so closely related in bodily appearance that we must consider them as representatives of the same variety of mankind, embrace a much larger number of individuals than the number of men speaking languages which we know to be genetically related. Examples of this kind may be given from many parts of the world. Thus, the European race—including under this term roughly all those individuals who are without hesitation classed by us as members of the white race—would include peoples speaking Indo-European, Basque, and Ural-Altaic languages. West African negroes would represent individuals of a certain negro type, but speaking the most diverse languages; and the same would be true, among Asiatic types, of Siberians; among American types, of part of the Californian Indians.

So far as our historical evidence goes, there is no reason to believe that the number of distinct languages has at any time been less than it is now. On the contrary, all our evidence goes to show that the number of apparently unrelated languages has been much greater in earlier times than at present. On the other hand, the number of types that have presumably become extinct seems to be rather small, so that there is no reason to suppose that at an early period there should have been a nearer correspondence between the number of distinct linguistic and anatomical types; and we are thus led to
he conclusion that presumably, at an early time, each human type may have existed in a number of small isolated groups, each of which may have possessed a language and culture of its own.

However this may be, the probabilities are decidedly in favor of the assumption that there is no necessity to assume that originally each language and culture were confined to a single type, or that each type and culture were confined to one language: in short, that there has been at any time a close correlation between these three phenomena.

The assumption that type, language, and culture were originally closely correlated would entail the further assumption that these three traits developed approximately at the same period, and that they developed conjointly for a considerable length of time. This assumption does not seem by any means plausible. The fundamental types of man which are represented in the negroid race and in the mongoloid race must have been differentiated long before the formation of those forms of speech that are now recognized in the linguistic families of the world. I think that even the differentiation of the more important subdivisions of the great races antedates the formation of the existing linguistic families. At any rate, the biological differentiation and the formation of speech were, at this early period, subject to the same causes that are acting upon them now, and our whole experience shows that these causes act much more rapidly on language than on the human body. In this consideration lies the principal reason for the theory of lack of correlation of type and language, even during the period of formation of types and of linguistic families.

What is true of language is obviously even more true of culture. In other words, if a certain type of man migrated over a considerable area before its language assumed the form which can now be traced in related linguistic groups, and before its culture assumed the definite type the further development of which can now be recognized, there would be no possibility of ever discovering a correlation of type, language, and culture, even if it had ever existed; but it is quite possible that such correlation has really never occurred.

It is quite conceivable that a certain racial type may have scattered over a considerable area during a formative period of speech, and that the languages which developed among the various groups
of this racial type came to be so different that it is now impossible to prove them to be genetically related. In the same way, new developments of culture may have taken place which are so entirely disconnected with older types that the older genetic relationships, even if they existed, can no longer be discovered.

If we adopt this point of view, and thus eliminate the hypothetical assumption of correlation between primitive type, primitive language, and primitive culture, we recognize that any attempt at classification which includes more than one of these traits can not be consistent.

It may be added that the general term "culture" which has been used here may be subdivided from a considerable number of points of view, and different results again might be expected when we consider the inventions, the types of social organization, or beliefs, as leading points of view in our classification.

Artificial Character of All Classifications of Mankind

We recognize thus that every classification of mankind must be more or less artificial, according to the point of view selected, and here, even more than in the domain of biology, we find that classification can only be a substitute for the genesis and history of the now existing types.

Thus we recognize that the essential object in comparing different types of man must be the reconstruction of the history of the development of their types, their languages, and their cultures. The history of each of these various traits is subject to a distinct set of modifying causes, and the investigation of each may be expected to contribute data toward the solution of our problem. The biological investigation may reveal the blood-relationships of types and their modifications under social and geographical environment. The linguistic investigation may disclose the history of languages, the contact of the people speaking them with other people, and the causes that led to linguistic differentiation and integration; while the history of civilization deals with the contact of a people with neighboring peoples, as well as with the history of its own achievements.
II. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF LANGUAGE

Definition of Language

The discussions of the preceding chapter have shown that a consideration of the human languages alone must not be understood to yield a history of the blood-relationships of races and of their component elements, but that all that we can hope to obtain is a clear understanding of the relationship of the languages, no matter by whom they may be spoken.

Before discussing the extent to which we may reconstruct the history of languages, it seems necessary to describe briefly the essential traits of human speech.

In our present discussion we do not deal with gesture-language or musical means of communication, but confine ourselves to the discussion of articulate speech; that is, to communication by means of groups of sounds produced by the articulating organs—the larynx, oral cavity, tongue, lips, and nose.

Character of Phonetics

Speech consists of groups of sounds produced by the articulating organs, partly noises made by opening and closing certain places in the larynx, pharynx, mouth, or nose, or by restricting certain parts of the passage of the breath; partly resonant sounds produced by the vocal chords.

Number of Sounds Unlimited

The number of sounds that may be produced in this manner is unlimited. In our own language we select only a limited number of all possible sounds; for instance, some sounds, like $p$, are produced by the closing and a sudden opening of the lips; others, like $t$, by bringing the tip of the tongue into contact with the anterior portion of the palate, by producing a closure at this point, and by suddenly expelling the air. On the other hand, a sound might be produced by placing the tip of the tongue between the lips, making a closure in this manner, and by expelling the air suddenly. This sound would to our ear partake of the character of both our $t$ and our $p$, while it would correspond to neither of these. A comparison of the sounds of the well-known European languages—like English, French, and German; or even of the different dialects of the same
languages, like those of Scotch and of the various English dialects—reveals the fact that considerable variation occurs in the manner of producing sounds, and that each dialect has its own characteristic phonetic system, in which each sound is nearly fixed, although subject to slight modifications which are due to accident or to the effects of surrounding sounds.

Each Language Uses a Limited Number of Sounds

One of the most important facts relating to the phonetics of human speech is, that every single language has a definite and limited group of sounds, and that the number of those used in any particular dialect is never excessively large.

It would seem that this limitation in the use of sounds is necessary in order to make possible rapid communication. If the number of sounds that are used in any particular language were unlimited, the accuracy with which the movements of the complicated mechanism required for producing the sounds are performed would presumably be lacking, and consequently rapidity and accuracy of pronunciation, and with them the possibility of accurate interpretation of the sounds heard, would be difficult, or even impossible. On the other hand, limitation of the number of sounds brings it about that the movements required in the production of each become automatic, that the association between the sound heard and the muscular movements, and that between the auditory impression and the muscular sensation of the articulation, become firmly fixed. Thus it would seem that limited phonetic resources are necessary for easy communication.

Alleged Lack of Differentiation of Sounds in Primitive Languages

It has been maintained that this is not a characteristic found in more primitive types of languages, and particularly, examples of American languages have often been brought forward to show that the accuracy of their pronunciation is much less than that found in the languages of the civilized world.

It would seem that this view is based largely on the fact that certain sounds that occur in American languages are interpreted by observers sometimes as one European sound, sometimes as another. Thus the Pawnee language contains a sound which may be heard
more or less distinctly sometimes as an l, sometimes an r, sometimes as n, and again as d, which, however, without any doubt, is throughout the same sound, although modified to a certain extent by its position in the word and by surrounding sounds. It is an exceedingly weak r, made by trilling with the tip of the tongue at a point a little behind the roots of the incisors, and in which the tongue hardly leaves the palate, the trill being produced by the lateral part of the tongue adjoining the tip. As soon as the trill is heard more strongly, we receive the impression of an r. When the lateral movement prevails and the tip of the tongue does not seem to leave the palate, the impression of an l is strongest, while when the trill is almost suppressed and a sudden release of the tongue from the palate takes place, the impression of the d is given. The impression of an n is produced because the sound is often accompanied by an audible breathing through the nose. This peculiar sound is, of course, entirely foreign to our phonetic system; but its variations are not greater than those of the English r in various combinations, as in broth, mother, where. The different impression is brought about by the fact that the sound, according to its prevailing character, associates itself either with our l, or our r, n, or d.

Other examples are quite common. Thus, the lower Chinook has a sound which is readily perceived as a b, m, or w. As a matter of fact, it is a b sound, produced by a very weak closure of the lips and with open nose, the breath passing weakly both through the mouth and through the nose, and accompanied by a faint intonation of the vocal chords. This sound associates itself with our b, which is produced by a moderately weak release of the lips; with our m, which is a free breath through the nose with closed lips; and with our w, which is a breath through the lips, which are almost closed, all accompanied by a faint intonation of the vocal chords. The association of this sound with w, is particularly marked when it appears in combination with a u vowel, which imitates the characteristic u tinge of our w. Still another example is the b sound, which is produced with half-closed nose by the Indians of the Strait of Fuca, in the State of Washington. In this case the characteristic trait of the sound is a semiclosure of the nose, similar to the effect produced by a cold in the head. Not less common are sounds intermediate between our vowels. Thus we seem to find in a number of Indian languages
a vowel which is sometimes perceived as o, sometimes as u (continental pronunciation), and which is in reality pronounced in a position intermediate between these two sounds.

The correctness of this interpretation of Indian phonetics is perhaps best proved by the fact that observers belonging to different nationalities readily perceive the sounds in accordance with the system of sounds with which they are familiar. Often it is not difficult to recognize the nationality of a recorder from the system selected by him for the rendering of sounds.

Still another proof of the correctness of this view of Indian phonetics is given by the fact that, wherever there is a greater number of Indian sounds of a class represented by a single sound in English, our own sounds are misinterpreted in similar manner. Thus, for instance, the Indians of the North Pacific coast have a series of l sounds, which may be roughly compared to our sounds tl, cl, gl. Consequently, a word like close is heard by the Indians sometimes one way, sometimes another; our cl is for them an intermediate sound, in the same way as some Indian sounds are intermediate sounds to our ears. The alternation of the sounds is clearly an effect of perception through the medium of a foreign system of phonetics, not that of a greater variability of pronunciation than the one that is characteristic of our own sounds.

While the phonetic system of each language is limited and fixed, the sounds selected in different types of languages show great differences, and it seems necessary to compare groups of languages from the point of view of their constituent phonetic elements.

**Brief Description of Phonetics**

A complete discussion of this subject can not be given at this place; but a brief statement of the characteristics of articulate sounds, and the manner of rendering them by means of symbols, seems necessary.

All articulate sounds are produced by the vibrations of the articulating organs, which are set in motion by breathing. In the vast majority of cases it is the outgoing breath which causes the vibrations; while in a few languages, as in those of South Africa, the breath, while being drawn in, is used for producing the sound.

One group of sounds is produced by the vibration of the vocal chords, and is characterized by the form given to the cavities of
mouth and nose. These are the vowels. When the nose is closed, we have pure vowels; when the posterior part of the nose is more or less open, more or less nasalized vowels. The character of the vowel depends upon the form given to the oral cavity. The timbre of the vowels changes according to the degree to which the larynx is raised; the epiglottis lowered or raised; the tongue retracted or brought forward and its back rounded or flattened; and the lips rounded and brought forward, or an elongated opening of the mouth produced by retracting the corners of the mouth. With open lips and the tongue and pharynx at rest, but the soft palate (velum) raised, we have the pure vowel /a/, similar to the /a/ in father. From his sound the vowels vary in two principal directions. The one extreme is /u/ (like oo in English fool), with small round opening of the protruding lips, tongue retracted, and round opening between tongue and palate, and large opening between larynx and pharynx, the larynx still being almost at rest. The transitional sounds pass through /ʌ/ (aw in English law) and /o/ (as in most), but the range of intermediate positions is continuous. In another direction the vowels pass from /a/ through /e/ (a in English mane) to /i/ (ee in fleet). The /i/ is pronounced with extreme retraction of the corners of the mouth and elongated opening of the lips, with very narrow flat opening between tongue and palate, and the posterior part of the tongue brought forward, so that there is a wide opening in the back part of the mouth, the larynx being raised at the same time.

Variations of vowels may be produced by a different grouping of the movements of the articulating organs. Thus, when the lips are in /i/ position, the tongue and pharynx and larynx in /u/ position, we have the sound /ü/, which is connected with the /a/ by a series passing through /ö/. These sounds are similar to the German umlaut.

Other combinations of positions of the tongue and of the lips occur, although the ones here described seem to be the most frequent vowel-sounds. All vowels may become very much weakened in strength of articulation, and dwindle down to a slight intonation of the vocal chords, although retaining the peculiar vowel timbre, which depends upon the position of mouth, nose, and lips. When this articulation becomes very weak, all the vowels tend to become quite similar in character, or may be influenced in their timbre by neighboring consonants, as will be described later.
All sounds produced by vibrations in any part of the articulating organs other than the vocal chords are consonants. These vibrations may be produced either by closing the air-passage completely and then suddenly opening the closure, or by producing a narrowing or stricture at any point. The former series of sounds are called "stops" (like our p, t, k). In all of these there is a complete closure before the air is expelled. The latter are called "spirants" or "continued" (like our s and f), in which there is a continuous escape of breath. When a stop is made and is followed by a breathing through a stricture at the same place, sounds develop like our ts. These are called "affricatives." When the mouth is completely stopped, and the air escapes through the nose, the sound is called a "nasal consonant" (like our m and n). There may also be stricture and nasal opening. A rapidly repeated series of stops, a trill, is represented by our r. The character of the sound depends largely upon the parts of the articulating organs that produce the closure or stricture, and upon the place where these occur. Closure or stricture may be made by the lips, lips and tongue, lips and teeth, tongue and teeth, tongue and hard palate, tongue and soft palate (velum), by the vocal chords, and in the nose.

In the following table, only the principal groups of consonants are described. Rare sounds are omitted. According to what has been said before, it will be recognized that here also the total number of possible sounds is infinitely large.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial stop</th>
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<tr>
<td>Linguo-palatal stops:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apical (dental, alveolar, post-alveolar)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cerebral (produced with the tip of the tongue turned backward)</td>
<td>t</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dorsal:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anterior palatal</td>
<td>k</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>k</td>
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<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>q</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glottal (a stop produced with the vocal chords)</td>
<td>ℓ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>n</td>
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Almost all these stops may be modified by giving to the closure a different degree of stress. In English we have two principal degrees of stress, represented, for instance, by our b and p or d and t. In many languages, as, for instance, in Sioux and in the languages of the Pacific coast, there are three degrees of stress that may be
readily differentiated. The strongest of these we call the "fortis," and indicate it by following the consonant by an ! (p!, t!):

When these stops are not accompanied by any kind of vibration of the vocal chords, they are called "sursds."

It is, of course, also possible that more than one stop may be made at one time: Thus it might be possible to close at the same time the lips and the posterior part of the mouth with the tongue. This type of combination is, however, rare; but we find very frequently articulation of the vocal chords with stops. This results in the voiced consonants, or sonants. In English we find that almost always the stress of articulation of the voiced sound is less than the stress of articulation of the unvoiced sound, or surd; but this correlation is not necessary. In American languages particularly, we find very commonly the same degree of stress used with voicing and without voicing, which brings it about that to the European ear the surd and sonant are difficult to distinguish.

A third modification of the consonants is brought about by the strength of breathing accompanying the release of the closure. In a sound like t, for instance, the sound may be simply produced by closing the mouth, by laying the tip of the tongue firmly against the palate, producing a slightly increased amount of air-pressure behind the tongue, and then releasing the closure. On the other hand, the sound may be produced by bringing about the closure and combining the release with the expiration of a full breath. Sounds which are accompanied by this full breathing may be called "aspirates," and we will designate the aspiration by ' , the symbol of the Greek spiritus asper. This full breathing may follow the stop, or may begin even before the completion of the closure. With the increased stress of closure of the fortis is connected a closure of the glottis or of the posterior part of the tongue, so that only the air that has been poured into the vocal cavity is expelled.

In the case of voiced consonants, the voicing may either be entirely synchronous with the consonant, or it may slightly precede or follow it. In both of these cases we may get the impression of a preceding or following exceedingly weak vowel, the timbre of which will depend essentially upon the accompanying consonant. When the timbre is very indefinite, we write this vowel E; when it is more definite, A, I, ë, U, etc. In other cases, where the release at the
closure is made without a full breath going out, and simply by compressing the air slightly in the space behind the closure, a break is very liable to originate between the stop and the following sound of the word. Such a hiatus in the word is indicated by an apostrophe ('). It seems likely that, where such a hiatus occurs following a vowel, it is generally due to a closing of the glottis.

Most of the phenomena here described may also occur with the spirants and nasals, which, however, do not seem to differ so much in regard to strength; while the character of the outgoing breath, the voicing and the breaking-off, show traits similar to those observed among the stops.

All the stops may be changed into nasals by letting the air escape through the nose while the closure is continued. In this manner originate our $n$ and $m$. The nasal opening may also differ in width, and the stricture of the upper nares may produce semi-nasalized consonants.

In the spirant sounds before described, the escape of the air is along the middle line of the palate. There are a number of other sounds in which the air escapes laterally. These are represented by our $l$. They also may vary considerably, according to the place and form of the opening through which the air escapes and the form of closure of the mouth.

It seems that the peculiar timbre of some of the consonants depends also upon the resonance of the oral opening. This seems to be particularly the case in regard to the $t$ and $k$ sounds. In pronouncing the $t$ sounds, one of the essential characteristics seems to be that the posterior part of the mouth is open, while the anterior portion of the mouth is filled by the tongue. In the $k$ series, on the other hand, the posterior portion of the mouth is filled by the tongue, while the anterior portion remains open. Sounds produced with both the posterior and anterior portion of the mouth open partake of the character of both the $k$ and $t$ series.¹

Two of the vowels show a close affiliation to consonants of the continuant series. These are $i$ and $u$, owing largely to the fact that in $i$ the position of the tongue is very nearly a stricture in the anterior portion of the mouth, while in $u$ the position of the lips is quite near to a stricture. Thus originate the semi-vowels $y$ and $w$. The last sound that must be mentioned is the free breathing $h$, which, in its

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¹ See P. W. Schmidt, Anthropos, II, 334.
most characteristic form, is produced by the expiration of the breath with all the articulating organs at rest.

In tabular form we obtain thus the following series of the most important consonantic sounds:

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<td>Bilabial</td>
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<td>Linguo-labial</td>
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<td>Linguo-dental</td>
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<td>Medial</td>
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<td>Velar</td>
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<td>Glottal</td>
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Semi-vowels y, w. Breath, 'h. 'Hiatus'.

The vocalic tinge of consonants is expressed by superior vowels following them: ə o ɪ o u. The series of affricatives which begin with a stop and end with a continued sound have been omitted from this table.

It will be noticed that in the preceding table the same symbols are used in several columns. This is done, because, ordinarily, only one, or at most two, series of these groups occur in one language, so that these differences can be expressed in each special case by diacritical marks. Attempts have been made by other authors to give a general system of sound representation. For any particular language, these are liable to become cumbersome, and are therefore not used in the sketches contained in this volume.

Unconsciousness of Phonetic Elements

In the preceding pages we have briefly discussed the results of an analysis of the phonetic elements of human speech. It must, however, be remembered that the single sound as such has no independent existence, that it never enters into the consciousness of the speaker, but that it exists only as a part of a sound-complex which conveys a definite meaning. This will be easily recognized, if we consider for a moment grammatical forms in the English language in which the modification of the idea is expressed by a single sound. In the word
hills, the terminal *s* does not enter our consciousness as a separate element with separate significance, expressing the idea of plurality,—except, perhaps, in so far as our grammatical training has taught us the fact that plurals may be formed by the use of a terminal *s*,—but the word forms a firm unit, which conveys a meaning only as a whole. The variety of uses of the terminal *s* as a plural, possessive, and third person singular of the verb, and the strong effort required to recognize the phonetic identity of these terminal elements, may be adduced as a further proof of the fact that the single phonetic elements become conscious to us only as a result of analysis. A comparison of words that differ only in a single sound, like *mail* and *nail*, *snake* and *stake*, makes it also clear that the isolation of sounds is a result of secondary analysis.

**Grammatical Categories**

**Differences in Categories of Different Languages**

In all articulate speech the groups of sounds which are uttered serve to convey ideas, and each group of sounds has a fixed meaning. Languages differ not only in the character of their constituent phonetic elements and sound-clusters, but also in the groups of ideas that find expression in fixed phonetic groups.

**Limitation of the Number of Phonetic Groups Expressing Ideas**

The total number of possible combinations of phonetic elements is also unlimited; but only a limited number are used to express ideas. This implies that the total number of ideas that are expressed by distinct phonetic groups is limited in number.

Since the total range of personal experience which language serves to express is infinitely varied, and its whole scope must be expressed by a limited number of phonetic groups, it is obvious that an extended classification of experiences must underlie all articulate speech.

This coincides with a fundamental trait of human thought. In our actual experience no two sense-impressions or emotional states are identical. Nevertheless we classify them, according to their similarities, in wider or narrower groups the limits of which may be determined from a variety of points of view. Notwithstanding their individual differences, we recognize in our experiences common elements, and consider them as related or even as the same, provided a
efficient number of characteristic traits belong to them in common. Thus the limitation of the number of phonetic groups expressing distinct ideas is an expression of the psychological fact that many different individual experiences appear to us as representatives of the same category of thought.

This trait of human thought and speech may be compared in a certain manner to the limitation of the whole series of possible articulating movements by selection of a limited number of habitual movements. If the whole mass of concepts, with all their variants, were expressed in language by entirely heterogeneous and unrelated sound-complexes, a condition would arise in which closely related ideas would not show their relationship by the corresponding relationship of their phonetic symbols, and an infinitely large number of distinct phonetic groups would be required for expression. If this were the case, the association between an idea and its representative sound-complex would not become sufficiently stable to be reproduced automatically without reflection at any given moment. As the automatic and rapid use of articulations has brought it about that a limited number of articulations only, each with limited variability, and a limited number of sound-clusters, have been selected from the infinitely large range of possible articulations and clusters of articulations, so the infinitely large number of ideas have been reduced by classification to a lesser number, which by constant use have established firm associations, and which can be used automatically.

It seems important at this point of our considerations to emphasize the fact that the groups of ideas expressed by specific phonetic groups show very material differences in different languages, and do not conform by any means to the same principles of classification. To take again the example of English, we find that the idea of water is expressed in a great variety of forms: one term serves to express water as a liquid; another one, water in the form of a large expanse (lake); others, water as running in a large body or in a small body (river and brook); still other terms express water in the form of rain, dew, wave, and foam. It is perfectly conceivable that this variety of ideas, each of which is expressed by a single independent term in English, might be expressed in other languages by derivations from the same term.

Another example of the same kind, the words for snow in Eskimo, may be given. Here we find one word, aput, expressing snow on
THE GROUND; another one, *qana*, FALLING SNOW; a third one, *sirpoq*, DRIFTING SNOW; and a fourth one, *qimuqsuq*, A SNOWDRIFT.

In the same language the seal in different conditions is expressed by a variety of terms. One word is the general term for a seal floating on a piece of ice; another one signifies the seal basking in the sun; a third one for the seals of different ages and for male and female.

As an example of the manner in which terms that we express independent words are grouped together under one concept, the Dakota language may be selected. The terms *naxta'ka to* paxta'ka TO BIND IN BUNDLES, yaxta'ka TO BITE, ic'a'xtaka TO NEAR TO, boxta'ka TO FOUND, are all derived from the common element *xtaka* TO GRIP, which holds them together, while we use distinct words for expressing the various ideas.

It seems fairly evident that the selection of such simple terms to a certain extent depend upon the chief interests of a people: where it is necessary to distinguish a certain phenomenon in its aspects, which in the life of the people play each an entirely independent rôle, many independent words may develop, while in other cases modifications of a single term may suffice.

Thus it happens that each language, from the point of view of another language, may be arbitrary in its classifications; that which appears as a single simple idea in one language may be characterized by a series of distinct phonetic groups in another.

The tendency of a language to express a complex idea by a single term has been styled "holophrasis," and it appears therefore that a language may be holophrastic from the point of view of another language. Holophrasis can hardly be taken as a fundamental characteristic of primitive languages.

We have seen before that some kind of classification of express must be found in every language. This classification of ideas in groups, each of which is expressed by an independent phonetic group makes it necessary that concepts which are not readily rendered by one single one among the available sound-complexes should be expressed by combinations or by modifications of what might be called the elementary phonetic groups, in accordance with the elementary ideas to which the particular idea is reduced.

This classification, and the necessity of expressing certain experiences by means of other related ones, which by limiting one another
Define the special idea to be expressed, entail the presence of certain formal elements which determine the relations of the single phonetic groups. If each idea could be expressed by a single phonetic group, languages without form would be possible. Since, however, ideas must be expressed by being reduced to a number of related ideas, the kinds of relation become important elements in articulate speech; and it follows that all languages must contain formal elements, and that their number must be the greater, the fewer the elementary phonetic groups that define special ideas. In a language which commands a very large, fixed vocabulary, the number of formal elements may become quite small.

**Grammatical Processes**

It is important to note that, in the languages of the world, the number of processes which are utilized to express the relations of terms is limited. Presumably this is due to the general characteristics of articulate speech. The only methods that are available for expressing the relations between definite phonetic groups are their composition in definite order, which may be combined with a mutual phonetic influence of the component elements upon one another, and inner modification of the phonetic groups themselves. Both these methods are found in a great many languages, but sometimes only the method of composition occurs.

**Word and Sentence**

In order to understand the significance of the ideas expressed by independent phonetic groups and of the elements expressing their mutual relations, we have to discuss here the question, What forms the unit of speech? It has been pointed out before that the phonetic elements as such can be isolated only by analysis, and that they occur in speech only in combinations which are the equivalents of definite concepts.

Since all speech is intended to serve for the communication of ideas, the natural unit of expression is the sentence; that is to say, a group of articulate sounds which convey a complete idea. It might seem that speech can readily be further subdivided, and that the word also forms a natural unit from which the sentence is built up. In most cases, however, it is easy to show that such is not the case, and that the word as such is known only by analysis. This is particularly
clear in the case of words like prepositions, conjunctions, or verbal forms which belong to subordinate clauses. Thus it would be exceedingly difficult to imagine the use of words like and, for, to, were, expressed in such a way that they would convey a clear idea, except perhaps in forms like the Laconic If, in which all the rest of the sentence is implied, and sufficiently indicated by the if. In the same way, however, we who are grammatically trained may use a simple ending to correct an idea previously expressed. Thus the statement He sings beautifully might elicit a reply, sang; or a laconically inclined person might even remark, in reply to the statement He plays well, -ed, which by his friends might be well understood. It is clear that in all these cases the single elements are isolated by a secondary process from the complete unit of the sentence.

Less clear appears the artificiality of the word as a unit in those cases in which the word seems to designate a concept that stands out clearly from others. Such is the case, for instance, with nouns; and it might seem that a word like stone is a natural unit. Nevertheless it will be recognized that the word stone alone conveys at most an objective picture, not a complete idea.

Thus we are led to the important question of the relation of the word to the sentence. Basing our considerations on languages differing fundamentally in form, it would seem that we may define the word as a phonetic group which, owing to its permanence of form, clearness of significance, and phonetic independence, is readily separated from the whole sentence. This definition obviously contains a considerable number of arbitrary elements, which may induce us, according to the general point of view taken, sometimes to designate a certain unit as a word, sometimes to deny its independent existence. We shall see later on, in the discussion of American languages, that this practical difficulty confronts us many times, and that it is not possible to decide with objective certainty whether it is justifiable to consider a certain phonetic group as an independent word or as a subordinate part of a word.

Nevertheless there are certain elements contained in our definition which seem to be essential for the interpretation of a sound-complex as an independent word. From the point of view of grammatical form, the least important; from the point of view of phonetics, how-
ever, the most fundamental, is the phonetic independence of the element in question. It has been pointed out before how difficult it is to conceive the independence of the English *s*, which expresses the plural, the possessive, and the third person singular of the verb. This is largely due to the phonetic weakness of this grammatical element.

If the idea of plurality were expressed by an element as strong phonetically as the word *many*; the possessive part of the word, by an element as strong as the preposition *of*; and the third person singular, by an element like *he*—we might, perhaps, be much more ready to recognize the character of these elements as independent words, and we actually do so. For example, *stones*, *John's*, *loves*, are single words; while *many sheep*, *of stone*, *he went*, are each considered as two words. Difficulties of this kind are met with constantly in American languages. Thus we find in a language like the Chinook that modifying elements are expressed by single sounds which phonetically enter into clusters which are pronounced without any break. To give an example: The word *aniālōt i give him to her* may be analyzed into the following elements: *a* (tense), *n i*, *i him*, *a her*, *l to*, *ō* (direction away), *t to give*. Here, again, the weakness of the component elements and their close phonetic association forbid us to consider them independent words; while the whole expression appears to us as a firm unit.

Whenever we are guided by this principle alone, the limitation of the word unit appears naturally exceedingly uncertain, on account of the difference in impression of the phonetic strength of the component elements.

It also happens that certain elements appear sometimes with such phonetic weakness that they can not possibly be considered as independent units of the sentence, while closely related forms, or even the same forms in other combinations, may gain the strength which they are lacking in other cases. As an example of this kind may be given the Kwakiutl, in which many of the pronominal forms appear as exceedingly weak phonetic elements. Thus the expression *He strikes him with it* is rendered by *mitxʷi'duq*, in which the two terminal elements mean: *q him*, *s with it*. When, however, substantives are introduced in this expression for object and instrument, the *q* assumes the fuller form *za*, and the *s* the fuller form *sa*, which we might quite readily write as independent words analogous to our articles.
I doubt very much whether an investigator who would record French in the same way as we do the unwritten American languages would be inclined to write the pronominal elements which enter into the transitive verb as independent words, at least not when recording the indicative forms of a positive verb. He might be induced to do so on discovering their freedom of position which appears in the negative and in some interrogative forms.

The determining influence of the freedom of position of a phonetically fixed part of the sentence makes it necessary to include it in our definition of the word.

Whenever a certain phonetic group appears in a variety of positions in a sentence, and always in the same form, without any, or at least without material, modifications, we readily recognize its individuality, and in an analysis of the language we are inclined to consider it as a separate word. These conditions are fully realized only in cases in which the sound-complex in question shows no modifications at all.

It may, however, happen that minor modifications occur, particularly at the beginning and at the end, which we may be ready to disregard on account of their slight significance as compared to the permanence of the whole word. Such is the case, for instance, in the Dakota language, in which the terminal sound of a permanent word-complex which has a clearly defined significance will automatically modify the first sound of the following word-complex which has the same characteristics of permanence. The reverse may also occur. Strictly speaking, the line of demarcation between what we should commonly call two words is lost in this case; but the mutual influence of the two words in connection is, comparatively speaking, so slight that the concept of the individuality of the word outweighs their organic connection.

In other cases, where the organic connection becomes so firm that either both or one of the component elements may never occur without signs marking their close coupling, they will appear to us as a single unit. As an example of this condition may be mentioned the Eskimo. This language contains a great many elements which are quite clear in their significance and strong in phonetic character, but which in their position are so limited that they always follow other definite parts of the sentence, that they can never form the beginning of a complete phonetic group, and
hat the preceding phonetic group loses its more permanent phonetic
form whenever they appear added to it. To give an example: 
\textit{kuvog} means \textit{he sees}; \textit{takulerpoq} means \textit{he begins to see}.

The second form the idea of seeing is contained in the element 
\textit{ku-}, which by itself is incomplete. The following element, \textit{-ler}, can
never begin a sentence, and attains the significance of beginning
ly in connection with a preceding phonetic group, the terminal
sound of which is to a certain extent determined by it. In its turn,
requires an ending, which expresses, in the example here selected,
the third person singular, \textit{-poq}; while the word expressing the idea
\textit{of seeing} requires the ending \textit{-voq} for the same person. These also
are not possibly begin a sentence, and their initial sounds, \textit{v} and \textit{p},
are determined solely by the terminal sounds of the preceding
elements. Thus it will be seen that this group of sound-complexes
forms a firm unit, held together by the formal incompleteness of each
part and their far-reaching phonetic influences upon one another. It
would seem that, in a language in which the elements are so firmly
united together as in Eskimo, there could not be the slightest
doubt as to what constitutes the word in our ordinary sense of the
term. The same is true in many cases in Iroquois, a language in
which conditions quite similar to those in the Eskimo prevail. Here
an example may be given from the Oneida dialect. \textit{Watgajijanegale}
\textit{the flower breaks open} consists of the formal elements \textit{wa-}, \textit{-t-},
and \textit{-gr-}, which are temporal, modal, and pronominal in character; the
vowel \textit{-a-}, which is the character of the stem-\textit{jija flower}, which never
occurs alone; and the stem \textit{-negale to break open}, which also has no
independent existence.

In all these cases the elements possess great clearness of signifi-
cance, but the lack of permanence of form compels us to consider
them as parts of a longer word.

While in some languages this gives us the impression of an adequate
criterion for the separation of words, there are other cases in which
certain parts of the sentence may be thus isolated, while the others
retain their independent form. In American languages this is par-
icularly the case when nouns enter the verbal complex without
any modification of their component elements. This is the case, for
instance, in Pawnee: \textit{tæ'tuk'ut I have cut it for thee}, and \textit{rik's
arrow}, combine into \textit{tata'riksek'ut I cut thy arrow}. The closeness of
connection of these forms is even clearer in cases in which far-reach-
ing phonetic modifications occur. Thus the elements ta-\textit{r}u\textsuperscript{n} come into ta'\textit{hu}n \textit{I make} (because \textit{r} in a word changes to \textit{h}); and ta-\textit{ru}\textsuperscript{n} becomes tah\textit{ikstu}n \textit{I make an arrow} (because \textit{r} as changes to \textit{t}). At the same time \textit{riks arrow} occurs as an independent word.

If we follow the principle laid down in the preceding remark, it will readily be seen that the same element may appear at one as an independent noun, then again as a part of a word, the rest which has all the characteristics before described, and which this reason we are not inclined to consider as a complex of independent elements.

Ambiguity in regard to the independence of parts of the sentence may also arise either when in their significance they become dependent upon other parts of the sentence, or when their meaning is vague and weak as compared to the other parts of the sentence; we are led to regard them as subordinate parts. Words of this kind, when phonetically strong, will generally be considered as independent particles; when, on the other hand, they are phonetically weak, they will generally be considered as modifying parts of other words. A good example of this kind is contained in the Pueblos texts by the Rev. James Owen Dorsey,\footnote{Contributions to North American Ethnology, vi.} in which the same element are often treated as independent particles, while in other cases appear as subordinate parts of words. Thus we find \textit{léamaš} (p. 23, line 17), but \textit{jábe amá the beaver} (p. 553, line 7).

The same is true in regard to the treatment of the grammar of Sioux by the Rev. S. R. Riggs. We find in this case, for instance, the element \textit{pi} always treated as the ending of a word, probably owing to the fact that it represents the plural, which in the European languages is almost always expressed by a modification of the word to which it applies. On the other hand, elements like \textit{sn}i, signifying the future and negation respectively, are treated as independent words, although they appear in exactly the same form as the \textit{pi} mentioned before.

Other examples of this kind are the modifying elements in Tsi-\textit{shian}, a language in which innumerable adverbial elements are expressed by fairly weak phonetic groups which have a definite position. Here, also, it seems entirely arbitrary whether the phonetic groups are considered as separate words, or whether th
are combined with the verbal expressions into a single word. In these cases the independent existence of the word to which such particles are joined without any modification will generally determine us to consider these elements as independent particles, provided they are phonetically strong enough; while whenever the verbal expression to which they are joined is modified either by the insertion of these elements between its component parts, or in some other way, we are inclined to consider them as parts of the word.

It seemed important to discuss somewhat fully the concept of the word in its relation to the whole sentence, because in the morphological treatment of American languages this question plays an important rôle.

**Stem and Affix**

The analytic treatment of languages results in the separation of a number of different groups of the elements of speech. When we arrange these according to their functions, it appears that certain elements recur in every single sentence. These are, for instance, the forms indicating subject and predicate, or, in modern European languages, forms indicating number, tense, and person. Others, like terms expressing demonstrative ideas, may or may not occur in a sentence. These and many others are treated in our grammars. According to the character of these elements, they seem to modify the material contents of the sentence; as, for instance, in the English sentences he strikes him, and I struck thee, where the idea of striking somebody appears as the content of the communication; while the ideas he, present, him, and I, past, thee, appear as modifications.

It is of fundamental importance to note that this separation of the ideas contained in a sentence into material contents and formal modifications is an arbitrary one, brought about, presumably, first of all, by the great variety of ideas which may be expressed in the same formal manner by the same pronominal and tense elements. In other words, the material contents of the sentence may be represented by subjects and predicates expressing an unlimited number of ideas, while the modifying elements—here the pronouns and tenses—comprise, comparatively speaking, a very small number of ideas. In the discussion of a language, the parts expressing the material contents of sentences appear to us as the subject-matter of lexi-
cography; parts expressing the modifying relations, as the subject-
matter of grammar. In modern Indo-European languages the num-
ber of ideas which are expressed by subordinate elements is, on the
whole, limited, and for this reason the dividing-line between gram-
mar and dictionary appears perfectly clear and well drawn. In a wider
sense, however, all etymological processes and word compositions
must be considered as parts of the grammar; and, if we include those.
we find that, even in Indo-European languages, the number of classi-
fying ideas is quite large.

In American languages the distinction between grammar and
lexicography often becomes quite obscure, owing to the fact that the
number of elements which enter into formal compositions becomes
very large. It seems necessary to explain this somewhat more fully
by examples. In the Tsimshian language we find a very great number
of adverbial elements which can not be considered as entirely inde-
pendent, and which, without doubt, must be considered as elements
modifying verbal ideas. On account of the very large number of these
elements, the total number of verbs of motion seems to be somewhat
restricted, although the total number of verbs that may be com-
bined with these adverbial ideas is much larger than the total number
of the adverbial ideas themselves. Thus, the number of adverbs
appears to be fixed, while the number of verbs appears unlimited;
and consequently we have the impression that the former are modi-
fying elements, and that their discussion belongs to the grammar
of the language, while the latter are words, and their discussion
belongs to the lexicography of the language. The number of such
modifying elements in Eskimo is even larger; and here the impres-
sion that the discussion of these elements belongs to the grammar of
the language is increased by the fact that they can never take an
initial position, and that they are not placed following a complete
word, but are added to an element which, if pronounced by itself,
would not give any sense.

Now, it is important to note that, in a number of languages, the
number of the modifying elements may increase so much that it
may become doubtful which element represents a series of ideas
limited in number, and which represents an almost unlimited series
of words belonging to the vocabulary. This is true, for instance, in
Algonquian, where in almost all verbs several elements appear in
conjunction, each in a definite position; but each group so numerous
that it would be entirely arbitrary to designate the one group as words modified by the other group, or vice versa.

The importance of this consideration for our purposes lies in the fact that it illustrates the lack of definiteness of the terms stem and affix. According to the ordinary terminology, affixes are elements attached to stems or words, and modifying them. This definition is perfectly acceptable as long as the number of modifying ideas is limited. When, however, the number of modifying elements becomes exceedingly large, we may well doubt which of the two is the modifier and which the modified, and the determination finally becomes entirely arbitrary. In the following discussions the attempt has been made to confine the terms prefix, suffix, and affix entirely to those cases where the number of ideas expressed by these elements is strictly limited. Wherever the number of combined elements becomes so large that they can not be properly classified, these terms have not been used, but the elements have been treated as co-ordinate.

Discussion of Grammatical Categories

From what has been said it appears that, in an objective discussion of languages, three points have to be considered: first, the constituent phonetic elements of the language; second, the groups of ideas expressed by phonetic groups; third, the methods of combining and modifying phonetic groups.

It seems desirable to discuss the second of these points somewhat more fully before taking up the description of the characteristics of American languages. Grammarians who have studied the languages of Europe and western Asia have developed a system of categories which we are inclined to look for in every language. It seems desirable to show here in how far the system with which we are familiar is characteristic only of certain groups of languages, and in how far other systems may be substituted for it. It seems easiest to illustrate this matter by discussing first some of the characteristics of the Indo-European noun, pronoun, and verb, and then by taking up the wider aspects of this subject.
Nominal Categories

In the treatment of our noun we are accustomed to look for a number of fundamental categories. In most Indo-European languages, nouns are classified according to gender, they are modified by forms expressing singular and plural, and they also appear in syntactic combinations as cases. None of these apparently fundamental aspects of the noun are necessary elements of articulate speech.

Gender

The history of the English language shows clearly that the gender of a noun may practically be suppressed without interfering with the clearness of expression. While we still find traces of gender in English, practically all inanimate objects have come to belong to one single gender. It is interesting to note that, in the languages of the world, gender is not by any means a fundamental category, and that nouns may not be divided into classes at all, or the point of view of classification may be an entirely different one. Thus the Bantu languages of Africa classify words into a great many distinct groups the significance of most of which is not by any means clear. The Algonquian of North America classify nouns as animate and inanimate, without, however, adhering strictly to the natural classification implied in these terms. Thus the small animals may be classified as inanimate, while certain plants may appear as animate. Some of the Siouan languages classify nouns by means of articles, and strict distinctions are made between animate moving and animate at rest, inanimate long, inanimate round, inanimate high, and inanimate collective objects. The Iroquois distinguish strictly between nouns designating men and other nouns. The latter may again be subdivided into a definite and indefinite group. The Uche distinguish between members of the tribe and other human beings. In America, true gender is on the whole rare; it is found, perhaps, among a few of the languages of the lower Mississippi; it occurs in the same way as in most Indo-European languages in the Chinook of Columbia river, and to a more limited extent among some of the languages of the state of Washington and of British Columbia. Among North American languages, the Eskimo and Athapascans have no trace of a classification of nouns. The examples here given
how clearly that the sex principle, which underlies the classification of nouns in European languages, is merely one of a great many possible classifications of this kind.

PLURAL

Of a somewhat different character is the plural of Indo-European nouns. Because, for the purpose of clear expression, each noun must be expressed either as a singular or as a plural, it might seem that this classification is almost indispensable; but it is not difficult to show, by means of sentences, that, even in English, the distinction is not always made. For instance, in the sentence *The wolf has devoured the sheep*, it is not clear whether a single sheep is meant, or a plurality of sheep are referred to. Nevertheless, this would not, on the whole, be felt as an inconvenience, since either the context would show whether singular or plural is meant, or an added adjective would give the desired information.

While, according to the structure of our European languages, we always tend to look for the expression of singularity or plurality for the sake of clearness of expression, there are other languages that are entirely indifferent towards this distinction. A good example of this kind is the Kwakiutl. It is entirely immaterial to the Kwakiutl whether he says, *There is a house* or *There are houses*. The same form is used for expressing both ideas, and the idea of singularity and plurality must be understood either by the context or by the addition of a special adjective. Similar conditions prevail in the Athapascan languages and in Haida. In Siouan, also, a distinction between singularity and plurality is made only in the case of animate objects. It would seem that, on the whole, American languages are rather indifferent in regard to the clear expression of plurality, but that they tend to express much more rigidly the ideas of collectivity or distribution. Thus the Kwakiutl, who are rather indifferent to the expression of plurality, are very particular in denoting whether the objects spoken of are distributed here or there. When this is the case, the distribution is carefully expressed. In the same way, when speaking of fish, they express by the same term a single fish and a quantity of fish. When, however, they desire to say that these fish belong to different species, a distributive
form expressing this idea is made use of. A similar indifference to
the idea of singular and plural may be observed in the pronouns of
several languages, and will be noted later on.

On the other hand, the idea of number may be much more strongly
emphasized than it is in the modern languages of Europe. The dual,
as in Greek, is of common occurrence the world over; but it happens
also that a trialis and paucalis—expressions for three and a few—are
distinguished.

CASE

What is true of number is no less true of case. Psychologically,
the substitution of prepositional expressions for cases would hardly
represent a complete absence of the concept of cases. This is rather
found in those languages in which the whole group of relations of the
nouns of a sentence is expressed in the verb. When, for instance, in
Chinook, we find expressions like he her it with cut, man, woman,
knife, meaning The man cut the woman with the knife, we may safely
say that the nouns themselves appear without any trace of case-
relationship, merely as appositions to a number of pronouns. It is
true that in this case a distinction is made in the pronoun between
subject and object, and that, in this sense, cases are found, although
not as nominal cases, but still as pronominal cases. The case-
relation, however, is confined to the two forms of subject and
object, since the oblique cases are expressed by pronominal objects,
while the characteristic of each particular oblique relation is
expressed by adverbial elements. In the same language, the genitive
relation is eliminated by substituting for it possessive expressions,
like, for instance, the man, his house, instead of the man's house.
While, therefore, case-expressions are not entirely eliminated, their
number, which in some European languages is considerable, may be
largely reduced.

Thus we find that some of our nominal categories either do not
occur at all, or occur only in very much reduced forms. On the other
hand, we must recognize that other new categories may occur which
are entirely foreign to our European languages. Classifications like
those referred to before—such as animate and inanimate, or of nouns
designating men, and other nouns; and, further, of nouns according
to form—are rather foreign to us, although, in the connection of verb
and noun, form-classifications occur. Thus we do not say, *a tree is somewhere*, but *a tree stands*; not, *the river is in New York*, but *the river flows through New York*.

**TENSE**

*Tense* classes of nouns are not rare in American languages. As we may speak of *a future husband* or of *our late friend*, thus many Indian languages express in every noun its existence in presence, past, or future, which they require as much for clearness of expression as we require the distinction of singular and plural.

**Personal Pronouns**

The same lack of conformity in the principles of classification may be found in the pronouns. We are accustomed to speak of three persons of the pronoun, which occur both in the singular and in the plural. Although we make a distinction of gender for the third person of the pronoun, we do not carry out this principle of classification consistently in the other persons. The first and second persons and the third person plural have the same form for masculine, feminine, and neuter. A more rigid application of the sex system is made, for instance, in the language of the Hottentots of South Africa, in which sex is distinguished, not only in the third person, but also in the first and second persons.

Logically, our three persons of the pronoun are based on the two concepts of self and not-self, the second of which is subdivided, according to the needs of speech, into the two concepts of person addressed and person spoken of. When, therefore, we speak of a first person plural, we mean logically either self and person addressed, or self and person or persons spoken of, or, finally, self, person or persons addressed, and person or persons spoken of. A true first person plural is impossible, because there can never be more than one self. This logical laxity is avoided by many languages, in which a sharp distinction is made between the two combinations self and person or persons spoken to, or self and person or persons spoken of. I do not know of any language expressing in a separate form the combination of the three persons, probably because this idea readily coalesces with the idea of self and persons spoken to. These two forms are generally designated by the rather inaccurate term of
“inclusive” and “exclusive first person plural,” by which is meant the first person plural, including or excluding the person addressed. The second and third persons form true plurals. Thus the principle of division of the pronouns is carried through in many languages more rigidly than we find it in the European group.

On the other hand, the lack of clear distinction between singular and plural may be observed also in the pronominal forms of a number of languages. Thus the Sioux do not know any pronominal distinction between the singular and plural of the second person, and only a very imperfect distinction between the third person singular and plural; while the first person singular and plural, according to the fundamental difference in their significance, are sharply distinguished. In some Siouan dialects we may well say that the pronominal object has only a first person singular, first person plural, and a second person, and that no other pronoun for the object occurs. Thus the system of pronouns may be reduced to a mere fragment of what we are accustomed to find.

**Demonstrative Pronouns**

In many cases, the analogy of the personal pronouns and of the demonstrative pronouns is rigid, the demonstrative pronoun having three persons in the same way as the personal pronoun. Thus the Kwakiutl will say, *the house near me* (this house), *the house near thee* (that house), *the house near him* (that house).

But other points of view are added to the principle of division corresponding to the personal pronoun. Thus, the Kwakiutl, and many other American languages, add to the pronominal concept just discussed that of visibility and invisibility, while the Chinook add the concepts of present and past. Perhaps the most exuberant development of the demonstrative idea is found among the Eskimo, where not only the ideas corresponding to the three personal pronouns occur, but also those of position in space in relation to the speaker,—which are specified in seven directions; as, center, above, below, in front, behind, right, left,—and expressing points of the compass in relation to the position of the speaker.

It must be borne in mind that the divisions which are mentioned here are all necessary parts of clear expression in the languages mentioned. For instance, in Kwakiutl it would be inconceivable to use an expression like our *that house*, which means in English *the single*
house away from the speaker. The Kwakiutl must express this idea in one of the following six forms:

The (singular or plural) house visible near me

   invisible near me
   visible near thee
   invisible near thee
   visible near him
   invisible near him

while the Eskimo would express a term like this man as

   This man near me
   near thee
   near him
   behind me
   in front of me
   to the right of me
   to the left of me
   above me
   below me, etc.

Verbal Categories

We can follow out similar differences in the verb. In our Indo-European languages we have expressions signifying persons, tenses, moods, and voices. The ideas represented by these groups are quite unevenly developed in various languages. In a great many cases the forms expressing the persons are expressed simply by a combination of the personal pronoun and the verb; while in other cases the phonetic complexes expressing personal relations are developed in an astonishing manner. Thus the Algonquian and the Eskimo possess special phonetic groups expressing definite relations between the subject and object which occur in transitive verbs. For example, in sentences like I strike thee, or They strike me, the combination of the pronouns I — thee, and they — me, are expressed by special phonetic equivalents. There are even cases in which the indirect objects (as in the sentence, I send him to you) may be expressed by a single form. The characteristic trait of the forms here referred to is, that the combined pronoun can not be reduced to its constituent elements, although historically it may have originated from combinations of separate forms. It is obvious that in cases in which the development
of the pronoun is as weak as in the Siouan languages, to which I have referred before, the definiteness of the pronominal forms of the verb to which we are accustomed, is entirely lost. Thus it happens in the Sioux the verb alone may be used as well for the more or less abstract idea of verbal action as for the third person of the indicative.

Much more fundamental are the existing differences in regard to occurrence of tenses and modes. We are accustomed to verb forms in which the tense is always expressed with perfect definiteness. In the sentence The man is sick we really express the idea that The single definite man is sick at the present time. This strict expression of the time relation of the occurrence is missing in many languages. The Eskimo, for instance, in expressing the same idea will simply say, single man sick, leaving the question entirely open whether the man was sick at a previous time, is sick at the present time, or is going to be sick in the future. The condition here is similar to the one described before in relation to plurality. The Eskimo can, of course, express whether the man is sick at the present time, was sick, or is going to be sick, but the grammatical form of his sentences does not require the expression of the tense relationship.

In other cases the temporal ideas may be expressed with much greater nicety than we find in our familiar grammars. Generally, languages in which a multiplicity of tenses are found include in their form an expression certain modifications of the tense concept which might be called "semi-temporal," like inchoatives, which express the beginning of an action; duratives, which express the extent of time during which the action lasts; transitionals, which express the change of one state of being into another; etc. There is very little agreement in regard to the occurrence of such tenses, and the characteristics of many languages show that tenses are not by any means required for clear expression.

What is true of tenses is also true of modes. The number of languages which get along with a single mode, or at most with the indicative and imperative, is considerable; although, in this case also the idea of subordination may be expressed if it seems desirable to do so.

The few examples that I have given here illustrate that many of the categories which we are inclined to consider as essential may be absent in foreign languages, and that other categories may occur as substitutes.
Interpretation of Grammatical Categories

When we consider for a moment what this implies, it will be recognized that in each language only a part of the complete concept that we have in mind is expressed, and that each language has a peculiar tendency to select this or that aspect of the mental image which is conveyed by the expression of the thought. To use again the example which I mentioned before, The man is sick. We express by this sentence, in English, the idea, a definite single man at present sick. In Kwakiutl this sentence would have to be rendered by an expression which would mean, in the vaguest possible form that could be given to it, definite man near him invisible sick near him invisible. Visibility and nearness to the first or second person might, of course, have been selected in our example in place of invisibility and nearness to the third person. An idiomatic expression of the sentence in this language would, however, be much more definite, and would require an expression somewhat like the following, That invisible man lies sick on his back on the floor of the absent house. In Eskimo, on the other hand, the same idea would be expressed by a form like (single) man sick, leaving place and time entirely indefinite. In Ponca, one of the Siouan dialects, the same idea would require a decision of the question whether the man is at rest or moving, and we might have a form like the moving single man sick.

If we take into consideration further traits of idiomatic expression, this example might be further expanded by adding modalities of the verb; thus the Kwakiutl, whose language I have used several times as an example, would require a form indicating whether this is a new subject introduced in conversation or not; and, in case the speaker had not seen the sick person himself, he would have to express whether he knows by hearsay or by evidence that the person is sick, or whether he has dreamed it. It seems, however, better not to complicate our present discussion by taking into consideration the possibilities of exact expression that may be required in idiomatic forms of speech, but rather to consider only those parts of the sentence which, according to the morphology of the language, must be expressed.

We conclude from the examples here given that in a discussion of the characteristics of various languages different fundamental categories will be found, and that in a comparison of different languages it will be necessary to compare as well the phonetic characteristics as the characteristics of the vocabulary and those of the grammatical concepts in order to give each language its proper place.
III. CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGES

Origin of Dialects

In many cases the determination of the genetic relationship of languages is perfectly simple. Wherever we find close similarities in phonetics, in vocabularies, and in details of grammar, there can not be the slightest doubt that the languages that are being studied are varieties of the same ancestral form.

To a certain extent the differentiation of a single language into a number of dialects is spontaneous. When communication between peoples speaking the same tongue ceases, peculiarities of pronunciation will readily manifest themselves in one region or the other and may become permanent. In some cases these modifications of pronunciation may gradually increase and may become so radical that several quite different forms of the original language develop. At the same time words readily assume a new significance, and if the separation of the people should be accompanied by a differentiation of culture, these changes may proceed at a very rapid rate.

In cases of such phonetic changes and of modifications in the significance of words, a certain degree of regularity may always be observed, and for this reason the historical relationship between the new dialects and the older forms can always be readily established and may be compared to the modifications that take place in a series of generations of living beings.

Another form of modification may occur that is also analogous to biological transformations. We must recognize that the origin of language must not be looked for in human faculties that have once been active, but which have disappeared. As a matter of fact, new additions to linguistic devices and to linguistic material are constantly being made. Such spontaneous additions to a language may occur in one of the new dialects, while they do not occur in the other. These, although related to the structure of the older language, will be so entirely new in their character that they can not be directly related to the ancestral language.

It must also be considered that each of these dialects may incorporate new material. Nevertheless in all cases where the older material constitutes the bulk of the material of the language, its close relationship to the ancestral tongue will readily be recognized. In
all these cases, phonetics, details of grammatical structure, and vocabulary will show far-reaching similarities.

Comparison of Distinct Languages

The problem becomes much more difficult when the similarities in any of these traits become less pronounced. With the extension of our knowledge of primitive languages, it has been found that cases are not rare in which languages spoken in certain continuous areas show radical differences in vocabulary and in grammatical form, but close similarity in their phonetic elements. In other cases the similarity of phonetic elements may be less pronounced, but there may exist a close similarity in structural details. Again, many investigators have pointed out peculiar analogies in certain words without being able to show that grammatical form and general phonetic character coincide. Many examples of such conditions may be given. In America, for instance, the phonetic similarity of the languages spoken between the coast of Oregon and Mount St. Elias is quite striking. All these languages are characterized by the occurrence of a great many peculiar k sounds and peculiar l sounds, and by their tendency towards great stress of articulation, and, in most cases, towards a clustering of consonants. Consequently to our ear these languages sound rough and harsh. Notwithstanding these similarities, the grammatical forms and the vocabularies are so utterly distinct that a common origin of the languages of this area seems entirely out of the question. A similar example may be given from South Africa, where the Bantu negroes, Bushmen, and Hottentots utilize some peculiar sounds which are produced by inspiration—by drawing in the breath, not by expelling it—and which are ordinarily called "clicks." Notwithstanding this very peculiar common trait in their languages, there is no similarity in grammar and hardly any in vocabulary.

We might also give the example of the Siouan and the Iroquois languages of North America, two stocks that have been in proximity, and which are characterized by the occurrence of numerous nasalized vowels; or the phonetic characteristics of Californian languages, which sound to our ear euphonious, and are in strong contrast to the languages of the North Pacific coast.

It must be said that, on the whole, such phonetic characteristics of a limited area appear in their most pronounced form when we
compare the whole region with the neighboring districts. They form a unit rather by contrast with foreign phonetics than when compared among themselves, each language having its own peculiar characteristics in a group of this kind. Thus, the Tlingit of the North Pacific coast differs very much from the Chinook of Columbia river. Nevertheless, when both languages are compared to a language of southern California, the Sioux or the Algonquian, traits that are common to both of them appear to quite a marked degree.

What is true of phonetics is also true of grammatical form, and this is evidently a characteristic trait of the languages of the whole world. In North America particularly such groups of languages can be readily recognized. A more detailed discussion of this problem will be given in another place, and it will be sufficient to state here, that languages—like, for instance, the Athapascan, Tlingit, and Haida—which are spoken in one continuous area on the northwest coast of our continent show certain common characteristics when compared with neighboring languages like the Eskimo, Algonquian, and Tsimshian. In a similar way, a number of Californian languages, or languages of southern British Columbia, and languages like the Pawnee and Iroquois, each form a group characterized by certain traits which are not found in other languages.

In cases where such morphological similarities occur without a corresponding similarity of vocabulary, it becomes exceedingly difficult to determine whether these languages may be considered as descendants of one parent language; and there are numerous cases in which our judgment must be suspended, because, on the one hand, these similarities are far-reaching, while, on the other hand, such radical differences are found that we can not account for them without assuming the introduction of an entirely foreign element.

Similar phenomena have recently induced P. W. Schmidt to consider the languages of Farther India and of Malaysia as related; and the same problem has been discussed by Lepsius, and again by Mein-hoff, in reference to the relation of the languages of the Hottentot to a number of east African languages and to the languages of the Hamitic peoples of North Africa.

Difficulties also arise in cases where a considerable number of similar words are found without a corresponding similarity of grammatical forms, so that we may be reluctant to combine two such languages, notwithstanding their similarities of vocabulary.
The comparison of vocabularies offers peculiar difficulties in American languages. Unfortunately, our knowledge of American languages is very limited, and in many cases we are confined to collections of a few hundred words, without any information in regard to grammatical forms. Owing to the strong tendency of many American languages to form compound words or derivatives of various kinds, it is very difficult in vocabularies of this kind to recognize the component elements of words, and often accidental similarities may obtrude themselves which a thorough knowledge of the languages would prove to be of no significance whatever.

Setting aside this practical difficulty, it may happen quite often that in neighboring languages the same term is used to designate the same object, owing, not to the relationship of the languages, but to the fact that the word may be a loan word in several of them. Since the vocabularies which are ordinarily collected embrace terms for objects found in most common use, it seems most likely that among these a number of loan words may occur.

Even when the available material is fuller and more thoroughly analyzed, doubt may arise regarding the significance of the apparent similarities of vocabulary.

**Mutual Influences of Languages**

In all these cases the final decision will depend upon the answer to the questions in how far distinct languages may influence one another, and in how far a language without being subject to foreign influences may deviate from the parental type. While it seems that the time has hardly come when it is possible to answer these questions in a definite manner, the evidence seems to be in favor of the existence of far-reaching influences of this kind.

**Phonetic Influences**

This is perhaps most clearly evident in the case of phonetics. It is hardly conceivable why languages spoken in continuous areas, and entirely distinct in vocabulary and in grammatical structure, should partake of the same phonetic characteristics, unless, by imitation, certain phonetic traits may be carried beyond a single linguistic stock. While I do not know that historical evidence of such occurrences has been definitely given, the phenomenon as it occurs in South Africa, among the Bantu and Hottentot, admits of hardly
any other explanation. And the same is true, to a more or less pronounced extent, among other distinct but neighboring languages.

The possibility of such a transfer of sounds can not be denied. Among the American Indians, for instance—where intermarriages between individuals belonging to different tribes are frequent; where slave women raise their own and their masters’ children; and where, owing to the small number of individuals constituting the tribe, individuals who have mastered several distinct languages are not by any means rare—ample opportunity is given for one language to exert its phonetic influence over another. Whether this explanation is adequate, is a question that remains to be decided by further historical studies.¹

**Grammatical Influences**

Influence of the syntax of one language upon another, and even to a certain extent, of the morphology of one language upon another, is also probable. The study of the languages of Europe has proved clearly the deep influence exerted by Latin upon the syntax of all the modern European languages. We can also recognize how certain syntactic forms of expression occur in neighboring languages on our American continent. To give an instance of this kind, we find that, in the most diverse languages of the North Pacific coast, commands are given in the periphrastic form, *It would be good if you did so and so*; and in many cases this periphrastic form has been substituted entirely for the ordinary imperative. Thus it may well be that groups of psychological concepts which are expressed by means of grammatical forms have developed in one language under the influence of another; and it is difficult to say, if we once admit such influence, where the limit may be to the modifications caused by such processes.

On the other hand, it seems exceedingly difficult to understand why the most fundamental morphological traits of a language should disappear under the influence of another form of thought as exhibited in another language. This would mean that the greater number of grammatical forms would disappear, and entirely new categories develop. It certainly can not be denied that far-reaching modifications of this kind are possible, but it will require the most cautious proof in every single case before their existence can be accepted.

¹See also p. 33.
Cases of the introduction of new suffixes in European languages are not by any means rare. Thus, the ending -able of French words has been adopted so frequently into English that the ending itself has attained a certain independence, and we can form words like -table, or even get-at-able, in which the ending, which was originally French, is added to an English word. In a similar way the French verbal ending -ir, combined with the German infinitive ending in -en, is used in a large number of German words as though it were a purely German ending. I do not know, however, of any observations which would point to a radical modification of the morphological traits of a language through the influence of another language.

**Lexicographic Influences**

While the phonetic influence of distinct languages upon one another and the modification of morphological traits in different languages are still obscure, the borrowing of words is very common, and sometimes reaches to an enormous extent. The vocabulary of English is an excellent example of such extensive amalgamation of the vocabularies of quite distinct languages, and the manner by which it has been attained is instructive. It is not only that Anglo-Saxon adopted large parts of the vocabulary of the Norman conquerors, that it took over a few terms of the older Celtic language, and adopted some words from the Norse invaders; but we find also, later, introductions from Latin and Greek, which were introduced through the progress of the arts and sciences, and which filtered down from the educated to the uneducated classes. Furthermore, numerous terms were adopted from the less civilized peoples with whom the English-speaking people came into contact in different parts of the world. Thus, the Australian and the Indian-English have each adopted a great many native terms, quite a number of which have found their way into colloquial and written modern English. This phenomenon is so common, and the processes by which new words enter into a language are so obvious, that a full discussion is not required. Another example that may be mentioned here is that of the Turkish language, which has adopted a very large number of Arab words.

In such a transfer of the vocabulary of one language into another, words undergo, of course, far-reaching changes. These may be
partly due to phonetic difficulties, and consist in the adaptation of an unfamiliar group of sounds to the familiar similar sounds of the language by which the word has been adopted. There may be assimilations by which the grammatical form of a word is made similar to more familiar forms. Furthermore, changes in the significance of the word are common, and new derivations may be formed from the word after it has once become entirely familiar, like other native words.

In this respect a number of American languages seem to behave curiously when compared with European languages. Borrowing of words in Europe is particularly common when a new object is first introduced. In almost all these cases the foreign designation is taken over with more or less fundamental phonetic modifications. Examples of this kind are the words tobacco, canoe, maize, chocolate—to take as illustration a few words borrowed from American languages. American natives, on the other hand, do not commonly adopt words in this manner, but much more frequently invent descriptive words by which the new object is designated. Thus the Tsimshian of British Columbia designate rice by a term meaning looking like maggots. The Kwakiutl call a steamboat fire on its back moving on the water. The Eskimo call cut tobacco being blown upon. Words of this type are in wide use; nevertheless, loan words taken from English are not by any means rare. The terms biscuit, dollar, coffee, tea, are found in a great many Indian languages. The probable reason why descriptive words are more common in American languages than in European languages lies in the frequent occurrence of descriptive nouns.

We find, therefore, that there are two sets of phenomena which must be considered in the classification of languages: (1) differences which can easily be proved to be derived from modifications of a single ancestral language; and (2) similarities which can not be thus explained, and some of which may be due to the effects of mixture.

Origin of Similarities; by Dissemination or by Parallel Development

Before we proceed with this consideration, we have to discuss the two logical possibilities for such similarities. Either they may be due to dissemination from a common source, so that they origi-
nated only a single time, and were diffused by the influence of one people upon another; or it may be that they are due to an independent origin in many parts of the world.

This alternative is present in the explanation of all ethnic phenomena, and is one of the fundamental questions in regard to which the ethnologist, as well as the investigator of languages, must be clear. In the older considerations of the position of the American race among the races of man, for instance, it has always been assumed that occurrence of similar phenomena among the peoples of the Old World and of the New proved genetic relationship. It is obvious that this method of proving relationship assumes that, wherever similarities occur, they must have been carried by the same people over different parts of the world, and that therefore they may be considered as proof of common descent. The method thus applied does not take into consideration the possibility of a gradual diffusion of cultural elements from one people to another, and the other more fundamental one of a parallel but independent development of similar phenomena among different races in remote parts of the world. Since such development is a logical possibility, proofs of genetic relationship must not be based on the occurrence of sporadic resemblances alone.

A final decision of this vexed problem can be given only by historical evidence, which is hardly ever available, and for this reason the systematic treatment of the question must always proceed with the greatest caution.

The cases in which isolated similarities of ethnic phenomena in remote parts of the world have been recorded are numerous, and many of these are of such a character that transmission cannot be proved at all. If, for instance, the Indians of South America use sacred musical instruments, which must not be seen by women, and if apparently the same custom prevails among the Australian aborigines, it is inadmissible to assume the occurrence of what seems to be the same custom in these two remote districts as due to transmission. It is perfectly intelligible that the custom may have developed independently in each continent. On the other hand, there are many cases in which certain peculiar and complex customs are distributed over large continuous areas, and where transmission over large portions of this area is plausible. In this case, even if independent origin had taken place in different parts of the district in question, the present
distribution is fully explained by the assumption of extended dissemination.

It is true, for instance, in the case of similar traditions which are found distributed over large districts. An example of this is the story of two girls who noticed two stars, a bright one and a small one, and wished these stars for their husbands. The following morning they found themselves in the sky, married to the stars, and later on tried to return to the earth by letting themselves down through a hole in the sky. This rather complex tale is found distributed over the American continent in an area extending from Nova Scotia to the mouth of the Mississippi river and westward to the Rocky mountains, and in places even on the Pacific ocean, for instance, in Alaska and in the state of Washington. It would seem difficult to assume, in a case of this kind, the possibility of an independent invention of the tale at a number of distinct points; but it must be assumed that, after the tale had once attained its present form, it spread by dissemination over that part of the continent where it is now found.

In extreme cases the conclusions drawn from these two types of explanation seem quite unassailable; but there are naturally a very large number of others in which the phenomenon in question is neither sufficiently complex, nor distributed over a sufficiently large continuous area, to lead with certainty to the conclusion of an origin by dissemination; and there are others where the sporadic distributions seem curiously arranged, and where vague possibilities of contact occur. Thus it happens often that a satisfactory conclusion cannot be reached.

We must also bear in mind that in many cases a continuous distribution may once have existed, but may have become discontinuous, owing to the disappearance of the phenomena in question in intermediate regions. If, however, we want to follow a safe method, we must not admit such causes for sporadic distribution, unless they can be definitely proved by other evidence; otherwise, the way is open to attempts to bring into contact practically every part of the world with all others.

The general occurrence of similar ethnic phenomena in remote parts of the world admits also of the explanation of the existence of a certain number of customs and habits that were common to large parts of mankind at a very early period, and which have maintained themselves here and there up to the present time. It can
not be denied that this point of view has certain elements in its favor; but in the present state of our knowledge we can hardly say that it could be possible to prove or to disprove it.

We meet the same fundamental problem in connection with similarities of languages which are too vague to be considered as proofs of genetic relationship. That these exist is obvious. Here we have not only the common characteristics of all human language, which have been discussed in the preceding chapter, but also certain other similarities which must here be considered.

Influence of Environment on Language

It has often been suggested that similarities of neighboring languages and customs may be explained by the influence of environment. The leading thought in this theory is, that the human mind, under the stress of similar conditions, will produce the same results; that consequently, if the members of the same race live in the same surroundings, they will produce, for instance, in their articulate speech, the same kind of phonetics, differing perhaps in detail according to the variations of environment, but the same in their essential traits. Thus it has been claimed that the moist and stormy climate of the North Pacific coast caused a chronic catarrhal condition among the inhabitants, and that to this condition is due the guttural pronunciation and harshness of their languages; while, on the other hand, the mildness of the California climate has been made responsible for the euphonious character of the languages of that district.

I do not believe that detailed investigations in any part of the world would sustain this theory. We might demand proof that the same language, when distributed over different climates, should produce the same kind of modifications as those here exemplified; and we might further demand that, wherever similar climates are found, at least a certain approach to similarity in the phonetics of the languages should occur. It would be difficult to prove that this is the case, even if we should admit the excuse that modifying influences have obscured the original similarity of phonetic character. Taking, for instance, the arctic people of the Old and New Worlds as a unit, we find fundamentally different traits in the phonetics of the Eskimo, of the Chukchee of eastern Siberia, and of other arctic Asiatic and European peoples. The phonetics of the deserts of Asia and South
Africa and of southwestern North America are not by any means the same. The prairie tribes of North America, although living in nearly the same climate, over a considerable area, show remarkable differences in the phonetics of their languages; and, on the other hand, the tribes belonging to the Salish family who live east of the Rocky mountains, in the interior of British Columbia, speak a language that is not less harsh than that of their congeneres on the northern coast of the state of Washington. In any attempt at arranging phonetics in accordance with climate, the discrepancies would be so numerous, that an attempt to carry out the theory would lead to the necessity of explaining exceptions rather than examples corroborating its correctness.

What is true in regard to phonetics is no less true in regard to morphology and vocabulary. I do not think that it has ever been claimed that similar words must necessarily originate under the stress of the same conditions, although, if we admit the correctness of the principle, there is no reason for making an exception in regard to the vocabulary.

I think this theory can be sustained even less in the field of linguistics than in the field of ethnology. It is certainly true that each people accommodates itself to a certain extent to its surroundings, and that it even may make the best possible use of its surroundings in accordance with the fundamental traits of its culture, but I do not believe that in any single case it will be possible to explain the culture of a people as due to the influence of its surroundings. It is self-evident that the Eskimo of northern arctic America do not make extended use of wood, a substance which is very rare in those parts of the world, and that the Indians of the woodlands of Brazil are not familiar with the uses to which snow may be put. We may even go further, and acknowledge that, after the usefulness of certain substances, plants, and animals—like bamboo in the tropics, or the cedar on the North Pacific coast of America, or ivory in the arctic regions, or the buffalo on the plains of North America—has once been recognized, they will find the most extended use, and that numerous inventions will be made to expand their usefulness. We may also recognize that the distribution of the produce of a country, the difficulties and ease of travel, the necessity of reaching certain points, may deeply influence the habits of the people. But with all this, to geographical conditions cannot be ascribed more than a modifying influence upon
the fundamental traits of culture. If this were not true, the peculiar facts of distribution of inventions, of beliefs, of habits, and of other ethnological phenomena, would be unintelligible.

For instance, the use of the underground house is distributed, in America and Asia, over the northern parts of the plateaus to parts of the Great Plains, northward into the arctic region; and crossing Bering strait we find it in use along the Pacific coast of Asia and as far south as northern Japan, not to speak of the subterranean dwellings of Europe and North Africa. The climate of this district shows very considerable differences, and the climatic necessity for underground habitations does not exist by any means in many parts of the area where they occur.

In a similar area we find the custom of increasing the elasticity of the bow by overlaying it with sinew. While this procedure may be quite necessary in the arctic regions, where no elastic wood is available, it is certainly not necessary in the more southern parts of the Rocky mountains, or along the east coast of Asia, where a great many varieties of strong elastic wood are available. Nevertheless the usefulness of the invention seems to have led to its general application over an extended district.

We might also give numerous examples which would illustrate that the adaptation of a people to their surroundings is not by any means perfect. How, for instance, can we explain the fact that the Eskimo, notwithstanding their inventiveness, have never thought of domesticating the caribou, while the Chukchee have acquired large reindeer herds? Why, on the other hand, should the Chukchee, who are compelled to travel about with their reindeer herds, use a tent which is so cumbersome that a train of many sledges is required to move it, while the Eskimo have reduced the frame of their tents to such a degree that a single sledge can be used for conveying it from place to place?

Other examples of a similar kind are the difference in the habitations of the arctic Athapaskan tribes and those of the Eskimo. Notwithstanding the rigor of the climate, the former live in light skin tents, while the Eskimo have succeeded in protecting themselves efficiently against the gales and the snows of winter.

What actually seems to take place in the movements of peoples is, that a people who settle in a new environment will first of all cling to their old habits and only modify them as much as is abso-
lutely necessary in order to live fairly comfortably, the comfort of life being generally of secondary importance to the inertia or conservatism which prevents a people from changing their settled habits, that have become customary to such an extent that they are more or less automatic, and that a change would be felt as something decidedly unusual.

Even when a people remain located in the same place, it would seem that historical influences are much stronger than geographical influences. I am inclined, for instance, to explain in this manner the differences between the cultures of the tribes of arctic Asia and of arctic America, and the difference in the habits of the tribes of the southern plateaus of North America when compared with those of the northern plateaus of North America. In the southern regions the influence of the Pueblos has made itself felt, while farther to the north the simpler culture of the Mackenzie basin gives the essential tone to the culture of the people.

While fully acknowledging the importance of geographical conditions upon life, I do not believe that they can be given a place at all comparable to that of culture as handed down, and to that of the historical influence exerted by the cultures of surrounding tribes; and it seems likely that the less direct the influence of the surroundings is, the less also can it be used for accounting for peculiar ethnological traits.

So far as language is concerned, the influence of geographical surroundings and of climate seems to be exceedingly remote; and as long as we are not even able to prove that the whole organism of man, and with it the articulating organs, are directly influenced by geographical environment, I do not think we are justified in considering this element as an essential trait in the formation or modification of human speech, much less as a cause which can be used to account for the similarities of human speech in neighboring areas.

Influence of Common Psychic Traits

Equally uncertain seems to be the resort to the assumption of peculiar psychic traits that are common to geographical divisions of the same race. It may be claimed, for instance, that the languages of the Athapaskan, Tlingit, and Haida, which were referred to before as similar in certain fundamental morphological traits, are alike,
for the reason that these three peoples have certain psychical traits in common which are not shared in by other American tribes.

It seems certainly admissible to assume slight differences in the psychical make-up among groups of a race which are different in regard to their physical type. If we can prove by means of anatomical investigations that the bodily form, and with it the nervous system and the brain of one part of a race show differences from the analogous traits of another part of the race, it seems justifiable to conclude that the physical differentiation may be accompanied by psychic differences. It must, however, be borne in mind that the extent of physical difference is always exceedingly slight, and that, within the limits of each geographical type, variations are found which are great as compared to the total differences between the averages of the types. To use a diagram:

\[ \begin{align*}
&b \\
&b' \\
&c \\
&c'
\end{align*} \]

If \( a \) represents the middle point of one type and \( b \) and \( c \) its extremes, \( a' \) the average of another type and \( b' \) and \( c' \) its extremes, and if these types are so placed, one over the other, that types in the second series correspond to those in the first series vertically over them, then it will be seen that the bulk of the population of the two types will very well coincide, while only the extremes will be more frequent in the one group than in the other. That is to say, the physical difference is not a difference in kind, but a difference more or less in degree, and a considerable overlapping of the types necessarily takes place.

If this is true in regard to the physical type, and if, furthermore, the difference in psychical types is inferred only from the observed differences of the physical types, then we must assume that the same kind of overlapping will take place in the psychical types. The differences with which we are dealing can, therefore, be only very slight, and it seems hardly likely that these slight differences could lead to radically diverse results.

As a matter of fact, the proof which has been given before,\(^1\) that the same languages may be spoken by entirely distinct types, shows clearly how slight the effect of difference in anatomical type upon

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\(^1\) See p. 9.
language is at the present time, and there is no reason to presume that it has ever been greater. Viewing the matter from this standpoint, the hereditary mental differences of various groups of mankind, particularly within the same race, seem to be so slight that it would be very difficult to believe that they account in any way for the fundamental differences in the traits of distinct languages.

Uncertainty of Definition of Linguistic Families

The problem thus remains unsolved how to interpret the similarities of distinct languages in cases where the similarities are no longer sufficient to prove genetic relationship. From what has been said we may conclude that, even in languages which can easily be proved to be genetically related, independent elements may be found in various divisions. Such independent elements may be due partly to new tendencies which develop in one or the other of the dialects, or to foreign influence. It is quite conceivable that such new tendencies and foreign influences may attain such importance that the new language may still be considered as historically related to the ancestral family, but that its deviations, due to elements that are not found in the ancestral language, have become so important that it can no longer be considered as a branch of the older family.

Thus it will be seen that the concept of a linguistic family cannot be sharply defined; that even among the dialects of one linguistic family, more or less foreign material may be present, and that in this sense the languages, as has been pointed out by Paul,¹ are not, in the strict sense of the term, descendants of a single ancestral family.

Thus the whole problem of the final classification of languages in linguistic families that are without doubt related, seems destined to remain open until our knowledge of the processes by which distinct languages are developed shall have become much more thorough than it is at the present time. Under these circumstances we must confine ourselves to classifying American languages in those linguistic families for which we can give a proof of relationship that can not possibly be challenged. Beyond this point we can do no more than give certain definite classifications in which the traits common to certain groups of languages are pointed out, while the decision as to the significance of these common traits must be left to later times.

¹ Paul, Principien der Sprachgeschichte.
IV. LINGUISTICS AND ETHNOLOGY

It seems desirable to say a few words on the function of linguistic researches in the study of the ethnography of the Indians.

Practical Need of Linguistic Studies for Ethnological Purposes

First of all, the purely practical aspect of this question may be considered. Ordinarily, the investigator who visits an Indian tribe is not able to converse with the natives themselves and to obtain his information first-hand, but he is obliged to rely more or less on data transmitted by interpreters, or at least by the help of interpreters. He may ask his question through an interpreter, and receive again through his mouth the answer given by the Indians. It is obvious that this is an unsatisfactory method, even when the interpreters are good; but, as a rule, the available men are either not sufficiently familiar with the English language, or they are so entirely out of sympathy with the Indian point of view, and understand the need of accuracy on the part of the investigator so little, that information furnished by them can be used only with a considerable degree of caution. At the present time it is possible to get along in many parts of America without interpreters, by means of the trade-jargons that have developed everywhere in the intercourse between the whites and the Indians. These, however, are also a very unsatisfactory means of inquiring into the customs of the natives, because, in some cases, the vocabulary of the trade-languages is extremely limited, and it is almost impossible to convey information relating to the religious and philosophic ideas or to the higher aspects of native art, all of which play so important a part in Indian life.

Another difficulty which often develops whenever the investigator works with a particularly intelligent interpreter is, that the interpreter imbibes too readily the views of the investigator, and that his information, for this reason, is strongly biased, because he is not so well able to withstand the influence of formative theories as the trained investigator ought to be. Anyone who has carried on work with intelligent Indians will recall instances of this kind, where the interpreter may have formulated a theory based on the questions that have been put through him, and has interpreted his answers
under the guidance of his preconceived notions. All this is so obvious that it hardly requires a full discussion. Our needs become particularly apparent when we compare the methods that we expect from any investigator of cultures of the Old World with those of the ethnologist who is studying primitive tribes. Nobody would expect authoritative accounts of the civilization of China or of Japan from a man who does not speak the languages readily, and who has not mastered their literatures. The student of antiquity is expected to have a thorough mastery of the ancient languages. A student of Mohammedan life in Arabia or Turkey would hardly be considered a serious investigator if all his knowledge had to be derived from second-hand accounts. The ethnologist, on the other hand, undertakes in the majority of cases to elucidate the innermost thoughts and feelings of a people without so much as a smattering of knowledge of their language.

It is true that the American ethnologist is confronted with a serious practical difficulty, for, in the present state of American society, by far the greater number of customs and practices have gone out of existence, and the investigator is compelled to rely upon accounts of customs of former times recorded from the mouths of the old generation who, when young, still took part in these performances. Added to this he is confronted with the difficulty that the number of trained investigators is very small, and the number of American languages that are mutually unintelligible exceedingly large, probably exceeding three hundred in number. Our investigating ethnologists are also denied opportunity to spend long continuous periods with any particular tribe, so that the practical difficulties in the way of acquiring languages are almost insuperable. Nevertheless, we must insist that a command of the language is an indispensable means of obtaining accurate and thorough knowledge, because much information can be gained by listening to conversations of the natives and by taking part in their daily life, which, to the observer who has no command of the language, will remain entirely inaccessible.

It must be admitted that this ideal aim is, under present conditions, entirely beyond our reach. It is, however, quite possible for the ethnographer to obtain a theoretical knowledge of native languages that will enable him to collect at least part of the information that could be best obtained by a practical knowledge of the language. Fortunately, the Indian is easily misled, by the ability of the observer
to read his language, into thinking that he is also able to understand what he reads. Thus, in taking down tales or other records in the native language, and reading them to the Indians, the Indian always believes that the reader also understands what he pronounces, because it is quite inconceivable to him that a person can freely utter the sentences in his language without clearly grasping their meaning. This fact facilitates the initial stages of ethnographic information in the native languages, because, on the whole, the northern Indians are eager to be put on record in regard to questions that are of supreme interest to them. If the observer is capable of grasping by a rapid analysis the significance of what is dictated to him, even without being able to express himself freely in the native language, he is in a position to obtain much information that otherwise would be entirely unobtainable. Although this is wholly a makeshift, still it puts the observer in an infinitely better position than that in which he would be without any knowledge whatever of the language. First of all, he can get the information from the Indians first-hand, without employing an interpreter, who may mislead him. Furthermore, the range of subjects on which he can get information is considerably increased, because the limitations of the linguistic knowledge of the interpreter, or those of the trade-language, are eliminated. It would seem, therefore, that under present conditions we are more or less compelled to rely upon an extended series of texts as the safest means of obtaining information from the Indians. A general review of our ethnographic literature shows clearly how much better is the information obtained by observers who have command of the language, and who are on terms of intimate friendship with the natives, than that obtained through the medium of interpreters.

The best material we possess is perhaps contained in the naive outpourings of the Eskimo, which they write and print themselves, and distribute as a newspaper, intended to inform the people of all the events that are of interest. These used to contain much mythological matter and much that related to the mode of life of the people. Other material of similar character is furnished by the large text collections of the Ponca, published by the late James Owen Dorsey; although many of these are influenced by the changed conditions under which the people now live. Some older records on the Iroquois, written by prominent members of the tribe, also deserve attention; and among the most recent literature the descriptions of the
Sauk and Fox by Dr. William Jones are remarkable on account of the thorough understanding that the author has reached, owing to his mastery of the language. Similar in character, although rendered entirely in English, are the observations of Mr. James Teit on the Thompson Indians.

In some cases it has been possible to interest educated natives in the study of their own tribes and to induce them to write down in their own language their observations. These, also, are much superior to English records, in which the natives are generally hampered by the lack of mastery of the foreign language.

While in all these cases a collector thoroughly familiar with the Indian language and with English might give us the results of his studies without using the native language in his publications, this is quite indispensable when we try to investigate the deeper problems of ethnology. A few examples will show clearly what is meant. When the question arises, for instance, of investigating the poetry of the Indians, no translation can possibly be considered as an adequate substitute for the original. The form of rhythm, the treatment of the language, the adjustment of text to music, the imagery, the use of metaphors, and all the numerous problems involved in any thorough investigation of the style of poetry, can be interpreted only by the investigator who has equal command of the ethnographical traits of the tribe and of their language. The same is true in the investigation of rituals, with their set, more or less poetic phrases, or in the investigation of prayers and incantations. The oratory of the Indians, a subject that has received much attention by ethnologists, is not adequately known, because only a very few speeches have been handed down in the original. Here, also, an accurate investigation of the method of composition and of the devices used to reach oratorical effect, requires the preservation of speeches as rendered in the original language.

There are also numerous other features of the life of the Indians which cannot be adequately presented without linguistic investigation. To these belong, for instance, the discussion of personal, tribal, and local names. The translations of Indian names which are popularly known—like Sitting-Bull, Afraid-Of-His-Horse, etc.—indicate that names possess a deeper significance. The translations, however, are so difficult that a thorough linguistic knowledge is required in order to explain the significance adequately.
In all the subjects mentioned heretofore, a knowledge of Indian languages serves as an important adjunct to a full understanding of the customs and beliefs of the people whom we are studying. But in all these cases the service which language lends us is first of all a practical one—a means to a clearer understanding of ethnological phenomena which in themselves have nothing to do with linguistic problems.

Theoretical Importance of Linguistic Studies

Language a Part of Ethnological Phenomena in General

It seems, however, that a theoretical study of Indian languages is not less important than a practical knowledge of them; that the purely linguistic inquiry is part and parcel of a thorough investigation of the psychology of the peoples of the world. If ethnology is understood as the science dealing with the mental phenomena of the life of the peoples of the world, human language, one of the most important manifestations of mental life, would seem to belong naturally to the field of work of ethnology, unless special reasons can be adduced why it should not be so considered. It is true that a practical reason of this kind exists, namely, the specialization which has taken place in the methods of philological research, which has progressed to such an extent that philology and comparative linguistics are sciences which require the utmost attention, and do not allow the student to devote much of his time to other fields that require different methods of study. This, however, is no reason for believing that the results of linguistic inquiry are unimportant to the ethnologist. There are other fields of ethnological investigation which have come to be more or less specialized, and which require for their successful treatment peculiar specialization. This is true, for instance, of the study of primitive music, of primitive art, and, to a certain extent, of primitive law. Nevertheless, these subjects continue to form an important part of ethnological science.

If the phenomena of human speech seem to form in a way a subject by itself, this is perhaps largely due to the fact that the laws of language remain entirely unknown to the speakers, that linguistic phenomena never rise into the consciousness of primitive man, while all other ethnological phenomena are more or less clearly subjects of conscious thought.
The question of the relation of linguistic phenomena to ethnological phenomena, in the narrower sense of the term, deserves, therefore, special discussion.

Language and Thought

First of all, it may be well to discuss the relation between language and thought. It has been claimed that the conciseness and clearness of thought of a people depend to a great extent upon their language. The ease with which in our modern European languages we express wide abstract ideas by a single term, and the facility with which wide generalizations are cast into the frame of a simple sentence, have been claimed to be one of the fundamental conditions of the clearness of our concepts, the logical force of our thought, and the precision with which we eliminate in our thoughts irrelevant details. Apparently this view has much in its favor. When we compare modern English with some of those Indian languages which are most concrete in their formative expression, the contrast is striking. When we say The eye is the organ of sight, the Indian may not be able to form the expression the eye, but may have to define that the eye of a person or of an animal is meant. Neither may the Indian be able to generalize readily the abstract idea of an eye as the representative of the whole class of objects, but may have to specialize by an expression like this eye here. Neither may he be able to express by a single term the idea of organ, but may have to specify it by an expression like instrument of seeing, so that the whole sentence might assume a form like An indefinite person's eye is his means of seeing. Still, it will be recognized that in this more specific form the general idea may be well expressed. It seems very questionable in how far the restriction of the use of certain grammatical forms can really be conceived as a hindrance in the formulation of generalized ideas. It seems much more likely that the lack of these forms is due to the lack of their need. Primitive man, when conversing with his fellowman, is not in the habit of discussing abstract ideas. His interests center around the occupations of his daily life; and where philosophic problems are touched upon, they appear either in relation to definite individuals or in the more or less anthropomorphic forms of religious beliefs. Discourses on qualities without connection with the object to which the qualities belong, or of activities or states disconnected from the idea of the actor or the subject being in a
certain state, will hardly occur in primitive speech. Thus the Indian will not speak of goodness as such, although he may very well speak of the goodness of a person. He will not speak of a state of bliss apart from the person who is in such a state. He will not refer to the power of seeing without designating an individual who has such power. Thus it happens that in languages in which the idea of possession is expressed by elements subordinated to nouns, all abstract terms appear always with possessive elements. It is, however, perfectly conceivable that an Indian trained in philosophic thought would proceed to free the underlying nominal forms from the possessive elements, and thus reach abstract forms strictly corresponding to the abstract forms of our modern languages. I have made this experiment, for instance, with the Kwakiutl language of Vancouver Island, in which no abstract term ever occurs without its possessive elements. After some discussion, I found it perfectly easy to develop the idea of the abstract term in the mind of the Indian, who will state that the word without a possessive pronoun gives a sense, although it is not used idiomatically. I succeeded, for instance, in this manner, in isolating the terms for love and pity, which ordinarily occur only in possessive forms, like his love for him or my pity for you. That this view is correct may also be observed in languages in which possessive elements appear as independent forms, as, for instance, in the Siouan languages. In these, pure abstract terms are quite common.

There is also evidence that other specializing elements, which are so characteristic of many Indian languages, may be dispensed with when, for one reason or another, it seems desirable to generalize a term. To use the example of the Kwakiutl language, the idea to be seated is almost always expressed with an inseparable suffix expressing the place in which a person is seated, as seated on the floor of the house, on the ground, on the beach, on a pile of things, or on a round thing, etc. When, however, for some reason, the idea of the state of sitting is to be emphasized, a form may be used which expresses simply being in a sitting posture. In this case, also, the device for generalized expression is present, but the opportunity for its application arises seldom, or perhaps never. I think what is true in these cases is true of the structure of every single language. The fact that generalized forms of expression are not
used does not prove inability to form them, but it merely proves that the mode of life of the people is such that they are not required; that they would, however, develop just as soon as needed.

This point of view is also corroborated by a study of the numeral systems of primitive languages. As is well known, many languages exist in which the numerals do not exceed two or three. It has been inferred from this that the people speaking these languages are not capable of forming the concept of higher numbers. I think this interpretation of the existing conditions is quite erroneous. People like the South American Indians (among whom these defective numeral systems are found), or like the Eskimo (whose old system of numbers probably did not exceed ten), are presumably not in need of higher numerical expressions, because there are not many objects that they have to count. On the other hand, just as soon as these same people find themselves in contact with civilization, and when they acquire standards of value that have to be counted, they adopt with perfect ease higher numerals from other languages and develop a more or less perfect system of counting. This does not mean that every individual who in the course of his life has never made use of higher numerals would acquire more complex systems readily, but the tribe as a whole seems always to be capable of adjusting itself to the needs of counting. It must be borne in mind that counting does not become necessary until objects are considered in such generalized form that their individualities are entirely lost sight of. For this reason it is possible that even a person who has a flock of domesticated animals may know them by name and by their characteristics without ever desiring to count them. Members of a war expedition may be known by name and may not be counted. In short, there is no proof that the lack of the use of numerals is in any way connected with the inability to form the concepts of higher numbers.

If we want to form a correct judgment of the influence that language exerts over thought, we ought to bear in mind that our European languages as found at the present time have been moulded to a great extent by the abstract thought of philosophers. Terms like *essence* and *existence*, many of which are now commonly used, are by origin artificial devices for expressing the results of abstract thought. In this they would resemble the artificial, unidiomatic abstract terms that may be formed in primitive languages.
Thus it would seem that the obstacles to generalized thought inherent in the form of a language are of minor importance only, and that presumably the language alone would not prevent a people from advancing to more generalized forms of thinking if the general state of their culture should require expression of such thought; that under these conditions the language would be moulded rather by the cultural state. It does not seem likely, therefore, that there is any direct relation between the culture of a tribe and the language they speak, except in so far as the form of the language will be moulded by the state of culture, but not in so far as a certain state of culture is conditioned by morphological traits of the language.

**Unconscious Character of Linguistic Phenomena**

Of greater positive importance is the question of the relation of the unconscious character of linguistic phenomena to the more conscious ethnological phenomena. It seems to my mind that this contrast is only apparent, and that the very fact of the unconsciousness of linguistic processes helps us to gain a clearer understanding of the ethnological phenomena, a point the importance of which can not be underrated. It has been mentioned before that in all languages certain classifications of concepts occur. To mention only a few: we find objects classified according to sex, or as animate and inanimate, or according to form. We find actions determined according to time and place, etc. The behavior of primitive man makes it perfectly clear that all these concepts, although they are in constant use, have never risen into consciousness, and that consequently their origin must be sought, not in rational, but in entirely unconscious, we may perhaps say instinctive, processes of the mind. They must be due to a grouping of sense-impressions and of concepts which is not in any sense of the term voluntary, but which develops from quite different psychological causes. It would seem that the essential difference between linguistic phenomena and other ethnological phenomena is, that the linguistic classifications never rise into consciousness, while in other ethnological phenomena, although the same unconscious origin prevails, these often rise into consciousness, and thus give rise to secondary reasoning and to re-interpretations. It would, for instance, seem very plausible that the fundamental religious notions—like the idea of the voluntary power of inanimate objects, or of the anthropomorphic
character of animals, or of the existence of powers that are superior to the mental and physical powers of man—are in their origin just as little conscious as are the fundamental ideas of language. While, however, the use of language is so automatic that the opportunity never arises for the fundamental notions to emerge into consciousness, this happens very frequently in all phenomena relating to religion. It would seem that there is no tribe in the world in which the religious activities have not come to be a subject of thought. While the religious activities may have been performed before the reason for performing them had become a subject of thought, they attained at an early time such importance that man asked himself the reason why he performed these actions. With this moment speculation in regard to religious activities arose, and the whole series of secondary explanations which form so vast a field of ethnological phenomena came into existence.

It is difficult to give a definite proof of the unconscious origin of ethnic phenomena, because so many of them are, or have come to be, subjects of thought. The best evidence that can be given for their unconscious origin must be taken from our own experience, and I think it is not difficult to show that certain groups of our activities, whatever the history of their earlier development may have been, develop at present in each individual and in the whole people entirely sub-consciously, and nevertheless are most potent in the formation of our opinions and actions. Simple examples of this kind are actions which we consider as proper and improper, and which may be found in great numbers in what we call good manners. Thus table manners, which on the whole are impressed vigorously upon the child while it is still young, have a very fixed form. Smacking of the lips and bringing the plate up to the mouth would not be tolerated, although no esthetic or other reason could be given for their rigid exclusion; and it is instructive to know that among a tribe like the Omaha it is considered as bad taste, when invited to eat, not to smack one's lips, because this is a sign of appreciation of the meal. I think it will readily be recognized that the simple fact that these habits are customary, while others are not, is sufficient reason for eliminating those acts that are not customary, and that the idea of propriety simply arises from the continuity and automatic repetition of these acts, which brings about the notion that manners contrary to custom are unusual, and
therefore not the proper manners. It may be observed in this connection that bad manners are always accompanied by rather intense feelings of displeasure, the psychological reason for which can be found only in the fact that the actions in question are contrary to those which have become habitual. It is fairly evident that in our table manners this strong feeling of propriety is associated with the familiar modes of eating. When a new kind of food is presented, the proper manner of eating which is not known, practically any habit that is not in absolute conflict with the common habits may readily establish itself.

The example of table manners gives also a fairly good instance of secondary explanation. It is not customary to bring the knife to the mouth, and very readily the feeling arises, that the knife is not used in this manner because in eating thus one would easily cut the lips. The lateness of the invention of the fork, and the fact that in many countries dull knives are used and that a similar danger exists of pricking the tongue or the lips with the sharp-pointed steel fork which is commonly used in Europe, show readily that this explanation is only a secondary rationalistic attempt to explain a custom that otherwise would remain unexplained.

If we are to draw a parallel to linguistic phenomena in this case, it would appear that the grouping of a number of unrelated actions in one group, for the reason that they cause a feeling of disgust, is brought about without any reasoning, and still sets off these actions clearly and definitely in a group by themselves.

On account of the importance of this question, it seems desirable to give another example, and one that seems to be more deeply seated than the one given before. A case of this kind is presented in the group of acts which we characterize as modest. It requires very little thought to see that, while the feelings of modesty are fundamental, the particular acts which are considered modest or immodest show immense variation, and are determined entirely by habits that develop unconsciously so far as their relation to modesty is concerned, and which may have their ultimate origin in causes of an entirely different character. A study of the history of costume proves at once that at different times and in different parts of the world it has been considered immodest to bare certain parts of the body. What parts of the body these are, is to a great
extent a matter of accident. Even at the present time, and within a rather narrow range, great variations in this respect may be found. Examples are the use of the veil in Turkey, the more or less rigid use of the glove in our own society, and the difference between street costume and evening dress. A lady in full evening dress in a streetcar, during the daytime, would hardly appear in place.

We all are at once conscious of the intensity of these feelings of modesty, and of the extreme repugnance of the individual to any act that goes counter to the customary concepts of modesty. In a number of cases the origin of a costume can readily be traced, and in its development no considerations of modesty exert any influence. It is therefore evident that in this respect the grouping-together of certain customs again develops entirely unconsciously, but that, nevertheless, they stand out as a group set apart from others with great clearness as soon as our attention is directed toward the feelings of modesty.

To draw a parallel again between this ethnological phenomenon and linguistic phenomena, it would seem that the common feature of both is the grouping-together of a considerable number of activities under the form of a single idea, without the necessity of this idea itself entering into consciousness. The difference, again, would lie in the fact that the idea of modesty is easily isolated from other concepts, and that then secondary explanations are given of what is considered modest and what not. I believe that the unconscious formation of these categories is one of the fundamental traits of ethnic life, and that it even manifests itself in many of its more complex aspects; that many of our religious views and activities, of our ethical concepts, and even our scientific views, which are apparently based entirely on conscious reasoning, are affected by this tendency of distinct activities to associate themselves under the influence of strong emotions. It has been recognized before that this is one of the fundamental causes of error and of the diversity of opinion.

It seems necessary to dwell upon the analogy of ethnology and language in this respect, because, if we adopt this point of view, language seems to be one of the most instructive fields of inquiry in an investigation of the formation of the fundamental ethnic ideas. The great advantage that linguistics offer in this respect is the fact that, on the whole, the categories which are formed always remain
unconscious, and that for this reason the processes which lead to their formation can be followed without the misleading and disturbing factors of secondary explanations, which are so common in ethnology, so much so that they generally obscure the real history of the development of ideas entirely.

Cases are rare in which a people have begun to speculate about linguistic categories, and these speculations are almost always so clearly affected by the faulty reasoning that has led to secondary explanations, that they are readily recognized as such, and can not disturb the clear view of the history of linguistic processes. In America we find this tendency, for instance, among the Pawnee, who seem to have been led to several of their religious opinions by linguistic similarities. Incidentally such cases occur also in other languages, as, for instance, in Chinook mythology, where the Culture Hero discovers a man in a canoe who obtains fish by dancing, and tells him that he must not do so, but must catch fish with the net, a tale which is entirely based on the identity of the two words for dancing, and catching with a net. These are cases which show that Max Müller's theory of the influence of etymology upon religious concepts explains some of the religious phenomena, although, of course, it can be held to account for only a very small portion.

Judging the importance of linguistic studies from this point of view, it seems well worth while to subject the whole range of linguistic concepts to a searching analysis, and to seek in the peculiarities of the grouping of ideas in different languages an important characteristic in the history of the mental development of the various branches of mankind. From this point of view, the occurrence of the most fundamental grammatical concepts in all languages must be considered as proof of the unity of fundamental psychological processes. The characteristic groupings of concepts in American languages will be treated more fully in the discussion of the single linguistic stocks. The ethnological significance of these studies lies in the clear definition of the groupings of ideas which are brought out by the objective study of language.

There is still another theoretical aspect that deserves special attention. When we try to think at all clearly, we think, on the whole, in words; and it is well known that, even in the advancement of science, inaccuracy of vocabulary has often been a stumbling-
block which has made it difficult to reach accurate conclusions. The same words may be used with different significance, and by assuming the word to have the same significance always, erroneous conclusions may be reached. It may also be that the word expresses only part of an idea, so that owing to its use the full range of the subject-matter discussed may not be recognized. In the same manner the words may be too wide in their significance, including a number of distinct ideas the differences of which in the course of the development of the language were not recognized. Furthermore, we find that, among more primitive tribes, similarities of sound are misunderstood, and that ideas expressed by similar words are considered as similar or identical, and that descriptive terms are misunderstood as expressing an identity, or at least close relationship, between the object described and the group of ideas contained in the description.

All these traits of human thought, which are known to influence the history of science and which play a more or less important rôle in the general history of civilization, occur with equal frequency in the thoughts of primitive man. It will be sufficient to give a few examples of these cases.

One of the most common cases of a group of views due to failure to notice that the same word may signify divers objects, is that based on the belief of the identity of persons bearing the same name. Generally the interpretation is given that a child receives the name of an ancestor because he is believed to be a re-incarnation of the individuality of the ancestor. It seems, however, much more likely that this is not the real reason for the views connected with this custom, which seems due to the fact that no distinction is made between the name and the personality known under the name. The association established between name and individual is so close that the two seem almost inseparable; and when a name is mentioned, not only the name itself, but also the personality of its bearer, appears before the mind of the speaker.

Inferences based on peculiar forms of classification of ideas, and due to the fact that a whole group of distinct ideas are expressed by a single term, occur commonly in the terms of relationship of various languages; as, for instance, in our term uncle, which means the two distinct classes of father's brother and mother's
brother. Here, also, it is commonly assumed that the linguistic expression is a secondary reflex of the customs of the people; but the question is quite open in how far the one phenomenon is the primary one and the other the secondary one, and whether the customs of the people have not rather developed from the unconsciously developed terminology.

Cases in which the similarity of sound of words is reflected in the views of the people are not rare, and examples of these have been given before in referring to Max Müller's theory of the origin of religions.

Finally, a few examples may be given of cases in which the use of descriptive terms for certain concepts, or the metaphorical use of terms, has led to peculiar views or customs. It seems plausible to my mind, for instance, that the terms of relationship by which some of the eastern Indian tribes designate one another were originally nothing but a metaphorical use of these terms, and that the further elaboration of the social relations of the tribes may have been largely determined by transferring the ideas accompanying these terms into practice.

More convincing are examples taken from the use of metaphorical terms in poetry, which, in rituals, are taken literally, and are made the basis of certain rites. I am inclined to believe, for instance, that the frequently occurring image of the devouring of wealth has a close relation to the detailed form of the winter ritual among the Indians of the North Pacific coast, and that the poetical simile in which the chief is called the support of the sky has to a certain extent been taken literally in the elaboration of mythological ideas.

Thus it appears that from practical, as well as from theoretical, points of view, the study of language must be considered as one of the most important branches of ethnological study, because, on the one hand, a thorough insight into ethnology can not be gained without practical knowledge of language, and, on the other hand, the fundamental concepts illustrated by human languages are not distinct in kind from ethnological phenomena; and because, furthermore, the peculiar characteristics of languages are clearly reflected in the views and customs of the peoples of the world.
V. CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN LANGUAGES

In older treatises of the languages of the world, languages have often been classified as isolating, agglutinating, polysynthetic, and inflecting languages. Chinese is generally given as an example of an isolating language. The agglutinating languages are represented by the Ural-Altaic languages of northern Asia; polysynthetic languages by the languages of America; and inflecting languages, by the Indo-European and Semitic languages. The essential traits of these groups are: That in the first, sentences are expressed solely by juxtaposition of unchangeable elements; in the agglutinating languages, a single stem is modified by the attachment of numerous formative elements which modify the fundamental idea of the stem; in polysynthetic languages, a large number of distinct ideas are amalgamated by grammatical processes and form a single word, without any morphological distinction between the formal elements and the sentence and the contents of the sentence; and in the inflecting languages, on the other hand, a sharp distinction is made between formal elements and the material contents of the sentence, and stems are modified solely according to the logical forms in which they appear in the sentence.

An example of what is meant by polysynthesis is given, for instance, in the following Eskimo word: *takusariartorumagaluarnerpâ? do you think he really intends to go to look after it? (*takusar[pâ] he looks after it; *-iartor[poq] he goes to; *-uma[voq] he intends to; *-galuar[poq] he does so—but; *-ner[poq] do you think he—; *-? interrogation, third person.) It will be recognized here, that there is no correspondence between the suffixed elements of the fundamental stem and the formal elements that appear in the Indo-European languages, but that a great variety of ideas are expressed by the long series of suffixes. Another example of similar kind is the Tsimshian word *t-yuk-ligi-lo-d'ep-dâlet he began to put down somewhere inside (*t, he; *yuk to begin; *ligi somewhere; *lo in d' ep down; *dâl to put down; *-t it).

American languages have also been designated as incorporating languages, by which is meant a tendency to incorporate the object of the sentence, either nominal or pronominal, in the verbal expression. Examples of this tendency are the Mexican *ni-pella-tšiwa I made mats (pella-ll mat); or the Pawnee ta-t-t'ka'wit I dig dirt (ta- indic-
tive; 陈列; 1'ikär' dirt; -pit to dig [rp in contact, form 'w)]; or the

neida g-nagla'-sl-i-zak-s 1 SEARCH FOR A VILLAGE (g- I; -nagla' to
ve; -sl- abstract noun; -i- verbal character; -zak to search; -s
ontinuative).

A more thorough knowledge of the structure of many American
languages shows that the general designation of all these languages as
polythetic and incorporating is not tenable. We have in Amer-
ica a sufficiently large number of cases of languages in which the
pronouns are not incorporated, but joined loosely to the verb, and
we also have numerous languages in which the incorporation of many
elements into a single word hardly occurs at all. Among the lan-
guages treated here, the Chinook may be given as an example of
ack of polysynthesis. There are very few, if any, cases in which a
single Chinook word expresses an extended complex of ideas, and we
notice particularly that there are no large classes of ideas which are
expressed in such form that they may be considered as subordinate.
An examination of the structure of the Chinook grammar will show
that each verbal stem appears modified only by pronominal and a few
adverbial elements, and that nouns show hardly any tendency to
incorporate new ideas such as are expressed by our adjectives. On
the other hand, the Athapascan and the Haida and Tlingit may be
taken as examples of languages which, though polysynthetic in the
sense here described, do not readily incorporate the object, but treat
both pronominal subject and pronominal object as independent ele-
ments. Among the languages of northern North America, the Iroquois
alone has so strong a tendency to incorporate the nominal object into
the verb, and at the same time to modify so much its independent
form, that it can be considered as one of the characteristic languages
that incorporate the object. To a lesser extent this trait belongs also
to the Tsimshian, Kutenai, and Shoshone. It is strongly developed
in the Caddoan languages. All the other incorporating languages
treated here, like the Eskimo, Algonquian, and Kwakiutl, confine them-
selves to a more or less close incorporation of the pronominal object.
In Shoshone, the incorporation of the pronominal object and of the
nominal object is so weak that it is almost arbitrary whether we
consider these forms as incorporated or not. If we extend our view
over other parts of America, the same facts appear clearly, and it is
not possible to consider these two traits as characteristics of all
American languages.
On the other hand, there are certain traits that, although not common to all American languages, are at least frequent, and which are not less characteristic than the tendency to objective incorporation and to polysynthesis. The most important of these is the tendency to divide the verb sharply into an active and a neutral class, one of which is closely related to the possessive forms of the noun, while the other is treated as a true verb. We might perhaps say that American languages have a strong tendency to draw the dividing line between denomminating terms and predicative terms, not in the same way that we are accustomed to do. In American languages many of our predicative terms are closely related to nominal terms, most frequently the neutral verbs expressing a state, like to sit, to stand. These, also, often include a considerable number of adjectives. On the other hand, terms expressing activities—like to sing, to eat, to kill—are treated as true predicative terms. The differentiation of these two classes is generally expressed by the occurrence of an entirely or partially separated set of pronouns for the predicative terms.

Beyond these extremely vague points, there are hardly any characteristics that are common to many American languages. A number of traits, however, may be enumerated which occur with considerable frequency in many parts of America.

The phonetic systems of American languages differ very considerably, but we find with remarkable frequency a peculiar differentiation of voiced and unvoiced stops,—corresponding to our b, p; d, t; g, k,—which differ in principle from the classification of the corresponding sounds in most of the European languages. An examination of American vocabularies and texts shows very clearly that all observers have had more or less difficulty in differentiating these sounds. Although there is not the slightest doubt that they differ in character, it would seem that there is almost everywhere a tendency to pronounce the voiced and unvoiced sounds with very nearly equal stress of articulation, not as in European languages, where the unvoiced sound is generally pronounced with greater stress. This equality of stress of the two sounds brings it about that their differences appear rather slight. On the other hand, there are frequently sounds, particularly in the languages of the Pacific coast, in which a stress of articulation is used which is considerably greater than any stresses occurring in the languages with which we are familiar. These sounds are generally unvoiced; but a high air-pressure in the oral cavity is secured by
ng the glottis and nares, or by closing the posterior part of the 
ːh with the base of the tongue. The release at the point of 
ulation lets out the small amount of strongly compressed air, 
the subsequent opening of glottis and nares or base of tongue 
uces a break in the continuity of sound.

oise also with particular frequency the occurrence of a number 
gual stops corresponding more or less strictly to our ːh sounds 
ːh, however, are more finely differentiated than our ːk sounds. 
ːk the velar ːk, which is so characteristic of Semitic languages, 
rs with great frequency in America. On the other hand, the 
Ő-dental ʃ seems to be rather rare, and where a similar sound 
rs it is often the bilabial sound.

he same may be said of the ːr, which on the whole is a rare sound 
American languages, and the trill of which is almost always so 
ːk that it merges into the ːd, ːn, ːl, or ːy, as the case may be.

In the whole, the system of consonants of American languages is 
developed, particularly owing to the occurrence of the three 
sses to which I referred before, instead of the two with which 
are more familiar. In some groups of languages we have also a 
te distinct set of stops accompanied by full breathing, which cor- 
pond to the English surds. Furthermore, a peculiar break, pro- 
ceed by closing the vocal chords, occurs quite commonly, not only 
connection with sonants, but also following or preceding vowels or 
ricative consonants. This intonation is sometimes quite audible, 
d sometimes merely a break or hiatus in the continuity of pronun-

ction. Sometimes it seems related to the pronunciation of a voiced 
sonant in which the voicing is preceded by a closure of the vocal 
ords. In other cases it seems related to the production of the 
eat stress of articulation to which I referred before. For instance, 
strong ːt the tongue may be pressed so firmly against the palate 
at all the articulating organs, including the vocal chords, take part 
the tension, and that the sudden expulsion of the air is accom-
nied also by a sudden relaxation of the vocal chords, so that for 
is reason the strong, exploded sound appears to be accompanied 
 an intonation of the vocal chords.

As stated before, these traits are not by any means common to all 
merican languages, but they are sufficiently frequent to deserve 
tention in a generalized discussion of the subject.

On the other hand, there are languages which are exceedingly defi- 
cient in their phonetic system. Among these may be mentioned, for
instance, the Iroquois, which possesses not a single true labial consonant; or the Haida, in which the labials are confined to a few sounds, which are rather rare.

The vocalic systems of the northern languages seem peculiarly uncertain. The cases are very numerous in which obscure vowels occur, which are evidently related to fuller vowels, but whose affiliations often cannot be determined. It would seem that in the southern languages these weak vowels are not so prominent. We also find very frequently a lack of clear distinction between ē and u on the one hand, and e and i on the other. Although the variability of vowels in some of the languages seems beyond doubt, there are others in which the vocalic system is very definite and in which distinctions are expressed, not only by the timbre of the vowel, but also by its rising or falling tone. Among these may be mentioned the Pawnee and the Takelma. The Pawnee seems to have at least two tones, a sinking tone and a rising tone, while in Takelma there seem to be three tones. Nasalized vowels are very common in some languages, and entirely absent in others. This nasalization occurs both with open lips and with closed lips. An example of the latter is the Iroquois u."m.

It is not possible to give any general characterization of American languages with regard to the grouping of sounds. While in some languages consonantic clusters of incredible complexity are formed, others avoid such clusters altogether. There is, however, a habit of pronunciation which deserves attention, and which is found very widely distributed. This is the slurring of the ends of words, which is sometimes so pronounced, that, in an attempt to write the words, the terminations, grammatical or other, may become entirely inaudible. The simplest form in which this tendency expresses itself is in the suppression of terminal consonants, which are only articulated, but not pronounced. In the Nass river dialect of the Tsimshian, for instance, the terminal n of the word gan TREE is indicated by the position of the tongue, but is entirely inaudible, unless the word is followed by other words belonging to the same sentence. In that language the same is true of the sounds l and m. Vowels are suppressed in a similar manner by being only indicated by the position of the mouth, without being articulated. This happens frequently to the u following a k, or with an i in the same position.
Thus, the Kwakiutl pronounce \(\text{wə'dək\text{"u}}\). If, however, another vowel follows, the \(u\) which is not articulated appears as a \(w\), as in the form \(\text{wə'dəskwa}\).

The slurring, however, extends over whole syllables, which in these cases may appear highly modified. Thus, in the Oneida dialect of the Iroquois, a peculiar \(l\) sound is heard, which presumably occurs only in such slurred syllables. It is very remarkable that the Indians of all tribes are perfectly conscious of the phonetic elements which have thus been suppressed, and can, when pressed to do so, pronounce the words with their full endings.

Another trait that is characteristic of many American languages, and that deserves mention, is the tendency of various parts of the population to modify the pronunciation of sounds. Thus we find that among some Eskimo tribes the men pronounce the terminal \(p, t, k,\) and \(g\) distinctly, while the women always transform these sounds into \(m, n, \tilde{n},\) and \(\tilde{g}\). In some dialects the men have also adopted this manner of pronouncing, so that the pronunciation has become uniform again. Such mannerisms, that are peculiar to certain social groups, are of course not entirely foreign to us, but they are seldom developed in so striking a manner as in a few of the Indian languages.

In many American languages we find highly developed laws of euphony,—laws by which, automatically, one sound in a sentence requires certain other sounds either to precede or to follow it. In the majority of cases these laws of euphony seem to act forward in a manner that may be compared to the laws of vowel harmony in the Ural-Altaic languages. Particularly remarkable among these laws is the influence of the \(o\) upon following vowels, which occurs in a few languages of the Pacific coast. In these, the vowels following an \(o\) in the same word must, under certain conditions, be transformed into \(o\) vowels, or at least be modified by the addition of a \(w\). Quite different in character are the numerous influences of contact of sounds, which are very pronounced in the Siouan languages, and occur again in a quite different form in the Pawnee. It may be well to give an example of these also. Thus, in Dakota, words ending with an \(a\) and followed by a word beginning with a \(k\) transform the former into \(e\), the latter into \(c\). In Pawnee, on the other hand, the combination \(\text{tr}\) is always transformed into an \(h\); \(b\) following an \(i\) is generally
changed into a $v$; $rp$ becomes $hw$, etc. While in some languages these phonetic changes do not occupy a prominent place, they are exceedingly important in others. They correspond in a way to the laws of euphony of Sanskrit.

Just as much variety as is shown in phonetic systems is found in the use of grammatical devices. In discussing the definition of the word, it has been pointed out that in some American languages the word-unit seems to be perfectly clear and consistent, while in others the structure of the sentence would seem to justify us in considering it as composed of a number of independent elements combined by juxtaposition. Thus, languages which have a polysynthetic character have the tendency to form firmly knit word-units, which may be predicative sentences, but may also be used for denominative purposes. For example, the Chinook may say, *He runs into the water*, and may designate by this term *the mink*; or the Hupa may say *They have been laid together*, meaning by this term *a fire*. On the other hand, there are innumerable languages in America in which expressions of this kind are entirely impossible.

In forming words and sentences, affixes are used extensively, and we find prefixes, as well as suffixes and infixes. It is not absolutely certain that cases occur in America where true infixed into a stem takes place, and where it might not be better explained as an insertion of the apparently infixed element into a compound stem, or as due to secondary phonetic phenomena, like those of metathesis; but in the Siouan languages at least, infixion in bisyllabic stems that are apparently simple in their origin occurs. Otherwise, suffixing is, on the whole, more extensively used than prefixing; and in some languages only one of these two methods is used, in others both. There are probably no languages in which prefixing alone occurs.

Change of stem is also a device that is used with great frequency. We find particularly that methods of reduplication are used extensively. Modifications of single sounds of the stem occur also, and sometimes in peculiar form. Thus we have cases, as in Tsimshian, where the lengthening of a vowel indicates plurality; or, as in Algonquian, where modality is expressed by vocalic modification; and, as in Chinook, where diminutive and augmentative are expressed by increasing the stress of consonants. Sometimes an exuberance of reduplicated forms is found, the reduplicated stem being reduplicated a second and even a third time. On the other
hand, we find numerous languages in which the stem is entirely unchangeable, excepting so far as it may be subject to phonetic contact phenomena.

The following grammatical sketches have been contributed by investigators, each of whom has made a special study of the linguistic stock of which he treats. The attempt has been made to adopt, so far as feasible, a uniform method of treatment, without, however, sacrificing the individual conception of each investigator.

In accordance with the general views expressed in the introductory chapters, the method of treatment has been throughout an analytical one. No attempt has been made to compare the forms of the Indian grammars with the grammars of English, Latin, or even among themselves; but in each case the psychological groupings which are given depend entirely upon the inner form of each language. In other words, the grammar has been treated as though an intelligent Indian was going to develop the forms of his own thoughts by an analysis of his own form of speech.

It will be understood that the results of this analysis can not be claimed to represent the fundamental categories from which the present form of each language has developed. There is not the slightest doubt that, in all Indian languages, processes have occurred analogous to those processes which are historically known and to which the modern forms of Indo-European languages owe their present forms. Grammatical categories have been lost, and new ones have developed. Even a hasty comparison of the dialects of various American linguistic families gives ample proof that similar processes have taken place here. To give an example, we find that, in the Ponca dialect of the Siouan languages, nouns are classified according to form, and that there is a clear formal distinction between the subject and the object of the sentence. These important features have disappeared entirely in the Dakota dialect of the same group of languages. To give another example, we find a pronominal sex gender in all the dialects of the Salishan stock that are spoken west of the Coast range in the states of Washington and in British Columbia, while in the dialects of the interior there is no trace of gender. On the other hand, we find in one of the Salish dialects of the interior the occurrence of an exclusive and inclusive form of the pronoun, which is absent in all the other dialects of the same stock. We have no information on the
history of American languages, and the study of dialects has not advanced far enough to permit us to draw far-reaching inferences in regard to this subject. It is therefore impossible, in the few cases here mentioned, to state whether the occurrence and non-occurrence of these categories are due to a loss of old forms in the one dialect or to a later differentiation in the other.

Although, therefore, an analytical grammar can not lay any claim to present a history of the development of grammatical categories, it is valuable as a presentation of the present state of grammatical development in each linguistic group. The results of our investigation must be supplemented at a later time by a thorough analysis and comparison of all the dialects of each linguistic stock.

Owing to the fundamental differences between different linguistic families, it has seemed advisable to develop the terminology of each independently of the others, and to seek for uniformity only in cases where it can be obtained without artificially stretching the definition of terms. It is planned to give a comparative discussion of the languages at the close of these volumes, when reference can be made to the published sketches.

So far as our present knowledge goes, the following linguistic families may be distinguished in North America north of Mexico:

1. Eskimo (arctic coast).
2. Athapascan (northwestern interior, Oregon, California, Southwest).
3. Tlingit (coast of southern Alaska).
4. Haida (Queen Charlotte islands, British Columbia).
5. Salishan (southern British Columbia and northern Washington).
7. Wakashan (Vancouver island).
8. Algonquian (region south of Hudson Bay and eastern Woodlands).
10. Tsimshian (northern coast of British Columbia).
11. Siouan (northern plains west of Mississippi and North Carolina).
12. Iroquoian (lower Great Lakes and North Carolina).
13. Caddoan (southern part of plains west of Mississippi).
15. Kiowa (middle Western plains).
18. Pima (Arizona and Sonora).
20. Chinook (lower Columbia river).
21. Yakona (Yaquina bay).
23. Takelma (Rogue river, Oregon).
24. Kalapuya (Willamette valley, Oregon).
25. Wailaputan (Cascade range east of Willamette, Ore.).
27. Sahaptin (interior of Oregon).
28. Quoratean (Klamath river).
29. Weitspekan (lower Klamath river).
30. Shasta (northeast interior of California).
31. Wishok (north coast of California).
32. Yana (eastern tributaries of upper Sacramento river, California).
33. Chimarico (head waters of Sacramento river, California).
34. Wintun (valley of Sacramento river).
35. Maidu (east of Sacramento river).
36. Yuki (north of Bay of San Francisco).
37. Pomo (coast north of Bay of San Francisco).
38. Washo (Lake Washoe, Nevada, and California).
40. Yokuts (southern Tulare river, California).
41. Costanoan (south of Bay of San Francisco, California).
42. Esselenian (coast of southern California).
43. Salinan (coast of southern California).
44. Chumashan (coast of southern California).
45. Tanoan
46. Zuñi (Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona).
47. Keres
48. Pakawan (from Cibolo creek, Texas, into the state of Coahuila, Mexico).
49. Karankawa (coast of Gulf of Mexico west of Atakapa).
50. Tonkawa (inland from preceding).
51. Atakapa (coast of Gulf of Mexico west of Chitimacha).
52. Chitimacha (coast of Gulf of Mexico west of Mississippi).
53. Tunica (coast of Gulf of Mexico west of Mississippi).
54. Yuchi (east Georgia).
55. Timuqua (Florida).

Of these, the present volume contains sketches of a number of languages of the northern group, the Athapaskan, Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl, Chinook, Maidu, Algonquian, Siouan, Eskimo.
ATHAPASCAN
(HUPA)

BY

PLINY EARLE GODDARD
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ATHAPASCAN
(HUPA)

By Pliny Earle Goddard

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION OF THE ATHAPASCAN FAMILY

The Athapaskan stock is one of the largest and most widely distributed families of speech in North America. Geographically it consists of three divisions, the northern, the Pacific coast, and the southern.

The northern division\(^1\) occupies much of the northwestern portion of the continent. East of the Rocky mountains the southern boundary is the Churchill river at the southeast, and the watershed between Athabasca and Peace rivers at the southwest. South of them are peoples of the Algonquian stock. The Eskimo hold a narrow strip of continuous coast-line along the Arctic ocean and Hudson bay to the north and east. West of the Rocky mountains the Athapaskan territory begins at the fifty-first parallel of north latitude, and includes all of the country except the coast and islands. Only near the boundary of Alaska and British Columbia did they reach the coast. In the extreme north the coast is in the possession of the Eskimo. To the south the shore-lands are in the possession of the Haida, Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Wakashan. Their southern neighbors are members of the Salishan stock.

\(^1\) The principal works which treat particularly of the Athapascons of the north are the following:
SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE. Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Laurence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans: in the Years 1789 and 1793. London, 1801.
——. The Déné Languages. Transactions of the Canadian Institute, 1, 170-212. Toronto, 1891.
——. The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia. Toronto, 1904.
The Pacific coast division\(^1\) formerly consisted of one band in the interior of British Columbia, two small bands in the state of Washington, and many villages in a strip of nearly continuous territory about four hundred miles in length, beginning at the Umpqua river, Oregon, and extending south between the coast and coast range mountains to the head waters of Eel river in California. At the Klamath river their territory was cut through at one point by the Yurok who occupied the lower portion of that river and the coast southward nearly to the mouth of Mad river. From that point the non-Athapaskan Wiyot extended along the coast a little south of the mouth of Eel river. These villages were separated in many cases from each other by low but rugged mountains. They were surrounded by the small stocks characteristic of the region.

The southern division\(^2\) occupies a very large area in the Southwest, including much of Arizona, New Mexico, and western Texas, and extending to some distance into Mexico proper. The people form three groups, the Lipan in the East, the Navaho south of the San Juan river in eastern Arizona and western New Mexico, and the various tribes of Apache east and south of the Navaho. This division greatly exceeds in numbers all the other Athapaskan people. Their principal neighbors were the Piman, Shoshonean, and Pueblo peoples.

Wide differences in physical type and culture, and considerable changes in language, make it certain that these divisions have not been separated from each other recently.

In the Pacific coast division, to which the Hupa belong, are at least four languages mutually unintelligible. The Umpqua at the north seems to differ widely from the dialects south of it, both in its phonetic character and its vocabulary. From the Umpqua southward to the Yurok country on the Klamath river the dialects seem to shade into one another, those formerly spoken on the Coquille river and

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\(^1\) Publications treating this division of the Athapaskan are:


\(^2\) The published material concerning this division is mostly restricted to the Navaho, and has been collected by one author, Dr. Washington Matthews. The more important of his works are:


Galice creek being the most distinct. In the southern portion of the area, on Eel river and the coast, are several dialects differing much more in vocabulary than in phonetics. That Indians from the extremes of this territory can converse in their respective languages is not probable. On lower Mattole and Bear rivers and the adjacent coast a very distinct dialect was spoken. In the middle of this Pacific coast division are two dialects very closely connected. One of them was formerly spoken on upper Redwood creek and middle Mad river in Humboldt county, California; and the other, the Hupa of which this paper treats, on the lower (northern) portion of the Trinity river.

The villages speaking the Hupa dialect have for neighbors, to the north the Yurok, to the northeast the Karok, to the east the Shasta, but with high mountains intervening, to the south the Chimariko and Wintun, and to the west the Athapascans of Redwood creek.

Texts of myths, tales, and medicine formulas collected by the author were published by the University of California, upon which, as a basis, an analytical study of the morphology of the language has been made. A preliminary paper describing in detail the individual sounds of the language and illustrating them by means of palatograms and tracings has been published. The examples given in the following grammatical sketch are taken from the collection of Hupa texts published by the University of California. The figures refer to pages and lines.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. Sounds

Among the sounds composing the Hupa language, consonantal continuants predominate. This takes from the speech the definiteness produced by a predominance of stops, and the musical character imparted by full clear vowels standing alone or scantily attended by consonants in the syllable.

The stops are entirely lacking in one of the most important series, the labial. Hupa has neither p nor b. The latter is often found in many of the other Athapaskan dialects of the Pacific coast division. In Hupa the corresponding words have m in place of b. The back

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1 For a general account of the Hupa villages and their surroundings, see P. E. Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa. University of California Publications, American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1, no. 1.—Hupa Texts, Idem, 1, no. 2.
3 The Phonology of the Hupa Language.—Part I, Idem, v, no. 1.
series are represented by stops, but mostly by surds only. In the
dental series alone is the sonant frequent. There are two surds of
this series, one quite strongly aspirated, about as much so as is
English $t$ in a stressed syllable; the other, followed by suction,
probably produced by glottal action, has the vowel following the
explosion of the consonant in about half the time it does in the
aspirated $t$. In this regard it lies between the aspirated $t$ and $d$. The
unaccustomed ear usually hears it as $d$, but it may easily be distin-
guished from that sound when the attention is directed toward its
sonancy which begins in $d$ at the moment of release. On first acquaint-
ance with the language the sonant has been written as $t$ by all who
have attempted its notation. After more practice it may be distin-
guished with precision, and its pronunciation only as a sonant meets
with the approval of the native speaker. Of the palatal series, only
the anterior palatals are employed before $e$ and $i$ sounds. When
these occur before $a$, $o$, and $u$, a well-defined glide is heard, which has
been written as $y$. The posterior palatal series is articulated just
back of the line of the joining of the soft and hard palates. That there
were originally three or more representatives of this series is probable.
The full sonant seems to have become $w$. The aspirated surd has
become a continuant spirant $z$.\footnote{Compare Hupa $lettewen$ he carried, and menile$e$ you finished, with Kato $lcekish$ and bendile$e$.} There remain two sounds, one ($k$)
that has the sonancy closely following the release, and one ($k$) accom-
panied or followed by suction giving it a sharp, harsh sound usually
designated as fortis. The velar series is articulated very far back,
giving the effect of a closure against a yielding surface, and resulting
in a soft sound, rather difficult to distinguish as surd or sonant,
but probably always the former. The glottal stop ($\epsilon$) is most easily
recognized when final, for then its release is often heard. Between
vowels it must be detected by the silence enforced and by the change
wrought in the close of the first vowel.

The stops may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Anterior palatal</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Labial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>. . . . .</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>. . . . .</td>
<td>($\epsilon$)</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>. . . . .</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>. . . . .</td>
<td>. . . . .</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The continuant consonants of Hupa comprise spirants, affricatives,
nasals, and liquids. A glottal spirant occurs after as well as before
vowels. Initially it is a surd breath escaping as the glottis passes from

\footnote{Compare Hupa $lettewen$ he carried, and menile$e$ you finished, with Kato $lcekish$ and bendile$e$.}
the open position maintained in breathing to the position required for the vowel, and is written ḷ. It is rather stronger than English ɬ. When final, the spirant is caused by the sudden opening of the glottis without diminution of the force of the breath, and is written ('). It has been noted only where it is most prominent, or where it differentiates one word or word-element from another. One of the spirants (x) imparts a noticeable harshness to the Hupa language. It is formed rather far back in the mouth, apparently in the velar position. The mouth-passage is made quite narrow, and the uvula is thrown into vibration. The period of these vibrations is about forty per second. The resulting sound is harsh, both from the lowness of the period and from its irregularity. The degree of harshness varies considerably in individuals, and, indeed, in the same individual. While the sound is not far removed from the velar ɬ in its place and manner of formation, its effect on the ear is rather that of German ch after back vowels.

In Hupa, however, this sound is usually initial. There is no corresponding sonant in Hupa. It does occur in Navaho; as, for example, in the proper pronunciation of hogan house, where the first consonant is nearly like the Hupa sound, and the second is its sonant. There is a spirant pronounced in the palatal position, but accompanied by marked labial rounding. It closely resembles ɒ; but it is a surd, not a sonant. When this sound is initial (hɒg), it appears to begin without rounding of the lips, sounding much like English ɒh in who. When final (ɒ), the sound makes much less impression on the ear. It is to be distinguished from x by its lack of roughness, and from both x and ɬ by the rounding of the lips. It differs from a bilabial ʃ in that it is accompanied by a narrowing of the mouth-passage in the palatal position.¹

Another spirant (ɬ) common on the Pacific coast, and found in Hupa, causes great difficulty when first heard. It is formed at one or both sides of the tongue, as is ɬ, but differs from that sound in that the breath which passes through the opening is surd instead of sonant, and that the passage is narrower, causing a distinct spirant character. When the passage is entirely closed and the breath must break its way through to continue as a spirant, an affricative ɬ is formed. Both of these sounds, but especially the latter, impress the ear of one unaccustomed to them as combinations of t or k and ɬ. The spirant s in the alveolar position is frequent in Hupa, and does not differ espe-

¹This sound has for its equivalent in other dialects ʃ (sh). Cf. Hupa ɬuŋ sun and ɬuŋ ɬ, ME, with Kato ɔ and cf.

§ 2
cially, either in its method of formation or in its sound, from English s. The sonant z does not occur except when preceded by d. There are no interdental, labio-dental, or bilabial spirants except the rounded palatal spirant, huv, u, discussed above.

The affricatives are tc, dj, ts, dz, and L. The first two are formed by a t-like closure and explosion, followed by a spirant through a passage formed by a horizontally wide and vertically narrow constriction along the middle of the hard palate near the first and second molars. The second pair, ts and dz, are formed nearly as in English, in the dental position, through a rather round passageway. It is probable that there are three members of each series, the sonant, the aspirated surd, and the fortis surd. The aspirated anterior palatal surd usually has a u tinge and has been written tcwu. The fortis is indicated by tc.

The nasals are three in number—the palatal, dental, and labial. The palatal nasal is very frequent in its occurrence, especially in the final position in the word. It is accompanied by more or less nasality in the preceding vowel.

The only liquid is the lateral one l, which does not differ in any considerable degree from English l either in the manner of its making or its sound.

The continuants may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spirant</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Anterior palatal</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Labial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TC</td>
<td>h ('')</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>huv (u)</td>
<td>L (lateral)</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>huv (u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The complete system of consonants may be tabulated thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Continuants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>g, gy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>g, gy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior</td>
<td>g, gy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>L (lateral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>d, t (l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>huv (u)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are in Hupa nine vowel-sounds and two semi-vowels. They may be represented as follows:

y, i, ẹ, e, a, u, o, ő, ū, w

§ 2
The vowels in Hupa are formed with much less movement of the lower jaw and lips than is employed in the corresponding sounds in English speech. The Hupa seem to talk with their mouths nearly closed. As a result, the sounds are not open and clear, but muffled. These vowels may terminate in a sudden opening of the glottis, resulting in an aspiration of the vowel; or in a closure of the glottis, bringing the vowel to an abrupt close. When aspirated, the whole vowel has a breathy quality; and when closed by a glottal stop, it sounds hard and compact.

§ 3. Grouping of Sounds

It is rarely the case that words or syllables begin with a vowel, and most of such cases occur in verb forms. Semi-vowels and single consonants are frequent initially. The only clusters which stand initially are the affricatives dz, ts, dj, tc, and tcw, and the combinations hw, xw, and ky. Of the affricatives, tcw seems to be a phonetic derivation from a simple sound, probably a palatal with a u tinge. The combination hw corresponds to the simple sound c (sh) in the other Athapaskan dialects; xw is due to the change of o to the semi-vowel w; and ky has for the second element a glide due to a back vowel following an anterior palatal consonant. Probably none of these initial sounds were therefore originally two distinct consonants in juxtaposition.

Many syllables end in vowels. When final in the word, and bearing the accent, some vowels, under certain conditions, seem to develop semi-vowels after themselves, becoming diphthongs. This is especially true of the vowel a in the roots of verbs. In the past tense, which is more strongly accented on the ultima (the root syllable), a becomes ai, or sometimes au. The au is due to a disappearing final q. That ai is due to a suffix is not unlikely. Syllables may end in simple consonants or in affricatives. The only prominent sonant stop which occurs in Hupa (d) is not frequent in the final position. When a dental stop occurs in the interior of a word, it is usually surd if at the end of a syllable, and sonant if at the beginning. In fact, it often happens that the same sound begins as a surd and is completed as a sonant, the occlusion belonging to the preceding syllable, and the explosion

1The opening of the glottis is of course brought about by a separation of the vocal processes. The pitch at the end of the vowel is lowered. The closure of the glottis is more probably brought about by the movement of the epiglottis so as to cover the glottis as in swallowing. A similar glottal action no doubt produces the fortis series.
to the succeeding syllable. Two consonants may stand together in the middle of a word, provided they belong to different syllables.

§ 4. Assimilation of Sounds

Assimilation of consonants, mostly retrogressive, takes place in some cases when two consonants are brought together morphologically or syntactically. The most important are these:

(1) Retrogressive.

$t$ before $n$ becomes $n$.

$t$ before $m$ becomes $m$.

$\ddot{n}$ before $l$ becomes $l$.

$\ddot{n}$ before $l$ or $d$ becomes $n$.

$\ddot{n}$ before $m$ becomes $m$.

(2) Progressive.

$h$ after $l$ becomes $l$.

$w$ after $\ddot{n}$ becomes $\ddot{n}$.

When morphological causes bring two consonants at the end of a syllable, one of them is dropped. This is evidently the case in the formation of the conjugation where the modal prefix ($l$) would be expected after the sign of the first person singular ($w$). In this case the modal prefix is not found. In the second person singular of the verb the modal prefix remains, but the sign of the second person ($\ddot{n}$) has been dropped. Also, in the third person singular $s$ would be expected before the same modal prefix, but it does not occur in Hupa. In Tolowa all of these combinations do occur, and in the very places where one would expect them in Hupa but fails to find them.

§ 4
There are in Hupa several morphological elements which seem to have only the initial consonant fixed. The remainder of the syllable depends upon the sounds which follow it. For example, the sign of the third person singular (tc) has the following forms:

- tc̱i̱ḻvo̱ḻ he is always lying down
- tc̱i̱weswa̱Ḻ he remained lying down
- tc̱issi̱ḻvo̱Ḻ he is lying down
- tc̱illoi̱c̱ he tied it
- tc̱immni̱c̱ he is breaking it off
- tc̱innnesten he lay down
- tc̱ittesyai̱ he went
- tc̱i̱ḵq̱a̱ḻ he walked

**GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES (§§ 5-8)**

§ 5. Enumeration of Grammatical Processes

Grammatical processes and syntactical relations are expressed by means of the following methods:

1. Composition.
2. Changes in the phonetic character of the root.
3. Position in the sentence.

§ 6. Composition

The verbs of Hupa, and some of the nouns, consist of two or more syllables, each of which has some rather definite meaning or points out some particular relation. These elements do not express ideas of equal rank and of like kind. Each may be replaced in turn by another giving to the thought expressed a different character. The element which by its displacement most completely alters the meaning may be called the root. The word-parts which precede this root may be considered prefixes, and those which follow it suffixes. These prefixes and suffixes fall into classes rather well marked as regards their office in the expression of thought, and have a definite order in the word-structure.

These sound-complexes expressing complete thoughts might be looked upon as sentences, which they often are, and their constituent parts as monosyllabic words, but for the following reasons: First, the individual parts, expressing definite ideas or relations, are not always phonetic wholes capable of independent production. These may be thought once to have had a more complete form, and to have

§§ 5, 6
united with other elements of the word with which they came in contact through the disappearance of one of the vowels or by their contraction. It is, however, possible that from the beginning of the language they have had this meager form. Second, some of these elements, while existing as independent syllables, express relations or subordinate ideas which do not seem to arise in the mind of the Hupa when these syllables by themselves are uttered, but which readily arise when the syllables are uttered in their accustomed connection. Both of these statements are true of some of the monosyllabic elements of spoken English. The difference is not one of kind, but of degree.

Besides these older and largely conjectural phonetic changes which join together the parts of the word, there are other more simple and apparent modifications of the root by the suffix, or of the suffix by the root, bringing the whole into greater phonetic harmony. These changes are quite infrequent, and never great enough to obscure the root or suffix.

§ 7. Changes in the Phonetic Character of the Root

There are definite and regular changes in the phonetic character of the roots which cannot be explained as being due to the influence of morphological additions. These are of two kinds:

1. Changes in the terminal consonant.

2. Changes in the character and length of the vowel.

Changes in the Terminal Consonant.—One of the most common changes of the terminal consonant of the root is that of \( n \) to \( \hat{n} \). This is a change of series, the nature of the sound remaining the same. The roots in which this change occurs have \( n \) in the forms expressing past definite, customary, and negative future action, and \( \hat{n} \) elsewhere. A modification of the character of the sound, not in the place of its formation, is found in the case of \( l \) and \( z \). The first sound is found in the forms expressing past definite, customary, and negative future action. The change in this case is from surd to sonant. Of a similar nature is the series of three sounds, \( l \), \( z \), and \( \hat{L} \). The first (\( l \)) is found in forms expressing customary and negative future action; the second (\( z \)) is employed with the forms of the present and imperative; and the third (\( \hat{L} \)) with forms expressing definite action, whether past, present, or future. A few verbs have roots ending in \( s \) or the corre-
sponding affricative, *ts*. The latter occurs in the forms expressing
definite action. It is evident that *c* and *tc* formerly had a similar rela-
tion, but the former has since become *w*. Finally there are a number
of roots which lose a final *t*. The past definite, customary, and nega-
tive future have the form with *t*; and the present of both definite
and indefinite action and the imperative do not have it.

Changes in the Character and Length of the Vowel.—Certain
vowel-changes occur in connection with the change of terminal conso-
nants, and are perhaps tied up with them. These are a change of *a* to
*n*, and of *e* to *i*. The stronger vowels, *a* and *e*, occur with *
*n*; and *u* and *i*, the weaker ones, with *n*. The threefold conso-
nant-change, *l*, *L*, and *L*, has *e* before *L*, and *i* before *
l* and *L*. Other changes take place in
cases where there are now no final consonants. These are *u* to *e*, *au* to
*a*, and *ai* to *a*.

In all the pairs given above, the first-named is consid-
erably longer in its duration than is the second. Probably these
changes, the direction of which is not known, came about by a change
in the position or force of the accent, whether of stress or pitch.

§ 8. Position

Upon the order of the words in the sentence often depends their
relation to each other. This is especially true of the subject and
object when expressed as nouns. The first in order is the subject,
and the second the object. Both of them may precede the verb.
Possession and other relations are expressed by syntactical particles,
which are joined to the limited word, and fix its place in the sentence
after the word which limits it.

ideas expressed by grammatical categories

(§§ 9-19)

§ 9. Enumeration of Categories

The following ideas have grammatical devices for their expression
in Hupa:

(1) Denominating concepts. (6) Distribution.
(2) Predicating concepts. (7) Time.
(3) Syntactic relations. (8) Mode.
(4) Classification. (9) Place and direction.
(5) Number. (10) Person.

The pairs *n*, *e*, and *au, a*, are represented in Kato and other Eel river dialects by *eg, e*, and *ag, a*.

§§ 8, 9
§ 10. Denominating Concepts

Most nouns are clearly separated from verbs, both in form and meaning. Many nouns are monosyllabic, entirely lacking in descriptive power, and having meaning because they have become associated in the mind with the object for which they stand. Of essentially the same character are the names of the parts of the body and terms of relationship, which are always found with a prefixed possessive pronoun, the purely nominal part being a single syllable. There are a few compound nouns, either co-ordinate and in juxtaposition, or one modifying the other. Certain nouns are formed by suffixes which are strictly limited to a nominal use. Of such character are the augmentative and diminutive suffixes -kyō and -itc. Other suffixes have the meaning of Dwelling in, frequenting, or being found in the place named by the stem to which they are attached; for example, xonteltau place broad he frequents (coyote). While nouns of this class do describe and predicate certain things, that is not their chief purpose. The description is for the purpose of pointing out definitely an object by discriminating between it and other related objects.

A number of nouns have a verbal form, and describe the object referred to by giving some characteristic position, form, or action. For this purpose the verb may appear alone in the active or passive voice, or a noun may be placed before it to serve as its object or limit of motion. It is probable that some such verbal forms, having lost their verbal force, have furnished a number of polysyllabic nouns which have now no descriptive meaning in the mind of the Hupa, and do not yield to attempts at analysis. These complexes which serve the office of nouns, indicating an object or animal by means of a characterization of it, are really substantive clauses.

There are a few suffixes which are employed with both nouns and verbs. They are temporal, indicating that the thing or act belongs to the past or future rather than the present.

§ 11. Predicating Concepts

The verbs differ from the nouns in that they are almost invariably polysyllabic, and have the meaning of a complete sentence. The more essential part or root of the verb is usually not associated in the mind with a certain object or animal, but with some particular act or motion: as -iō, which means to insert or exert an object into a tubular

§§ 10, 11
OPENING. There are a number of roots which are connected with objects; not, however, naming them specifically, but indicating the class to which they belong as regards size, shape, or physical character. The few roots which do agree in form with monosyllabic nouns seem to name the object by means of which the act is done.

The form of the complete verb differs from the ordinary noun in that it has prefixes as well as suffixes, and in the character of these formative elements, which, with the exceptions noted above, differ from those employed in nouns. They differ in function in that they invariably have predicative force, while nouns either lack predicative force or have it incidentally.

§ 12. Syntactic Relations

The syntactic relation of subject and object to the predicate, when both are expressed by nouns, is shown by their order in the sentence. When only one is expressed by a noun, it may be determined, in most cases, whether it is intended as subject or object by the form of the incorporated pronoun, which is employed in the verb regardless of the employment or non-employment of nouns. However, in the case of a subject and object which are both of the third person and both other than adult Hupa, only one of them being expressed as a noun, it is impossible to tell, except from the context, whether such a noun is the subject or object.

The relation of possession is distinctly and regularly expressed by the prefixing of the possessive pronoun to the limited word and the placing of this compound after the word which limits it. Parts of the body and terms of relationship do not occur without prefixed possessive pronouns. Other syntactic relations are expressed by means of post-positions, having the appropriate force, placed after the weaker form of the pronoun. These post-positions, with their accompanying pronouns, stand after the nouns which they limit.

§ 13. Classification

In the third person of the pronoun, personal and possessive, adult Hupa are distinguished from young and old members of the tribe, from animals and inanimate objects, by a special form.

There are no grammatical forms by which objects are classified. Classification is sometimes indicated, however, in the verb, the stem expressing the character of the object to which the predicate refers, §§ 12, 13
the objects being characterized as long, round, flat plural in number, etc. In the intransitive verb this classification relates to the subject; in the transitive verb, to the object.

§ 14. Number

Only a few nouns have forms for the plural. These are those denoting age and station in life, and relationship.

The independent as well as the incorporated and prefixed pronouns are capable of expressing the plural in the first and second persons by means of additional forms. The plural of the first person includes, or may include, the third person as well as the second.

In the third person, -ya- is placed before the root for a plural subject and also for a plural object. One must judge from the context which is intended to be plural. ya- is also prefixed to the possessive form. In the singular, his father is expressed by hai rōtae. Sometimes for their father hai yawōtae is found, hai being the article.

In certain intransitive verbs a dual is indicated by using the root, indicating a plural subject, without -ya-, while for the plural -ya- is inserted.

In many cases Hupa employs the singular, as is shown by the verb, where the plural would be required in English. When a number of individuals do anything as a unit, as in a dance, the singular is used.

§ 15. Distribution

The distributives in Hupa are carefully distinguished from the plurals. For the expression of distribution the prefix te- is employed: for example,

\[
\begin{align*}
tee\text{nī}y\text{ai} & \text{ he went out} \\
tee\text{ninde}L & \text{ two went out} \\
tee\text{yani}ndeL & \text{ they went out} \\
tee\text{te}deL & \text{ one by one they went out}
\end{align*}
\]

The same element expresses distribution as to the object. For example,

\[
\begin{align*}
yaw\text{in}z\text{an} & \text{ he picked up a stone} \\
yaw\text{illai} & \text{ he picked up stones} \\
yate\text{ran} & \text{ he picked up a stone here and there}
\end{align*}
\]

Distinct from this is the intermittence of the act itself. That a thing is done now and again, or habitually, is indicated by a syllable, probably e, inserted before the pronominal subjective elements. The §§ 14, 15
presence of this syllable, together with a certain form of the root, constitutes a customary tense or mode.

By the use of na- an iterative force is given to the verb, expressing the fact that the act is done a second time or that it is undone.

§ 16. Time

Time is expressed by means of suffixes, a change of root, independent adverbs, and temporal clauses. For past time -neen may be suffixed to a noun or verb. A house in ruins is called xontaneen house used to be. Habitual acts which have ceased are expressed by the same suffix, as auunjinneen I used to do it. A single definite act completed in time already past is differentiated from such acts in present time by a change in the form and length of the root, and a change of the accent: for example,

\[ tcinni'nya \] he has just arrived
\[ tcinni'nyai' \] he arrived some time ago

The future is expressed by the suffixes -te and -tel. The former seems to be employed of the more remote future. These are generally employed only with verbs, but are sometimes found with nouns and adverbs: for example, haiyate here will be the place.

§ 17. Mode

Closely connected with the time of the act is the degree of certainty with which it is asserted. For past acts, suffixes which indicate the source of the authority for the statement are often employed. That which is perceived by the sense of hearing has -tsū or -tse' suffixed; the former for the past, and the latter for the present. When the transaction is in sight, -c is suffixed. Things which are conjectured from circumstantial evidence, as the building of a fire from the remains of one, have -xōlan added to the verb:

\[ leyanillai \] they built a fire
\[ leyanillaxōlan \] they must have built a fire [here are the ashes]

Future acts which are contingent on human will or outward circumstance are rendered by the suffix -de'. When the future is expressed with an absolute negative force, the impossibility of its being brought to pass being implied, a special form of the verb with an auxiliary verb prefixed is used.

§§ 16, 17
Acts attempted, but not succeeded in, have xōli, an adverb, inserted before the verb; while the successful attempt after several vain or insufficient ones has -ei suffixed to the verb.

§ 18. Place and Direction

Direction and place, both relative and absolute, are expressed in Hupa with much exactness. A number of prefixes, occupying the first place in the verb, indicate the direction of the movement expressed or implied by the verb. The place, initial and ultimate, is also indicated by prefixes as being on the surface of the earth, on some surface higher than the earth, in the fire, on or in the water, or in the air. By means of demonstratives, and adverbs formed from demonstrative elements, added exactness as to location is expressed. For that which is in sight and can be pointed to, the demonstratives ded and haied, and the adverb of place, dikkyān, are employed; for the first-mentioned or more remote of two, haiya or hai is used; while that which is still more remote is referred to by yō and haiyō, and the most remote of all by yeā.

§ 19. Person

The distinction between the person speaking, the person spoken to, and the person or thing spoken of, is made by means of the personal pronouns. The signs of the subject incorporated in the verb are not all to be connected with certainty with the independent pronouns. The pronouns for the first two persons seem to be different in some particulars from those of the third person, which also classify the objects or persons to which they refer. Taking with this fact the frequent absence of any sign for the subject or the object in the third person of the verb, it seems probable that originally there were personal pronouns only for the first and second persons, and that demonstratives were used for the third person.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 20-88)

Nouns (§§ 20-27)

§ 20. Structure

The nouns of the Hupa language, when classified according to their formation, fall into five classes:

(1) There are many monosyllabic nouns, for the most part the names of common material objects and elements. These words are §§ 18-20
mostly common to all the cognate languages, and clearly point to the monosyllable as the probable form of the Athapascan noun.

(2) Closely connected with these are the names of the parts of the body, terms of relationship and intimate possession, which have a single syllable for their substantive part, but always occur with a possessive prefix.

(3) There are a considerable number of nouns, consisting of two or more syllables, which are not easily analyzed and do not seem to have a descriptive meaning at present. They seem originally to have been derived from verbs, or formed by composition.

(4) A large and increasing number of nouns, formed by means of suffixes and by compounding, have a descriptive force which is ever present in the Hupa mind.

(5) Verbs in the third person singular of the active or passive voice, with or without an object or limit of motion, are employed as nouns.

§ 21. Formative Elements

As far as is known, the only prefixes employed in noun-formation are the possessive prefixes, which are proclitic forms related to independent pronouns. They may be employed with any noun to denote possession, but must be employed with the names of the parts of the body and terms of relationship. That words of this class require such prefixes is not necessarily due to a lack of mental abstraction, as has been sometimes assumed, but to a habit of speech. The necessity for their use without a possessive seldom occurs.

The suffixes employed in noun-building are not numerous. For the most part, they are used to distinguish one thing from another which it resembles by mentioning its size, color, or other physical character, or by indicating the place where the plant grows or which the animal frequents. The principal suffixes are the following:

1. -xoi INHABITING; added to the name of a place.

Lōmita'xoi glades among people (the New River people)

2. -tau FREQUENTS. Used of plants or animals.

xaslintau ripples he frequents (the crane)

3. -kyō LARGE, an augmentative.

koskyō bulb large (Chlorogalum pomeridianum, the soap-root)
4. -ite, -tce SMALL, the diminutive suffix.
   medilitc canoe small (from medil canoe) 102.9
   djelotc small storage-basket 158.13

5. -yaun SMALL, YOUNG. Used of trees.
   nistakyaun young black oaks (from nistak black oak)

6. -newan RESEMBLING. This has furnished many new names.
   qonewan worms like (rice, from its resemblance to white grubs)
   xonnewan fire like 329.10

7. -diet PLACE.
   tsediet brush-place (a grave)

8. -ta' PLACES.
   milletka/inta' its hands bases places (its wrists)

9. -kut ON.
   miskut a landslide on (the name of a village)
   denokut the sky (this us on) 286.12

§ 22. Compounds

There are five classes of compound nouns:

(1) A few nouns stand in juxtaposition without a subordinating
possessive prefix. In a few cases the second noun seems to qualify the
first: for example, lúxwan SNAKE RIVER (an eel). If these compounds
are introduced by a possessive prefix, the first noun qualifies the second:
for example, kixexakkin ITS NET POLE.

(2) When the second of two nouns forming a compound has a pos-
sessive prefix, the second and is subordinate to it: for example, dindiat mitocewo FLINT ITS GRANDMOTHER (a bird).

(3) A few compounds which are true substantives have the first
element a noun, and the second an adjective qualifying it. An
example of such is yaúlkai LOUSE WHITE (a grayback).

(4) Compounds of nouns and qualifying adjectives are sometimes
introduced by possessive prefixes. While they serve as substantives,
they really qualify a subject understood: as in missa'niitcowiš ITS
MOUTH STINKS, the bird having a stinking mouth (a buzzard).

(5) Compounds similar to the last have for their last element words
indicating abundance or lack of the quality named by the first part of
the compound. Examples are: máxxalxroên ITS CHILDREN HAVING
(doe), mitodjweđin ITS MIND LACKING (an infant).

§ 22
§ 23. Verbs as Nouns

Many verbs in the third person present of the active or passive voice are used as nouns. Examples of the active voice so used are:

naña it comes down (rain)
nili it flows (a creek)
nündil they come down (snow)

For the passive voice the following may be cited:

wiloi² it has been tied (a bundle)
nañwiñwiloi² it is tied around him (a belt)
lenavilla they have been laid together (a fire)
talkait over the water it has been pushed (a fishing-board)

Sometimes a substantive is formed by a verb with a noun preceding it as its object or limit of motion: for example:

nañ-keñš-naduñwul two its necks waving about (nañ two: ke its; keñš neck; waL to strike [a monster])
sa²xamw in the mouth a liquid is put (acorn-soup)

Adverbial prefixes of place, instrument, accompaniment, and manner make substantives of verbs. Of this sort are the following:

miLtcñwul with he chops (an axe)
kiñnadil with them they travel (wolves)

Suffixes of location added to verbs, furnish names of places:

nanatúldini stepping-down place (the name of the place in the sweat-house at the foot of the ladder)

§ 24. Plural of Nouns

Only a few Hupa nouns change their form to indicate the plural. They are those which classify human beings according to their sex and state of life, and a few terms of relationship. The following are all that have been found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keltean</td>
<td>kelteän</td>
<td>virgin, maiden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsùmmeslöń</td>
<td>tsùmmeslöń</td>
<td>a fully grown woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xìxai</td>
<td>xìxai</td>
<td>a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyìttsoi</td>
<td>hyìttsoïxai</td>
<td>my grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikkië</td>
<td>nikkiixaï</td>
<td>your younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xültistce</td>
<td>xültistceï</td>
<td>his sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 25. Possession

Possession is indicated by prefixes which are shortened forms of pronouns. These vary according to the person and number of the
limiting noun or pronoun. Many nouns, upon taking the prefixes, add a syllable to the end, which seems to have no other office than the preservation of the symmetry of the word in some way. This added syllable has e for its vowel, but is preceded by various consonants, apparently suggested by the final sound of the original word.

- millitde its smoke (from lit smoke)
- nöliñke our pets (from liñ a pet, a dog)
- yöhinne her song (from hyin, a song)

It will be noticed that in some of the examples given, l, the surd lateral consonant, becomes the sonant l.

§ 26. Locative Suffixes

There are several suffixes employed in Hupa which might be looked upon as case-endings, since they are not permanent parts of the nouns to which they are attached, but indicate varying relations of position or direction. Some of these suffixes are also post-positions; but when so used they follow a pronominal prefix. Examples of suffixes showing place-relations are the following:

1. -me in.
   - Löhwañme glade only in (a prominent hill)
   - iseyeme in (under) a rock

2. -diiñ at.
   - mikkindiñ its base at (the name of the place by the back of the house)

3. -tciiñ toward.
   - Löhwañkuttciiñ glade only on toward

4. -kat along.
   - xotisellkat his forearm along

5. -küt on.
   - Löhwañküt glade only on

§ 27. Tense

By the use of suffixes the time of the noun's existence may be indicated. This process practically gives tenses to nouns. For the past, -neen is employed: for example, xöütneen his wife used to be (she is now dead). The same form might mean only that the possession of her had ceased. The future, as in verbs, is indicated by -te: for example, mitLöwete their medicine it will be (Indians who are to possess it have not yet come into existence).

§§ 26, 27
Verbs (§§ 28-75)

§ 28. Structure

The verb in Hupa, as in other Athapascan languages, presents many difficulties. It contains in itself all the elements of the sentence. For example, xanaitsd'yade's if she comes back up has, first an adverbial prefix xa-, denoting that the motion is up the side of a hill; next is found the particle -na-, having an iterative force, showing that the act is done a second time (in this case it is only intended to show that the path from the river is passed over a second time); the syllable -is-, by the consonant it contains, shows that the act is thought of as progressive over the surface of the ground. The fact that s following i forms a syllable by itself, indicates that the act is thought of as performed by an adult Hupa, otherwise s would have been joined to the preceding na-. The lack of a sign of person or number at this point in the verb allows no other conclusion than that the third person singular is intended. The syllable -dä-, of which d seems to be the essential part, usually follows the iterative prefix -na-, the two being equivalent, perhaps, to English back again. The next syllable, -ya-, may be called the root, since it defines the kind of act. It is used of the locomotion of a single human being on his feet at a walk, and also of the coming of non-material things. Had this verb been in the plural, the root would have been -deL. Had the pace been more rapid, -la would have been employed. Had some animal been the subject, the root would probably have characterized the gait of the animal. The final suffix -de' indicates a future contingency.

Formative Elements (§§ 29-50)

§ 29. GENERAL REMARKS

The more extended forms of the verb have one or more prefixes preceding the root, and one or more suffixes following it. By means of the prefixes, the direction of the motion in space, its manner and purpose, whether repeated or not in time, and whether conceived as continuous, beginning, or completed, are expressed. By changes in a single syllable, that which usually directly precedes the root, the person and number of the subject are indicated. These changes almost amount to inflection. By variations in the form of the root, the number of the subject in intransitive verbs, and of the object in

§§ 28, 29
transitive verbs, is shown; and also whether the act or state is one and definite in time, or repeated and continuous. By the suffixes which follow the root, the action is further limited as to its time, continuance, or likelihood.

**PREFIXES (§§ 30-37)**

§ 30. Classification of Prefixes according to their Position and Significance

The prefixes employed in the verb have a fixed order, in accordance with the class of ideas they express. They may be classified as—

1. Adverbial prefixes, first position.
2. Adverbial prefix, second position.
3. Deictic prefixes, third position.
4. First modal prefixes, fourth position.
5. Second modal prefixes, fifth position.
7. Third modal prefixes, seventh position.

§ 31. Adverbial Prefixes, First Position

These are adverbial prefixes showing the position of persons or things at rest, and the place, limit, or origin of motion. The most important of these follow:

1. **ya-** (1) is used of the position of one sitting, of picking things up from the ground, and of motion wholly or partly through the air, as the carrying of objects and the flight of birds. The primary meaning seems to be IN THE AIR, above the surface of the ground.

   - **yawiñe a** he was sitting 162.11 (definite, class I, conjugation 1 b; § 54; *a to be in a position)
   - **yawiñe an** he picked up a stone 342.1 (definite, class I, conjugation 1 b, § 54; *an to transport several round things)
   - **yawiñkas** he threw up 96.3 (definite, class II, conjugation 1 b; § 64; *kas to throw)
   - **yawiñen** he carried it (wen to carry)

2. **ya-** (2) seems to have the meaning of the object being reduced to many pieces.

   - **yanakislimillei** she smashed it 152.16 (na- again, § 32; k-, § 34; s-, § 35; -d, 3d modal, after na- § 32, p. 116; mil- to throw several things; -ei suffix, § 40)
   - **yanuskil** he split 142.3 (na- again, § 32; s-, § 35; kil- to split)

§§ 30, 31
3. ye- is used of motion into houses, beds of streams, and spaces however slightly enclosed, and also into smaller objects, as canoes and baskets.

yenawitàyai he went into (a house) 98.15
yenawitàmen he made it swim into (a river from the ocean) 266.2
yeintútine you must step into (a canoe) 209.2 (tal to step)
yeńceińhas he threw into (a basket) 288.7

4. wa- (1) seems to mean THROUGH with verbs of cutting and burning.

wakinnillittwólan they were burned through 119.3 (lit to burn)
wakinninkats he cut through

5. wa- (2) is employed with verbs of handing or giving something to a man or an animal.

xówaíldu he handed it to him 181.13 (xó him)
wàimnil he always distributes them 195.8.

6. Le- has the general meaning of the converging or nearness of objects. It has the special meaning of building a fire from the placing-together of sticks. It is also employed of completing a circle, or a circuit in travelling.

LENÁISLOI2 he tied together 210.5
LENANÍLLAI he built a fire
LENANITIEN he took it all the way around (the world)

7. me- (1) seems to have the meaning of position at, or motion to, against, or along the surface of, something.

MENAÍSIĐIYAI he climbed (a tree) 103.12
MENEMEN he landed him (against the shore) 162.9
MEITÁN he stuck to it 202.3
MEWÍWAL he beat on

8. me- (2) is similar to ye-, except that it usually refers to position in something, while ye- is employed of motion into.

METISYEN she stands in (the body of her husband) 195.11

9. nae- (1)\(^1\) is used of indefinite motion over the surface of the ground or water, and of position on the earth’s surface. The primary meaning may be HORIZONTAL.

NAITITS it is running about 294.4 (its to run)
NAWIMMEN he swam
NA’IWA’IWA I paint (my body) 247.12

---

\(^1\) The glottal stop probably belongs with the prefix. It appears in some forms and is absent in others.
10. *na*- (2) or *nana* expresses motion downward or toward the earth. The second *na* may be the iterative particle, since whatever or whoever comes down must previously have gone up.

*naught* it dropped down 115.14
*nanaityai* he came down 138.15

11. *na*- (3) is used of horizontal motion or position, as a line stretched, or in crossing a stream.

*nananindeL* they went over (the river) 267.6
*nawinilwut* it was hung for a door 171.1

12. *nō* is employed of the cessation of motion, as in placing something in a position of rest, of reaching the end or limit of something, or of completing a task.

*nōyanindeL* they sat down 280.5
*nōnaunwane* you must put it down 210.7 (*aun* to handle round objects
*nōininyaanye* that far they ate 347.17

13. *xa*- has the general meaning of up. It is found employed of movement up a hillside when the speaker’s standpoint is at the top of the hill, the digging of objects out of the ground, and of motion out of the top of receptacles or of houses.

*xaislai* she brought up 98.16
*xowillai* she dug it out 242.5
*xowitqōt* he jumped out (of the smoke-hole) 329.13

14. *xee*- in the sense of away from, as in blowing and pushing.

*xeeaityōt* he blows away 296.15
*xeenailkis* she pushed it away 185.3.

15. *xotda*-, with the general meaning of down, expresses motion down a hill or stream.

*xotdailkas* he threw down (from a tree) 138.8
*xotdaiwen* they floated down 216.5

16. *xōtde/- is used of one person’s meeting another where the movement of only one person is of interest. When one wishes to say they came toward each other, *le*- is employed.

*xōtdeisyai* he met him 105.14
*xōtdeyaaisyal* they met them 110.8.

17. *sae*- is employed of motion into the mouth, as in eating, drinking, or biting.

*sawewiñxan* he put it into her mouth 278.10
*saw‘willai* he put in his mouth 119.6.

§ 31
18. *da*- refers to a bank, bench, shelf, or something higher than the ground, on which the person or object is at rest or comes to rest.
   *danintsxa* be seated (on a chair) 107.12
   *datiñxis* fly upon a tree 114.2

19. *de-d*- is employed of motion toward or of position in fire. The second syllable, which is completed according to the sound which follows it, may be separated from the first syllable.
   *denadeiñwmił* I put in the fire 247.9
   *dediñwimmeL* he threw into the fire 165.10

20. *dje-* expresses the separation of a mass, as in splitting wood.
   *djiwiñtseL* he pounded it open 108.11

21. *di*- signifies OFF, AWAY FROM.
   *diiçiñwits* it came off (the umbilical stump) 157.7

22. *ta*- (1) is employed of motion toward or away from a body of water with special regard to its surface.
   *tanaistan* he took it out of the water 325.4
   *taweste* a mountain will project into the water 255.2
   *tadiniñiñ* let us drink water 179.3

23. *ta*- (2) is used with verbs meaning TO DESERT, TO LEAVE A PLACE PERMANENTLY.
   *tasyahgwañ* one ought to go away 215.8 *(ya to go)*

24. *te*- refers to motion into water and under its surface (see no. 22).
   *tewiltsit* a canoe sank 153.17
   *tetoçiñwinta* he put it into the water 101.14

25. *tsiñ*- means AWAY FROM in expressions of fleeing.
   *tseñteñdeldeL* we ran away 198.10

26. *tece*- has the meaning of OUT OF, and is employed of motion out of a house or small receptacle, but also of less definitely enclosed spaces, as brushy places or the bed of a stream (see no. 3).
   *teceñmil* throw them out (of the house) 301.13
   *teceñiñean* he took out (from his quiver) 119.15
   *teceçiñlat* he jumped out (of ambush) 106.2
   *teceçiñdiniñ* where it flows out 175.10

27. *kee-* seems to refer to motion or position against or along a vertical surface.
   *keçyai* he climbed up 137.17
   *kenaniñyi* it was leaning up 99.5

§ 31
There are three prefixes which indicate the pursuit or search for a person or thing, or, in a secondary sense, the attempt to do a thing.

28. \textit{w\text{"u}n\textprime {-} } (\textit{wa} + n ?) is used of looking for a thing the position of which is unknown, as in hunting game. It also means to attempt something by persistent effort.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{w\text{"u}nna\text{"i}ya} he started to make 319.3
  \item \textit{w\text{"u}nna\text{"i}zi}te they will hunt 311.14
\end{itemize}

29. \textit{na\textprime {-}} is employed when there is a track to be followed. It is likely connected with the iterative particle \textit{na\textprime {-}} again, since the meaning may be that of going over the trail again.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{naya\text{"o}le}t\text{\textacuten}e they tracked him 170.3
\end{itemize}

30. \textit{xa\textprime {-}} implies the going-after with the intention of getting the thing sought and bringing it back.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{xa\text{"e}net\text{\textae}te} I am going to look for it 336.10
\end{itemize}

31. \textit{a\textprime {-}} is used to introduce verbs of saying, thinking, doing, and appearing. It seems to have no definite meaning; but, since it is omitted when a direct object precedes a verb of thinking or saying, it may be an indefinite object for the verb.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{adenne} he said 97.15
  \item \textit{a\text{\textae}lenn\text{"e}} you must do it 100.18
\end{itemize}

\section*{§ 32. Adverbial Prefixes, Second Position}

1. \textit{na\textprime {-}}, the prefix of iteration, expresses the undoing of anything or the retracing of one's steps, as well as the repeating of an act. It is often employed where in English the repetition is taken for granted, as in the customary acts of daily life, eating, drinking, sleeping, etc. Sometimes the prefix requires \textit{d} or \textit{t} preceding the root, and in other cases it is used without either.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{menanittc\text{"o}wit} he pushed it back 163.1
  \item \textit{nanaitcw\text{"o}w} he used to carry it back 237.8
  \item \textit{nanodi\text{"ya}a} let it come back 233.5
  \item \textit{anatcill\text{"a}u} he did it again 106.8
\end{itemize}

2. \textit{xa\textprime {-}}, the prefix of identity, refers to any act previously described that is repeated by the same or a different person.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{xaatcill\text{"a}u} he did the same thing 211.1
  \item \textit{xad\text{"i}yi}tate it will do that 254.10
  \item \textit{xa\text{"i}lle} do that 165.19
  \item \textit{xaatc\text{"i}ty\text{"a}u} he did that 280.12
\end{itemize}
§ 33. Deictic Prefixes, Third Position

For the third person, in Hupa, two forms occur. The first form is that used when speaking of adult Hupa. The second form is used when speaking of Hupa children and sometimes of very aged people, of members of other tribes and races, and of animals. The first form begins with to-, and is completed according to the sound which follows. The second form has y- for its beginning, and is also completed according to the following sounds. After many of the prefixes, these signs do not appear; but a hiatus marks the absence of the first form; and contraction or lengthening, often involving diphthongization, the second. There are no pronouns with which these may be connected, and demonstrative sources are to be expected. The third person has a dual whenever the root by its displacement has the power of showing plurality. In that case the same signs—or their absence—indicate the dual as the singular, the forms differing only in the root. The plural is invariably indicated by the syllable -ya-, which has the hiatus after it, for the first class of persons, and lengthening or contraction for the second.

yetciida he is carrying a large object
yeyida he (not an adult Hupa) is carrying a large object

§ 34. First Modal Prefixes, Fourth Position

Several elements appear as prefixes in many verbs for which no definite and satisfactory meaning has been found.

1. k-, ky-, is phonetically weak, the remainder of the syllable being supplied from the sound which follows. Only occasionally has a meaning been found for it, and the meanings which do appear are not reconcilable. It is probable that it supplies an indefinite object for verbs of eating, and perhaps some others. In a few cases it has the meaning of leaving as a gift rather than leaving for a time. In many cases a sense of indefiniteness is present in the verb as regards the time occupied and the number of acts required for the complete operation.

nakinyu eat again (without mentioning what is to be eaten) 153.9
yakinyu carry it 105.18
yekityies the wind blew in 270.4

1 The hiatus in this case does not seem to be due to a full glottal stop, but to a lessening of the force of the breath. It is very likely brought about by the disappearance of tc-. The lengthening and diphthongization which take place in the case of the second form are probably due to the coalescing of y with the preceding vowel.

2 In other dialects a sound (tc) which almost certainly corresponds to this is regularly used when the object has not been mentioned or is unknown.

§§ 33, 34
2. *te*- , the prefix of distribution, means either that the act took place here and there in space, or continuously over space; or that one person after another did the act.

  *natelōs* she dragged it back 190.1
  *textcen* it grew 96.3
  *taiteitowai* she buried in several places 192.12
  *tectedeL* they went out one by one 138.5

3. *d*- occurs, for instance, with the adverbial prefix *de*- (§ 31.19), signifying into fire.

  *deyclicols* he threw him into the fire

4. *ō*- a verbal prefix, the meaning of which has not been ascertained.

  *dōtocōwilan* she will leave (*dō* not; *tc*- deictic; *ō*- first modal; *-w*- second modal; *lan* stem)

5. *e*- customary. This prefix is not used throughout all the tenses or modes, as are the preceding, but has the office in itself of making a tense, as the suffixes generally have. Before vowels it generally appears as *e*, and that is probably its true form. In many cases it is connected with a consonant suggested by the following sound or another word-element, when it appears as *i*. Its use marks the act or condition as customary or habitual, or at least as occurring more than once.

  *tceexauw* he is accustomed to catch with a net (*tc*- deictic; *e* customary; *auw* stem)

  *tōexait* he is accustomed to buy (*tc*- deictic; *ō*- first modal; *e* customary; *exait* to buy, customary tense)

6. In the same group stand all pronominal objects.

  *te(ū)hōōw(i)lxiul(i)lte* she will ask me for it (*tc*- deictic; *hōw*- me; *ō*- first modal; *-w*- second modal; *-l*- third modal; *xiul* to ask, definite tense; *-i* continuously; *-te* future; the letters in parentheses represent glides)

  *tanaixōsōweci* it cut him all to pieces (*ta*- adverbial prefix of unknown significance; *na*- iterative; *-i* deictic; *xō* him; *-s*- second modal; *ō* to cut; *-ei* emphatic)

7. *n*- The use of this prefix is mostly confined to adjectives (see § 76).

  § 35. Second Modal Prefixes, Fifth Position

  There are three simple sounds which by their presence indicate whether the act is viewed as beginning, ending, or progressing. These sounds are not found in all forms of the same verb, but only in those tenses which refer to the act or state as one and definite. While it § 35
seems certain that these sounds do have the force mentioned above, it is found, by making comparisons, that they follow certain prefixes. In many cases the nature of the prefix requires the act to be thought of as beginning, ending, or progressing. The sound which is of most frequent occurrence is $w$. It stands at the beginning of a syllable, usually the one immediately preceding the root. The remainder of this syllable contains the subjective personal elements. Its initiatory force can be seen in the verbs *wiŋyal come on* and *wiŋxa water lies there*. This last verb can not be applied to a natural body of water, like the ocean, which has had no beginning. The following prefixes require $w$ in the definite tenses: *ya-, ye-, xa-, sa-, da-, de-da-, du-.*

In a precisely parallel manner, $n$ occurs as the initial of the inflected syllable under circumstances which point to the completion of the act. With *wiŋyal* (above) compare *niŋyai* *it arrived*. Most of the prefixes which require $n$ to follow in the definite tenses require the act to be viewed as ending. They are the following: *va-, le-, me-, na- (3), nō-, -te-.*

Without the same exact parallelism of forms which obtains with the two mentioned above, a large number of verbs have $s$ as the characteristic of the inflected syllable of the definite tenses. Most of these verbs clearly contain the idea of progression, or are used of acts which require considerable time for their accomplishment. The distributive prefix *te-* is always followed by $s$, never by either of the other signs, and some of the prefixes listed above are used with $s$ with a distinction in meaning: for example,

*xanwiŋan* he took a stone out of a hole (but *xaŋsyai* he came up a hill)

Excluding all the verbs which require one of these three sounds in the definite tenses, there remain a considerable number which have no definite tenses, and therefore no such sounds characterizing them.

For the sake of convenience, the Hupa verbs have been divided into conjugations, according as they have one or the other of these sounds in the definite tenses or lack definite tenses entirely. There are, according to this arrangement, four conjugations: the first characterized by $w$; the second, by $n$; the third, by $s$; and the fourth lacking definite tenses.

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1 In one of the Eel river dialects the bringing home of a deer is narrated as follows: *pįgųgįn* he started carrying; *yāgeši* he carried along; *ųmsį́gį* he arrived carrying. Here we have *g* (corresponding to Hupa *w*), *s*, and *s* used with the same stem, expressing the exact shades one would expect in Hupa.
§ 36. Pronominal Prefixes, Sixth Position

Next in order are the sounds which indicate the person and number of the subject. These are sometimes changed and sometimes disappear, because of phonetic influences.

First Person

For tenses other than the definite, the sign of the first person singular is $u$ or $-\tilde{u}u$, which is in all cases appended to the preceding syllable. This sound is related to the initial sound of the independent pronoun of the first person singular, $h\tilde{u}e$, and is no doubt derived from it. In the definite tenses this form does not occur, but $-e$ is found instead. The first person plural has $d$- for its sign. The remainder of the syllable of which this is the initial is completed from the sound which follows it.

Second Person

In the singular the form is $-n$ or $-i\tilde{n}$. The former is found when there is a sound preceding with which it can join, and the latter when no sound precedes, or when, for some reason, it can not unite with it. The sign seems to be dropped before $l$ and $\tilde{l}$ following in the same syllable, of which there are many cases. It is reasonable to suppose that this sign is connected with the independent pronoun of the second person singular, $ni\tilde{n}$. In nearly all cases, in the second person plural $\tilde{o}1$ is found as the vowel of the inflected syllable. This $\tilde{o}$ is strongly aspirated. The cases in which $\tilde{o}$ is not found seem to be due to contraction, which always results in an aspirated vowel. An $\tilde{o}$ of similar quality and with an aspiration occurs in the pronoun for the second person plural, $n\tilde{oh}i\tilde{n}$.

§ 37. Third Modal Prefixes, Seventh Position

Certain prefixes are found in many verbs immediately preceding the root, and suggest transitiveness or intransitiveness in the verb, or in some way point out the relation between the subject, predicate, and object. As the second modal prefixes are required in most cases by the adverbal prefix which precedes them, so these are necessitated by certain roots which follow them. When, however, a root is found with different prefixes preceding it, their force becomes apparent. Compare *tôittetaL* he stepped along with *tôittetaL* he kicked something along. The absence of a modal prefix in the first is connected §§ 36, 37
with the intransitive meaning; and \( l \) is connected with a transitive force. Compare also \( ke\-wintan \) IT STUCK FAST (said of a bird alighting on pitch) and \( ke\-wiltan \) HE PUT PITCH ON SOMETHING. The \( n \) which in the first of these examples precedes the root, seems to be a vestige of a prefix of this order occurring in certain forms of the third person in a class of verbs where usually none is present.

In nearly every case in which \( l \) is present, required by the root or not, a transitive force can be conceived for the verb, which is always active. No prefix, or \( n \) shown above, is found with intransitive verbs; but this is also true of a large number of transitive verbs. It is noticeable, however, that the transitive verbs which do not require a preceding \( l \) belong to those which, by the nature of the root, indicate the character of the object. Certain roots are always preceded by \( t \) or \( d \) (the third class), and certain others by \( l \) (the fourth class). But it is found that those without a sign, or with the sign \( n \) of doubtful character, when changed to the passive, also take \( t \) or \( d \). In the same manner, verbs with \( l \) the surd, on becoming passive, change \( l \) to \( t \) the sonant.

On the basis of these prefixes the verbs have been arranged in four classes:

Class I has all intransitive and a certain class of transitive verbs, and has no characteristic prefix, unless it be \( n \).

Class II is composed entirely of transitive verbs, and has \( l \) as its characteristic.

Class III contains the passives of Class I, and certain verbs not passive, but possibly with passive leanings.

Class IV is composed of the passives of Class II and certain other verbs which show the influence of some power outside of the apparent agent.

**SUFFIXES (§§ 38-44)**

**§ 38. Classification of Suffixes**

The suffixes employed with verbs differ from the prefixes in that their use is only occasional, while the prefixes are for the most part essential to the meaning of the verb, and are employed with all its forms. The suffixes are appended mostly to the present definite and present indefinite tense-forms. Most of them have a temporal, modal, or conjunctional force.

**§ 38**
§ 39. Temporal Suffixes

1. -x. This suffix is used with the forms of the present indefinite, and indicates that the act or condition was persistent through a limited and definitely stated length of time.

\[ \text{wilvul\textsuperscript{x} taisdau} \text{x until night he stayed} \]
\[ \text{naiti\textsuperscript{x} x he ran around (until morning)} \]

2. -winte. The suffixing of -winte to the forms of the present indefinite gives a meaning to the verb but little different from the customary tense, which has a prefix -e-. It indicates that the act or condition is continuous, or at least takes place whenever cause arises. The customary may mean that the act has been done several times without regard to the regularity of the intervals.

\[ \text{twi\textsuperscript{w}al\textsuperscript{w}inte} \text{ they always dance} \]

3. -neen. This suffix is applied to nouns and verbs alike. It states that the thing, act, or condition has ceased, or is about to cease, its existence. When used with verbs, it is usually appended to the forms of the present indefinite, and means that the act or condition was habitual or continual in the past, but has now ceased.

\[ \text{au\textsuperscript{w}tin\textsuperscript{neen} I used to do that} \]
\[ \text{w\textsuperscript{e}ss\textsuperscript{y}l\textsuperscript{y}neen you used to like (him)} \]

4. -te. This is the suffix most commonly employed. It predicts a future act or condition, either as the result of the impulse of the agent, or the compelling force of some person or event. It takes the place, therefore, of English will and shall. It is appended, for the most part, to the forms of the definite present.

\[ \text{mel\textsuperscript{u}\textsuperscript{te} I am going to watch it} \]
\[ \text{ded\textsuperscript{u}will\textsuperscript{at}e he will put it into the fire} \]

This suffix is sometimes preceded by a syllable containing the vowel \( e \) standing between the root and -te. The prediction is said to be made with less assurance when it has this form.

\[ \text{tcis\textsuperscript{d}i\textsuperscript{y}ann\textsuperscript{et}e she may live to be old} \]

5. -tel. This suffix seems to denote events in a nearer future than those expressed by -te.

\[ \text{d\textsuperscript{u}wil\textsuperscript{let}e a party is coming to kill} \]
\[ \text{m\textsuperscript{ines}\textsuperscript{g}it\textsuperscript{tel}e it will be afraid 295.7} \]
§ 40. Temporal and Modal Suffixes

Certain suffixes are temporal, but also have a modal force.

6. -eti. In myths and tales the definite past occurs very frequently with an ending -eti, which regularly takes over the semi-vowels and often the consonants of the preceding syllable. The younger Hupa, at least, do not seem to be conscious of any change in meaning that may be made by its addition. A comparison of the instances of its occurrence would indicate a mild emphasis, that the act, which has several times been ineffectually attempted, has been successfully accomplished, or that something which has been several times done is now done for the last time.

yawīttenei she picked him up (after several attempts)

7. -il, -iL. The application of the verb may be made continuous over space by adding -l or -il for the present, and -l or -il for the past. The shorter forms are used after vowels without increasing the number of syllables; the longer forms add a syllable, often taking over the consonant which precedes.

yaxūwilxīit going along they track him
toōhuweitte they will call (continually)
ticūwitstel he was bringing
kyūwinuyūnil you ate along

§ 41. Modal Suffixes

8. -miñ. This suffix, which is not of frequent occurrence, indicates that the verb which it follows expresses the purpose of some act

yaikkimmiñ that they might catch it

9. -neš. The more positive and more frequent form of the imperative seems to have -neš suffixed to the regular form, implying the duty or mild necessity one is under to do the act.

ōutsainē dry them
yeintûulte you must step in

10. -hwūñ. To express a moral responsibility or necessity, -hwūñ is suffixed to the forms of the definite or indefinite present.

dōnēyahwūñ I can not stay
taseyahwūñ one ought to go away

11. -sillen. This suffix seems by its use to imply that the occurrence was imminent, but did not result.

yawānxūtissillen he nearly flew

§§ 40, 41
12. **-newan.** The suffix -newan indicates that the act is done, but with difficulty.

*dótoóxonnexintenewan* one can hardly look at

13. **-de.** For the expression of a future condition, -de is employed.

*adende* if he sings

*axólade* if it happens 808.1

14. **-detc.** This suffix, which occurs but rarely, seems to indicate a less probable and more general future condition.

*tcissezwindetc* if he kills

15. **-miininne.** For the expression of the result of supposed conditions contrary to fact, -miininne is employed.

*dódaxóatinmiininne* (people) would never have died

§ 42. **Suffixes Indicating Source of Information**

Certain suffixes are used to show by which of the senses the fact stated was observed, or whether it was inferred from evidence.

16. **-e.** The vowel -e, standing by itself or preceded by the consonant or semi-vowel of the preceding syllable, indicates that the object or act is within the view of the speaker.

*mewintanne* he stuck to it (he saw)

17. **-tsú, -tse.** When the act is perceived by the sense of hearing or feeling, -tse is appended to the present definite, and -tsú to the past definite.

*neiiúoggittse* I feel afraid

*adentsú* he heard it say

18. **-xólan.** A fact inferred from evidence is expressed by the suffix -xólan. Since the act is viewed as already completed, the verbs often have the force of the pluperfect.

*lenanillaxólan* he had built a fire (he saw)

19. **-xólúñ.** This suffix is said to differ from the preceding only in the fact that the evidence is more certain.

*xalaxólúñ* grass has grown up (the fact is certain, for the grass is there, although the growing of it was not seen)

§ 43. **Conjunctival Suffixes**

A few suffixes are conjunctival. Their union with the verb seems to be rather loose.

§§ 42, 43
20. -hit. The suffixing of -hit to the verb has the effect of making it part of a subordinate temporal clause.
yexōntāhit when they ran in
tcēinsithit when he woke up

21. -mil. This suffix has nearly or quite the same force as -hit.
yītsiṁ ecəamil west (the sun) used to be then

22. -tsit. This suffix, which occurs seldom, means that the act expressed by the verb to which it is added is to be done before some other contemplated act.
kiŋyāntsit eat first

§ 44. Adverbial Suffixes

There are two suffixes which appear to be adverbial.

23. -he. This suffix emphasizes a negative command or a conditional statement. It is comparable to English in the least, or French pas, in negative clauses.
dōadūwinnehe don’t say that
tcōwiyånilhe even if he eat it

24. -ka, -āk. These suffixes signify like, in the manner of.
atenka the way they do
nesedaiōk the way I sat

VERBAL ROOTS (§§ 45-50)

§ 45. Variation of Verbal Roots

The greater number of verbal roots undergo a change of form or length, for the most part connected with the changes of mode or tense. In a few cases there is also a change within the mode or tense for the persons. For number, the change, when present, is not an alteration of the root, due to phonetic or morphological causes, but a substitution, in the dual and plural, of a root altogether different from that in the singular.

Sometimes the changes in the root mark off the definite tenses from the indefinite; in other cases the customary and impotential are different also in the form of the root from the present indefinite and imperative; and in a few cases, the impotential alone has a form longer than or different from that found elsewhere in the verb. The indefinite present and imperative are the weakest of all in the form of their roots. Of the definite tenses, the past is usually longer than the present, and §§ 44, 45
is characterized by stronger vowels: for example, a is found in the past instead of ə, and e instead of ə; and the diphthong ai and au appear for a. Some roots which end in t in the past do not have that ending in the present.

A number of roots, many of them containing the vowel ə, do not change in form or length.

It is extremely difficult to trace these variations of the root to their causes. It is altogether probable that -w, which is the final sound in many roots of the indefinite tenses, is to be connected with -c (sh) or -s (which occurs in the same roots and the same tenses in Tolowa and other Athapascan dialects). It is therefore, in all likelihood, the remains of a former suffix. It is most likely that -n and -w, which are so characteristic of the definite tenses, are not original parts of the root. In fact, what seems to be the same root often occurs without the nasals. The difference between the past and present definite is almost certainly due to the accent, which is on the root in the past and on the syllable preceding the root in the present. This in turn may be due to the fact that the latter is often used with suffixes.

The most important verbal roots are given below with their variations and what is deemed the most characteristic meaning of each.

§ 46. Roots with Four Forms

The following roots have the past definite in -en; the present definite, in -in; the impotential, customary, and present indefinite and unexcepted forms of the imperative, in -iui; and the third person imperative, in -e.

-wen, -wun, -wui, -we (3d imp.) to carry on the back
-wen, -wun, -wui, -we (3d imp.) to move or to wave fire
-len, -lin, -liw, -le (1st and 3d imp.) to lie down

Two roots have -u for the impotential and customary, with -e for present indefinite and imperative.

-len, -lin, -lu, -le to become, to be, to be transformed
-lau, -la, -lu, -le to do something, to arrange according to a plan

§ 47. Roots with Three Forms

The following have the first form for the past definite, the second form for the present definite, and the third form for the indefinite tenses. Some exceptions are noted.

-ean, -eun, -eau to transport round objects
-an, -un, -au to run, to jump (with plural subject only)

§§ 46, 47
-yan, -yâñ, -yâwâ to eat
-xan, -xâñ, -xâwâ to move in a basket or other vessel any
liquid or small divided substance, to catch with a net
-tan, -tâñ, -tâwâ to handle or move a long object
-wen, -wâñ, -wâwâ to kill
-ten, -têñ, -têwâ to move or to carry in any way a person or
animal
-towen, -towâñ, -towâwâ to make, to arrange, to grow, to become
-yai, -yañ, -yaumâ to go, to come, to travel about (1st and 3d imp.
in -ya)
-lai, -lañ, -lêwâ to move or transfer a number of objects
-lai, -lañ, -lêwâ to travel by canoe, to manage a canoe
-hawai, -hâvañ, -hâwâumâ to walk, to go, to come (imp. has -hâva)

The following have the definite tenses with -L, the customary impo-
tential with -l, and the present indefinite and imperative with -L:1—
-walî, -volî, -volâ to strike, to throw, to scatter
-welî, -welî, -wilî relating to the passing of night
-melî, -milî, -milâ to strike, to throw, to drop
-deLî, -dilî, -dirî to go, to come, to travel (plural only)
-deLî, -dirî, -dirâ to strike
-taiLî, -taiLî, -taiLâ to step, to kick, to do anything with the foot
-tselî, -tsilî, -tsirî to pound, as with a hammer or maul

§ 48. Roots with Two Forms

These roots, with a few exceptions, have the past definite, impotent-
tial, and customary with the first form, and the remaining tenses with
the other.

First Type, -an, -âñ

-yan, -yâñ to live, to pass through life
-yan, -yâñ to spy upon, to watch, to observe with suspicion
-wan, -wâñ to sleep
-lan, -lûñ to quit, to leave, to desist
-lan, -lûñ to be born
-nan, -nûñ to drink
-xan, -xûñ to be sweet or pleasant to the taste
-tan, -tûñ to eat (3d person singular only)
-tan, -tûñ relating to any wax or waxlike substance
-tean, -teuñ to find, to see
-tewnâ, -tewûñ relating to the eating of a meal in company
-kan, -kûñ to put on edge, to lean up

1 That the form with L is due to a final aspiration and that with L to glottal action seems reason-
able. The cause of this, if not due to vanished suffixes, must be looked for in accent.

§ 48
Second Type, -en, -iŋ

-en, -iŋ to look
-en, -iŋ to do, to act, to deport one’s self
-yen, -yiŋ to stand on one’s feet
-len, -liŋ to flow, to run (said of any liquid)
-men, -miŋ to fill up, to make full
-hyên, -hwĩn to melt
-sen, -siŋ to think, to know (1st and 2d persons only)
-den, -diŋ to travel in company
-den, -diŋ to be light, to blaze
-ten, -tiŋ to do, to perform an act
-tcwen, -tcwiŋ to smell, to stink, to defecate
-tcwen, -tcwiŋ to want food or sexual gratification, to desire

Third Type, -ai, -a

-éai (impoten. and past), -éa to be in position
-yai (impoten.), -ya to move about, to undertake
-wai (impoten.), -wa to go, to go about (3d person only)
-dai (impoten. and past def.), -da to sit, to stay, to remain, to fish
-tcwái (impoten. and past def.), -tcwáa to handle or move many small pieces, to dig, to bury, to paw the ground
kai (impoten. and cust.), -kা to get up from a reclining or sitting position

Fourth Type, -au, -a

-au, -a to sing
-yau, -ya to do, to follow a line of action, to be in a plight
-dau, -da to melt away, to disappear
-tau, -ta to hover, to settle, to fly around

Fifth Type, -ū, -e

-lū, -le to make an attack, to form a war-party
-lū, -le to dive, to swim under water
-lū, -le to handle or to do anything with a semi-liquid, dough-like substance
-nū, -ne to do, to happen, to behave in a certain way
-sū, -xe to finish, to track, to overtake
-djeū, -dje to fly in a flock
-tū, -te to sing in a ceremony
-tśū, -tse to squirm, to writh, to roll, to tumble
-tcwū, -tcwe to cry, to weep

1Originally -ag -a, and -ag -e; therefore similar to the following -at -a.
Sixth Type, -at, -a

-wat, -wa to shake itself (said of a dog)
-lat, -la to float
-lat, -la to run, to jump
-wait, -wa to buy
-teat, -tə to be sick, to become ill
-lkait, -kai to cause to project, to push, to pole a canoe, to shoot, to fall forward from weakness (i. e., to starve)
-kvoit, -kvo to flee, to run away
-teut, -tə to sit down

Seventh Type, -l, -l

-il, -il to swim, to dive (plural only)
-yol, -yol to blow with the breath
-wal, -wal to shake a stick, to dance
-lal, -ləl to dream, to sleep
-nel, -nel to play
-nol, -nəl to blaze
-hyal, -hwar to fish for with a hook, to catch with a hook
-hwil, -hwil to call by name, to name
-wal, -war to dawn
-dil, -diəl to ring, to give a metallic response to a blow
-tecl, -tecl to be or to become warm
-kil, -kil to split with the hands
-qol, -qəl to crawl, to creep

Eighth Type, -ts, -s

-mats, -mas to roll, to coil
-wats, -wəs to pass through the air, to fly, to fall, to throw
-tats, -təs to cut a gash, to slit up, to cut open. to dress eels

Ninth type, -tc, -w

-utc, -uwc to move in an undulating line
-qotc, -qəwc to throw, like a spear
-qoctc, -qəwc to run like a wolf

§ 49. Roots with One Form

A few of these vary in length, but those having the vowels i and u and some others do not.

-eL to have position (plural only)
-iuc to drop
-its to shoot an arrow
-its to wander about
-it to move flat flexible objects
-ya to stand on one's feet (plural only)

§ 49
-ye to dance
-yēw to rest
-yēw to rub, to knead
-yīis to entangle
-yō to like
-yōw to flow, to scatter
-yōt to chase, to bark after
-waun to talk, to make a noise (plural only)
-was to shave off
-wis to twist, to rotate
-wīt to rock sidewise
-le to feel with the hands
-lel to carry more than one animal or child in the hands
-lol to bother
-lit to burn
-lit to urinate
-lik to relate, to tell something
-lois to tie, to wrap around
-lōs to drag, to pull along
-lūn to watch, to stand guard over
-lūt to cause to burn
-me to swim
-men to cause to swim
-medj to cook by boiling
-mit to turn over, to place one's self belly up or down
-mūt to break out (as a spring of water), to break open
-na to cook by placing before the fire
-na to move
-ne to gather nuts (from the ground)
-nūn to hear
-nwe to dig
-xa to have position (said of water or a liquid)
-xūt to hang
-xūt to tear down
-xūts to bite, to chew
-sit to wake
-da to be poor in flesh
-da to carry, to move (said of a person or animal)
-dai to bloom
-dik to peck
-dits to twist into a rope
-dō to cut, to slash
-dō to dodge, to draw back
-djīn to mind, to be bothered by something
-te to look for, to search after
-te to carry around

§ 40
-te to remain in a recumbent position
-teic to lie down (plural only)
-tite to use a cane
-töe referring to the movement or position of water
-töt to drink
-tū to beg
-tün to split
-tūk to count
-teo to have some particular form, appearance, or nature
-tiék to tie with a string
-tō relating to mutual motions of two objects by means of which one is inserted into or withdrawn from the other
-teśi to be or to make dry
-teśas to swing a stick about, to whip
-teśe to open or shut a sliding door
-teśe to stay, to live (plural only)
-teśis to be hanging
-teśis to find, to know
-teśit to know a person or some fact or legend
-teśit to fall, to sink
-teśit to soak acorn-meal
-teśit to pull out a knot
-teśit to wait
-teśe to blow (said of the wind)
-teśit to die
-teśit to strip off, to take bark from a tree
-teśtit to push, to pull off leaves, to shoot, to rub one's self
-teśtit to sweep
-teśtit to smell of
-git to be afraid of, to be frightened
-git to travel in company
-śas to throw
-śet to creak
-śis to put one's hand on, to stab, to spear
-śit to catch with the hands, to take away
-śit to hang, to spread, to settle (said of fog)
-śit to feed, to give food to any one
-śitc to make the stroke or throw in playing shinny
-śiese to wear a dress
-śya to perceive by any of the senses
-śyas to break, to cause to break
-śyes to handle or to move anything that is flat and flexible
-qal to walk (3d person only)
-qöt to push a pointed instrument into a yielding mass, to stick, to poke
-qöt to dodge, to tumble, to flounder about helplessly

§ 49
§ 50. Meaning of Roots

In regard to meaning, roots fall into at least three classes.

(1) A few monosyllabic nouns, occupying the position in the verb which belongs to the root, name the means employed; while the general nature of the act is suggested by that part of the verb which precedes the root. For example, *-tits* (a verbal root identical with the noun *tits a cane*) occurs in the verb *teittelitits he walked with a cane*.

(2) A rather large number of roots, while not definitely naming the object, indicate the class to which it belongs as regards its size, shape, or physical character. The most important of these are the following:

- *-can, -cūn, -caun* round objects
- *-dt* flat and flexible
- *-wen, -wiū, -wūn* fire
- *-laī, -la, -lūn* several of any kind
- *-lel* several children or animals
- *-tū, -te* dough
- *-xan, -xūn, -xaun* liquid
- *-da* a person or animal
- *-tan, -tūn, -tuun* a long object
- *-ten, -tin, -tūn* person, animal, or animal product
- *-tan, tūn* wax or waxlike
- *-teron* the soil
- *-kyūs, flat and flexible object*.

These verbal roots are rigidly restricted in their applicability to objects of definite form, including in this category number. This classification has reference to the appearance of objects as round, flat and flexible, long and slim, animate, plural. In the intransitive verb this has reference to the form of the subject; in the transitive verb, to the form of the object.

(3) Most if not all the remaining roots indicate more or less exactly the nature of the act itself. It has been impossible, with no knowledge of the past history of the Hupa language and but little access to the related languages, to define exactly the meaning of many of the roots.

§ 51. Analysis of Verbal Forms

A few of the more complex forms are analyzed in the following table in accordance with the general discussion of the formative elements contained in the preceding sections.

§§ 50, 51
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>n, l, l, de</td>
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<td>te</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō na</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>eān</td>
<td>te</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>w</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>l for l</td>
<td>it</td>
<td>it, te</td>
<td></td>
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<td>k</td>
<td>n</td>
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<td>eL</td>
<td>i</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ne</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>l for l</td>
<td>it</td>
<td>it, te</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>d</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>ya</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nil</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ne en</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>te</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ye, zolan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ya</td>
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<td>n</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>yete</td>
<td>te</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zō</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>yan-wan</td>
<td>te</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōg</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>i</td>
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<td>n</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>t-l</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>wēL</td>
<td>te</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zō, me, na</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>lat</td>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me, na</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>lāy</td>
<td>te</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō na</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>lāy</td>
<td>te</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō na</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>w</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ean</td>
<td>te</td>
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<td>n</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>te</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le na</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>yai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- he placed it 210.6.
- one should leave it 215.8.
- they ran back 181.6.
- I lay them crosswise 247.5.
- we will look at 216.15.
- they stand in water 310.4.
- he came out again 102.18.
- I will go with you 187.4.
- he used to come 306.7.
- he was walking along, he saw 185.18.
- they will tie together 151.10.
- he pulled him out 106.17.
- he went to sleep—it slept him 203.1.
- I will spend the night; the night passed 348.2.
- don't bring them to me 230.13.
- with him it floated back to shore 315.6.
- I will watch again 267.17.
- I leave it 247.3.
- they left food 110.9.
- they took away 171.14.
- one could see 242.13.
- we will look at 216.18.
- he completed the circuit 220.8.
§ 52. Tenses and Modes

While the time, reality, and definiteness of the act or condition may be expressed by means of suffixes and variations in the root, the same distinctions of meaning are drawn from the form of the complete verb. Without taking into account the suffixes, the following tense or mode forms exist: present indefinite, imperative, impotential, customary, present definite, and past definite. The first four of these are clearly marked off from the last two, in meaning, by the fact that they do not refer to a single definite act. They differ in form, in most cases, in the root and in the sign of the first person singular.

The name of present indefinite has been chosen to distinguish the present of wider use and of less discrimination as to the time of the action, from the present definite, which affirms a single act as just completed. The former is used of acts in progress but not completed, when such acts consume an appreciable time, or of acts desired or intended.

The real imperative forms, the second person singular and plural, are identical with those of the indefinite present, while the forms of the third person, expressing the wish that some person be compelled to perform the act, are different from those of the indefinite present.

The impotential deals with future negative acts in a sweeping way, implying that it is impossible that they should take place. Part of this force is given the form by dōxolīn, which precedes the verb, meaning it is not. The form of the verb itself in this mode-tense is not different from the present indefinite, except that it often has a longer or stronger form of the root.

The customary differs from the present indefinite in the presence of an element (consisting of a single vowel, probably -e-) which stands before the signs of person and number, and sometimes in form of the root. Its meaning, as the name implies, is that the act is habitual, or at least several times performed. It is used almost entirely of past acts.

The definite present and past differ from each other only in the form and length of the root. The past has the longer and stronger form of the root, if it be variable at all. The accent seems to rest on the root in the past, and on the syllable before the root in the present. They refer to individual, completed acts,—the present as just completed; and the past, of more remote time. On the forms of the present definite by means of suffixes, the future, future conditional, and other tenses and modes are built.
**Conjugations (§§ 53-75)**

§ 53. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1A

tcewawp HE IS CATCHING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. iwindawap</td>
<td>itdeixawp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. iñiaxawp</td>
<td>ò'axawp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tcewawp</td>
<td>yaxawwp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yixawwp</td>
<td>yaxawwp</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. tcoixawp</td>
<td>yatcoixawp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yõxawwp</td>
<td>yaiyõxawp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Customary</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. eituxawwp</td>
<td>eitdeixawp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. eiñxawwp</td>
<td>eò'xawwp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tcewawwp</td>
<td>yaxawwp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yeexawwp</td>
<td>yaixawwp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. wœxãn</td>
<td>witiuxãn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wiñxãn</td>
<td>wö'xãn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. teœuiñxãn</td>
<td>yavicinizãn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yùwixãn</td>
<td>yaiwixãn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 54. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1B

yamas HE IS ROLLING OVER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yawwmas</td>
<td>yadimmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yàmmas</td>
<td>y'a'mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yamas</td>
<td>yayamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yāmas</td>
<td>yayāmas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Customary</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yaitwmas</td>
<td>yaitdimmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yatmmas</td>
<td>yao'mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yatmmas</td>
<td>yayaimmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yātmmas</td>
<td>yayātmmas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yAIMmas</td>
<td>yawitdimmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yawimmas</td>
<td>yawo'mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yawimmas</td>
<td>yayawimmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yawimmas</td>
<td>yayāwimmas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 53, 54
§ 55. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1C

In this division of the conjugation there is a contraction in the 2d person singular of the definite tenses.

nalit HE IS CHARING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. nai'lit</td>
<td>navitdillit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. na'nlit</td>
<td>navō lit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. na'avinlit</td>
<td>nayavavinlit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. na'avinlit</td>
<td>nayainvinlit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 56. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1D

kittūs HE CUTS OPEN

Present Indefinite

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. kyūrtūs</td>
<td>kīdītūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. kīntūs</td>
<td>kyō'tūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. kītūs</td>
<td>yakītūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yikītūs</td>
<td>yaikītūs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. kyōtūs</td>
<td>yakyo'tūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yikyōtūs</td>
<td>yaikyōtūs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Customary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. kriūrtūs, etc.</td>
<td>keitdītūs, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ketūts</td>
<td>kyūritdītūts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. kyūrinītūts</td>
<td>kyūrō'tūts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. kīntūts</td>
<td>yakīntūts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yikīntūts</td>
<td>yaikīntūts</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

§ 57. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1E

tōwai HE IS BUYING

Present Indefinite

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. oōwrai</td>
<td>ōdezai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ōnrāi</td>
<td>ō'wai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tōwai</td>
<td>tōuyaxai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yōxai</td>
<td>yōyaxai</td>
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Customary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ōiūwzaită</td>
<td>ōiitdēxait, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 55–57
§ 58. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 2

The several conjugations differ from one another in regard to the definite tenses only.

nōniñūt HE PUT A BLANKET DOWN

Singular
1. nōnaūt
2. nōniñūt
3. nōniñūt
3a. noiniñūt

Plural
nōndaūt
nōniñūt
nōyiñūt
nōyainiñūt

§ 59. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 2, WITH A CHANGED ROOT

tceñīn̂ya HE IS COMING OUT

Singular
tcen̂eya
tceñīn̂ya
tceñīn̂ya
tceñ̂ya

Dual
tcenedeL
tcenődeL
tcenín̂deL
tcenindeL
tceyändeleL

Plural
tcenedeL
tcenődeL
tceyanindeL
tceyándeleL

§ 60. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 3A
tcīsloīe HE IS TYING

Singular
1. seloiē
2. siloiē
3. tcīsloīe
3a. yīsloīe

Plural
sitdiloiē
sō'loīe
yaisloīe
yiisloīe

§ 61. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 3B
tcīttetaL HE IS STEPPING ALONG

Singular
tesetaL
tesintaL
tcīttetaL
tyttetaL

Plural
tesdītttaL
tesō'taL
yatetaL
yaitetaL
§ 62. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 4

naʔa HE HAS IT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Present</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. naʔuwaʔa</td>
<td>nadaʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. naʔiʔa</td>
<td>naʔiʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. naʔa</td>
<td>nayaʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. naʔaiʔa</td>
<td>nayaʔaiʔa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Imperative</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. naʔeʔoʔa</td>
<td>nayatoʔeʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. naʔoʔa</td>
<td>nayaiʔoʔa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Customary</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. naiʔuwaʔa</td>
<td>naitdaʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. naʔiʔa</td>
<td>naʔiʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. naʔa</td>
<td>nayaʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. naʔaiʔa</td>
<td>nayaʔaiʔa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 63. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 1A

yetciʔldaʔ1 HE IS CARRYING IN A LARGE OBJECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Present Indefinite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yeʔuʔda</td>
<td>yeʔildida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yeʔiʔa</td>
<td>yeʔilda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yetciʔlda</td>
<td>yeyaiʔlda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yeyiʔda</td>
<td>yeyaiʔlda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Imperative</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. yecʔoʔda</td>
<td>yeyatoʔeʔda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yeyoʔda</td>
<td>yeyaiʔoʔda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Customary</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yeʔuʔda</td>
<td>yeeʔildida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yeʔiʔa</td>
<td>yeeʔilda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yetciʔlda</td>
<td>yeyaiʔlda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yeyiʔda</td>
<td>yeyaiʔlda</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yeʔeʔida</td>
<td>yeʔeʔildida</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. yeʔoʔida</td>
<td>yeʔoʔida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yetciʔwilda</td>
<td>yeyaiʔwiʔida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yeyiʔwilda</td>
<td>yeyaiʔwiʔida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1It is probable but not quite certain that the glottal stop occurs finally in the root in all forms of the verb.

§§ 62, 63
§ 64. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 1C

*yaillwul HE THREW INTO THE AIR*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>yaugwul</em></td>
<td><em>yaadilwul</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>yaIlwul</em></td>
<td><em>yalwul</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>yaIlwul</em></td>
<td><em>yaayailwul</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>yaIlwul</em></td>
<td><em>yaayailwul</em></td>
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</table>

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>yaicdIlwul</em></td>
<td><em>yaayadcdIlwul</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>yaicdIlwul</em></td>
<td><em>yaayadcdIlwul</em></td>
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<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>yaItIlwul</em></td>
<td><em>yaaitdilwul</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>yaIlwul</em></td>
<td><em>yalwul</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>yaayailwul</em></td>
<td><em>yaayailwul</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>3a. <em>yaayailwul</em></td>
<td><em>yaayailwul</em></td>
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<td><em>yawIlwaL</em></td>
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<td>3. <em>yaayawIlwaL</em></td>
<td><em>yaayawIlwaL</em></td>
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<td>3a. <em>yaayawIlwaL</em></td>
<td><em>yaayawIlwaL</em></td>
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</table>

§ 65. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 2

*mēIlxe HE IS FINISHING*

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>mūIlxe</em></td>
<td><em>medilxe</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>mIlxe</em></td>
<td><em>mIlxe</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>mIlxe</em></td>
<td><em>mayailxe</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>mIlxe</em></td>
<td><em>mayailxe</em></td>
<td></td>
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<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>mItcilxe</em></td>
<td><em>mayacidIlxe</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>mItcilxe</em></td>
<td><em>mayacidIlxe</em></td>
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</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Customary</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>meIlxu</em></td>
<td><em>metidilxu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>mIlxu</em></td>
<td><em>mIlxu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>mIlxu</em></td>
<td><em>meyaIlxu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>mIlxu</em></td>
<td><em>meyaIlxu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 64, 65
§ 66. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 3A

The indefinite tenses do not differ from Conjugation 1.

naïxsült HE IS TEARING DOWN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Definite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. menelxült</td>
<td>mindilxült</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. menilxült</td>
<td>menōlxlxe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. menilxült</td>
<td>meyanilxült</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. minilxült</td>
<td>meyainilxült</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

§ 67. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 3B

tciselwilné HE IS KILLING

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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. seselwilné</td>
<td>sesōlwilné</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tciselwilné</td>
<td>yaselwilné</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yiselwilné</td>
<td>yiselwilné</td>
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</table>

§ 68. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 4

naïltsün HE IS FINDING

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. nauveltsün</td>
<td>nadinetsün</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nültsün</td>
<td>naltlsün</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. naïltsün</td>
<td>nayailtsün</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. naiiltsün</td>
<td>nayailtsün</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. natcöltsün</td>
<td>nayatcöltsün</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. naōltsün</td>
<td>nayaōltsün</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Customary</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. naiultsan</td>
<td>naiidiltsan</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. naïltsan</td>
<td>naiiltsan</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. naïltsan</td>
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<tr>
<td>3a. naïltsan</td>
<td>nayailtsan</td>
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</table>
§ 69. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 1

yadegōt HE IS DODGING

### Present Indefinite

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yawandegōt</td>
<td>yadāukgōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yandegōt</td>
<td>ya’degōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yadegōt</td>
<td>yayađegōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yadāukgōt</td>
<td>yayađāukgōt</td>
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### Imperative

<table>
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<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. yatcōđegōt</td>
<td>yayačōđegōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yāđegōt</td>
<td>yayađegōt</td>
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</table>

### Customary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yarūngdegōt</td>
<td>yāitdegōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yaindegōt</td>
<td>yaöđegōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yaitqōt</td>
<td>yayaïtqōt</td>
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<td>3a. yaitqōt</td>
<td>yayaïtqōt</td>
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### Definite

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<td>yawitdegōt</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. yandegōt</td>
<td>yaööđegōt</td>
</tr>
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<td>3. yaviqōt</td>
<td>yayaiviqōt</td>
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<tr>
<td>3a. yatqōt</td>
<td>yayaïtqōt</td>
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</table>

§ 70. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 2

naniteauw HE IS BRINGING IT BACK

### Present Indefinite

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. nanedēauw</td>
<td>nanedēauw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nađedēauw</td>
<td>nañöddeauw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nānīteauw</td>
<td>nayaniteauw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. nānīteauw</td>
<td>nayaniteauw</td>
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### Imperative

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<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>nayanöddeauw</td>
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<td>3a. nainōđedēauw</td>
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### Customary

<table>
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<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. naneteindēauw</td>
<td>nanedeteauw</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. nañentiđëauw</td>
<td>nañöddeauw</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. nānīteauw</td>
<td>nayaniteauw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. nānīteauw</td>
<td>nayaniteauw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 69, 70
§ 71. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 3

The forms for the definite tenses are like those given for Class III, Conjugation 1.

naiśdeqōt HE IS TUMBLING ABOUT

**Definite**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. navindēeũn</td>
<td>nanedeũn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nandeũn</td>
<td>nano'deũn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. naĩndeũn</td>
<td>nayaĩndeũn</td>
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<tr>
<td>3a. nainindeũn</td>
<td>nayainindeũn</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

§ 72. CLASS IV, CONJUGATION 1

naiļyeũw HE RESTS

**Present Indefinite**

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<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. nառոգ'yeyũw</td>
<td>առոգ'yeyũw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nůlyeũw</td>
<td>nůlyeũw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. naiļyeũw</td>
<td>naiļyeũw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. naiļyeũw</td>
<td>naiļyeũw</td>
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**Imperative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Plural</th>
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<tr>
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<td>առոգ'yeyũw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. naiļyǫeyũw</td>
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**Customary**

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**Definite**

<table>
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<td>3. naiļyeũw</td>
<td>naiļyeũw</td>
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<td>3a. naiļyeũw</td>
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</table>

§§ 71, 72
§ 73. CLASS IV, CONJUGATION 3

nadiliŋ he is watching for it

<table>
<thead>
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<td>nádiidiliŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>nádiliŋ</td>
<td>nádóliŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>nádiliŋ</td>
<td>náyadiliŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a.</td>
<td>náyadiliŋ</td>
<td>náyaidiliŋ</td>
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<table>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
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<td>náyadóliŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a.</td>
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<td>náyaidóliŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>nádeŋuŋeŋ</td>
<td>nádeiiŋdílen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>nádeiilen</td>
<td>nádóölen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
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<td>3a.</td>
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<td>náyadeiilen</td>
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<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>nádůvesediliŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
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<td>nádůvesöliŋ</td>
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<td>nádůveseĩŋ</td>
<td>náyadůveseĩŋ</td>
</tr>
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<td>3a.</td>
<td>náyadůveseĩŋ</td>
<td>náyaidůveseĩŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 73
### § 74. OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION

**yakwiiłtłuł HÉ IS PICKING ME UP**

#### Present Indefinite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject:</th>
<th>First person singular (object)</th>
<th>Second person singular (object)</th>
<th>Third person singular (object)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td>1. ——</td>
<td>yannítłłg</td>
<td>yazóliłłg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. yahceítłłg</td>
<td>yannetótłłg</td>
<td>yazóliłłg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. yahceítłłg</td>
<td>yannítłłg</td>
<td>yazóliłłg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a. yahceítłłg</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>yazóliłłg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td>1. ——</td>
<td>yannítłłg</td>
<td>yazóldłłg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. yahcóáltłłg</td>
<td>yannetótłłg</td>
<td>yayaóliłłg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. yahceítłłg</td>
<td>yaiyannítłłg</td>
<td>yayaóliłłg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a. yahceítłłg</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>yayaóliłłg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Imperative

| Singular | 3. yahcóáltłłg | yannetótłłg | yayaóliłłg |
| 3a. yahcóáltłłg | yannótłłg | yaiyannótłłg |

| Plural | 8. yahcótłłg | yahcótłłg | yayaóliłłg |
| 3a. yahcótłłg | yahcóáltłłg | yayaóliłłg |

#### Customary

| Singular | 1. —— | yannítłłg | yazóliłłg |
| 2. yahceítłłg | yannetótłłg | yazóliłłg |
| 3. yahceítłłg | yahceítłłg | yazóliłłg |
| 3a. yahceítłłg | —— | yazóliłłg |

| Plural | 1. —— | yannítłłg | yazóliłłg |
| 2. yahcóáltłłg | yannetótłłg | yazóliłłg |
| 3. yahceítłłg | yahceítłłg | yazóliłłg |
| 3a. yahceítłłg | —— | yazóliłłg |

#### Definite

| Singular | 1. —— | yannítłłg | yaxóliłłg |
| 2. yahceítłłg | yannetótłłg | yaxóliłłg |
| 3. yahceítłłg | yahceítłłg | yaxóliłłg |

| Plural | 1. —— | yannítłłg | yaxóliłłg |
| 2. yahcóáltłłg | yannetótłłg | yaxóliłłg |
| 3. yahceítłłg | yahceítłłg | yaxóliłłg |

§ 74
OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION—Continued.

yahwiltiŋ he is picking me up

Present Indefinite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject:</th>
<th>First person plural (object)</th>
<th>Second person plural (object)</th>
<th>Third person plural (object)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ———</td>
<td>yannóhuyglág</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźolígůy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yannóhólůy</td>
<td>yannóclellág</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yannóclellág</td>
<td>yannóhólůy</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yannóhólůy</td>
<td>yannóhólůy</td>
<td></td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ———</td>
<td>yannóhitéllůy</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yannóhólůy</td>
<td>yayannóclellág</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yayannóclellág</td>
<td>yaiyannóhólůy</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yayannóhólůy</td>
<td>yaiyannóhólůy</td>
<td></td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative

| Singular...      |                             |                                |                               |
| 3. yannóclellág  | yannóclellág                | ———                           | yayaźolůy                    |
| 3a. yannóhólůy   | yannóhólůy                 |                                | yayaźolůy                    |
| Plural...        |                             |                                |                               |
| 3. yayannóclellág| yayannóclellág              | ———                           | yayaźolůy                    |
| 3a. yayannóhólůy | yayannóhólůy               |                                | yayaźolůy                    |

Customary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject:</th>
<th>First person plural (object)</th>
<th>Second person plural (object)</th>
<th>Third person plural (object)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ———</td>
<td>yannóheiyglág</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yannóheillůy</td>
<td>yannóheillůy</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yannóheillůy</td>
<td>yannóheillůy</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yannóheillůy</td>
<td>yannóheillůy</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ———</td>
<td>yannóheitilůy</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yannóheillůy</td>
<td>yayannóheillůy</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yayannóheillů</td>
<td>yayannóheillůy</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yaiyannóheillůy</td>
<td>yaiyannóheillůy</td>
<td></td>
<td>yayaźolůy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Definite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject:</th>
<th>First person plural (object)</th>
<th>Second person plural (object)</th>
<th>Third person plural (object)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ———</td>
<td>yannóhela</td>
<td></td>
<td>yayaźwella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yannórěla</td>
<td>yannólella</td>
<td></td>
<td>yayaźwella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yannólella</td>
<td>yannóhilla</td>
<td></td>
<td>yayaźolla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yannóhilla</td>
<td>yannóhilla</td>
<td></td>
<td>yayaźolla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ———</td>
<td>yannóvitiľla</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźwitiľla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yannóvěľa</td>
<td>yayannólella</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźwěľa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yayannólella</td>
<td>yayannólella</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźwella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yaiyannóhilla</td>
<td>yaiyannóhilla</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yayaźolla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The past definite has –lai for its root.

§ 74

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10——10
### § 75. Passive Voice

**yaxōwiltiņ** HE IS CARRIED OFF

The present indefinite seems to have no forms for the passive voice.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Impotential</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. dəxolĩn yahweildittuũ</td>
<td>dəxolĩn yənnōhitlũw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.  yünneildittuũ</td>
<td>yünnehitlũw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.  yaxoildittuũ</td>
<td>yayaaxoiltlũw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a.  yelldittuũ</td>
<td>yayaatlũw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Customary</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yahweildittuũ</td>
<td>yənnōheitlũw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.  yunneildittuũ</td>
<td>yənnōheitlũw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.  yaxoieldittuũ</td>
<td>yayaaxoīitlũw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a.  yaelldittuũ</td>
<td>yayaatlũw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Definite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yahwuíwitĩn</td>
<td>yənnōwoiša</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.  yənnwuíwitĩn</td>
<td>yənnōwoiša</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.  yaxwuíwitĩn</td>
<td>yayaaxowoiša</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a.  yaltĩn</td>
<td>yayaatša</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Adjectives (§§ 76-78)

The qualifying adjectives in Hupa are very closely linked with the verbs. They are fully conjugated, indicating by internal changes the person and number of the subject qualified, and by changes of tense whether the quality is predicated of the present, past, or future.

### § 76. Prefixes of Adjectives

The prefixes of the adjectives consist of a single sound, and are found only in the present. They seem to classify the adjectives according to the degree of connection of the quality with the noun. The principal prefixes are the two following:

1. **u**- used mostly of inherent qualities, such as dimensions.
   - nũwnes I am tall
   - nũwtes I am broad
   - nũchwón I am good
   - nũłteviņ I am dirty
   - nũwdas I am heavy
   - nũnkyoā I am large

2. **l**- used for the more accidental qualities, such as color, and condition of flesh.
   - lũńkai I am white
   - lǔtso it is blue, yellow, or green
   - lũńkau I am fat
   - lũńwcin it is black

§§ 75, 76
§ 77. Comparison of Adjectives

The superlative, the only form employed, is expressed by prefixing *dad*-, the second syllable being completed in harmony with the following sound:

hai *dadimnæs* the longest                hai *daditàtsìt* the shortest
hai *dadìtvàkkæu* the fattest            hai *dadìkkýaò* the largest, etc.

§ 78. Conjugation of Adjectives

*ntìdas* IT IS HEAVY

Present Definite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>nùndas</em></td>
<td><em>nitìtdas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>nìndas</em></td>
<td><em>nò’das</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>tcìndas</em></td>
<td><em>yàïndas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>ntìdas</em></td>
<td><em>yanìtdas</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>iùndas</em>¹</td>
<td><em>itìtdas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>ìndas</em></td>
<td><em>ò’das</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>tcòdæs</em></td>
<td><em>yàtcòdæs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>yòdæs</em></td>
<td><em>yàyòdæs</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Customary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>eìùndas</em>²</td>
<td><em>eìtdìdas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>eìndæs</em></td>
<td><em>eò’dæs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>tcëëitdæs</em></td>
<td><em>yàrëïtdæs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>eìtdæs</em></td>
<td><em>yàeìtdæs</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>wùndæs</em> (or <em>wedæs</em>)</td>
<td><em>witìtdæs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>windæs</em></td>
<td><em>wò’dæs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>tcìwìndæs</em></td>
<td><em>yàwìndæs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>windæs</em></td>
<td><em>yàndæs</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic Particles (§§ 79-86)

§ 79. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns in their independent form are used chiefly for emphasis and in replying to questions. The incorporation of the object into the verb, and its inflection to show the subject, reduce to the minimum the need of pronouns as independent words.

¹ Let me be heavy.  
² I become heavy (each season).  

§§ 77-79
The pronoun for the first person singular is ḫwe, which serves for both subject and object. All other Athapaskan languages have a word phonetically related to this. In Tolowa the word is cǐ; in Carrier, sǐ; and in Navaho, cĩ. The plural of the first person is nehe. It may be used of the speakers when more than one, or of the speaker and the person spoken to. Instead of ḫwe and nehe, longer forms (ḫween and neheen) often occur. These seem to be formed by the addition of the particle en, which points to a person, contrasting him with another.

The second person singular is niǐ, and the plural nōhin.

It is probable that originally there was no personal pronoun for the third person, its place being taken by the demonstratives and by incorporated and prefixed forms. In speaking of adult Hupa, when emphasis is required xoǐ occurs. This appears to be xo-, the incorporated and prefixed form, and en mentioned above. For the plural, yaxwen is sometimes heard.

§ 80. Possessive Pronouns

Weak forms of the personal pronouns are prefixed to the qualified noun to express possession. For the first and second person, ḫwe and niǐ are represented by ḫw- and n-, which are completed according to the sounds which follow them. The first and second persons plural are represented by one and the same syllable, nō-, which may be prefixed without changing its form to any noun. The third person singular has xo- prefixed when an adult Hupa is referred to, but m- (receiving the same treatment as ḫw- and n- above), when the reference is to a Hupa child or very aged person, or to a person of another tribe or race. For animals and inanimate things, m- is also sometimes used, but for the former k- seems to be more frequent. When the possessor of the object is not known, k- is also employed.

A reflexive possessive is used where a chance for ambiguity exists. The form is ad- of which d is the initial sound of a syllable completed according to the sound which follows it.

§ 81. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns for the nearer person or object, which must be in sight, are ded, haideed, and haide, which do not differ in meaning. The more remote object or person, whether in sight or not, is referred to by yō or haiyō. Still more remote is youū, which is employed of places rather than of persons.

§§ 80, 81
The Hupa employ *hai* referring to persons or things, singular or plural, in a manner that falls between our use of *that* (the demonstrative) and *the* (the definite article). It is employed before the third person of the possessive where our idiom does not require an article.

§ 82. Adjective Pronouns

There are a number of words, equivalent in meaning to *all, every, several*, etc., which stand alone, the person or thing limited by them being understood from the context.

The most important of these are the following:

- *a'itĩa* all
- *a'tinne* all people
- *a'tinxẽ'uinte* everything
- *a'tin<t<kav<unte* every kind
- *a'tin<tiin* every place
- *xœdai<dehe* anything
- *dũ<ikwee* nobody
- *dũ<ikw<oe* somebody
- *dũ<ikwe* something
- *dũkwe* nothing
- *dũ<i<il<we<on* several people
- *dũ<i<il<we<oe* several things

§ 83. Numerals

The numerals to four are common to the Athapascan languages, most of which have cognate words for five also. From five to nine the Hupa numerals are not easily analyzed. Ten (*mĩn<il<an*) means ENUFF FOR IT. The numerals above ten are made by expressing addition for the numbers lying between the decimal terms and by multiplication for those terms. The meaning of *la<it<id<ikkin*, one hundred, is not evident. No higher numbers exist, but the hundreds may be enumerated to a thousand or more.

A special termination is used when enumerating people. This seems to be an old suffix, *-nĩ* or *-ne*, meaning PEOP. Compare *la<e* and *lũ<ov<an*, *na<ve* and *na<vin*, *tak< and *tak<un*, *di<ik* and *di<ikin*, and *te<ol<ae* and *te<ol<ane*, the numerals from one to five, for things and people respectively.

§ 84. Adverbs

Notwithstanding that place and time relations are freely expressed by means of verbal prefixes, a large number of adverbs are employed. These are for the most part closely connected with demonstrative pronouns in their meaning and the elements from which they are formed. Of the formative elements which do not also occur in demonstratives are those employed in expressing directions. These have a

§§ 82-84
common initial, \( y\hbar \), which may after all be connected with the pro-
noun \( y\hbar \). The final elements are:

-\( n\hbar k \) south or up stream
-\( d\hbar e \) north or down stream
-\( d\hbar k \) east or up a hill
-\( t\hbar i\hbar n \) west or down a hill
-\( m\hbar n \) the opposite side of a

stream or the ocean

Besides the demonstrative source already mentioned, many adverbs
are formed from nouns, adjectives, and verbs by means of suffixes
indicating place, time, and manner. Some of these suffixes are the
following:

-\( d\hbar i\hbar n \) and -\( t\hbar i\hbar n \) (place)
-\( d\hbar n \) and -\( d\hbar i\hbar n \) (time)
-\( k\hbar a \) and -\( x\hbar o \), -\( t\hbar x \) (manner)

§ 85. Post-positions

The post-positions not only follow the nouns which they limit, but
they are joined to pronominal prefixes which stand for the limited
noun whether it be expressed or not. The most important post-
positions follow:

-\( a \) for, for the benefit of
-\( e \) in
-\( d\hbar i\hbar n \) without, lacking
-\( a n \) out of
-\( u \) under, near
-\( y e \) at the foot of
-\( w i\hbar n a \) around, encircling
-\( w\hbar u\hbar n \) toward or from
-\( l a n \) with the help of
-\( l a i \) on top
-\( L \) with
-\( n a \) after
-\( n a l \) in the presence of
-\( n a t \) around
-\( x a \) after
-\( x\hbar a s \) beside
-\( t\hbar a \) among
-\( t\hbar i s \) over
-\( t\hbar a k \) between
-\( k\hbar a , -k\hbar a i \) along
-\( t\hbar i\hbar n \) toward
-\( t\hbar i\hbar n a \) in front of
-\( k\hbar a , -k\hbar a i \) after, following
-\( k\hbar y a \) away from
-\( k\hbar u t \) on

§ 86. Conjunctions

The conjunctions in Hupa seem to be made from demonstratives,
or adverbs derived from demonstratives. They usually end with the
syllable -\( t\hbar u \). For examples compare the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hai} & \text{\( n \)} & \text{hai} & \text{\( x\hbar i d j i t\hbar u \)} \quad \text{and then} \\
\text{hai} & \text{\( y a \)} & \text{haiyad} & \text{a} \text{\( t\hbar u \)} \\
\text{hai} & \text{\( y a t\hbar u \)} & \text{and} \\
\text{hai} & \text{yam} & \text{\( i t\hbar u \)} \\
\text{hai} & \text{yami} & \text{\( t\hbar u \)}
\end{align*}
\]

§§ 85, 86
§ 87. Character of Sentence

The Hupa sentence expresses place and direction with very great minuteness and care. This is done both by the prefixes of the verb and by independent adverbs and adverbial phrases. In actual use these sentences are also accompanied by many gestures which might in themselves indicate all that is needful. That the act is repeated, is always stated, and frequently with redundancy, an adverb being employed in addition to the iterative prefix which the verb contains. Usually great care is taken, in making quotations, to state definitely who said or thought the matter quoted. Sequence of time is amply expressed, but other relations are often left to be inferred.

One hesitates to say whether the sentences are all very short or that there are none, but paragraphs instead. One short statement follows another, usually co-ordinate with it but still closely connected in the temporal sequence which carries with it, purpose, cause, and result. The synthetic, holophrastic verb is often complete in itself, the other words in the sentence being employed to add distinctness or emphasis.

The greater burden in a Hupa discourse is on the speaker, who expresses with great exactness most of the concepts and their relations, leaving little to be inferred by the listener. Some of the younger generation, who are nearly or quite bilingual, employ Hupa in giving directions about work to be done, or in relating events in which they wish place-relations to be plain, but English for ordinary social discourse.

§ 88. Character of Vocabulary

The vocabulary of Hupa, although it contains words of considerable length, is not far from monosyllabism. It contains many monosyllabic nouns and particles, but a much larger number of polysyllabic verbs, and nouns and other parts of speech derived from verbs. These long words, however, are made up of elements possessed for the most part of great clearness of form and meaning. On the other hand, some of the monosyllables other than nouns and pronouns lack distinctness of meaning, and in some cases of form. In writing the language there is difficulty, therefore, to know just what should constitute a word, and whether certain elements are to be taken with the word before them or the one after them. In a language in which the accent is strong, words are set off from each other by it. In Hupa §§ 87, 88
the accent is not strong, and in most cases does not belong to the word, but to the sentence.

Nouns and pronouns are clear-cut. They are capable of calling up definite and complete mental visions without the aid of associated words and word-elements. The large number of monosyllabic nouns in Hupa, and the still larger number in related languages, which do not occur in Hupa, points to the fact that the original form of Athapascan nouns was monosyllabic. Monosyllabic nouns have given place to polysyllabic ones in Hupa constantly for years, perhaps for centuries. This may have been due to the pleasure which the Hupa find in poetical descriptive names, but it was certainly due, in part, to the dropping of nouns out of the language at the death of persons who had had them for names. These dropped words were replaced by longer descriptive words coined for the purpose.

Only one word has been found in the language which appears to be reduplicated. The aboriginal flute is called milimi or milmil in Hupa, and in related dialects balbal. It is possible that some etymology will appear to explain this apparent exception.

Very few words or word-parts seem to be onomatopoetic in their origin. There is a verb, kyōwindil it rang, the root of which, -dil, no doubt represents the sound of striking metals. Another verb closely resembling this is kyōwoīket, which is used of the creaking of trees. The sounds of nature which occur may be represented, but they have no other meaning. They do not stand for the thing or animal which makes them: for example, dūl dūvenne (dūl it sounded) is said of an arrow striking the sky; dūl dūvenne (dūl it sounded), of a ball of wood striking a wall of obsidian; and ka ka dūvenne (ka ka it said), of the cawing of a crow.

For the most part, both the monosyllabic words and the elements of the longer words are to all appearances the ultimate facts of the language. They express fundamental concepts and relations, which are no more resolvable into parts than are the syllables which express them. These elements, simple words, roots, prefixes, and suffixes, are not very numerous (probably less than a thousand), but the combinations of which they are capable are very great. Many combinations theoretically possible are not logically possible, and of these only those for which there was a frequent need in the life of the people really existed as words.

§ 88
The Mezdildin Poor Man

Mezdildin 1 dedin 2 tciteltowen 3 haiûn 4 kittekîn 5 nikkyao 6
poor he grew. And
spoon large
he had. And she used to make soup.
mix 12 yasaqît 13 haiyû 11 takeîmil 8 haiûn 4 Laïûx 9 hai 10 xôkittekîn 11
with he used to that she used to then he used to And
pore up, one. make soup dip it up.
aiwe 17 xôwûsî 18 wakinninats 19 haiyal 20 yauwxaun 21 tçondesne 22
away from him he cut a hole through And, "Let me dip it up," he thought.
Laïûx 9 xôsî 23 xaniqûts 24 tcînteren 25 hai xôkittekîn Laïûx 9
And in vain ran through. He looked at the his spoon. At once

1 mezdîl canoe; -diâ locative suffix, place of or place at (§§ 21, 84).
2 dedin poor, not having possessions.
3 tci- sign of 3rd per. sing. (§ 83); -tc- prefix, distributive as regards time or place (§ 84); -l, 3d
   modal in verbs, mostly transitive (§ 37); -tcr- verbal root, to make, to do, to grow; class II, con.
   3, 3d per. sing.
4 hai- probably the article; -âh termination common to temporal adverbs and conjunctions.
5 kil- possessive prefix of animals (§ 80); -kî horn, the spoon was of horn.
6 xîk- one of the prefixes of adjectives (§ 78); -kyoâ root of adjective large; compare to wîkkoâ
   (note 125).
7 tci-, -l, see note 3; -an verbal root meaning to have position, hence the notion of possession.
8 tcr- prefix employed of soup-making, drinking, probably connected with tô water (§ 31); -cr-
   prefix, weak in form and of little force in meaning. It is connected with verbs requiring repeated
   motions for a single act (§ 34); -m- sign of customary tense (§ 34); -mil verbal root meaning to let
   fall or to throw several small objects of the same or different kinds, probably the cooking-
   stones in this case; class II, con. 1, cust., 3d per. sing.
9 tcr- the numeral one. There is an element of surprise at the quickness of the act.
10 hai- the article is always employed with the possessive third person.
11 xî- possessive prefix of 3rd per. sing. or pl., employed only of adult Hupa; see also note 5.
12 xîl- pronominal prefix of 3rd per. sing. when adult Hupa are not meant; -l post-position with.
13 yau- prefix used of motion up into, or horizontally through, the air (§ 31); -a- sign of customary
   tense, a is due to the preceding a of yau-; qal a verbal root used of pushing something into a yielding
   mass; class I, con. 1, cust., 3d per. sing.
14 xai- the article; -yo a demonstrative used of the more remote.
15 xîl probably the same as in note 12, above; it is often used of time.
16 yau-, -a see note 13; -auqg verbal root referring to water or a liquid; class I, con. 1, cust., 3d per.
   sing.
17 aiwe away, at a distance, not in the presence of; no connection with other words has
   been found.
18 xîl- pronominal prefix of 3d per.; -wâ post-position used of motion toward or away from, according
   to the context.
19 xau- prefix meaning through (§ 31); -kin- 1st modal prefix of uncertain meaning (§ 84); -mîn- 2d
   modal of completed action (§ 85); -fats verbal root to cut; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.
20 hai- probably the article; -ya with hai- it forms an adverb there; -l perhaps the post-position
   (see note 12).
21 yau- see note 13; -ig sign of 1st per. sing.; class II, con. 1, pres. indef., 1st per. sing.
22 tc- deictic 3d per. sing.; -s- 2d modal indicating progressive action; -ne verbal root, to think;
   irregular verb, past def., 3d per. sing.
23 xîl indicates that whatever was attempted failed; it is to be construed with yauqauq (see
   note 16).
24 xîl- see note 19; -qats verbal root.
25 tc- deictic 3d per. sing.; -nîl contraction of -nîwîl of which -nîl is a 1st modal prefix of uncertain
   meaning and -tcl- has wî, 2d modal of imperative action, and -l, 3d modal of transitive force; -cn
   verbal root meaning to look; class II, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.
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yoneyiduka 26 mil xeektseL 27 Lasaux innaisdakkai 36 Lasaux
back of the he threw it
from he got up. At once
mitdaile 29 tceniayi 30 haiun hai xota 31 haiyo xoldwenne 22
outside he went out. Then the his father that one
referred to him.
aye 33 na tceniayi 30 munkutnikkayae 34 haiun wun 35 xoikyae 36
Way across he has gone Munkutnikkayae. And about it his mind
out
naniya 37 hai axoltcitenenne 33 taistse 39 muxxa 40 tcitiesayi 41 haiun
studied that he had said of him. Sowthower after it he went. And
xolteliti 43 xolinonilii 43 mil yissunhit 44 xuLedin adenenne xa 45
with him With him it finished then the next day in the morning he said, "Well
burned. burning
hwa 46 min winyale 47 hai daiditi 48 haidaid tcetlua 49 haiun
me for it come along." (The (explanation there it always came Then
was)

26 yon- the seat of honor back of the fire, corner; yi- a prefix common to names of direction; -dek together with yi-, has the meaning of up hill and the derived meaning of east. The word as a whole applies to the bank back of the fire, where the belongings of the men are kept.
27 zee- prefix meaning away from, used with verbs of throwing; - first modal; -L- third modal; -tse- verbal root, to throw, to pound; class II, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.
28 in- prefix of uncertain meaning, but employed of the act of arising from a reclining position: -ma- prefix of iteration; -la- 2d modal of durative force; -dek, d 3d modal; -ay verbal root of acts performed with the legs (or other long instrument); class III, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.
29 midaile the space in front of the house; midle is probably the possessive prefix; compare mititido (see note 131).
30 tec- prefix meaning out of; -ay verbal root to go, used only in singular; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.
31 laf father, not used without a possessive prefix.
32 zol indirect object 3d per. sing.; -ne verbal root to say, to sing, to make a noise; irreg. past def., 3a per. sing.
33 yu- adverb, probably from a demonstrative stem, employed of the most remote.
34 mukukale lake; nikkayao compare note 6. This is the name given to Trinity Summit, a mountain of 6,500 feet elevation east of Hupa valley.
35 wun post-position which does not have a pronominal prefix for 3d per. sing., except when an adult Hupa is referred to.
36 kyuk heart or vitalis, the organ of cognition.
37 na- perhaps meaning down, from above, is employed of things coming into existence; -ya verbal root to go, to come; class I, con. 1, past def., 3a per. sing.
38 a- prefix found with verbs of thinking, saying, and doing.
39 tais- probably connected with tsi- of tsikayog; -tse- brush, small shrubs.
40 muk- pronominal prefix of which only w- is constant, the remainder of the syllable follows; -wa post-position, after.
41 liti- deictic, 3d per. sing.; -te- distributive prefix; -2d modal of durative action; -yat to go; class I, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.
42 -li verbal root to burn, in an intransitive sense only; class I, con. 3, past def., 3a per. sing.
43 -nay- prefix indicating the coming to a stop or end; -nay- for -nun; class I, con. 2, past def., 3a per. sing.
44 yisunhit- apparently a verb, of which yi- deictic 3d per. sing. (not an adult Hupa), -2d modal, and -ay the root; compare yisum day; -hit conjunctural suffix when.
45 xa- seems to terminate a discussion and attract attention to some proposition. It is also used to give assent to a proposition.
46 hy- pronominal prefix of 1st per. sing.; a post-position meaning in the interest of, for the benefit of.
47 wa- prefix found in a few where the inception of the act is in the mind of the speaker (compare § 28); -li- sign of 2d per. sing.; -ya- verbal root to go; -L- suffix indicating the continuation of the act over space; class I, con. 1, imp. 2d per. sing.
48 daididitio, the meaning of this word as a whole is more apparent than that of its parts. It is employed to introduce the explanation of a mastery. The first syllable, dail- or daid-, is apparently the element which gives the indefiniteness to interrogative and indefinite pronouns.
49 tec- the prefix mentioned in teminuyai (see note 98), but here it is used of coming out of the surrounding forest into a glade; -aug verbal root connected with -AUG UNDULATING MOVEMENT, as of a herd.
the his brother he told, "Well me for it come along." "Well then, let it kill him.

the something. You it is first two three together stand

between you must they run in. Then they started. Münkünükkyäo they went up.

Lômachtûtćiîn they came There elks were about

the glade on. Then he said to him, "You here around

sindâh you stay. I distant along I will sit for Then they smelled him.

xôkyatciîn them ran on him they ran. Then they killed

xôkût danakindiyan haiûn tak tceselwen

xôkût the form used in speaking to children or non-Hupa adults. Compare axôltcitdenne (see note 39), which is the form ordinarily employed in speaking to adults.

xô- probably the same as xô discussed in note 45; -te- is unknown; -te- is used of concessions and negations which are sweeping.

-ô- the object; -e- a prefix found in this verb only; -e- regularly indicates 3d per. of imp.; -L- 3d modal; -e- verbal root to kill (this form of it occurs in pres. indef. and imp.), compare -ên in tceselwen (see note 74).

di- probably connected with the demonstrative stem de-: -hupë suffix often employed to give indefiniteness. This word is often used to avoid a word of ill omen.

eh is employed to point a contrast.

î. l. has a reciprocal force: -tciîn post-position, toward.

-xan verbal root employed of the standing position of trees.

mitl- pronominal prefix; -tciîn post-position between.

ye- prefix into, the correlative of -e-. 3d modal (-e- sign of 2d per. sing. is dropped before it); -La verbal root to run (the past has -Lal); -në suffix, often found in the imperative, having the force of duty or necessity; class IV, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.

-deL verbal root to go, used only of the dual or plural. Compare têteslây (see note 41); class I, con. 3, past def., 3d per. dual.

-xa- prefix up, here up a hillside: the delictic (îcit-, is not used after xa-); class I, con. 3, past def., 3d per. dual.

Lo- monosyllabic noun gramm. leaf; -ma- probably border; -te- diminutive suffix; -jâl- upon; -ïcîn locative suffix toward.

Compare teclida (see note 38), the singular. This is the dual.

mik- possessive prefix; -ya- antlers; -qôde sharp, pointed (?).

na- prefix used of indefinite motion over the ground. Compare tclida (see note 49).

Lo- grass; -jâl on.

The position of the speaker. Compare haiya, the more remote position.

mitl- pronominal prefix; -ma- post-position around, about.

x- prefix found in the present of a few verbs (compare -se- 2d modal prefix); -da verbal root to sit, to remain; -në suffix, perhaps from -në (see note 58).

wên- prefix used of pursuit or attempted action; -w- 2d modal of imperative force; -e- sign of 1st per. sing., found only in the definite tenses: -w- verbal root to sit; -we suffix used to express the future. -yai- sign of plural, employed of animals, etc. (for adult Hupa -ya- is used); -ô- object; -tceslen verbal root to smell, it has L preceding it when it is transitive, but does not have it when it is intransitive; class II, con. 1, past def., 3a per. pl.

xô- pronominal prefix; -kya- post-position away from; -ïcîn locative suffix.

-adc verbal root to move in an undulating line. It is employed of the motion of a pack-train.

The verb is singular, since the band as a whole is the subject. Class II, con. 3, past def., 3a per. sing.

-dë- prefix which literally means on something higher than the ground, perhaps figurative here; -kun- of uncertain force; -di- 3d modal; -gn verbal root used of the movements of deer and elk; class III, con. 1d, past def., 3a per. sing.

-te- sign of 3d per., a variant for te- and te- found in teisselwen, teisselwen (below); -seg-, -se- is the prefix mentioned in note 88; -2d modal, is dropped before L 3d modal; -wën verbal root to kill; class II, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.
mikkyaqótse haiyá 15 Lenaiyaniillai 15 haiya xókút yalweL 15 haiyá

Then they built a fire. There on them it became night.

xolín axólctidenne dikkýun tcin 17 dón dóxolwil 17 xa² naidil 19

his brother he said to him. "Here they say it is no one spends Come let us go

menesgít 18 hai dikkýun nehelwelte 11 haiyá dúnxawéñhwuñ 83

I am afraid." "The here we will spend the night." Then several times

axólctidenne yuñinhít 22 xótcin tcwintcwú 84 axólctinne 85 mil

he said it to him. Finally on his account he cried. He kept telling him with

naídil haiyá kút wilweL xótésdihwen 86 haiyá kítewestee 87

"Let us Then already it was night. It grew dark. Then the wind blew.

yuñinhít axólctidenne xa² tcwite Lekilla 88 kút ainúwísnen 89

Finally he said to him. "Well, firewood gather. Already you have decided,

bwelwelte 90 haiyá kút Leyasillai 91 Lenaiyaniillai xóhow 92

'I will spend Then already they gathered it. They built a fire. Some way

akidúwenne 93 xówinít 94 haiyahidjit haiyó adenne xa² naidil dau 96

It sounded. It thundered. And then that one said, "Well, let us go "No,"

home."
teitdenne he said, "already some in vain I said to you, 'Let us go home.' You did not want to."

taxdjox xundin haiyaditdjit xowun

Then again it sounded still closer. And then for him xodje xundin hai yahitdjit xowun

his mind was sorry. He said to him, "Two the firs between you must run in

dai kyayun noinkutsa mil hai kyayun kout noltun mil hai

here it lights when. And already it dropped. Then the neksin mittak yexonan haiyoy noltun laaiux yiyuwiyin

firs between they ran in. That one lit. Immediately it began to eat hai mikkyaqottse laaiux yinnelyan haiyaditdjit laaiux xo'

the elk. Really it ate them up. And then at once in vain xaitenen vairoltn xokutcin yaltun laaiux hai nesin

it looked for. It found them. On them it jumped. Really the firs

minnakidelai haiyun xo' mikkut danaduwilal yudinbit at'in

t he embraced. Then in vain at it he shot. Finally all
toezininiitai haiyal hai xolin alteitdenne nittsidukana we

he shot out. And the his brother he told, "Your quiver

98 Note the omission of the prefix a- when the object stands directly before a verb of saying or thinking.
98 in xolidendenne (below). These indirect objects are really adverbial phrases containing a post-position

99 d- negative prefix; -mak- pronominal prefix; -ka- post-position after; -na- prefix over the

99 surface of the ground; -2d modal; -at- sign of 2d per. sing.; -at- verbal root to have in one's

99 possession. The literal meaning of this phrase is said to be, YOU DID NOT CARRY IT IN YOUR

99 HAND.

100 -na- iterative prefix. Compare aktidenne (see note 98), employed of the first occurrence.

100 xo'j- probably for xotc night, exact, ic having become dj because of their change from final to

100 initial position.

100 zo- possessive prefix; -dje mind.

100 -dje verbal root to waste away.

101 re- prefix denoting a position of rest on the surface of the ground; -nfh- 2d modal required by

101 -zut- verbal root to pass through the air.

102 -d'at- verbal root to jump, to alight. As is usual with Hupa verbs, the root defines the kind of

102 act without reference to the fact of its beginning or ending, which is expressed by prefixes. Class IV

102 con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

103 -at- prefix of unknown meaning; -an verbal root to run, used of dual and plural only; compare

103 yeilane (p. 155); class I, con. 1, past def., 3d per. dual.

104 -y- deictic of the third person when not a Hupa adult; -ku- 1st modal prefix used when the

104 object is not known or not definitely named; -yam verbal root to eat; class I, con. 1, past def., 3a

104 per. sing.

105 -nal- contraction for -nawel-, of which the prefix evidently has reference to the completion of

the act; class II, con. 1, past def., 3a per. sing.

106 xo- prefix indicating pursuit or search (the form xo- is due to the subject not being an adult

106 Hupa); xo- probably a contraction for -tawel-; -en verbal root to look; class I, con. 1, past def., 3a

106 per. sing.

107 -x- object; -l- 3d modal; -lun verbal root to see, to find; class II, con. 4, past, 3a per. sing.

108 min- pronominal prefix; mai- post-position around; -laf verbal root apparently connected with

108 la hand. It was explained that the wings had teeth on them; these the bird drove into the tree

108 with great force.

109 da- prefix position higher than the earth; -mad- indicating a position perpendicular as

109 regards some plane; -a- verbal root to have position; -i suffix denoting repeated acts.

110 fee- prefix out of; -ka- prefix used of acts completed, the means being exhausted; -its verbal

110 root to shoot; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

111 zo- possessive prefix; -teidukana the quiver of fisher-skin; -na- prefix over the surface of

111 the ground; -at- verbal root to carry.
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huwulwul 114 haiax xowa[115] yudinhit xolukai 116 tesyaye 117
throw to me." And he threw it to Finally dawn he came

xoa' tindin yudinhit naxait 118 nateses noendiyan 119 haiyahitdjit
everywhere. At last two only arrows were left. And then
missati'kints haiyahitdjit naitsit 119 tsisselwen haiyal teenaindeL
he shot it in its mouth. And then it fell. He killed it. And they came out.

natesdel kutt tsisselwen haiya medildin naindeL a'tinka'esunte 112
They started Already he killed it. There Medildin they arrived. All kinds
of his home.

ada 113 tcites'an haiun la towinka'ya 125 yaxolctitdenne medil
for he came to own. Then once the river was They said to him, "Canoe
himself high.

taintu 116 hai dohexotcyawenne 127 x0' wunnayaidsel 118
take out of The he did not do it. In vain they tried.

dohetaylsta haiya xanai'sdel haiun Luwunni 119 teenia'ya
They did not take There they came up Then he went out.

hai medil xalstan taikyuw mitsida 121 datcuwintan haiyuka
The canoe he brought up. Sweat-house its roof he put it on. This way

kitteseox anuweste 132
smart his nature was.

114 hu- indirect object; -wal- from the prefix -wa- (used of handing an object to any one) and l 3d modal, a becomes u in 2d per. sing., probably because of the accent; -wal-, verbal root to throw a long object; class II, con. 2, 2d per. sing. imp.

115 x0- indirect object; -il-, -nil- would be expected; -eal- another form of the root in huwulwul; class II, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

116 x0- see note 86 above; -l-, prefix found with many adjectives; -h- root of adjective white. The "Dawn maiden" is meant by x0lukai.

117 -yel suffix giving emphasis to verb indicating the accomplishment of acts which are gradual, or which require several attempts.

118 -x- two; -nil- limiting suffix only.

119 -el- 3d modal; -yan verbal root used of the position of certain objects, such as baskets, etc.

120 mi- possessive prefix; -el- mouth.

121 na- prefix down; -el- 3d modal; -el- verbal root to fall.

122 x0'el- all; -el- suffix with adjectives and adverbs, kind, way; -el- verbal root to appear, to have a certain nature.

123 ad- reflexive pronoun; a post-position for. Compare ha-a (see note 46).

124 Compare teil'um, note 7, p. 153.

125 lo- the more common word for water in Athapaskan dialects (in Hupa it is found in compounds and is applied to the ocean); -yu' root of adjectival root to become large.

126 lu- prefix out of the water; -in- sign of 2d per. sing.; -tuy- verbal root employed of large objects only; this form is confined to the indefinite tenses; class I, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.

127 don- negative prefix; -he adds emphasis to the negation (see note 51, p. 156); -x0- not know delictic; -ne verbal root to do a specified act; irreg. past def., 3d per. sing.

128 wun- see note 35.

129 -tan verbal root, another form of -tuy (see note 126).

130 l- probably from la- one.

131 nil- possessive prefix; -sidel- roof (?).

132 -wes- see note 87; -je (see note 122).
TLINGIT

BY

JOHN R. SWANTON
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TLINGIT

By John R. Swanton

§1. DISTRIBUTION

The Tlingit or Koluschan language is spoken throughout south-eastern Alaska, from Dixon entrance and Portland canal to Copper river, with the exception of the south end of Prince of Wales island, which is occupied by Haida. An interior tribe of British Columbia, the Tagish, are said to belong to the same linguistic stock, but it is by no means certain that they have not adopted the language from their Chilkat neighbors. Such a change is said, at any rate, to have taken place in the the language of the Ugalakmiut, or Ugalentz, of Kayak island and the neighboring mainland, who were formerly Eskimo and have now become thoroughly Tlingitized.

The principal part of the material on which this sketch is based was obtained at Sitka, but I also have considerable material from Wrangell, and one long story from Yakutat. Although each town appears to have had certain dialectic peculiarities, it would appear that the language nowhere varied very widely and that the differences were mainly confined to the different arrangement and handling of particles; the lexical changes being comparatively few and the structure practically uniform. The greatest divergence is said to exist between the Yakutat people on the one hand and the people of Wrangell and the other southern towns on the other—the speech at Sitka, Huna, Chilkat, Auk, Taku, and Killisnoo being intermediate—but I have not enough material to establish the entire accuracy of this classification. Anciently the people belonging to this stock, or a part of them, lived at the mouths of the Nass and Skeena rivers, on the coast now occupied by the Tsimshian, and the universal acknowledgment of this by the people themselves is probably evidence that it was at no very ancient date. Perhaps this recent spread of the people is responsible for the comparative uniformity of their
language. Phonetically, at least, the divergence between the Skidegate and Masset dialects of Haida is much greater than that of the various Tlingit dialects.

Although they must be treated as entirely distinct stocks, Tlingit, Haida, and the languages of the interior Indians, or Athapascan, may be classed in one morphological group. The two former agree in the order which the processes and usually the words themselves observe, although it is not imperative in Tlingit, as in Haida, that the verb should stand at the end. The two also resemble each other in expressing location by means of a multitude of post-positions, or particles with the aspect of post-positions; but Tlingit is noteworthy for its entire lack of locative affixes to the verb, as well as for extreme punctiliousness in expressing the state of an action—as to whether it is beginning, completed, in a transitory state, etc. In spite of these peculiarities and the fact that there is very little lexical similarity, several processes present such striking similarities that, in conjunction with the morphological agreement, an impression is given of a more intimate former relationship.

**PHONETICS (§§ 2, 3)**

§ 2. Sounds

The following table gives Tlingit phonetics arranged so as to show the inter-relationships of sounds:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Sonant</th>
<th>Surd</th>
<th>Fortis</th>
<th>Spirant</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Semi-vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td>$d$</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>$t'$</td>
<td>$(s)$</td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>$w$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibilants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricatives, s series</td>
<td>$dz$</td>
<td>$ts$</td>
<td>$ts'$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricatives, c series</td>
<td>$dj$</td>
<td>$tc$</td>
<td>$tc'$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior palatals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$k'$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatals</td>
<td>$g$</td>
<td>$k$</td>
<td>$k'$</td>
<td>$x$</td>
<td>$y$</td>
<td>$y$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$q$</td>
<td>$q'$</td>
<td>$x$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>$l$</td>
<td>$l'$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$l$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breathing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$h$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels: $\ddot{u}$ (or $\ddot{e}$), $u$ (or o), $\lambda$, $a$ ($\ddot{a}$ under the accent), $\ddot{i}$ (or $\ddot{e}$), $i$ (or e).

Many of these also occur in Haida, to the account of which language the student is referred; but the $l$ and $\ddot{n}$ of the latter language, along with the entire labial series, except $w$, are wanting, although $m$ appears in a few words imitating natural sounds and in words intro-
duced from other stocks, such as the Tsimshian; 1, however, is usually transliterated as n. To make up for this loss of phonetic elements, the number of sibilants and related sounds is greatly increased. Where Haida has only s, dj, tc, and tc!, we find here s, s!, c (pronounced like English sh), dj, tc, tc!, dz, ts, and ts!. The g is not pronounced so far back as Haida q, but, on the other hand, there is a sonant (y), which is pronounced by the younger people exactly like English y. As indicated, three palatal fortes seem to be used; but it is so difficult to distinguish k! from k! that I have not been able to carry out the distinction in my texts. After many palatals a slightly sounded u (or o) occurs, represented by u or o, which develops in certain situations into a full u (or o) sound.

§ 3. Phonetic Processes

Harmonic changes are very few and special. Thus the reflexive prefix c appears as tc or dj occasionally, though I am unable to lay down a rule for the alteration, especially since it occurs in words otherwise identical, as wuckik'iye'n or wudjikik'iye'n BROTHERS TO ONE ANOTHER. Another tendency is for a final surd to change to the corresponding sonant when a vowel is suffixed, as—

- qawā'q eye
- yugo'qtc the trap
- yēk spiritual helper
- lēltc gadu'lidjā'qē nothing to kill with (instead of lēltc gadu'lidjā'qē)
- duqawā'qē his eye
- yugo'qtdjau the trap it was
- duyē'qī his spiritual helper
- lēltc gadu'lidjā'qē nothing to kill with (instead of lēltc gadu'lidjā'qē)

More important than either of the above is the employment of o or u in place of i or e when preceded by certain sounds. This takes place usually when x, q, or q! precedes and is itself preceded by o or u. Thus we have wuqō'z TO GET TO A CERTAIN PLACE BY CANOE and wuqōzō'n HE HAD FORMERLY COME ASHORE THERE; kunūk DID, kunugū'n WHILE DOING. In duq'ua' HIS MOUTH (from q'a mouth), at uxa'a' HE ATE SOMETHING (from xa TO EAT), the u is inserted.

Since y belongs to the same series of k sounds, it is treated in the same manner, and, on account of the weakness of the sound, changes to w. Therefore, when yi is suffixed to a word ending in u, it changes to wu; as, Xuts!nuwū' GRIZZLY-BEAR FORT, instead of Xuts!nuwyē'; dutuwu' HIS MIND, instead of dutuyē'; and we might add dugā'wu HIS DRUM (from gao drum). Sometimes, though not invariably, wu is

1See Phonetics of Tsimshian.
used after a, especially when a is accented: as, anqā'wu CHIEF, gok'qvanā'wu IF THERE WERE GOING TO BE DEATH, ducazá'wu HIS HAIR. A similar phenomenon exists in Kwakiutl, Chinook, and Dakota.

The strengthening of "a, as in duyā'gu HIS CANOE (from yāk* canoe) and daq ā'tunago'qoawé WHEN SALMON WERE RUNNING UP (from ā'tunagogo*), must not be confused with this.

Contraction of a-i to e occurs, and will be referred to on p. 172.

§ 4. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

Grammatical relations are indicated by affixes and by juxtaposition, reduplication being absolutely wanting. Suffixes are few compared with prefixes, but the number of prefixes is not very great, the categories of ideas expressed in this manner being limited. The word-unit is, on the whole, very loose, so that many prefixes might as well be considered as particles. Some of them seem to be essentially of the character of modal adverbs. Others, whose connection with the verb is even weaker, are pronouns and local adverbs. The last group is apparently much more closely connected with the noun, in regard to which particles of this class appear as post-positions, while in relation to the verb they appear as prefixes. A number of elements which appear as suffixes of both verbs and nouns are weak in character and are very intimately connected with the word to which they are attached. In some cases they cause or undergo phonetic changes which result in a still closer amalgamation of the two constituent elements.

§ 5. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The distinction between noun and verb is fairly clear, although a number of stems appear both as verbs and nouns, and a few nominal stems appear as incorporated adverbial elements. Plurality is not expressed in the noun, but there is a suffix indicating the collective. The plural of terms of relationship is formed by the same element that expresses the third person plural of the personal pronoun. Possessive pronouns are related to the personal pronouns, but the idea of possession requires the addition of a suffix to the noun possessed. The possessive forms for terms of relationship differ from those for other nouns. There are no true cases, although some post-positions which express local relations are intimately connected with the noun. The number of these is very large.

§§ 4, 5
The most characteristic trait of the verb is the occurrence of a number of prefixes, the significance of which has come to be so weak that they appear rather as formal elements than as clearly distinct categories. It has not been possible to give more than an enumeration of these. They are evidently modal in character and may occur in groups. A few suffixes are common to verbs and nouns. Verbal suffixes are temporal or semi-temporal in character, express finality, or transform verbal expressions into nouns. The Tlingit has a very strong tendency to recapitulate statements by means of demonstratives, which are prefixed to nominal and verbal expressions, as well as used with post-positions.

**DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 6-24)**

**The Noun (§§ 6-10)**

**§ 6. Structure**

Nominal stems are mostly monosyllabic and quite distinct from verbal stems. (See §§ 25, 26.)

Nouns are compounded by juxtaposition, the qualifying noun preceding the one qualified; as,

\[
\begin{align*}
gagā' n-q'ōs & \text{ sun-feet (=} \text{sun-beams)} \\
\text{tēq'!-k'ud's red-snapper coat} \\
\text{xā!-s'āx'y root-hat} \\
\text{qo'xa-xa-qaan man-eater-people}
\end{align*}
\]

Parts of the body, except in composition, are always classified by placing qa man before those belonging to a human being, and the name of the corresponding animal before those belonging to animals; as,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qadjī'n a human hand} & \text{ qaq'ō's a human foot} \\
\text{qarā'd q a human eye} & \text{ tanca' a sea-lion's head} \\
\text{qagū'k a human ear} & \text{ qowakā'ng'u a deer's mouth}
\end{align*}
\]

Nouns consisting of a theme and post-positions occur; as,

\[
\text{cī-t'-ka' (cī- behind-on) Sitka. (See § 23, nos. 24, 29.)}
\]

More common are nouns containing a possessive element (-yī or -ī) (see § 10):

\[
\begin{align*}
grī' s' qa'ni sky people & \text{ s'tco a'ni Moss Town} \\
xāt qa'ni salmon people & \text{ tān q'sdadji'yī sea-lion bristles} \\
yāo teyī' herring rock
\end{align*}
\]
Here may belong—

Kiks'-a'di people of the island  an-qā'-wo town’s man (= chief)
Kiks (a Tlingit clan)

Other compounds are:

Go'na-na foreign tribe (the inland Athapascan)  tsi'w-tā't another night (= morning)
Deki'-na far-out tribe (the Haida)

Nouns formed from clauses also occur:

wu-c-ta-cā'-γə a married couple. (See wu- [§ 15.4]; c-reflexive [§ 11];
ta probably = da [§ 14.4]; ca to marry; γə [§ 20.2]
yu-t'aq!ā'-ye-t mortar (yu- that [§ 12]; t'aq!ā to pound; -ye [§ 20.2]; ·
tpurposive suffix [§ 20.1])
tō-wu-si-yet whistle (tō into; ux to blow; si [?]; ye [§ 20.2]; -t [§ 20.1])
Yāk💕-kalaseq! s'k canoe-resting-place (a place name) (yāk💕 canoe;
ka-, ta-, se- verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 18.4, 1]; ga stem [?])
Kat-nag-tin, white-rock-on-top-of-another (Ring island) (?)
Yu'g! a-ka'na-x-at-yadyu'q point he threw something across (yu-
demonstrative; q.'a a point; ka'na post-position probably com-
pounded of ka' on, and na near; at thing; ya-, du- [§ 15.3; § 17.3]
verbal prefixes; gunq to throw)
yu-sq-iga'-wuwu'at the thing that helped him (yu-
demonstrative; ac personal pronoun of third person; ga for; wu-
verbal prefix; su stem; -wu infinitive or possessive suffix)
Cə'nyak!'-='lāx moldy-corner (of salmon), (a personal name) (cə'nya-
corner; k.'= probably diminutive suffix; lāx moldy)

Adjectives, except numerals, follow the noun qualified.

§ 7. Intensive Suffix

When special attention is to be paid to anything, an intensive suffix,
-tc, is employed. Thus Lingi't'tc is the intensive form of Lingi't
people; Kiks'ad'i'tc, the emphatic form of the name of the clan Kiks'ad'i;
gawaq'tc, the emphatic form of gawaq' eyes; āhāntc, the emphatic
form of āhān (we); and lel'tc never, the emphatic form of the nega-
tive particle lēl not.

§ 8. Diminutive Suffix

Smallness is indicated by suffixing -k.' or -k.'; as,

x'iste!'k.' little frog (from x'iste! frog)
āk.' little lake (from ā lake)

§§ 7, 8
This suffix is used much with terms of relationship, sometimes probably in an endearing sense; as,

\[\text{c\text{'ank}" grandchild} \quad \text{s\text{'ik}" daughter}\]
\[\text{t\text{'ik}" grandparent} \quad \text{k\text{'ek}" nephew or niece}\]
\[\text{l\text{'ak}" little mother, mother's sister}\]

§ 9. Collective

With animate or inanimate objects, but more often the latter, the sense of a LOT OF OR A HEAP OF is expressed by suffixing q' or q'?; as,

\[\text{L\text{'ing}'t man or men} \quad \text{L\text{'ing}'ty!' many men together}\]
\[\text{t\text{'a} stone} \quad \text{t\text{'eq}' stones lying in a heap}\]
\[\text{q\text{'at}' island} \quad \text{q\text{'at}'i' islands}\]
\[\text{h\text{'it}' house} \quad \text{h\text{'it}'i' houses}\]
\[\text{gux slave} \quad \text{guxy!' slaves}\]

That this is not a true plural is shown on the one hand by the fact that its employment is not essential, and on the other by the fact that it is occasionally used where no idea of plurality, according to the English understanding of that term, exists. Thus yuyā'i lang! THE BIG WHALE may be said of a single whale, the suffix indicating that the whale was very large, and that it had many parts to be cut out. Therefore it may best be called a collective suffix.

With terms of relationship the plural is more often indicated by placing has after the noun:

\[\text{duk\text{'a}k his uncle, duk\text{'a}k has} \quad \text{du\text{'at his aunt, du\text{'at has his aunts}}\]

\[\text{Has also fulfills the office of a personal pronominal prefix in the third person plural, but it is probable that the pronominal function is secondary (see § 11).}\]

Instead of has, some terms of relationship take yên, often in conjunction with the collective suffix q’; as,

\[\text{duk\text{'a}ni his brother-in-law} \quad \text{duk\text{'a}ni yên his brothers-in-law}\]
\[\text{k\text{'i}k' younger brother} \quad \text{w\text{'uck\text{'i}k' yên brothers to each other (w\text{'u}-% § 15.4; c-§ 11)}\]
\[\text{du\text{'a}t his wife} \quad \text{du\text{'a}t yên his wives}\]

§ 10. Possession

Possession is expressed by the possessive pronoun, which precedes the noun, and by a suffix which is attached to the term for the thing possessed, except when it is a term of relationship or part of the body, §§ 9, 10
or one of a few other terms. This suffix is -ți after the vowels ă, i, e, ĭ, ę, and sometimes after a; -i after consonants; and -wu and -woo after u or o and occasionally after a. Examples are—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yao teți} & \text{ herring’s rock} \\
\text{țixtc’k’} & \text{ ciyı’ little frog’s song}
\end{align*}
\]

The possessive pronouns are—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & \text{ my} \\
\text{i} & \text{ thy} \\
\text{du} & \text{ his} \\
\text{ač} & \text{ his own}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ači’c} & \text{ my father} \\
\text{duła’} & \text{ his mother} \\
\text{duaxćiți} & \text{ his paddle} \\
\text{duwintsi’ağı’} & \text{ her cane} \\
\text{hasduçayi’i} & \text{ their anchor}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{icati’} & \text{ thy wife} \\
\text{dutiq’} & \text{ his heart} \\
\text{dutći’ni} & \text{ his dream} \\
\text{dühit’i} & \text{ his house} \\
\text{dvati’ni} & \text{ his town}
\end{align*}
\]

The demonstrative a may sometimes replace the forms of the third person; as, ača’ti’ his head.

It seems possible that the suffix -i (-u, -ți, -wu) is identical with the participial suffix to be discussed in § 20.2.

§ 11. The Personal Pronoun

There are three series of personal pronouns: the subjective, objective, and independent. The last of these evidently contains demonstrative elements, and may be strengthened by the intensive suffix (§ 7). The third person objective with verbs and post-positions is sometimes a, while du and hasdu are used only with post-positions. In the following table these pronouns are given, together with the possessive pronoun:

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Subjective} & \text{Objective} & \text{Possessive} & \text{Independent} \\
\hline
\text{1st per. sing.} & x, xa & xăt & a & xa \\
\text{2d per. sing.} & i & i & i & \text{voa’} \\
\text{3d per. sing. reflexive} & \{ a \} & \{ du \} & \text{du} & \text{hu} \\
\text{3d per. sing.} & \{ ač \} & \{ \} & \text{ } & \text{ } \\
\text{1st per. pl.} & tu & ha & ha & \text{uhă’n} \\
\text{2d per. pl.} & ı’ & ı’ & ı’ & \text{yı’că’n} \\
\text{3d per. pl. reflexive} & \{ (has) \} & \{ hasdu \} & \text{has} & \text{ } \\
\text{3d per. pl.} & \{ \text{hasdu} \} & \text{hasdu} & \text{has} & \text{ } \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

§ 11
In composition the objective pronoun always precedes the subjective, and both may be separated by verbal prefixes. The use of the independent pronoun in a sentence does not affect the verbal compound, and the pronominal prefixes must be repeated.

The subjective pronoun appears as the subject of all active verbs, no matter whether they have an object or not. Some verbs that have no object take an indefinite object, at something; for instance,

\[ at \, xa \, xa \, I \, eat \, something \]
\[ at \, xa \, c\hat{\imath}q \, I \, laugh \]

Has is freer in its position than the pronouns described before. It seems probable that it was not originally a pronoun.

Examples of the use of the pronoun are the following:

\[ x\hat{a}tc \, q'ax\hat{a}w\hat{u}w's!\hat{a}in \, I \, questioned \, him \, (xa \, I, \, independent; \, -tc \, intensive \, suffix \,[§ \, 7]; \, q'at \, mouth \,[§ \, 14.1]; \, xa \, I, \, subjective, \, wu- \, verbal \, prefix \,[§ \, 15.4]; \, -s!\hat{a}in \, stem) \]
\[ hu \, x\hat{a}tc \, q'ax\hat{a}w\hat{u}w's!\hat{a}in \, he \, questioned \, me \, (hu \, independent \, pronoun; \, x\hat{a}tc \, emphatic \, form \, of \, objective) \]
\[ iq'ax\hat{a}w\hat{u}w's!\hat{a}in \, I \, questioned \, thee \, (\, i, \, thee; \, q'at \, mouth; \, xa \, I) \]
\[ wae'tc \, x\hat{a}t \, q'ax\hat{a}w\hat{u}w's!\hat{a}in \, thou \, questioned \, me \, (\, wae'tc \, emphatic \, form \, of \, independent \, pronoun; \, x\hat{a}t \, me; \, q'at-i \, contracted \, to \, q'et \, mouth \, thou) \]
\[ uh\hat{a}ntc \, q'atw\hat{u}w's!\hat{a}in \, we \, questioned \, him \, (uh\hat{a}ntc \, emphatic \, form \, of \, independent \, pronoun; \, tu \, we, \, subjective) \]
\[ wae'tc \, haq'axw\hat{u}w's!\hat{a}in \, thou \, questioned \, us \, (ha \, us) \]
\[ uh\hat{a}ntc \, yiq'ax\hat{a}w\hat{u}w's!\hat{a}in \, we \, questioned \, you \, (yi, \, you; \, q'at \, mouth; \, tu \, we, \, subjective) \]
\[ xaq\hat{ix} \, I \, am \, crying \]
\[ uh\hat{a}n \, q\hat{a}x \, t\hat{a}s\hat{a}t\hat{i} \, we \, are \, crying \, (tu \, we; \, wu- \, verbal \, prefix \,[§ \, 18.1]; \, ti \, to \, be) \]
\[ ye \, yuwaq\hat{a} \, she \, said \, thus \, (ye \, adverbial, \, thus; \, ya- \, verbal \, prefix \,[§ \, 15.3]; \, wa- \, verbal \, prefix \,[§ \, 18.2]; \, q\hat{a} \, to \, say) \]
\[ ye \, yu'\hat{a}xaq\hat{a} \, I \, said \, thus \, (\, x \, I; \, wa- \, verbal \, prefix \,[§ \, 18.2]) \]
\[ iwa\hat{s}iti'n \, I \, saw \, thee \, (i \, thee; \, xa \, I; \, si- \, prefix \,[§ \, 18.1]; \, ti\hat{n} \, to \, see) \]
\[ y\hat{ic}asi\hat{ti}'n \, I \, saw \, you \, (yi \, you) \]
\[ x\hat{o}asi\hat{ti}'n \, I \, saw \, him \, (x- \, I; \, the \, use \, of \, o\hat{a} \, here \, is \, not \, explained) \]
\[ x\hat{at}yi\hat{s}iti'n \, ye \, saw \, me \, (\, x\hat{at} \, me; \, yi \, ye) \]
\[ h\hat{ay}si\hat{ti}'n \, ye \, saw \, us \, (ha \, us) \]
\[ h\hat{a}si\hat{ti}'n \, ye \, saw \, them \, (has \, them) \]

Gaya' kade' has awa\hat{a}x they heard it on Gaya' (kade' on; has they; a- indefinite pronoun referring to ci song; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; ax to hear)
akat' has gox ayu has aosit'in when they paddled toward it they saw it (a- indefinite pronoun; kat toward; has they; gox to go by canoe; a-yu indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; o- [§ 17.2]; si- [§ 18.1]; tin to see; here a is used three times; first, replacing xiitce! frog as object of the post-position kat; second, in combination with yu, performing the function of a conjunction, when; and, third, in the principal verb, again taking the place of xiitce!)

The pronoun is contracted with a few verbal prefixes. The i combines with the terminal vowel of preceding verbal elements, as in xat qelwol's!in thou questionest me (q!A-i = q'e mouth thou; xa and the prefix wa- form xoa, although xoa may perhaps originate in other ways also. Contractions are particularly characteristic of the future, which has a prefix gu-. This combines with the first person to guoa (for guwa); with the second person to ge (for gu-i). These forms will be discussed later on (§ 15.5).

§ 12. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

The demonstrative pronouns are used with nouns, with verbs when changed into nouns, in the formation of connectives, and with certain elements which transform them into independent demonstratives.

1. he indicates an object very near and always present.
2. ya indicates an object very near and present, but a little farther away than the preceding.
3. yu indicates an object more remote, but it has now come to perform almost the function of an article.
4. we indicates an object far remote and usually entirely invisible.

It has come to be used almost with the freedom of yu.

Following are examples of their use:

he'tingit this person he'do this place here
ya'tingit this person yat'a this place, this person
yu'tingit the person yu'do i'e a'ni there is thy father's town
we'tingit that person ayu', awel when, that being done

Some of them are also employed with post-positions; as, hāt hither. Sometimes, particularly in songs, another demonstrative, yadi, is heard, which is evidently compounded from ya. It differs from ya in being used to refer to a person who has just been spoken of, but is not actually present.

§ 12
The Verb (§§ 13-21)

§ 13. Structure

Verbal stems are, on the whole, monosyllabic. They take a considerable number of prefixes and a few suffixes. Most of the prefixes have a very weak meaning, and appear in many cases as purely formal elements, while in other cases the underlying meaning may be detected. It seems easiest to classify these prefixes according to their position. In the transitive verb the object precedes the whole verbal complex. Then follow prefixes, stem, and suffixes in the following order:

Prefixes (§§ 14-18)

(1) Nominal prefixes
(2) First modal prefixes.
(3) Pronominal subject.
(4) Second modal prefixes.
(5) Third modal prefixes.
(6) Stem.
(7) Suffixes.

§ 14. NOMINAL PREFIXES

A few monosyllabic nouns are prefixed to the verb. I have found the following:

1. q’la MOUTH OR LIPS.

qeg’ë’di ayu’ yeq’ayaga toward morning she spoke thus (ayu’ indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; ye thus; q’la mouth; ya- verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; qa to say)

yuxáníš! adš’x q’ao’disa’ he blew upon the raft (yu demonstrative; xáníš! raft; a indefinite pronoun; dšx on; q’la mouth; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; dí- verbal prefix [§ 18.3]; sa to blow)

2. tu MIND.

stcawë’ towultesí’n therefore (the Kiks’a’df) are brave (tu mind; wu- verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; li- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; tén strong)

lax wa’sa tuwuni’k he felt very sad (lax very; wa’sa how; tu mind; wu- verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; nuk sad)

3. tu POINT.

dąg ǻ’łunaq’goawse when they were running ashore in a crowd (dąg ashore; a demonstrative; tu point, i.e. crowd; na- at the same time when [§ 17.5]; go’goawse they run)
4. *da-* is employed sometimes with words meaning *to say or tell*, when it seems to indicate an indirect object.

\[ \text{dūkā'niyēn ye dāya'dūga, his brothers-in-law spoke to him thus} \]
\[ \text{ (dū- his; kā'niyēn brothers-in-law; ye thus; da- indirect object;} \]
\[ \text{ ya- [§ 15.3]; dū- [§ 17.3]; qa to say) \]

§ 15. FIRST MODAL PREFIXES

1. *cu-* usually stands before all other prefixes, and indicates that the action of the verb is total, applying to all of the people or objects involved.

\[ \text{got cu'wawīx they had been all killed off} \]
\[ \text{ yadē'x-tāk' cūnawī'xawō when these two years were over (ya- these; dēx two; tāk' year; cu- totally; na- at the same time when} \]
\[ \text{ [§ 17.5]; zīx to finish; awē when) \]
\[ \text{ axodē' yaqā' cūnāqū't he was leading all these men among them (a} \]
\[ \text{ indefinite pronoun; xodē among; ya demonstrative; qa man;} \]
\[ \text{ cu- totally; na- at the same time when [§ 17.5]; gu- to go; -t pur-} \]
\[ \text{ pose [§ 20.1])} \]
\[ \text{ ye yēn ha'sādu cuq! āvadja thus there them all he told (ye thus;} \]
\[ \text{ yēn there; ha'sādu them; cu- totally; qa with mouth [§ 14.1];} \]
\[ \text{ wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; dja to tell) \]
\[ \text{ Kɨksa'dī got cu'wawīx the Kɨksa'dī were all lost (got wholly;} \]
\[ \text{ cu- totally; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; zīx to finish) \]

This prefix appears to be used also as a post position.

\[ \text{ axcu'dī yaqo'x come over to me (ax me; cu entirely; -dī to; ya-} \]
\[ \text{ verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; qox to go by water)} \]

2. *ka-* indicates causation, and performs the functions of a causative auxiliary.

\[ \text{ ax dāq guku'odzīha' she caused a hole to be in it by digging (ax} \]
\[ \text{ literally, from it; dāq shoreward, or into the earth; go- indefinite} \]
\[ \text{ verbal prefix [§ 15.6]; ka- causative; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2];} \]
\[ \text{ dzī- verbal prefix [§ 18.6]; ha stem} \]
\[ \text{ hasdudaka'q! kaodū'liya nu lēn a large fort was caused to be} \]
\[ \text{ lowered down on them (hasdū them; daka'q! out on; ka- to} \]
\[ \text{ cause; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; du- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; ūi-} \]
\[ \text{ verbal prefix [§ 18.5]; nu fort; lēn large) \]
\[ \text{ yids'tsōqetē yōosakq! o'kote ku'osinēx when did your cheek-flesh} \]
\[ \text{ cause a man to be saved? (yids'tsōqetē when; yī your; wač cheek;} \]
\[ \text{ kaq!'okote flesh, with intensive suffix; ka- to cause; o- verbal} \]
\[ \text{ prefix [§ 17.2]; sē- verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; nēx to save)} \]

§ 15
at ka'otiga they caused (the canoe) to be loaded up (at indefinite object [things]; ka- to cause; o- verbal prefix [§17.2]; ti- verbal prefix [§18.4]; ga to load)
ad'e ak'wana doxtnq'wou then he caused his clothes-man to go out (a demonstrative; dè to; a indefinite pronoun; ka- to cause; wa- verbal prefix [§18.2]; na to send; do his; xan clothes; ga man; -wou possessive [see §10])

3. ya- seems to indicate the continuation of an action or state.

yi'ya'xte are you hearing it? (yi ye; ya- verbal prefix; ax to hear; -tc emphatic suffix)
Kiksdi'te s'tcayu xi'xte! has ayahen therefore the Kiksdi claim the frog (a indefinite pronoun; tca adverb; a indefinite pronoun; yu demonstrative; xi'xte! frog; has they; a indefinite pronoun; ya- verbal prefix; hen stem)
hitq'i tux qa'onoqut yucoros't the woman was going through the houses (hit house; -q'i collective suffix; tux through; ya- o- wa- verbal prefixes [§17.2; §18.2]; gu to go; -t purpose [§20.1])

yi'ha'sduq'nx yagatsa'q when he was chasing them (ya demonstrative; ha'sdu them; q'nax after; ga- verbal prefix [§17.4]; tsag to run)

yagog'iti when (he was) traveling (yu demonstrative; ga-, na- [§17.4, 5], verbal prefixes; gu to go; -t -i suffixes [§20.1, 2])

This prefix ya- seems to be identical with the suffix referred to in §20.4.

4. wu- often indicates the passive, but seems to have a very much wider function.

Ci!ka'dè òn has wuq'x they went with him to Baranoff island (Ci Baranoff island; t' behind; ka on; dè to; ò demonstrative; -n with; has they; wu- prefix; gux to go by canoe)
ydayu xi'xte! q'aci'yi wudw'dziku that is how the frog's song came to be known (ye- adverb; a- indefinite pronoun; yu demonstrative; xi'xte! frog; q'a mouth; ci song; -yi possesive [§10]; wu- du- dzé- verbal prefixes [§17.3; §18.6]; ku to know)
wuct'n at wudw'zik? peace was made between them (wu- verbal prefix; o- reflexive [§11]; tìn with; [wuct'n together]; st indefinite object; wu- du- ti- verbal prefixes [§17.3; §18.5]; k'd to be good)

The last of these examples shows a curious use of wu- before the reflexive prefix o-, the latter standing independent of the verb, and being followed by a post-position. This employment of wu- with the reflexive is very common.

§ 15
5. **gu- or gA-.** Future time is denoted by a prefix *gu-* or *gA-*, which is sometimes used much as if it were an independent particle. Besides its strictly future function, it is employed in speaking of any event about to take place as well in the past as the future. In the following simple examples it is often accompanied by the affix *x-* to become, which will be treated in § 15.7.

*wa*da' *st gugoneyi* whatever is going to happen (*wa*da' whatever; *st* indefinite object; *gu-* future; *gona* stem; *-yi* suffix [§ 20.2])

*a*n gugoneyi when he was going to go with them (a indefinite pronoun; *-n* with; *gu-* future; *ga-* verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; *gu to go*; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1])

*de da*qi**de ye guxdusmi* they were going to take up the house-timbers (*de* now; *da*qi?de super to; *ye* thus; *gu-* future; *x-* to become; *du-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.1]; *ni* to take; *yu* demonstrative; *hit* house; *daidede* timbers)

*hit a guxlayex gone*et gana*yi* the opposite side (clan) was going to build a house (*hit* house; *a* indefinite pronoun; *gu-* future; *x-* to become; *ta-* verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; *yex* to build [*x* possibly a suffix])

*yi*doqio*oa gaxduta*ge they were going to make a hole in this one's mouth (*ga* demonstrative; *do* his; *ga* a mouth [see § 3]; *ga-* future; *x-* to become; *du-* verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; *tak* to bore [?]; *-e* suffix)

More often the future occurs in conjunction with an indefinite prefix *qo* or *ku*.

The following examples illustrate this use, and also show the peculiar manner in which it combines with the personal pronominal prefixes. It will be seen that, instead of *gu* in the first person, we find *qu*; instead of *gu-i*, in the second person, *ge*. It would also seem that contractions of *q* and *g* to *q*, and *q* and *g* to *q*, take place in the first and second persons plural.

**Future tense of the verb *qit* to do**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.  <em>yeqqwasqit</em></td>
<td><em>yeqsaxtusqit</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.  <em>yeqqesqit</em></td>
<td><em>yeqaxyisqit</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.  <em>yeqqwa'sqit</em></td>
<td><em>hacsqo'a yeqqagwasqit</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Future tense of the verb *geq* to throw down**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.  <em>xa</em>tc yębnde qqwageq!</td>
<td><em>uha</em>ntc yębnde qaqtugeq!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.  *mare tc yębnde qqegq!</td>
<td><em>yha</em>ntc yębnde gaxygeq!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.  *hutc yębnde aqqwageq!</td>
<td>*hastc yębnde sqqwageq!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 15
The s which appears in the third person plural is probably a contraction of has, although the full word has may not have been heard when recording.

To cry takes the prefix or modifier ke, and its plural is formed by the use of the verb ti to be.

Future tense of the verb gáx to cry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. ke kʷ'qwagʷ'x</td>
<td>(uₕà'n) ke gax qaxt̥u'sati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. (was) ke kʷ'qegʷ'x</td>
<td>(yìhà'n) ke gax gaxy̱isati'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. (hu) ke kʷ'qwagʷ'x</td>
<td>ke has gax ga'x̱isati</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. qo-, kʷ-, is used when the event recorded happened at a time or place that is ill defined.

Lẽt Lẽt! qa  StringType qo gosti' there were no white men's things in those days (Lẽt not; Lẽt! white; qa man; StringType their things; qo- s- verbal prefixes [§ 18.1]; ti to be) yuq'olis!q'ikʷ those who used to leave the others behind (yu demonstrative; qo- li- verbal prefixes [§ 18.4]; L'it stem; -kʷ suffix [§ 20.3]) kʷ'ducuqte they always laughed at him (kʷ- du- verbal prefixes [§ 17.3]; cuq to laugh; -te always [§ 19.1]) gusu' yên yuq'oliskʷl tcej where is it that they never broke it off (gusu' where; yên there; yu- demonstrative; qo- verbal prefix; xet stem; qe probably should be kʷ [§ 20.3]) at kʷ'yedlitx a sign or parable (at something; kʷ- prefix; qe probably stem; -x suffix [§ 19.4]) Lẽt su gosti' there was no rain (Lẽt not; su rain; qo- s- verbal prefixes [§.18.1]; ti to be) Since future events are by their nature indeterminate, this prefix is constantly used with the future prefix gu-; as,

a'qgowalig when will he break it off? (a indefinite pronoun; qo- indefinite prefix; g(u)- future prefix; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; liq! to break off)

7. -x expresses the alteration of a person or thing from one condition to another. It is suffixed to the name of the thing altered, the adjective indicating the altered state, or to the future particle, but is placed among verbal prefixes because its connection with the following verb is extremely close, as is shown by its insertion after the future particle.

ts̓eskʷux t'nasti you can become an owl (tseskʷu' owl; -x verbal affix; t thou; na- s- verbal prefixes [§ 17.5; § 18.1]; ti stem)
q’anackiti’x siti he had become poor (q’anackiti poor; -x transitive affix; si- verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; ti to be)
duxon’g’x siti it had come to belong to his friends (du his; xon
friend; -g’ collective suffix [§ 9]; -x transitive affix; si- verbal
prefix [§ 18.1]; ti to be)
tc’a än go’a qa’yaq’a’q’ uwaxn x siti but yet they became men such
as one can trade with (tc’a yet; än with them; go’a however;
ga men; ya- verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; gäq’uwaxn such as one can
trade with [?]; -x [as before]; si- verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; ti to be)
gux twit’ we will make it become cooked (gu- future sign; -x transi-
tive affix; tu we; sit to cook)
ay’ de yep’gax dug’g’ T’a’q’dentän they were going to invite the
T’a’q’dentän (a indefinite pronoun; yi-de post-position [dë to];
ye adverbial prefix; q’- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; ga- future
prefix [§ 15.5]; -x transitive affix; du- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; i’
to invite)

§ 16. PRONOMINAL SUBJECT
The subjective pronoun follows the first modal elements. Examples
illustrating the position of the subjective pronoun have been given
before (§ 11). The following example contains also first modals:

læl wuwanag’k yändat’âtc I can not swim (læl not; wu- verbal
prefix [§ 15.4]; xa I; sa- verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; gök can; yändat’âtc to swim)

§ 17. SECOND MODAL PREFIXES
1. dji- quickly.

hæ’sdu dät xä dji’adigut enemies came upon them quickly; (hæ’sdu
them; dät upon; xä enemies; dji- quickly; u- verbal prefix
[§ 17.2]; dî- inchoative [§ 18.3]; gu to go; -t suffix [§ 20.1])
adè dak wuddij’x he ran down to it (a- indefinite pronoun; dë
eto; dák down or out; wu- verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; dji- quickly;
xîx to get)
yux hæs djiudët’ they started to rush out (yux out; hæs they;
dji- quickly; u-de- [§ 17.2; § 18.3]; ât to go)
læq’ ts’utât’ ayu’ at nate’ hæs dji’usiha one morning they started
out quickly to hunt along shore (læq’ ts’utât’ [see p. 200, note 11];
a-yu indefinite demonstrative pronoun; ât indefinite object;
nate’ to hunt [?]; hæs they; dji- u-si verbal prefixes [§ 17.2;
§ 18.1]; ha to start)

hasdulâ’k’u’ adjît’ hæs adjî’watan they gave their sister to him
quickly; (hasdû their; tâk’u’ sister; adjî- indefinite pronoun
with intensive suffix; -t to; hæs they; a- demonstrative;
dji’wa- [§ 18.2]; tan to give)
2. **u-** (o-) often accompanies simple statements of past actions. This prefix is never used with the future **gu-**, or with **wu-**, nor apparently with the first and second persons singular and plural, and occurs only in the principal verb. It may be an element expressing the active, but may equally well be regarded as a past-temporal prefix.

*yên ugo'xtc* he always came there (yên there; **u-** prefix; **gôx** to go by canoe; -tc always [§ 19.1])

**lêq! ts'utâ'ân ke udzigh't dutcû'nti** one morning he awoke with his dream (**lêq!** one; **ts'utâ'** morning [see p. 200, note 11]; **ân** with it; **ke** up; **u-** prefix; **dzi-** prefix [§ 18.6]; **git** to awake; **du** his; **tcûn** dream; -i possessive suffix)

**lax qlû'n hâs uxe'** many nights they stayed out (**lax** very; **qlûn** many (nights); **hâs** they; **u-** prefix; **xe** to camp)

**ayû' hâs aositi'n** there they saw it (**a-** indefinite pronoun; **o-** verbal prefix; **si-** indicative prefix [§ 18.1]; **tin** to see)

**le dutû'xtz got kaoduk!î't** it all got out of his head (**le** out; **du** his; **tû** into; -t at; -x from; **got** all; **ka-** causative [§ 15.2]; **o-** verbal prefix; **du-** verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; **kîît** to get)

3. **du-** is very nearly identical in meaning with the English perfect tense, conveying the idea of something already accomplished. It resembles **wa-** [§ 18.2] in some respects, and is often used conjointly with it; but while **wa-** seems to express finality, **du-** expresses previous accomplishment.

**le dutu'xtz got kaoduk!î't** it got all out of his head (see above no. 2, ex. 5)

**ckle a'gitahân yâ'yaodudziqa** "get up!" they said to him (**ckle** up; **a'gitahân** get [?]; **yâ-** demonstrative; **ya-** verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; **o-du-dzt-** [§ 17.2; § 18.6]; **ga** to say)

**age'dî hâs gâ'dûstîn** when they saw them already inside (**a-** indefinite pronoun; **gê** inside; **dî** to; **hâs** they; **ga-** when [§ 17.4]; **du-s** [§ 18.1]; **tin** to see)

**koduci' duvgâ'** they hunted for him (**ko-** [§ 15.6]; **du-**; **cî** to hunt; **du** he; **i** euphonic [?]; **ga** for)

**lêl wudusk'** they knew not (**lêl** not; **wu-** [§ 15.4]; **du-**; **s-** [§ 18.1]; **ku** to know)

**ts'utâ' hen wa'îdî akayê'k wudâ'waox atxe'tc** the next morning (it) was to be heard at the mouth of the creek (**ts'utâ'** [see p. 200, note 11]; **hen** water; **wa't** mouth; **îdî** to; **a-** indefinite pronoun; **kayê'k** at; **wu-** [§ 15.4]; **du-**; **wa-** [§ 18.2]; **ax** to hear; **at** indefinite object; **xe** to go on; -tc always [§ 19.1])

§ 17
danē't ayidē' ye wududziš'ni a box of grease was put inside of the canoe (danē't box of grease; a- indefinite pronoun; -yidē inside; ye thus [§]; wu- [§ 15.4]; du-; dzǐ- [§ 18.6]; ni to put aboard)

lēl has duit'n they could not see him (lēl not; has they; du- perfect suffix; tin to see)

4. ga- is a prefix which indicates usually that the action was performed just before some other action, and may be translated by our conjunction when. This may be identical with the ga in ago or agaawet'sa as soon as, immediately upon.

lax ā'tate gadja'mqinawv dāq ugu'ttc when he became very cold, he always came out (lax very; āt cold; -tc intensive suffix; ga-; djaq to die of [hyperbolically]; -in suffix [§ 19.3]; awve when; dāq out; u- [§ 17.2]; gu to go; -t suffix [§ 20.1]; -tc always [§ 19.1])

aqi'di has gā'dustin hā'sbudāt xa dju'dugū't when they saw them inside, the enemy started to come upon them (see p. 179, no. 3, third example)

duv'c ā'ni akti'w wuqax'xin yū'gagan ye yē'ndusqetc when the sun got straight up over her father's town, they always said to her as follows (du- her; ic father; ān town; -t possessive suffix; a- indefinite pronoun; kinā' above; wu- [§ 15.4]; ga-; xi to reach; -in suffix [§ 19.3]; yū- demonstrative; gagan sun; ye thus; yēn possibly there; du- [§ 17.3]; s- [§ 18.1]; ga to say; -tc intensive suffix)

5. na- is employed when the action with which it is associated is represented as accompanied by or accompanying some other action. Just as ga- may often be translated when, this prefix may be translated while, yet the two may be used together. It is so similar to the suffix -n [§ 19.3] that it is not unlikely that the two are identical.

ayu'zde yanagu'dlayu aosot'ni cāwśt yū'adigīśa' cwo'xičac while he was going around the lake, he saw a woman floating there (a- indefinite pronoun; yax around; de at; ya- [§ 15.3]; na-; gu to go; -t purpose [§ 20.1]; ayu indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; o- [§ 17.2]; si- [§ 18.1]; tin to see; cāwśat woman; yū demonstrative; adigīśa in it [exact meaning uncertain]; c- reflexive; wu- tū- verbal prefixes [§ 15.4; § 18.5])

dāq has naqox' a'ayu yuhunxa'ya ye'qlayaqqa while they were going shoreward, the eldest said as follows (dāq shoreward;
has they; na-; gox to go by canoe; a'-a-yu indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; yu- demonstrative; hunzo' elder brother; a indefinite pronoun; q!a- mouth [§ 14.1]; ya- [§ 15.3]; ga to say

léq! k!udä's! atu'x nagu'ttc ya ha'sdu yagatsä'q yu'awé ke tck!e'ntc having gotten inside of his red-snapper coat, when he was pursuing them, that is the way he jumped (léq! red snapper; k!udä's! coat; a- indefinite pronominal prefix; tck inside; na-; gu to go; -t purpose [§ 20.1]; -tc always [§ 19.1]; ya [?]; ha'sdu them; ya- [§ 15.3]; ga- [§ 17.4]; tsäq to pursue; yu- demonstrative; awe indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; ke up; e[?] ć- reflexive; k!en to jump; -tc always [§ 19.1])

nazä'c ga'xtusit having cut it, we will cook it (na-; zäc to cut; ga- future prefix [§ 15.5]; -x transitional affix [§ 15.7]; tu we; sit to cook)

xät gä'naadä na'lttc yu'xu'ts! goa'nt the bear people, when they go hunting, always go after salmon (xät salmon; ga- [§ 17.4]; na-; at to go; -t part. suffix [§ 20.2]; na-; at to go; -tc intensive suffix; yu- demonstrative; xu'ts! bear; qoaan people; -t possessive)

tc!äk u yänagu'tawe gox akü'dadjtc after it had walked a long time, it would stop suddenly (tc!äk u a long time; ya- [§ 15.3]; na-; gu to go; -t purpose; -t suffix [§ 20.2]; awe when; gox completely; a- indefinite pronoun; ku- future prefix [§ 15.5]; da- [?]; dji stem; -tc always [§ 19.1])

§ 18. THIRD MODAL PREFIXES

1. s- or si- is used in a simple statement of an action or condition, whether past, present, or future, but not usually of one which is incomplete.

tc!äk u aiti'nē a'ya aositi'n looking for a while, he saw her (tc!äk u a long time; a- indefinite pronoun; l- [§ 18.4]; tin to see; -t [§ 20.2]; a'ya indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; o- [§ 17.2]; si-; tin to see)

dutuwusigu she felt happy (du her; tu- mind; wu- [§ 15.4]; si-; gu to go [?])

daqanë'x wusite! quarrelsome he was (daqane quarrelsome; -x [§ 15.7]; wu- [§ 15.4]; te, stem)

let ye awusku' duy'ët sati'vë he did not know it was his son (let not; ye thus; a- indefinite pronoun; wu- [§ 15.4]; s- ku to know; du his; vët son; së-; ti to be; vë participial suffix [§ 20.2])

êteget duego'gtc what they throw it with (du- [§ 17.3]; s-; goq to throw; -tc always [§ 19.1])

§ 18
For examples of the use of this prefix with the future, see in § 15.6.

It is important to note the evident identity of this prefix with the particle as or asi.

dis kawuki'sit asiyu' leq! tât yû'awasa it was a whole month which he thought a night (dis month; kawuki'sit whole; asi particle; yu demonstrative; leq! one; tât night; yû demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; sa to say [=think])
zâc yets'enet la asiyu' it was the mother of the bears (zâc this; la mother)
zâc te asiyu' it was a stone

2. wa- indicating completed action.

ts'utâ't ayu' dâk has uwaqo'x in the morning, at that time out they got (u- [§ 17.2]; wa-; qox stem)
ât'â'x has uwa xe' behind them they camped
has Cq!at goan ca'oduwaxête they conquered the Stikine Indians (Cq!at Stikine; goan people; ca- [ê]; ô- [§ 17.2]; dw- [§ 17.3])
gûl lax leq! dis hasduka' cuwa xî probably entirely one month on them passed (cu- [§ 15.1])
ale', âit â'wahâ mother, I am hungry (u- wa- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; ha stem)

3. di- denotes the beginning of an action.

âda'xawe xâ djiudigu't after that to war they started (xâ war; dji-ur- [§ 17.1, 2])
qeqe'de gona hâ le cu'yâq!a'oditan toward morning the woman began to change her manner of talking (cu- completely [§ 15.1]; ya [ê]; qla- mouth; o- [§ 17.2]; tan stem)
ace'nya wudâ'x it had begun to mold at the corner (a- indefinite pronoun; cê'nya corner of; wu- [§ 15.4])
 vuksa'it caoâtlê they started to rush around (wu- [§ 15.4]; c- reflexive prefix; kat post-position; ca- reflexive [ê]; o- di- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; te stem)
 yuxa'nas! âda'x qaodisa' he began blowing on the raft (yu- demonstrative; xâ'nas! raft; qla- mouth [§ 14.1]; o- [§ 17.2])
kaodîta'âq! it began to be hot weather (ka- o- di- verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 17.2]; tlaq! stem)

TO START TO GO TO A CERTAIN PLACE is expressed by means of an adverb.

go'na yeqgwagagu't when he was going to start (gona starting; ye thus; go- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; gu- future prefix [§ 15.5]; ga- verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; gut to go).

§ 18
4. **Li- or *li-* indicates repetition of an action or a plurality of objects acted upon.

\[ yax \text{ has } aya'obidjaq \text{ yutā'n thus they killed off the sea-lions (a-indefinite pronoun; } ya- [§ 15.3]; o- [§ 17.2]; djāq to kill; yu-demonstrative; } tān \text{ sea-lion)} \]

\[ ayu' aolīxa'c then he let it float along (ayu' there; a-indefinite prefix; o- } li- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; xac stem) \]

\[ xate qawage' asiyu' aca'olihihik it was full of eyes (xate this; qamači man; wage' eye; asiyu' [§ 18.1]; a- demonstrative; ca- = cu- [§ 15.1]; o- [§ 17.2]; hik stem) \]

\[ ān qadji'n aoolīxē'kū' he shook hands with those things in his hands (ān with it; qadji'n man's hand; a-indefinite pronoun; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]) \]

\[ ḥa'yt yāŋkū' aya'x aolīq'veńq! he made the enemy's canoes upset by quarreling (ḥa- enemy; -ṛt possessive suffix; yāṅkū' canoe; -q!n' collective; ḥa'yax like that; a indefinite pronoun; o- li-verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; q'an stem; -q! suffix [§ 19.5]) \]

5. **Li- or *li-* is used in contradistinction to the above when the action takes place once, or is thought of at one particular moment.

\[ aosoit'n cawast' yuadīgi'ga cewl'lićac (when he was going around the lake), he saw one woman floating there (a-indefinite pronoun; o-si-[§ 17.2; § 18.1]; tin to see; cawast' woman; yuadigig'a there; c-reflexive; wu- [§ 15.4]; xac to float) \]

\[ dēk'int na hinq go'a wuțiśhē'k far out its water, however, boiled (deki'nā far out; hin water; -ṭ possessive suffix; go'a however; wu- li-verbal prefixes [§ 15.4]; ūk stem) \]

\[ yēn caoqitsī's there he stopped \]

6. **dzi-** conveys the idea of the attainment of a state not hitherto enjoyed, and is best translated by the words to come to be.

\[ aya'xawwe duxa'tqā' tiqodžēti' this is why his children came to be born (a- that; yax like; aue it is; du- his; yat child; -qīn't collective; qo- indefinite [§ 15.6]; ti to be) \]

\[ cka a'odżiku' yuwa'q qoa'nite wuśnē'xe afterward he came to know that the salmon people had saved him; a-indefinite pronoun; a- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; ku to know; yu-demonstrative; xat salmon; qoan people; -te intensive; wu-s- [§ 15.4; § 18.1]) \]

\[ te!u te!ākū' lingi't tin kα'odjiše yuē'q a long time ago there came to be copper among the Indians (lingi't Indians; tin with; ka-o-[§ 15.2; § 17.2]; yu-demonstrative; q copper) \]

\[ wā'sa iva'odūžiqa', arjītī' what did they come to say to you, my son? (wā'sa what; i you; ya- verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; o-du-[§ 17.2,3]; qa to say; ax my; yit son) \]
7. *ct*- expresses desire or wish, and may be used equally well as a stem.

*dusl' qok!i't! aku*ct*a'n* his daughter liked to pick berries (*du*- his; *qok!i't!* berries; *a*- indefinite pronoun; *ku* [§15.6]; *tan* stem)

**Suffixes (§§ 19, 20)**

§ 19. **Suffixes of Temporal Character**

These suffixes, which are not to be confounded with true temporal suffixes, are *-tc*, *-nutc*, *-n*, *-x*, and perhaps *-q! and *s!*.

1. *-tc* indicates invariability in the action, and may best be translated by ALWAYS. It is perhaps identical with the intensive suffix (§ 7).

*duslaq*de *yagaci'tc* her eyes to he always pointed
*ts!u yén ugo'xtc* again there he always went by canoe
*gagā'n Kanē'sdiča cak'nax ke *txtc* the sun always rises over the
brow of Cross Mountain (*gagā'n* sun; *cak'nax* over the head of; *ke* up)
*ganawet* *utā'xtc dudaq*lanax towards the fire he always sleeps
with his back (*qan* what burns; *tā* to sleep; *du*- his)

2. *-nutc* marks what is habitual or customary.

*hu go'a *tis'as *xük *aliiq!lanutc* she, however, only dry wood would
get (*tis'as* only; *xük* dry wood; *liq!* to fetch)
*dusł'tenutc* they would throw off their coats
*acu'tenutc dusqet'ku* she was in the habit of bathing her child
(*A = a indefinite pronoun; *cutc* stem; *du*- possessive; *yet* child;
*ku* diminutive)
*ux udulcuv*q*nuutc* they would laugh at him (*u*- *du*- *l*- verbal prefixes
[§ 17.2, 3; § 18.4]; *cuq* to laugh)
*ldak*st *ldawet atioq!tnutc* all kinds of things he would shoot
(*ldak*at all; *sd* thing; *a*-we indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; *a*- indefinite pronoun; *tlöqt!* stem)
*a't!aq!lanutc* he would pound

3. *-n* (after consonants *-i'n* or *-ö'n*). This suffix marks a stationary condition of the action, and is usually employed in conjunction with another verb, when it indicates the state of things when the action contained in the principal verb took place. The action it accompanies may be conceived of as past, present, or future, and from its character it approaches at different times in meaning a perfect, continuative, and usitative. This suffix is perhaps related to the prefix *na*- treated in § 17.5.

§ 19
lā'gu yēn yax duːnɪɡ̱'n ye qa'yanaqe'tc when a person is through with a story, he always says this (lā'gu story; yēn there; yax thus; duː- l- verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.4]; ni kültür to say); ye thus; qa-yə-naː- [§ 15.6, 3; § 17.5]; qa to say; -tc [§ 19.1]

wa'nin evutxə'c edge turned up, he floated (wan edge; in [?]; c- reflexive prefix; wu- l- verbal prefixes [§ 15.4; § 18.5]; xac stem)

duːq̱'e'nax ci tcə a yūt qa'naːcxe'nte duːi yeq gaga's'tin when his spirits came to him, blood would flow out of his mouth (duː- his; qa' mouth; -nax from; c; blood; tcə that; yūt out of it; qa' mouth; na'- [§ 17.5]; c- [?]; xən stem; -tc always [§ 19.1]; duː- his; yeq spirit; qa [?]; gə- [§ 17.4]; at to go [pl.]; -ən suffix)

ituwu qwana cəlq'q Nixə' nēl gu'tnē be courageous when Nixə' comes in (i- thy; tu mind; -wu possessive suffix; qwana exhortative [§ 22.3]; ca- reflexive; tluq' stem [?]; nēl into house; gut to go; -n -t suffixes [§ 20.2])

tcələye dōq gac'ci tcəcədəjə'qən when it almost killed him, he would run up (tcələye' almost; dōq up; ga- verbal prefix; cəc to run; ac for c- reflexive [that is, he allowed himself to be killed, though by something else]; ga- verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; djaq to kill; -ən verbal suffix)

tən a akwə'wati anəx qadusku't hu anəx yēn wuqoxo'ən he pounded out a figure of a sea-lion, so that people would know he had come ashore there (tən sea-lion; a indefinite pronoun; kw- wa- [§ 15.2; § 18.2]; a indefinite pronoun; nax around; ga- du- s- [§ 17.4, 3; § 18.1]; ku to know; -t purpose [§ 20.1]; hu he; yēn there; wu- [§ 15.4]; qox to go by canoe)

has aqacən when they marry (a- ga- verbal prefixes)

4. -x may perhaps be regarded as a distributive; at any rate, it indicates that the action takes place many times, or continues for some period.

Ləl at udja'qx tsə! yēn uqox'ətc he kept coming in without having killed anything (Ləl not; at indefinite objective; djaq to kill; tsə! there)

hu qa'ə awə' Ləl uḏə'x he, however, did not sleep (u- [§ 17.2]; -x)

Ləl ga'gə ugu'tx he never showed himself (Ləl not; ga'gə was [?]; u- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; gu stem; -t purpose [§ 20.1]; -x)

tcələ ac uə'nx ac wudjytə'ayu ac'ət qə'watən before he thought of it, his nephew saw him and spoke to him (tcələ before; ac him; tən to see; ac his own; -ət possessive; ayu demonstrative; ac'ət to him; qa- mouth [§ 14.1]; wa- verbal suffix [§ 18.2]; tən stem)

aga' tso axə'x then only he ate (a- indefinite pronoun; xa to eat; -x)

Ləl uqə'x kə'xədə' not ever got big the sea-gull (u- l- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.4]; gə stem; -x)

§ 19
5. -q! Although the meaning of this suffix has not been satisfactorily determined, it may be included in this list, because it seems to be used in describing events that have taken place at some particular time, and to present a marked contrast to the suffix last considered.

ldak’t yëtx ducã’q! people from all places tried to marry her (ldak’t all, everywhere; yëtx from into; du- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; ca stem)
cakx ke djiti’nyeq! you can not see anything (tin to see; iye participial suffix lengthened [§ 20.2]; rest uncertain)
cakusti’q!tc those are (my people) there (s- verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; ti stem, to be; -tc always [§ 19.1]; rest uncertain)
ay”axawë aost’ne aci’ñ ganaltã’dicix lit! tû’dî ac wugé’q! as he had told him to do when he ran into the fire with him he threw him into the basket (ay”axawe as; a indefinite pronoun; o-sti [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; ac him, reflexive; -n with; gan fire; altã into [?]; dî to start to; cicix to run; lit! basket; tû’dî into; ac he; wu- [§ 15.4]; ge to throw)
xa’rq yákq“ ay”ax’ a”olbã’ain’q! he made the enemy’s canoes upset by quarreling (see p. 183, no. 4)

6. -s! occurs after a few verbs, but its significance is obscure.

-axawë gola’xs! from there he listened (gs- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; l- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; ax stem)
aga’ keqgeti’s! wektwa’lx you will look out for the green fern-roots (aga’ for that; ke particle; gs- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; ge=gu- future prefix and personal pronoun [§ 15.5]; ti to be; we- demonstrative; ktwal fern-roots)
has goti’s! they were looking for him (gs- indefinite prefix; ti to be)

§ 20. SYNTACTIC SUFFIXES

1. -t is suffixed to a verb to indicate that it contains a statement of the purpose for which some other action was performed.

dukâ’ktc ade’ goka’waga duïga’ qaga’x dusgã’ndayu his uncle sent some one after him to burn [his body] (du his; kâk uncle; -tc intensive [§ 7]; ade’ to it; gs- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; ka- verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 18.2]; qa to say; du he; ìqa’ for; du-s- [§ 17.3; § 18.1]; gan fire, to burn; -d for -t before vowel; -ayu demonstrative)
qâ nas’dî k’idè’n yèn wudu’dzinì atû’t gongã’ndayu and they put on good clothing because they wanted to die wearing it (qâ man; na- verbal prefix [§ 17.5]; at to go [pl.]; -i verbal

§ 20
su#fx; [$ 20.2]; k#nd#n good; y#n there; wu- du- dz# [$ 15.4;
$ 17.3; $ 18.6]; stǔt into it; qong# [uncertain]; na to die; -t
purpose; ayu demonstrative)

du#ga' at naga#t something to help him (du#ga' for him; at
indefinite; na-[?] qa- verbal prefixes [$ 17.4]; su to help; -t
purpose)

xal'x awax#x xci' n c#ng#ln#qit then he invited him to tell him
(something he did not know) (xal'x after it; -c- he; -n with;
c- reflexive; c#n [?] compare qong# second example; -t
verbal prefix [$ 18.4]; nik stem; -t purpose)

ak!q/ayu ye' yat qa akade' wogu't ga' nga a man stopping at Auk
went to (the lake) to get wood (ak!", Auk; -q/ at; ayu demonstra-
stratives; ye" adverb, thus; ya- [$ 15.3]; ti to be; qa man;
-kade' on; wu- [$ 15.4]; gu- to go; -t purpose; gn wood, fire;
gor).

The use of -t with gu to go, as in the last example, has become very
common, and in that connection it appears to have lost some-
thing of its original function.

2. -t, -o after consonants; y#-, -wu after vowels. The subordina-
tion of one clause to another is effected more often than in
any other manner by suffixing -i or -o after consonants, or
-yi or -wu after vowels (see §§ 3 and 10). This seems to
have the effect of transforming the entire clause into a par-
ticiple or infinitive.

yuq# qo'a k#'deg!ak#x dagt wu dj#xti xi the man who jumped out
from (the raft was very much ashamed) (yu demonstrative;
gn man; qo'a however; h#'deg!ak#x from on it; dagt out; wu-
dj#- [$ 15.4; $ 17.1]; xi to jump or move quickly)

du#ji'q/ ye yv#t yi s!oq gat# ake' as#vati he set up a bone trap
he had (du he; dj#q/ to; ye thus; yu- demonstrative; ti to be;
s!aq bone; gat# trap; a- indefinite pronoun; ke up; a indefi-
nite pronoun; se- verbal prefix; wa[li] to set up)

hade' wat at ci'yi this way! those who can sing (ci to sing)

lel ye wu'xe yuc#wat atay# xa' yudji'nu#u she never got full
eating sheep-fat (lel not; ye thus; xa to eat; yu- indefinite
pronoun; c#wat woman; a indefinite pronoun; at things; xa
to eat; yi suffix; xa' fat; yu- demonstrative; dj#nu#u moun-
tain sheep)

wuctac#yi married to each other (that is, married couple)

ayu'xe ya#nu#djayu aositi'n while he was going around it, he
saw (a-it; ya'xe around; ya-na- [$ 15.3; $ 17.5]; -ayu demon-
strative)
5. *-q*! Although the meaning of this suffix has not been clearly determined, he saw her (approximately) at some particular time, and it seems to be used in describing things (§15.6); *dzi-* verbal prefix the suffix last considered.

ldak’āt yētצx ducā’q! (ldak’āt all, every one) changed into a noun by taking a

§17.3; *ca* str....

ckax ke dji’itr

ticipial str....

cakusti’q

tī str....

ay’a’t

your well speaking of them (yē you [pl.]; *yu-* demonstrative; *q’a* mouth; *tan* stem; *-tc* intensive; *-gi-* stands

their names being these (ye thus; *du-* wa- verbal pre-

fixes; *sa* stem)

yē’yuqacut’ku that was why he had traveled that way; or, more

strictly, the traveling of him (yē thus; *yu-* demonstrative; *wa*- verbal prefix; *gut* stem)

yika’-at-xach’u the ones having split tongues for you (yē- you; *kā*

post-position; *at* thing; *xac* stem)

yuqlayatl’nk’u the one that could talk (yu- demonstrative; *q’a*

mouth; *ya-* verbal prefix; *tan* stem)

yuqoyalis’l’lk’u when he was playing with the children, he would

hurt them; or, the hurt he would do to them (yu- demonstrative; *qo-* ya- verbal prefixes; *stēl* stem)

yu’ayaliq’lk’u he would break the knife he got hold of (yu- demonstrative; *a-* indefinite; *ya-* verbal prefix; *liq’* stem)

lax yala’qk’u he was a very great eater; or, the great eater that

he was (lax very; *ya-* verbal prefix; *laq* stem)

dunā’ *at* li’tclē’qk’u he was a dirty little fellow; or, the dirty

little fellow that he was (dunā [?] *at* thing; *li*- verbal prefix; *tclēq* stem)

ada’ yuq’l’duq’ia’tk’u about it they were all talking; or, the talk-

ing that went on about it (a- indefinite; *da* post-position; *yu-*

demonstrative; *q’a* mouth; *du-* li- verbal prefixes; *at* stem)

tclē akani’k tc’ule’ ayē’x yū’yatik’u whatever he told them took

place (tc’la whatever; tc’ule’ then; ayē’x like it; *yu-* demonstrative; *ya-* prefix [§15.3])

qaye’ gok’qowan’xe tc’ule’ yuukanikk’u ayē’x yū’yatik’u when a

§20
-¥a. Another suffix similar to this is -¥a, which is perhaps identical with the continuative -¥a- treated of in §15.3. This is mainly used in clauses which in English would be subordinated by means of a relative pronoun or adverb, and often the participial suffix -i [§20.2] is employed in conjunction with it. It would seem that the entire clause is turned into a noun in this manner, and becomes the object of the principal verb.

Examples are as follows:

¥ax galë' yuqlës ade' udëwaaqtnisìya far is the distance which the cascade comes down (¥ax like; galë' far; yu- demonstrative; q!às cascade; ade' to it; u- du- wa-[§17.2, 3; §18.2])

te' u ade' xaqtnùya awoe aya'x got cù'wañix just the way they were sleeping they were destroyed (te' u just; ade' at it; xaqtnù to sleep; aya'x like it; got completely; cu-[§15.1])

dudjìxaw e yìdadunâ'ya from him they knew how to fix [a trap] (du him; -dj intensive [§7]; t to; x from; awoe demonstrative; yìdadunâ'ya they learned to fix)

ade' has kaglìdë'nucìya ade' akoñixë's! he put them in the place where they were in the habit of hooking fish (ade' at it; has they; ka to cause [!] q!st to catch [!] -nucì habitually [§19.2]; a- indefinite prefix; ka- o- li-[§15.2; §17.2; §18.4])

atë'xìya aostìku' when she slept, he knew (a- indefinite prefix; te to sleep; -x -¥a suffixes [§19.4]; a- indefinite prefix; o- sì- verbal prefixes [§17.2; §18.1]; ku to know)

kaòòëtì'xlqì a' xo gudìya' it was hot weather from where he started (ka- o- dì- verbal prefixes [§15.2; §17.2; §18.3]; tlaq! stem; a- indefinite prefix; zo among; gu to go; -t purpose [§20.1])

lël has ò'wìsku ade' wuyanë'giya they did not know what to make of it (lël not; a- indefinite pronoun; wu- e- [§15.4; §18.1]; ade' at it; yu- demonstrative; ya- verbal prefix [§15.3]; nek to say)

has ò'wawàwìsì! "gudìsì' sa ye'dadunà'taya" they inquired, "From where do they get this?!" (gu where; dàs from; so interrogative particle; ye adverb; da- du- na- verbal prefixes [§14.4; §17.3,5]; st to go [pl.])

§ 20
## Analysis of Verbal Forms

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<th>Third modal prefix</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>a</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>It had begun to be moldy.</td>
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<td>He came to know it.</td>
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<td>They came to say to you (came to = dzt).</td>
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<td>He went out and spoke.</td>
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<td>It got completely out of his head.</td>
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<td>They had started.</td>
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<td>It caused to be saved.</td>
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<td>Having been named.</td>
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<td>He was always floating himself about.</td>
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<td>Being (his son).</td>
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<td>We will cook it.</td>
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<td>When it is going to be cut.</td>
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<td>(at)</td>
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<td>They moved things out.</td>
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<td>He sent some one (out) to speak.</td>
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<td>It came to be.</td>
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<td>He was telling (them).</td>
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<td>They were all lost.</td>
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<td>He is very strong in mind (i.e., brave).</td>
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<td>go-ju</td>
<td>wa</td>
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<td>He split on it.</td>
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<td>a</td>
<td>q/a</td>
<td>wu</td>
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<td>ze</td>
<td>He was going to cut off.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>go</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He fasted on it (an island).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>dri</td>
<td>ze</td>
<td>He having lived for (more than a hundred years).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td></td>
<td>na</td>
<td>When he was dying.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>dl</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>They started to go down.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>go-ya</td>
<td>u-du</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>They hunted for her for an indefinite time.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>pa-na</td>
<td></td>
<td>at</td>
<td>When they go after salmon.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>go</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>When they would come in.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>sli</td>
<td>When it got.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>wu</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td></td>
<td>It always heard.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>go</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Go with me (dé imperative particle).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>xu</td>
<td>na</td>
<td></td>
<td>They rushed (to the door) in a body (lu).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>cu-ka</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>li</td>
<td></td>
<td>They kicked into it.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(at)</td>
<td></td>
<td>na-ya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Something) to help him.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td></td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>They have cured us.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>You are dying (of cold).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td></td>
<td>yi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>You put (or laid) down.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>We will be warm.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kus-ya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>You are having.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>You are saying to me.</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
§ 21. Composition of Verb-Stems

A real composition of two verb-stems in one word seems to be entirely wanting. It sometimes happens, however, that the stem which contains the principal idea is placed before another verb-stem of very general meaning, such as tī to be, ḍix to get, or nukʷ to become, and is there treated as if it were a prefix or an adverbial modifier, all of the other verbal prefixes being attached to the general auxiliary stem. Thus we have—

yihā'ni ke gax gaxyisati' you (pl.) will cry, where gax is the regular stem of the verb meaning to cry, and tī, the stem of the verb to be, taking the future, pronominal, and all other prefixes. Similar to this is klant hás uwanu'kʷ they became angry, where klán signifies anger, and nukʷ to become. Of this same type is qot cůwaxίx they were all destroyed, although it is uncertain whether qot is ever employed as a regular stem in the place of ḍix.

The list on pages 190 and 191 contains the analysis of a number of verbal forms in accordance with the groups of prefixes and suffixes described in §§ 14–20.

Adverbs (§§ 22, 23)

§ 22. Modal Adverbs

1. agi is an interrogative adverb which is used in interrogative sentences in which no interrogative pronoun occurs. It is placed after the verb, or near the beginning of the clause.

iya'xtc agi? do you hear it?
ūhā'n agi' yekā' at tusxä'ckʷ tca kū'cta qoan qecca'nī? are we the ones splitting land-otter (tongues) to see people? (ūhā'n we; yekā' the ones; at indefinite object, namely, tongues; tu we; xac split; -kʷ suffix [§ 20.3]; tca thus; kū'cta land-otter; qoan people; qecca'nī to see [uncertain analysis])
xat yī siti'n agi? do you see me? (xat me; yī you; si- prefix [§ 18.1]; tin to see)

2. dē following the verb indicates the imperative.

adjī't gut dē! come up to me! (ax me; -dj intensive [§ 7]; -t to; gu to come; -t purpose [§ 20.1])
ā'nax osaqo'x dē! go with it around it! (a indefinite pronoun; nax around; a indefinite pronoun; sa- prefix; qox to go by canoe)
gā'nqa nād't dē! for firewood go! (gan firewood; ga for; na- prefix [§ 17.5]; at to go)

§§ 21, 22
3. **q’wan** expresses a mild imperative and resembles our own **pray**, or **supplicate**.

\[\text{dékt’} \ q’\text{wan} \ daqîc’q \ \text{out, pray, run to him!} \ (\text{dékt’} \ \text{out}; \ da\text{-} \ \text{to} [\S\ 14.4]; \ q’\text{-} [?] ; \ cîq \ \text{to run})\]

\[\text{hinq!} \ q’\text{wan} \ yèn \ xat \ \text{cat into the water, pray, then put me!} \ (\text{hin} \ \text{water}; \ q’\text{at}; \ yèn \ \text{then}; \ xat \ \text{me}; \ \text{cat put})\]

\[\text{itwu}’\ q’\text{wan} \ \text{cat}!\text{î’q!} \ Nixd’ \ nèl \ gu’\text{tnè} \ \text{be courageous when Nixå’ comes in} \ (\text{see } \S\ 19.3; \ i \ \text{you}; \ tu \ \text{mind}; \ -\text{wu} \ \text{possessive}; \ ca\text{-} \text{reflexive}; \ ti\text{q’!}, \ \text{stem} [?]; \ nèl \ \text{into the house}; \ gu \ \text{to go}; \ -t \ -n \ -i \ \text{suffixes} [\S\ 20.1; \ \S\ 19.3; \ \S\ 20.2])\]

4. **t’** expresses the negation. Generally this element appears combined with the connective **le then**. The emphatic negative is **t’l’**, apparently a doubled negation.

\[\text{t’l’} \ \text{kinq’q} \ \text{ya} \ axh’\text{t’h never tell about my house (t’l’ never; kî-ka [?]; nîk to tell; -iq suffix; ya about; ax my; hit house; -t possessive)}\]

\[\text{t’l’} \ \text{lax} \ \text{ye} \ xat \ \text{kugå’ndjîq never let me burn up! (lax very; ye thus; xat I; ku future; qan to burn; -tc always; -iq a suffix)}\]

In negative questions the negation is contracted with the interrogative particle.

\[\text{lè’gît} \ xat \ \text{wunèku? am I not sick?} \ (\text{lè} \ \text{adverb}; \ gi \ \text{interrogative particle}; \ l’ not (with lè); xat I; wu- verbal prefix; nèk’u sick)\]

5. **gut** expresses probability, and is generally initial.

\[\text{gut} \ \text{lax} \ \text{lèq!} \ \text{dis hasduka’ cuwaxî’z very probably they passed all of one month (lax very; lèq! one; dis moon; hasduka’ on them; cu-} \text{entirely} [\S\ 15.1]; \ \text{wa- verbal prefix} [\S\ 18.2]; \ \text{tîx stem})\]

\[\text{gut de djînk’å’ ayu’ q’la’owaxe for probably ten days he went [without food] (de already; djînkå’ ten; ayu’ demonstrative; q’la’ mouth [\S\ 14.1]; o- wa- prefixes [\S\ 17.2; \ \S\ 18.2]; xe stem)}\]

### § 23. Locative Adverbs

Locative adverbs are difficult to distinguish from post-positions, but the following may be mentioned as of constant occurrence:

1. **dåk** outward, out to sea
2. **dåq** shoreward
3. **ke** upward
4. **de** now, right away, already
5. **ye** thus or as follows
6. **yèx** or **yax** like
7. **nèl** into the house
8. **yu** or **yu’z** out of doors
9. **yèn** there
10. **dekt’** far outward
11. **ixk’i** down below, specifically southward
12. **yîk** inside

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§ 23
Bearing a closer resemblance to post-positions are:

13. t or dë to
14. n with
15. x from
16. q! st
17. yë down in
18. y!‘nadë down toward
19. yes for
20. qox back to, backward
21. xan to a person
22. tu into
23. tâ’yı under
24. t/a behind
25. dax from
26. da around
27. xo among
28. kï toward
29. ka on
30. ga for
31. qa! for
32. gë inside of
33. tin with
34. hâ’yı down underneath
35. q!ës for
36. gayë down in front of
37. wát at the mouth of
38. tâk in the middle of
39. na! through, on account of, in association with
40. gâ! outside of
41. datco! straight for
42. ya in the neighborhood of
43. sak! for

The last of these is always used after the verb.

Even nouns and verbs are used exactly as if they were conceived of as post-positions: as,

hitq!t tux ya’wagut yucawat adja’q dax the woman went through the houses after she had killed it (hit house; -q!t collective; tux through; ya- wa- verbal prefixes [§ 15.3; § 18.2]; gu to go; -t [§ 20.1]; yu- demonstrative; cawat woman; a it; djaq to kill; dax from)
aq!t’s canthu’dë kax a’odigeq! he put (his coat) on to go down into the midst of its tentacles (a- it; q!t’s tentacles; can-thu’dë into the midst of; kax adverbial; a- indefinite pronoun; o- di- prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.3]; geq! to do quickly)
ayalanë’s!awe awa’n when he had sharpened the edges of it (a- indefinite pronoun; ya- la- verbal prefixes [§ 15.3; § 18.4]; nës! to sharpen; awe when; a it; wan edges)

As, on account of their phonetic weakness, the post-positions t, n, x, and q! must always be agglutinated to some other word, they sometimes have the appearance of cases, but the first of these is simply a contraction of dë; and the distinction in use between all of them and the syllabic post-positions is not marked enough to justify a separate classification.

The adverbs de, ke, and ye are essential to certain verbs, and the same may be said of at something with the verbs za to eat and xun to start.

§ 23
§ 24. Conjunctions

The conjunction used between nouns and coordinate clauses is *qa* and; while antithesis is expressed by *qo’a*, which more closely approaches English however in its use than but. Conjunctions employed to introduce sentences are, for the most part, compounded of post-positions and demonstratives:

*ada’ayu* or *ada’axwe* and then (compounded of *a_; *da* from; *a_, and *yu* or *we*)

*atxawex* afterwards (from *a_; *t to; *x from; *a_; and *we*)

*aqsalaxwe* on account of which (from *a_; *ya* like; *a_; and *we*)

*tcylhex*, evidently then, consists of two adverbial particles, *tcyl* and *le*!

*wananinsawex* by and by (probably compounded from some verb)

*atxawex* contains the intensive suffix *tc*.

Subordinate clauses, when not turned into participles or infinitives, are connected to the principal verb by *awex* or *ayu’,* which also occur in conjunction with the participial suffix *-i,* and often with *qa-,* *na-,* or *-n.*

**VOCABULARY (§§ 25-28)**

Stems are almost invariably monosyllabic, and consist usually of a consonant followed by a vowel; or a consonant, vowel, and consonant. Occasionally, however, we find single vowels; a vowel followed by a consonant; or a vowel, consonant, and vowel. Two consonants never occur together in the same syllable unless one is an agglutinated affix.

§ 25. Nominal Stems

Following is a list of several simple nominal stems:

- *a* lake
- *an* town
- *as* tree
- *aqa’* paddle
- *ic* father
- *yak’u* canoe
- *yak’* mussel
- *yao* herring
- *yax’ic* sea-otter
- *yek’* supernatural helper
- *yit* son
- *da’sa* snare
- *dit* moon
- *ta* stone
- *tan* sea-lion
- *tah* night
- *nu* fort
- *nas’i* clothing
- *nuk’i* shells
- *tcun’et* bow
- *tsa* seal
- *tse’ik’* owl
- *s’axu* hat
- *sit* spruce
- *cat* wife
- *can* old person

§§ 24, 25
cayî'na anchor  
xao log or dead tree  
cî blood  
xât root  
cî song  
xôn friend  
gagâ'n sun  
xôz husband  
gotc wolf  
kât fish-basket  
gâ man  
kâ'nî brother-in-law  
gâhâ'k'u salmon-eggs  
kê'jadi sea-gull  
gou people  
xà'na evening  
g'â point  
xûsî grizzly-bear  
g'ân fire  
xîxtc! frog  
g'ân fur-seal  
hîn fresh water  
g'ât! island  
hît house  
xâ enemy  
hu'nx elder brother

Onomatopoetic words are surprisingly rare.

The following are the terms of blood-relationship:

lîlk! grandparent

tc father

lak' mother's sister (literally, little mother)

kâk mother's brother

ät father's sister, and father's sister's daughter

sa'nî father's brother and father's sister's son

hunx man's elder brother

catz woman's elder sister

kik' man's younger brother, and woman's younger sister

lâk! man's sister

ik! woman's brother

kâlk! mother's brother's children

cxank! grandchild

yît son, and son of mother's sister

sî daughter, and daughter of mother's sister

kêlk! sister's child, and child of woman's brother

Terms of relationship through marriage are the following:

xôz husband

cat wife

wu father-in-law

tcân mother-in-law

kâ'nî brother-in-law of man, and sister-in-law of woman

The other relationships are indicated by terms purely descriptive. Most of the above are also used in a broad sense to cover those persons of the same sex, clan, and generation, as the one to whom it more particularly belongs. A sister's husband was called husband; and a wife's sister, wife, because, in case of the wife's death, the widower had a right to marry her sister.

§ 25
§ 26. Verbal Stems

One or two nominal stems, such as sa name, tcūn dream, and xīl! herring-rake, are also found as the stems of verbs, but usually the two sets of stems are quite distinct. The following is a partial list of verb-stems:

- u to use
- ha to dig
- sīl u to cut off
- na to do
- ni to put
- xe to stay, remain
- gu to go (one person)
- at to go (pl.)
- dja to tell, explain
- ti to be
- ku to know
- ta to sleep
- qa to say
- su to help (a supernatural being acting)
- ca to marry
- xa to eat
- ya to carry, bear
- kīlē to be good
- dji to have
- ge to sit
- nēx to save
- nīk to tell
- yex to make
- xōx to invite
- tan to put
- nuk* to become
- djaq to kill
- tīn to see
- gās! to strike
- gēn to look at, examine
- xīx to get
- gən to burn
- gīt to do
- na to die
- ka to be lazy
- tīa to slap
- tīa to be hot
- cī to hunt for
- hīk to be full of
- djēl to set, place
- tsīn to be strong
- qīq! to throw
- qow to go by canoe
- lēx to dance
- cat to take, seize
- xac to drift
- xōl! to sharpen
- āx to hear
- hēn to stand
- xēq! to sleep or to go to sleep
- sīlt to cover
- tit to drift
- gāx to cry
- kān to hate
- tsīaq to smoke
- ūk to boil
- tīuk to shoot
- tīaq! to pound
- wūs! to ask
- xīn to fly into
- k!ak! to cut
- q!ak* to forget
- q!ak to swim
- ak to weave
- tsūs to swim

It is possible that the final consonant of one or another of these stems is really a suffix, and such may have been the origin of some terminal consonants which are now inseparable.

§ 26
§ 27. Numerals

Numerals precede the nouns with which they occur. The cardinal numbers are:

- **lēq**! one
- **dēx** two
- **nats!k** three
- **daq!ū'n** four
- **kē'djīn** five
- **Lē'ducu** six
- **duca'ducu** seven
- **na'ts!kuducu'** eight
- **gucū'k** nine
- **dji'nkāt** ten
- **dji'nkāt qa** Lēq! eleven
- **Lē'qa** twenty
- **nats!qa dji'nkat** thirty
- **kē'djīn qa** one hundred

*Kē'djīn* is formed from *ke* up and *djin* hand; *dji'nkāt* contains the suffix *kat* across or upon and *djin* hand; *Lē'qa* is from *Lēq! one and qa man*.

When human beings are referred to, slaves usually excepted, the numeral takes the post-position *nāx*.

- **na's!ginax qa** three men
- **Leducu'nax dukē'lɔk'it həs** his six nephews
- **dēx gux** two slaves

The numeral *one*, however, is sometimes unchanged.

- **yulē'q! yati'yiqa wuckik'iyē'n** bring one of the brothers
- **Lēq! ati'yiia** bring one man

*nāx* is also used to form distributive numerals.

Ordinals are formed from cardinals by means of a final *-a*.

- **daxa'** the second
- **nats!giya'** the third

The first is expressed by *cuq!wā'nāx*.

Numeral adverbs are formed by suffixing *-dahēn*.

- **daxdahē'n yē'yanaga** when he said thus twice
- **daxdahē'na gu'dawe** after she had been twice

§ 28. Interrogative Pronouns

The chief interrogative pronouns, also used as relatives, are *adū'sa* who, *dā'sa* what, and *wā'sa* what or how. The final syllable *sa* is separable, however, although never omitted, and ought rather to be regarded as an interrogative particle, though it is perhaps identical with the particle *st* or *ast* referred to in § 18.1. Examples of the use of these pronouns are:

§§ 27, 28
adû'sa wulu'i'q! who broke it off?
adû'sgi qasi' gaca' I wonder who will marry my daughter
dâ'saya ye dji'wani what has done this?
dasayâ', ałe' what is that, mother?
ха dâ'tin sa what with? (that is, what can you do?)
wasa'yu hadé' ye'doga what to us do they say thus?
tc'ule' lâl wudusku' wâ'sa waniye' then they did not know what
had been done
wâ'sa iya'odudziqa' axyi't what did they say to you, my son?

With these should be connected gu'sû where.
gusû' yèn yuqozetcgî where is, then, the breaking off of it?
gusû' tûwunu'guyiyî where is it that he had felt bad?
guda'xqâ'x sayu' 'u'wadjî lâl ye'awusku' from whence he came,
she did not know

The last of these examples shows the locative character of gusu'
(in this case contracted to gu); and the first two, the curious manner
of its employment.

§ 28
QAQATCGÚ’K

(Told by Interpreter, Don Cameron, at Sitka, January, 1904)

Cítiká’qlayu₁ ye’yati₂ wu’ckike’yén³ ye’duwasak⁴ hunxó’⁵ a⁶
At Sitka it was that there were brothers named thus the eldest that is
QAQATCGÚ’K.⁷ Alúunyu⁸ has ak’cita’n.⁹ Léq’¹⁰ ts’utá’tayu¹¹ QAQATCGÚ’K.
Hunting it was they liked. One morning it was on
q’a’tlí’ xóde’¹² dák¹³ has uwaqo’x.¹⁴ Lél’ at udja’qx.¹⁵ Ts’u
islands to among out they went by canoe. Not things he ever killed. Again
yén uqo’xtc.¹⁶ Ts’u dák uwaqo’x.¹⁴ Ada’xayu¹⁷ yuqó’n¹⁸ xo’dé
there he always came again out he went by canoe. And then the fur seals to
in by canoe.
wuduwas’.¹⁹ “Hu at naqo’xtcif’ya²⁰ aya’.²¹ Cítk’al’²² I’sa²³
his name was called. “He things always going in canoe is here. Keep quiet your voices
after ga’a’x.”²⁴ Dák has naqo’x²⁵ a’ayu²⁶ yuhunxó’a²⁷ ye’qlayaq.²⁸
llest he shoreward they were going by at that time the eldest brother it said thus:
canoe was

---

¹ C’tu’m’ (Sitka) compounded of C’t the native name of Baranoff Island, the post-position t’a BEHIND or
back of, and the post-position ka ON; q’l locative post-position at; a’yu compounded of yu the demonstrative
and probably a indefinite pronoun, used to call particular attention to the place.
² ye an adverbal particle referring to BROTHERS, which may here be translated AS FOLLOWS, although
it sometimes refers to what precedes; -yu,-continuative prefix § 15.3; ti stem of the verb TO BE.
³ wu- § 15.4; c- the reflexive prefix § 11; kik’ YOUNGER BROTHER; -én suffix which seems to take the
place of has to indicate plurality.
⁴ ye AS FOLLOWS; du- § 17.3; wa- § 18.2; at O NAME OR CALL; -ku.n noun-forming or perfect participial suffix
§ 20.3.
⁵ hunx ELDNER BROTHER; a probably possessive; kik’ YOUNGER BROTHER.
⁶ a stands for yu’duwasak.
⁷ Object of yu’duwasak.
⁸ a indefinite pronoun indicating the things hunted for; l/kát HUNTING FOR, employed as a post-position;
-ąlä (see note 1).
⁹ has personal pronoun subject third person plural; a object referring to al’al’; ka- indefinite prefix;
c- desire § 18.7; tän TO PUT, verb-stem of many uses.
¹⁰ Léq’ ONE, numeral modifying ts’udal’t. Very often the noun modified is omitted in connections like this.
¹¹ ts’u AGAIN; tùng NIGHT; a’yu demonstrative. The meaning seems to be, ANOTHER NIGHT BEING
PAST.
¹² q’dl/ ISLAND; -q/ plural; zo AMONG; zd motion to.
¹³ Adverb; SEAWARD OR TO AN OPEN PLACE.
¹⁴ wu- § 17.2; wa- § 18.2; goz TO GO BY CANOE.
¹⁵ wu- § 17.2; djaq TO KILL; -r distributive suffix § 19.4.
¹⁶ wu- § 17.2; goz TO GO BY CANOE; -lc intensive suffix § 7.
¹⁷ a indefinite pronoun; -dz FROM; a’yu demonstrative.
¹⁸ yu demonstrative; q’alin FUR-SEAL.
¹⁹ wu- § 15.4; du- § 17.3; wa- § 18.2; a’yu NAME, TO CALL, also VOICE.
²⁰ na action accompanied by another action § 17.5; goz TO GO BY CANOE; -lc intensive suffix § 7; -lc
participial suffix; -yu noun-forming suffix § 20.2, 4.
²¹ a indefinite pronoun, and yu demonstrative.
²² c reflexive § 11; l frequentative § 18.4; kíal’ TO BE QUIET.
²³ zí- THY; a’yu VOICE (see note 19).
²⁴ go subordinating prefix § 17.4; dz TO HEAR.
²⁵ a and a’yu.
²⁶ yu demonstrative; hunxó’ ELDER BROTHER; a indefinite pronoun.
²⁷ ye- AS FOLLOWS; q’ama MOUTH; ya- § 15.3; q’l stem.

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"Lāk" axā', yāndunu'k".32 Lē klānt 30 has uwanu'k".30 Cāqahā'dī.31 "Quick paddles it has become windy." Then angry they became. The bowman yāk't 36 awago'q" 53 duaxa'yi.34 Ldaka't yē's 55 wudzīgī't.36 Ad'axayu 17 into the pushed his paddle. All did the same. And then can'g 37 has wu'dīlit.38 Yū'vāku 18 qa'to lō wu'nīxac.39 Dek'ī'dē.40 heads they covered. The canoe, however, then drifted. Outward Leducū 41 ya'kaye qa tāt 11 has wu'nīxac.39 Yadji'nkāt-qa-dēx 42 six days and nights they drifted. The twelfth day aka'payu 43 ke a'odzīgī't 44 yēn yu'hitik 45 yu'yā'k".18 Aositi'n 46 on that up he woke there the drifting against the canoe. He saw the shore qālāt'ka'q! 47 Asiyu 48 tān, tsa, qūn, yax'te! qa tān-q! adadzā'yi'.49 on the island it was sea-lions, hair-fur, sea-otters, and sea-bristles.

Ldaka't ada' 50 aolita'q! 51 yuqālāt'diāq! 52 has at kā'wadjel.53 All around it drifted the island around on. They things got up.

Lēq! tak' 54 ayē'g 55 wu'ti'.56 Ka'nākālē'ti' 57 yułēq! tak' qac aqūw.58 Wute'x 58 yuqūt tcucstā't.59 Lēq! tuslūtā'ān 60 ke uzdīgī't 61 slept regularly the man to sleep about himself. One morning with it up he woke dutcui'n.62 Yē'atcu'm 63 qox 64 aga'qtc.65 Ad'axayu 17 Lēq! tuslūtā'ē 11 his dream. He dreamed thus back he always got. And then one morning

22 = qa- § 15.3; n- action accompanied by another action § 17.5; du- § 17.3; nuk= to BLOW.
23 k'đam ANGER; t attainment of a state § 20.1.
24 u- § 17.2; wa- § 18.2; nuk= to BECOME.
25 Perhaps containing ga HEAD, qa MAN.
26 yāk= CANOE; t motion into.
27 a indefinite pronoun; wa- § 18.2; qow= to PUSH.
28 du- HIS; aza' PADDLE; -yi' possessive suffix § 10.
29 yi' refers to action preceding; -t probably stands for kas they.
30 wu- § 15.4; dzit- to come to § 18.6; git= to DO.
31 ka HEAD; -sa probably around, near.
32 wa- § 15.4; dzit- inceptive § 18.3; silt to COVER.
33 wa- § 15.4; l- frequentative § 18.4; sac to DRIFT.
34 dekt'= far off; -t motion thither.
35 Lēq! one; six = one counted upon five.
36 yo- demonstrative; djin HAND; kā upon or across, probably the two hands lying upon each other; qa AND; dzit two.
37 Probably a indefinite pronoun; ka ON; t motion to; ayu demonstrative compound.
38 a indefinite pronoun; o- § 17.2; dzit- to come to be § 18.6; gik.
39 yi' demonstrative; l- frequentative § 18.4; git= to DRIFT ashore; kā verbal noun § 20.3.
40 a- indefinite pronoun; o- § 17.2; -sa simple statement of an action § 18.1; fits to SEE.
41 qūlāt' ISLAND; ka ON; girt AT.
42 Probably a indefinite pronoun; it simple statement of fact (see note 46); yu demonstrative.
43 qas probably MOUTH; -yi possessive suffix § 10.
44 a indefinite pronoun; da AROUND.
45 a indefinite pronoun; o- § 17.2; l- frequentative § 18.4; lēq! to DRIFT.
46 yu demonstrative; qi'at ISLAND; da AROUND; girt AT.
47 ka- to cause to do § 15.2; wa- § 15.2; džét to ARISE.
48 Strictly winter.
49 a indefinite pronoun; yas ON ACCOUNT OF, or yi plus s for has they.
50 wu- § 15.4; t to BE.
51 I am unable to analyze this word. ka may be the prefixed auxiliary.
52 wu- § 15.4; ta to SLEEP; -tz distributive § 19.4.
53 tcuc- perhaps reflexive § 11; t- single statement of action § 18.1; ta to SLEEP; -t suffix indicating purpose § 20.1.
54 a indefinite pronoun; l- WRITE.
55 u- active prefix § 17.2; dzit- to come to be § 18.6; gik to DO.
56 du- HIS; icuin DREAM; -yi possessive suffix after a consonant §§ 3, 10.
57 ye- demonstrative; a indefinite pronoun; icuin DREAM.
58 gur occurs both as adverb and as post-position.
59 a indefinite pronoun; dżag to REACH; -t intensive suffix § 7.
duki'kli:has 66 ye'ayaosiqa, 67 “Ca’yidaqé’dé. 68 Yáku’yi 69 at kayilaga’. 70
his younger brothers he said to as follows,
“Sit up. Into the things you load.
Teákuge’yí 71 yé’nde 71 hayák’gwata’n. 72 Gágá’n 73 Kané’sdi-ca 74
Anywhere thither we will go.
Sun Cross-mountain
(canoe)
(canoe)
ceaki’nax 74 ke 75 xítctc. 77 Ada’xayu yén has yá’watan. 76 Q’oka
near the always gets." And then there they were heading. It was
top of dark
wucgê’dí 77 hasducayi’nayí 78 hínq’ 79 has anati’tc 90 gágá’n ana’x 81
into itself their anchor in the water they lowered sun from near it
ke xítctciya. 82 Lax q’un 83 has uxe’ 84 sayu’ 46 has aosti’n két’adi
up where it gets. Very many they camped when they saw a sea-gull
yadji’ndahén. 85 Xate’ 86 Lúlx asiyu’ has aosti’i. Axa’ngá 87
standing suddenly Mount it was they saw. Near it
(young (on the water).
yasgaqoxayu 88 has aostí’n Lúlx klide’n. “Yú’ca 89 adatcú’n, 90
when they were coming they saw Mount plainly. “The
was what said straight towards mountain it.”
yú’yawaqa 91 Qáqlatcugú’k, “adatcú’n 90 yén yayí’satan.” 92 Ada’xayu
was said Qáqlatcugú’k, “straight towards there you be steering.” And then
xtú’nade 93 ana’x yén has uwaqo’x. Ye has áwasa Yák’kalaisi’ga’ku.
94 towards near they came by evening Thus they named it Canoe-resting-place.
Tán a akawati’ 95 ana’x gaduskú’t 96 hu ana’x yén wuqóxo’n. 97
Tani a akawati’ 95 ana’x gaduskú’t 96 hu ana’x yén wuqóxo’n. 97
Sea it he caused ashore so they might be near it there had come by come.
98 • daw一世 his/their younger brother; as plural for terms of relationship.
99 • ye demonstrative; a indefinite pronoun; pa- § 15.3; c- § 17.2; si- simple statement § 18.1; ga to say.
100 • Probably c- reflexive; i- you; da- inchoactive § 18.3; p’ to sit; -d0 imperative suffix or particle § 22.2.
101 • Yáku’ see canoe; p’ probably down into.
102 • ka- to cause § 15.2; pi- ye- l- frequentative § 18.4; ga to load.
103 • yén there; -d0 motion toward.
104 • ha us; pa- § 15.3; k- indefinite § 15.6; gwa- (for -wu- future) § 15.5; tan to go.
105 • Ká’st is the modern Tlingit word for cross (Luet. G. T. Emmons believes it to be a corruption of
Christ. The consonant cluster st does not sound like Tlingit); ca mountain.
106 • ca head; k to toward; mas near, or from near by.
107 • xí to get; -c0 intensive suffix § 7.
108 • pa- § 15.3; we- § 18.2; tan to head.
109 • weu- § 15.4; c- reflexive; p’ into; di motion to.
110 • hasduc-they; c’p’ na anchor; p’ possessive suffix.
111 • Láx water; q’ into.
112 • an indefinite pronoun; no- action accompanied by another § 17.5; ti stem; -c0 intensive suffix.
113 • an indefinite pronoun; na- near, or from near by.
114 • tit to get; -c0 intensive suffix § 7; -i participic; -pa verbal noun § 20.2, 4.
115 • After Láx q’un, the word di winter should be understood.
116 • w- § 17.2; ze to camp.
117 • pa- § 15.3; dji- rapidly § 17.1; na- at the same time as § 17.5; de- inchoactive § 18.3; kén to stand.
118 • -c emphatic suffix (7).
119 • an indefinite pronoun; za- post-position indicating motion to the neighborhood of some person; -pa
purpose.
120 • pa- § 15.3; s- probably stands for has; pa- when § 17.4; go to go by canoe; -ayu demonstrative.
121 • yu demonstrative; ca mountain.
122 • an indefinite pronoun; datec in post-position, perhaps containing da around.
123 • yu demonstrative; pa- § 15.3; we- § 18.2; ga to say.
124 • pa- § 15.3; pi- second person plural; sa- indicative § 18.1; tan to speak.
125 • da motion toward.
126 • Yáku’ see canoe; kal (7); si- indicative § 18.1; ga or gak (7).
127 • an indefinite pronoun; ka- to cause § 15.2; we- § 18.2; ti to be.
128 • go subordinating prefix § 17.4; d- § 17.3; s- indicative § 18.1; ku to know; -i purpose § 20.1.
129 • weu- § 15.4; go to go by canoe; -n conjunctival suffix preceded by ð in harmony with the o before i
§ 3; § 19.3.
Ada'xawe yaCi't[kadé 98 has wuqo'x. Yá'ani 99 gayá'qđé 100
And then here to Sitka they came by canoe.
yá'sgaqo'xyau' 101 tci'a'guayl 102 ducať 103 gánt aga'x. Tclaye' su
when they were coming the old one his wife outside wept. At that very
ing in canoe
gaxé'ayu' 104 aosťi'n yu'yu'kä 105 ēn egaya'de 106 yánaqo'x. 106 Aosťi'n
when she was she saw the canoe town in front of was coming. She saw
crying
crying
awu'a'gë 107 xäť-slánh 108 Wudihä'n 109 nêlde 110 wugut. 111 Háť 112
she had she started up into the house to go (she went).
has uwuqo'x. Dutowu' 113 sigî yuca'wât-cân. 114 Duxę'x duxa'nl 115
they came. Her mind was happy the old woman's. Her husband to her
däq gu'dayu ldakať at qadjide 116 ye aos'i'n 117 täń-qlâdază'yĩ, up
came when all these things he gave salutation bristles,
yâ'xâ'tc dûguc, qûn dûgu'. Ėn qadjî'n 118 aohi'ę'kä 119 Dukanį-
sea-otter skins, fur-seal skins. With hands he shook. His brothers-
these
yên 120 yë'dayadaqua, 111 "Detcâ'kă' 122 iiti'q 123 yên yu-ät-kâ'wati, 124
in-law they said thus to him, "Long since in your place the feast has been
given.
Yuuyi's-qa 125 de 126 udû'waca." 17 Alę'n 128 tuwu'nu'kä 129 awatle'. 130
The young woman is already married." It was much trouble she felt.

98 ps this, employed because no story was told in Sitka; de toward.
99 ps this; da town; -i possessive suffix. The reason for the use of this suffix is not clear.
100 ps de post-position, in front of; -t probably indicates motion forward; -de toward.
101 ps - § 15.3; -a for ha! they (?); ps- subordinating prefix § 17.4; pox to go by canoe; -yä demonstrative.
102 le/dâkä old, old times, old things; -(a)i possessive suffix referring to duca't.
103 du- his.
104 ps to cry; -i participle § 20.2; -yä demonstrative.
105 -c occurs a few times before post-positions beginning with p, such as ps and ps; ps de in front of; de toward.
106 ps - § 15.3; no action done at the same time as another § 17.5.
107 a indefinite pronoun; ws- § 15.4; -k to weaver, with terminal sound voiced before vowel; -t participle § 20.2.
108 zäť root; šâťkä hat.
109 ws- § 15.4; dt- inchoative § 18.3; häs to move. (?)
110 nâ into the house; de toward.
111 ws- § 15.4; ps to go; -i purposive suffix § 20.1.
112 he demonstrative; -i post-position.
113 du here; -n mind; ws possessive suffix after ws § 10.
114 ps demonstrative; ca'wâ?i woman; ca'n old.
115 du here; -xâ to the neighborhood of a person; -q/ at.
116 ps man; -c voiced before vowel; emphatic suffix § 7; de toward.
117 see note 46; n'y to give.
118 ps man; -šň hand.
119 škâ to shake.
120 du his; pös plural for terms of relationship (see note 3).
121 ps demonstrative; da sign of indirect object § 14.4; ps- § 15.3; du- § 17.3; ps to say.
122 de now; kâl'kâ a long time ago.
123 -i thin; -q post-position.
124 ps demonstrative; at something; -s causative § 15.2; ws- § 18.2; ti to be.
125 ps demonstrative; ps young person; ps human being.
126 de now.
127 ws- § 17.2; du- § 17.3; ws- § 18.2; cs to marry (—woman).
128 a indefinite pronoun; lâń big.
129 ws mind; ws- § 15.4; -škâ to become.
130 a indefinite pronoun; ws- § 18.2; /t to feel.
Brothers lived at Sitka of whom the eldest was named Qąq'ətçğú'k. They were fond of hunting. One morning they went out among the islands. He (that is Qąq'ətçğú'k) kept coming back without having killed anything. He went out again. Then his name was mentioned among the fur-seals. "The one who always hunts is here. Keep quiet, lest he hear your voices." When they were going towards the shore, the eldest brother said, "Use your paddles quickly, for it has become windy." Now they became angry. The bow-man pushed his paddle down into the canoe. All did the same thing. Then they covered their heads. The canoe, however, drifted on. They drifted out for six days and nights. The twelfth day he (Qąq'ətçğú'k) awoke and found the canoe drifting against the shore. He saw sea-lions; hair-seals, fur-seals, sea-otters, and sea-lion bristles on the island. All had drifted ashore around the island. They took their things up. They were there for one year. A year and a half was completed. The man kept sleeping, thinking about his condition. One morning he woke up with his dream. He kept dreaming that he had gotten home. And one morning he said to his younger brothers, "Sit up. Put the things into the canoe. The sun always rises from the neighborhood of Mount Verstovai." Then they headed in that direction. When it became dark, they lowered their anchor into the water in the direction from which the sun comes up. After they had spent very many nights, they saw a sea-gull upon the water. What they saw was Mount Edgcumbe. When they got nearer it, they saw plainly that it was Mount Edgcumbe. "Straight for the mountain," said Qąq'ətçğú'k, "steer straight towards it." So towards evening they came near it. They named that place Canoe-resting-place. He pounded out the figure of a sea-lion there so that they might know he had come ashore at that place. When they came ashore in front of the town, his old wife was outside weeping. While she was crying, she saw the canoe coming in front of the town. She saw the root-hat she had woven. She got up to go into the house. They came thither. The old woman's mind was glad. When her husband came up to her, he gave all these things to the people—sea-lion bristles, sea-otter skins, fur-seal skins. He shook hands with these in his hands. His brother-in-law said to him, "The feast was given for you some time ago (that is, the mortuary feast). The young woman is already married." She (the younger woman) was very much troubled on account of it (because her former husband was now a man of wealth).
HAIDA

BY

JOHN R. SWANTON
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HAIDA

By John R. Swanton

§1. LOCATION

The Haida language, called Skittageten by Powell, was anciently spoken only on the Queen Charlotte islands, off the coast of British Columbia. About a hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago, however, a large body of Haida moved from their old towns in the northwestern part of the islands, and settled around Cordova and Kasaan bays, Alaska. As originally situated the Haida consisted of six fairly well-marked geographical groups, each of which probably possessed certain dialectic peculiarities; but only two or three well-established dialects can now be said to exist. The two most important of these are that spoken at Skidegate, in the central portion of the Queen Charlotte islands, and that spoken at Masset (on the northern end of the islands) and in Howkan, Klinkwan, and Kasaan, Alaska. The first I shall call the Skidegate dialect, and the second the Masset dialect. The speech of the people around the southern extremity of the group differed so far from these that it may also have been entitled to dialectic rank, but so few of those who used to speak it now survive that we have no absolute knowledge on this point. From the name given by whites to their principal town, I shall call this hypothetical dialect the dialect of Ninstints.

The nearest neighbors of the Skidegate Haida were the Tsimshian of the mainland of British Columbia; and the nearest neighbors of the Masset Haida the Alaskan Tlingit. There is evidence, however, that at one time the Tlingit were neighbors of the southern Haida as well; and the speech of both shows morphological and even lexical similarities such as lead to a suspicion of genetic relationship. Although Tsimshian influence has been very strong among the Haida in recent years, the Tsimshian language is quite distinct, and the only other language in this region which shows any morphological similarity to Haida is the Athapaskan spoken in the interior of the continent.
The examples given in the following sketch have been taken from my collection of Haida texts. Those in the Masset dialect will be found in the publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Volume X; those in the Skidegate dialect in Bulletin 29 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. References preceded by B refer to Bulletin 29.

**PHONETICS (§§ 2-5)**

§ 2. System of Sounds

Like most other languages of the north Pacific coast of America, Haida makes an extended use of sounds of the $k$, $l$, and $s$ series. It is peculiarly remarkable, however, for the great extent to which it employs $n$ and $\tilde{n}$ ($ng$) and the frequent juxtaposition of two or even three vowel-sounds. Following is a list of all those sounds which the Haida themselves appear to recognize:

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</tbody>
</table>

An anterior palatal series might be added to these, but the sounds to be so characterized seem only palatals followed by a close vowel. The fortis sounds are accompanied by a slight explosion, which results from urging more breath against the articulating organs than can at once pass through. Some speakers bring these out very forcibly, while others pass over them with considerable smoothness. In the latter case it is very easy to mistake them for corresponding sonants. It is doubtful whether $d$ and $t$ and $dj$ and $tc$ really exist as recognizedly separate sounds; $tc$ is sometimes heard in the Masset dialect, and $dj$ in Skidegate in corresponding situations. $x$ is pronounced intermediately between the $ch$ in German "ach" and in German "ich," with which latter sound it agrees entirely when placed before a close vowel. In the $l$-series $l$ is much like $dl$, and $l$ much like $fl$; but the tongue is extended farther forward along the palate, and there is a greater flow of breath around it. In $l$ the outflow of breath becomes extreme. $m$ and $p$ are usually final sounds in certain
syllables where they appear to convey a kind of onomatopoetic sense. In both cases there is a little longer pause with lips closed after the enunciation than is usual in English. b, which occurs in barely half a dozen words, seems to be of the same nature. In the Masset dialect q and z are articulated so feebly that it is best to represent them by independent signs, ‘ and ; but this alteration seems to be only an accompaniment of the shorter form of speech which Masset people affect. In the present sketch all of the examples not marked "Masset" are taken from the Skidegate dialect.

Among vowels we have to distinguish clearly between those proper to the language and those which seem to be purely accidental, a sort of by-product of speech. In the former class are ü (or ò), u (or o), i (or è), i (or e), a, and a. The sounds in the pairs ü and ò, u and o, i and è, i and e, are not distinguished from each other, and in each case the two probably stand for a single sound. i and e pass very easily into i and è; and the latter may be described as accidental sounds, although which pair is really accidental it would be hard to say. Under the accent, a is lengthened into ä. Sometimes ä is heard instead of ã (kiũ'lu, kiũ'lu); and sometimes the doubling of a sound gives the effect of å, as in Masset qäñ, equivalent to qa'än, and qü'ñan, which is the same as qea'ñan. a following wa, as in wa'ļu, resembles å; and å is heard in a few exclamations, but it is not proper to the language. The semi-vowels, y and w, are etymologically related to ã and ü, and must be considered modifications of these sounds.

A notable feature of Haida is the doubling and juxtaposition of vowels, accompanying the general vocalic character of the speech. Any two vowels may thus be used together, but, although generally treated as equivalent to a single vowel, they do not seem to be pronounced as closely together as the vowel-sounds which compose our diphthongs. Examples of this phenomenon are:

djä'ada woman
la l' kiũ'nä'gañ wansũ'ga he told her the news, they say
l' sũ'us he said
gua towards
ta'oläñ friends
guí toward
l' qea'łagän he became
lnaga'í the town

A weak i may be followed by two vowels, as in gia'ogt AT THE END.
§3. Grouping of Sounds

Syllables may consist of a single vowel; a consonant with following vowel, or with vowel-combination like the above; two consonants with following vowel; two consonants, a vowel, and a terminal consonant; or of two consonants by themselves.

While all classes of consonants may stand at the beginning of words, $k$ sounds are not admitted as terminal sounds.

Two groups of consonantic clusters may be distinguished—those with initial $s$ and $l$, and those with other initial consonants. $l$, $l$, $l$, and $l!$ belong in part to the former group.

Only $s$ and $l$, and to a certain extent $l$, $l$, $l$, and $l!$ may form initial clusters, and the first two are found with considerable frequency in monosyllabic stem. In these clusters $s$ and $l$ are followed by other consonants; but $s$ is not followed by another $s$ or an affricative. Following are examples, taken from the Masset dialect:

- stañ two 280.10
- stlí sick 300.28
- sgat to chop 275.10
- skit- to club
- skrían but 296.32
- s'ōan (s'wān) one 275.7
- sqlao salmon-berry bush 319.23
- slaqa'm butterfly 296.26
- slila hand
- lla'nu to eat (collective) 278.7
- lqul to move about
- lkwid disturbed, in haste 719.5
- lk!l'mal needle of coniferous tree 303.11
- lnēid to begin to split 711.23
- l'ianq!lē' pit 703.25
- lqam kelp

Initial clusters with initial $l$, $l$, $l!$ or $l$ are not rare, but are formed probably in all cases by composition.

- lnagai' town 704.9 (from na to live)
- țñā'nda a whole one 707.11; 419.15
- l'lni'alañan she cooked it 731.41 (‘al to cook 295.7)
- lnōt 710.26
- l'lqadañidan to split quickly 711.26
- l!dinji'ga-i standing 725.26
- lsku'nagañan they dress up 717.34

All other consonantic clusters do not admit surd stops in second position, and no $k$ sound occurs in first position. The only cluster beginning with an affricative that I have found is $djə$. Presumably all these clusters are due to composition of stems which terminate and begin with consonants respectively. This would account for the
absence of *k* sounds as first sounds of clusters, since these do not occur as terminal sounds.

§ 4. Dialectic Differences

Compared with the Skidegate dialect, Masset appears to have undergone a shortening process throughout. I have already mentioned the change of *g* and *x* to *e* and *i*; and this shortening is also conspicuously noticeable among vowel-sounds, *a* appearing as *u*, *sta* or *sta* as *st*, while the *u* and *a* sounds generally, especially when terminal, are reduced to very light breathings. The vowel-combination *ai* becomes almost *i*. Sometimes, however, one vowel is changed into another, as in *sti?* two (Masset *st?n*) or *u’ngu* on top of (Masset *t’ngu*). In conformity with a euphonic tendency to be noted below, *n*, as in *ti’si?,* often changes to *n* in Masset. Occasionally, too, whole syllables are dropped, and so we have *qo?di?*; *tal* and *dal* for *ti’ala’n* and *dala’n*; *i’lad?* for *i’la’xagidasgai*.

Another difference between these two dialects, related to the question of euphony, is the change of *g* into *x* in certain situations in the Skidegate dialect, and its retention in Masset. Thus *a’djqua* over there in Masset becomes *a’djxia* in Skidegate, and *l’qa’gals* he went out becomes *la qâ’xuls*. This is interesting as seeming to show that the euphonic tendencies have acted differently in the two branches of the Haida tribe.

All that is known of the peculiarities of the Ninstints dialect is that it tended to substitute *k* for *g*, and that in the manner of its enunciation it was esteemed by the other Haida to resemble Athapaskan.

§ 5. Laws of Euphony

The most important euphonic change in Haida is related to that spoken of above. Within the Skidegate dialect itself the *g* and *q* of the connective particle *ga-i* (see p. 262), the possessive suffix *-qan* (see § 28.4), and the past-temporal suffixes before the quotative *wansu’ga* (see § 23.1), are dropped in certain situations, generally having to do with the preceding sound. It is not possible to make rules that will cover all the cases which occur, but it generally happens that *g* is retained after *a* and dropped after *u*. After the consonants and the remaining vowels it is more often dropped than retained; but exceptions are numerous, especially after *i*, *n*, the *l*-sounds, and *s*
contracted from dži. In the cases of infinitives and participles, exceptions are more numerous than with nouns. Examples of the use and disuse of this g are the following:

xā'gai the dog B 37.4 nā'nāŋ his grandmother B 59.14
lua'i the canoe B 29.21 nā'ŋgai the play
djā'gaŋ his wife B 29.30 qa'di'gai the slumber
awu'ŋ his mother B 7.1 ā'gai this thing B 33.28
goda'i the box B 71.32 l'gea'lgaŋ when he came (to be)

In the Masset dialect the g of -agan, the Skidegate past-inexperienced temporal suffix (see § 23.2, p. 248), is dropped in most situations, but retained as g after a, conformably with the above rule

la l! ṭsdagi'gaŋan they always took him
      l! t'ā'sgadant they landed
      xed ṭdja'nit they were ashore

But—

qāl. yu' an qlēdjul'lagan a big
      reef stood out of the water
      l' tā'gant he ate
      nān t'l'agidagan one was chief

The final consonant of certain stems is sometimes l, sometimes ṭ.

Of these, l usually appears before a vowel, ṭ before a consonant:

la stə l! stil's they went back a'asi'n gut la qaxitgiā'las he ran over this way upon it
      for him

But accent seems to have something to do with the phenomenon; for, when two vowels precede this consonant and the accent falls upon the second, l is commonly employed; thus—

Gei lā'ga la tc!t'aqēgai ṭu when he got through breaking his paddles

l is also sometimes introduced where it has no grammatical significance, and thus we find yaku'si'a in the middle instead of yaku'si'a. n and ŋ seem to bear much the same relation to each other as do l and ṭ, only in this case ŋ is plainly the original sound. Thus the terminal phonetic combination -ŋas often contracts to ns; for example, nāttqə hao la'oatu'gwaŋgaŋas his nephew sat around whittling or nāttqə hao la'oatu'gwaŋgans. This phenomenon may be due as much to rapid pronunciation as to any other cause.

Before s the terminal ŋ of the imperative future suffix disappears, as also from gaŋa'ŋ like before xaŋ, as in gaŋa'xan; while in qa'ŋgən to himself it appears to be inserted.

s becomes dž before most vowels; for example, tás sand, tā'džai the sand; ā'dži this, ā'gai this thing; hawə'n dān xënana'ndja do you still live? and gam gu 'añə da'nətə ti'ala'nə t'nalnǎnus

§ 5
MAY WE NOT LEAVE WATER WITH YOU? (Masset)—have the same interrogative suffix -ədja, -us.

Labials are of small consequence in Haida. Still it is worth noting that sip sea-anemone changes the p to b when followed by the connective particle, namely, sī'bai.

§ 6. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

Grammatical categories and syntactical relations are expressed almost solely by composition, affixing, and position. There is a sporadic case of duplication presented by the continuative suffix -gɑn; as, la qīʼŋgɑn he is looking, la qīʼŋgɑnɡɑn he looks many times; but it is not extensively used. The perfect tense is expressed by a form which may possibly represent dieresis, but which is more plausibly explained as a suffix, -y; as, la suda’yagɑn i’la tsda’st, he did differently from the way he had said he would do.

Verbal and nominal stems may be combined into stem-complexes by juxtaposition. These complexes are treated syntactically like single stems, each element in the complex receiving its significance by its position. Besides compositions of such independent stems, a number of others occur in which the component elements do not seem to be independent, but occur as prefixes or suffixes. There is, however, no sharp dividing-line between composition and affixing; and some of the elements that appear at present as subordinate may prove to be independent stems. Notwithstanding the phonetic independence of the elements of the stem-complexes, their relation is so intimate that it seems best to consider them as single words because they enter as units into syntactic construction. A number of sound changes which have been referred to seem to be of a purely phonetic character, and not to have any morphological significance.

IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES (§§ 7-12)

§ 7. Noun and Verb

In general, the distinction between nominal and verbal stems is very sharp. It is true that certain stems are used in a manner that leaves a doubt as to which category they belong, but their use is quite limited. Such are wā’lgal potlatch and to potlatch, ziik dance and to dance, na house and to live; while gida chief’s
son, yā'nañ clouds, tā'ña sea-water, have or may present verbal forms. Generally, however, a noun which is used as a predicate is followed by a verbal stem, or appears incorporated, as, l' gidagā'qan he was a chief's son, l' tcā'aldas he had a spear (from tcā'al spear).

Verbs that change into nouns usually become abstract, their origin being thus easily recognized. The names for instruments, store-articles, and some other things, are generally descriptive terms and thus verbal, but they have dropped their verbal suffixes and taken on a noun-forming suffix. Rarely a verb is turned into a passive and then into a noun by prefixing ta and suffixing gai (see § 17.4, p. 236). These are the only cases in which we find verbal prefixes in nouns.

§ 8. Composition

Although there is much freedom in the composition of stem-complexes, a number of types may readily be distinguished. The more fully developed complexes of this kind generally express by an initial element an idea of modality, most commonly instrumentality; by a second element, the nominal object; by a third element, the peculiar kind of action; and by a fourth element, the local relations of the action. In those cases in which the various elements are best developed, the first element appears as an instrumental prefix; the second, as a term expressing a group of nouns characterized by a certain shape; the third is a verbal stem; and the fourth expresses direction and location.

These word-complexes are followed by suffixes expressing tense, mood, and related concepts.

§ 9. Classification of Nouns

The classification of nouns, referred to before, is one of the characteristic traits of the language. The groups characterize objects as "long," "slender," "round," "flat," "angular," "thread-like," "animate," etc. On account of the extended use of these classifiers, incorporation of the noun itself is comparatively speaking rare. It is here represented by the use of the classifiers which express the subject of the intransitive verb, or the object of the transitive verb as a member of a certain class of things, the principle of classification being form.

On the other hand, the same verbal stems—like "to carry," "push," "move," "be"—are used, on the whole, in relation to all §§ 8, 9
kinds of objects, regardless of their form; consequently there are also only a few cases in which the verbal stem differs in the singular and plural. This agrees also with the fact that in the noun the idea of plurality is only weakly developed. It occurs only in terms of relationship and a few other terms designating human beings.

§ 10. Personal Pronouns

Verbs are strictly distinguished as active and neutral. Neutral verbs are, on the whole, those designating states of the body and qualities, while all other verbs are considered as active. The subject of the latter is expressed by the subjective pronoun, while the pronominal relations of the neutral verb are expressed by the objective pronouns. In the pronoun the speaker, person spoken to, and person spoken of, are distinguished. The distinction between subjective and objective forms is confined to the first and second persons singular and to the first person plural. Besides these forms, an indefinite singular and plural occurs. The indefinite personal pronouns are also commonly used before nouns to perform the functions covered by our definite and indefinite articles. The personal pronoun of the third person plural is also frequently used as an equivalent to our passive. It is also employed as an equivalent to the form for the third person singular, when the person referred to is especially venerated or respected. The speaker may refer to himself in the same way.

§ 11. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstratives are limited in number, the most general spatial relations only being indicated. The demonstrative employed to mark nearness occurs very often, and corresponds to a similar demonstrative in the Tlingit language. There are certain other particles of a demonstrative character, but they more often indicate grammatical connection than spatial relations.

§ 12. Connectives

Special local relations are expressed by a long series of connectives which are in intimate relation with the verb, but also with the noun and pronoun. They characterize the special relation of the indirect object to the verb. They are placed preceding the direct object and following the indirect object, if there is one. They seem to be adverbial in character.
DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 13-34)

§ 13. Formation of Word-Complexes

As already stated, Haida words are very loosely put together and many of their elements may also be used independently. The type of the word-complex which may be isolated as the predicative term of the sentence embraces four groups of elements:

A first group, describing an incidental state or activity, particularly instrumentality.

A second group, indicating the nominal object of transitive, the subject of intransitive, verbs.

A third group, expressing the principal predicative term.

A fourth group, expressing local relations and modalities.

Although there is hardly any phonetic influence between these groups of elements, their connection is so intimate that the combination is best considered as a single word, even though the component elements may occur in other combinations quite independently. An example of such a combination is the word dañgídal!yasqa canoe being hauled seaward, which is constituted as follows

First group: dañ by pulling.
Second group: gi canoe-shaped object.
Third group: dāl to move.
Fourth group: \(\sqcup\) ¼ toward something.
\(\sqcup\) ¼ seaward.

Several complexes of this kind may enter into combinations. It would seem that when this is the case each complex expresses modality or instrumentality in relation to the following ones in the same way as the first group expresses modality in the single term. An example of this kind is the word gidgidildskit to place an animate object by causing it to become (one that) holds on with the hands:

First complex, third group: gidj to hold with hands.
Second complex, third group: gigl to become.
Third complex, third group: da to cause.
Fourth complex, third group: skit to bring into contact.

These combinations may be illustrated by the following examples:

\(\La\) \(\La\) taqiaq\(\La\) n\(\La\) he ate it as he stood around (\(\La\) \(\La\) objective and subjective pronouns; \(\La\) to eat; -gia to stand; -gañ continuous; -gwañ about; -as participle)
He also saw his two children sitting there (āt child; -ga possessive suffix; -laī plural suffix with terms of relationship; āt two; ātī also; laī subjective pronoun; qēnī stem to see; qā to sit; -o suffixed auxiliary; xaī perhaps a form of gaī continuative [§ 24.1, p. 250]; -as participle [§ 25.7, p. 254])

agaī la sgalqa'idagan he went stealthily (agaī reflexive; laī subjective pronoun; sgal to hide; qa to go; -id inchoative; -agan past inexperienced)

la gu la qaqa'atañan he went and looked at her (laī objective pronoun; gu post-position at; laī subjective pronoun; qa to go; qea to look; tañ against; yunag past inexperienced)

qā'diī la qīnqīla'īdjudalasi he saw his head go by (lī possessive prefix 3d person singular; qā'diī head; laī subjective pronoun; qīnī [same as qēnī] to see; qā-lī- classifier [§ 15.18, p. 232]; dju of that sort or kind; dal to go; -asī participle)

gam dalaī lī qīnqītīza'īnqā'ngagsa they will not see you flying about all the time (gam negative particle; dalaī object 2d person plural; lī subject 3d person plural; qīnī to see; xīt to fly; xaī [?]; -gan continuative; gaī [?]; -sga future)

While many verbs and nouns may enter into compositions like those described, others occur, at least at present, only in such compositions, and therefore appear as prefixes or suffixes, according to their position, preceding or following the third group, which contains the principal verbal stems. This is particularly true of the second group, which contains a large group of nominal terms of very general significance, each representing nouns conceived as possessing a certain form. Therefore the second group appears essentially as a group of nominal classifiers, although special nouns occur occasionally in the same position. The local relations which belong to the fourth group never occur independently.

§ 14. First Group: Instrumental Verbal Prefixes

1. un- by means of the back.

la ga u'n txid'ri he carried some on his back (laī he; ga some; txī stem [?]; -id inchoative [?]; -an past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; -i suffix [§ 25.6])

xā' nagī lī na dī la u'n xid'as ṭu I wish he would carry me on his back face up (xaī face; lī na I wish; dī me; laī he; xīt to pick up; -s participle [§ 25.7, p. 254]; ṭu when)

1 See also § 17.1, p. 236. All references in §§ 14-27 refer to the Skidegate Texts, Bulletin 29, etc. 

§ 14
la la u’nsltecliaias he came in with him and took him off from his back (la him; la he; wn- with back; sl to place; tc!a into; -y perfect [§ 23.7, p. 249]; -s participle [§ 25.7, p. 254])

2. tc!it- BY SHOOTING OR BY HAMMERING; also independent verb, TO SHOOT.

l’ gi’tgalän stl’nxan tc!qíqadąnąqagíqagaiwandų’ga her sons knew well how to shoot stones by means of a stick (l’ her; git child; -ga possessive [§ 28.1, p. 257]; lañ pl.; stl’nxan both; tc!it- by shooting; gáia know how to)
la tc!iqgualndi qa’odi’hao after he had shot for a while (la he; gue stem; -gan continuous; -di [§ 20.7, p. 241]; qa’odi connective after a while; Hao general demonstrative)
la la tc!i’gas he shot it (la it; la he; tc!i to shoot; -ga auxiliary to be [§ 18.5, p. 237]; -s participle [§ 25.7])

3. da- BY PUSHING OR BY AN OUTWARD MOTION OF THE HANDS.

la l! daq’siqawan they pushed him down (la him; l! they; l- [§ 15.20, p. 232] shaped like a human being; sl to put or place; gawa [?]; -s participle [§ 25.7])
qa la qan la dá’qist she put it in for him (ga in; la him; qan for; la she; da- prefix; qit [?]; -st participle [§ 25.7])
l’ qe’iaq la dasq’alt’qistoq she put it in front of it (l’ it; qe’i’ga in front of; la they [with -go § 20.1, p. 240]; da- prefix; sq’ia-
[§ 15.11]; skit stem; -st participle)
l’ gut gia’gai la daq’al’inaqawoqas he rubbed tallow on them (la them [with -go § 20.1]; gut upon; gia’gai the tallow; la he; da-
prefix; q’ái [§ 15.18]; nan to rub; -ań continuous [§ 24.1]; -s participle)
l! dadjiit!al’dai’ygani they pushed down 45.15 (djit stem; -tl! down; da to cause; -y perfect)

4. dań- BY PULLING; also an independent verb(?). This is one of the most frequent instrumentals.

la dańa’ndjii!l’axas he pulled [him] out head first 29.26 (la he; dań- by pulling; andjii erect; -l!xa toward; -s participle)
gu’sta la da’ndaias he pulled him apart (gu together; sta from; la he; dań- by pulling; da to cause; i=-y perfect; -s participle)
s’wan l’ dańwant’l’asa úu when he pulled one out of the sea (Masset)
s’wan one; l’ he; dań- by pulling; antc!i= andjii erect; la perhaps l!xa toward; -s participle; úu when)
a’ñá l’ da’ñidani he pulled his property out (aña his own; l’ he; dań- by pulling; -da to cause; -an past inexperienced; -4
[§ 25.6, p. 253])
la dańqal’-ixas he pulled out (head) 10.4 (gla- § 15.18)
la dańqalostas he pulled out a long one 57.9 (sq’al- § 15.11)

§ 14
5. **dal-** by means of a current of water (dal rain).

l' dəɬ'las he floated (living one) down 97.19

nəl'gaal'nda yū'dala dəl'gala dal'ašaɬyə鸾 much seaweed came drifting 33.22 (nəl'gaal'nda seaweed; yū = yū'an much; -dala pl. adj. [§ 39, p. 276]; dal- by means of a current; yəl to turn; da to cause [§ 18.2]; -l'a toward; -i perfect; -aɬ past inexperience [§ 23.2])

6. **tla-** by stamping or treading upon. Perhaps related to stla.

lə lə tla'səɬgənəɬ they tickled her by treading 31.26 (lə her; lə they; tla- by treading; səɬ to tickle; -gənəɬ continuative duplicated [§ 24.1; § 6])

qala'i inaqvoi'gei la t'ananə'yəsi he stamped half of the alder to pieces (qal alder; -ai the; inaqvoi the half; gei into; lə he; tla- by treading; nan to roll about; -ən continuative; -asi participle)

l' t'ləl'sadaɬ'ŋaq'gas she washed it by treading upon it in the sea (l' she; lə sadaɬ [?]; qa to go [?]; -qa seaward; -s participle)

gei lə t'ananaɬ'ŋaqvasi they broke in pieces with their feet (gei into [pieces]; lə they [with -gaw]; tla- with feet; nan to grind; -ən continuative; -asi participle)

7. **stla-** by kicking; identical with the word for foot.

lə la stla'sgidəs he kicked it (lə it; lə he; sgid stem; -səs participle)

la stla'oxa'astəgiəsi he kicked it into the water (lə he; xao quickly; stla stem; -əgi suffix [?]; -si participle)

lə'gə lə la stlaqadaɬ'yaɬan he kicked his own 89.33

8. **nan-** by grinding, being the stem of the verb to grind.

agə'n lə nanha'iləwus he destroyed himself by grinding (agə'n himself; lə he; hailə to destroy; -s participle)

9. **skit-** by chopping or by clubbing.

lə gei lə skitnaɬ'nxidaiaš he began to chop them up (lə it [pieces]; gei into; lə he; nanaɬ stem; -xida inchoative; -i perfect; -s participle)

lə la skidə'nət qa'ədiʃ after he had chopped it for a while (lə it; lə he; skidə to chop; -an probably continuative; də [§ 20.7] qa'ədiʃ after a while)

na'wəi lə skitnaɬ'ŋaqavasi they clubbed the devil-fish (na'wəi the devil-fish; lə he [with -gaw § 20.1]; nanaɬ stem; -asi participle)

gi lə skidjo'usi they tried to club them (gi to [post-position with omitted object]; lə he; skidə by clubbing; djo to try, to do that sort of thing; -usi participle)

agə'n lə skitkoɬ'tuldas he let himself be clubbed to death 12.13 (agə'n self; kətul dead; da to cause)

l'skitqə'goəsi they went around while they were beating time 13.16

§ 14
10. skiū- BY MEANS OF THE SHOULDER.

l' inagwa'i la skiū'guxidas he carried half of it on his shoulder (inagwa'i the half; gu stem [t]; -xid inchoative [§ 18.6]; -as participle)
l'a skiū'sk'lqg'ënwas he sat with it on his shoulder (sk'la- [§ 15.8]; gin thing [t]; w=u to continue to be [§ 18.1]; -asi participle)
l'a skiū'djilsi being on shoulder 37.32

11. slī- WITH THE FINGERS, this being the word for HAND.

l' xa'né ge'ista gā'ilgan la slī!gista'ias he pulled out a blood-clot from his eye with his fingers (xa'né the eye; gei into; sta from;
gā'ilgañ blood-clot; gi- shape[§15.13]; sta to move from; -i perfect; -s participle)

l'a slī!bía'ya he moved the fire with his hands (slī stem; ya [t])

12. gin- CAUSE in general, of which the special variety has just been given; possibly related to gin'-na THING.

gā'ihaol l' ginűdja'ñ wansu'ga that made him feel that way, they say (ga'-i that; hao way; is to be; -añ past inexperienced [§23.2]; wansu'ga quotative)
kun'ai sqao l' ginųl!xōdaqela'ñ wansu'gãñ what he got in exchange for the whales made him rich (kun'ai the whales; sqao in exchange for; il!xōda rich or a chief; geal to become [§ 18.10]; -añ past inexperienced [§23.2]; wansu'ga quotative)

l'a ginqla'adjas he (accomplished something) by pretending to be asleep (q!a to sleep; -di [§ 20.7]; -as participle)
l'a l' ginųl'suqanañ all that time they made him speak (gusu to speak[from stem su]; -gañ continuative; -añ past inexperienced)
ginlkotutl to cease to die 81.43

gās'ā ginųl!gqldaiyañ . . . she made herself sick 73.34

13. kit- BY MEANS OF A STICK (compare kit'ao SPEAR).

l' inagwa'i la kit'itxidá'ñ wansu'ga he carried half of it off on a stick, they say (inagwa'i the half of it; dji stem; -xid inchoative [§ 18.6]; -añ past inexperienced; wansu'ga quotative)

l'a la kit'qita'tac'as he threw it in with a stick (qita to throw; -tac'as inside; -s participle)

l'a l' kitd'wvan they struck at him with a stick (Masset) (la him; l' they [with 'w § 20.1]; -an past inexperienced)
l'a l' kit'atxigan he took it into the canoe with a stick (kit't- with stick; q'at stem; -i into canoe; -gan past inexperienced)
l'a lua'-i kitgida'ласi he pushed the canoe with a pole 41.3 (lu canoe; -a-i the; gi- flat object)
kitqä'idjilqwaqagon put out (a copper) with a stick 87.24 (qlä'i- round thing [§ 15.18, p. 232])
14. kil- or kil- by means of the voice, for which word this is the stem.

\[\text{gai la gi kilgadă'ñ . . . those shouted out to him (gai those; gi to; gad stem [?]; -an past inexperienced)}\]

\[\text{gia'ga'ñai qa'dji kilgă'tzaiasi the house-pole heads shouted (gia'ga'ñai the house-pole ["standing thing"]; qa'dji heads; qat stem [?]; -xa [?]; la [?]; -si participle)}\]

\[\text{lhu'a'i lâ'ga la kilgõõ łapagi an he told him to use his wedge 33.13 (lhu'a'i the wedge; lâ'ga his [§ 28.1]; gõõ to make; -i perfect; -gan past inexperienced)}\]

\[\text{lə l' kilqũ'awə'wan they told him to sit (qũũ to sit; w = u to continue in one place [§ 18.1]; -an past inexperienced)}\]

15. kwa- by a stream of water pouring out; also an independent verb(?).

\[\text{tc'aanua'i gei ga'ntəj ai tala'ñ kwalgį'ustasgadaasañ we will let the water run into the fire (tc'aanua'i the fire; gei into; ga'ntəj the water; tala'ñ we; lgi- [§ 15.25]; sta to move from; -sqa into fire; da to cause; -asan future)}\]

\[\text{tc'wai kwagą'ł!ələląęgən the current flowed out quickly (tc'wai the current; gą stem; -l!ələ toward; -ląęgən first or at once [§ 21.3]; -gan past inexperienced)}\]

\[\text{tc'wai kwaqą'əməl!ələxasi the current made cracks by the rapidity of its flowing (tc'wai the current; qą'əməl to crack; -l!əxə toward; -si participle)}\]

\[\text{ganl kwa'tcetclawas water flowed down (ganl fresh water; -s participle)}\]

\[\text{ganl koa'tla'mdagasi a stream flows narrow 8.10 (t!am- narrow)}\]

16. klut- with the lips, a nominal stem.

\[\text{vl klutlə'ələsta la he spits water upward (lustə stem [?]; -la upward)}\]

\[\text{klutwx'ida to make noise with lips 91.37 gəa la klutnə̌nası he wet the arrow-point with his lips (gəa arrow-point; nañ stem; -si participle)}\]

17. xal- by means of fire acting from without (compare xai sunshine).

\[\text{vl xalą'əgęgasga it will fall away under the sunshine (tai- prone object [§ 15.3]; gwe stem [?]; ga to be [?]; -sga future)}\]

\[\text{nañ xalę'ta's one of them was burned up (nañ some one; l- [§ 15.20]; la stem [?]; -s participle)}\]

\[\text{vl kwa'xalę'gałən xalę'lgaias his elder brothers were burned off (kwa'ái the elder brother; -ga possessive suffix; -lañ plural; -l- animate object [§ 15.20, p. 232]; ga to be [§ 18.5]; -i perfect; -s participle)}\]

§ 14
18. qō- (Masset 'o) BY MEANS OF FIRE ACTING WITHIN THE BODY ITSELF.

qal lal k!at'dala q!ūs gōxāgodīës small persons with black skin held burning pitchwood (qal skin; lal black; k!at short or small; -dala plural suffix for adjectives [§ 39]; q!ūs pitchwood; -xa inanimate plural [§ 15.26]; go to be somewhere; -di determinate; -ēs participle)
ge'ista gōlā'mułdaanās flames came out of it (gei into; sta from; lāmul stem [1]; da causative; -an continuative)

l' gā'li gut gōxā'plagaanasi it passed quickly down, burning through the inside of him (gā'li inside; gut upon; xap quickly; la stem [1]; -gan continuative; -asi participle)
a'asīn gōhā'īluēsi at once they were destroyed by burning (a'asīn at once; hā'īlu to destroy; -ēsi participle); see also 37.8

19. xāt- or xā- BY THE WIND OR THE BREATH; also independent verb, TO BLOW.

l' xā'slsqasi it blew out strongly (-sqa seaward; -si participle)
gam lu sta xūskītgaŋgā'nsqa no breeze will blow from anywhere 31.6 (gam negative; lgu where; sta from; skīt stem; -gan negative suffix [§ 25.3]; -gan continuative; -sqa future)
lā xūskītla'asi he blew it in (skīt[l] stem; tcīa inward; -si participle)

Gā'ssqo ya ō xū'as'aian (they) were blown straight out to Gā'ssqo (Masset) (Gā'ssqo name of island; ya straight to [postposition]; ō [= hao] demonstrative; xū by wind; 'as stem; 'a to go; -ia perfect; -an past inexperienced)

20. qal- (Masset 'Al) BY LEADING, PULLING, OR TOWING.

gwaw'i ga la ga gālgā'isla'si something pulled him to the fishing-ground 29.23 (gwa'wi the fishing-ground; ga to; ga something; gāi-floating [1]; sī stem; -si participle)
gwaw'iai gādō' la ga gālgā'lqaldaasi he pulled him around the island 29.21 (gwa'i island; ai the; gādō' around; gā- [§15.17]; lgal to move about [stem]; da to cause; -asi participle)
la ga qal't!alaiqan something drew it away (ga something; ti'a-
[§ 15.4]; la to separate part from whole; -i perfect; -agan past inexperienced)
21. *qea-* **By looking.** It is the stem of the verb to *look*.

\[ \text{gam} \text{ i} \text{l} \text{ qeas} \text{e} \text{d} \text{e} \text{ ga} \text{n} \] don’t tickle us by looking at us (*gam* not; *i*l us; *sēl* to tickle [stem]; *-ga*n negative suffix [§ 25.3])

\[ \text{te} \text{!i} \text{g} \text{y} \text{a} \text{i} \text{ la} \text{ qea} \text{ q} \text{a} \text{ e} \text{ i} \text{ d} \text{a} \text{ l} \text{ d} \text{i} \text{ g} \text{a} \text{o} \text{ di} \] after he had looked at the rising sun B 29.9 (*qla*-*i* rounded objects [§ 15.18]; *dāl* to move; *dī* [§ 20]; *qa*-*odi* after)

22. *qlett- with a knife.* It is the stem of the verb to *cut*.

\[ \text{v} \text{ za} \text{n} \text{ la} \text{ g} \text{a} \text{e} \text{ i} \text{ d} \text{a} \text{ ga} \text{s} \] its bow was carved (*za*n bow or face; *lā*-*ga* its; *qei*dā to be carved [stem] [i]; *ga* to be [§ 18.5]; *-s* participle)

\[ \text{v} \text{ dāl} \text{ la} \text{ g} \text{a} \text{e} \text{i} \text{ d} \text{a} \text{ ga} \text{s} \text{ was} \] they cut his belly open (*dāl* belly; *lā*-*ga* his; *la* they [with *-gaw* § 20.1]; *gīn* stem [i]; *-as* participle)

\[ \text{v} \text{ qā} \text{dī} \text{ jī} \text{ la} \text{ q} \text{e} \text{i} \text{ d} \text{a} \text{ ga} \text{ w} \text{a} \text{n} \text{ w} \text{a} \text{n} \text{ s} \text{ū} \text{ g} \text{a} \] they cut his head off and put it into the canoe, they say (*qā*dī* head; *la* they [with *-gaw*]; *qlei*[i] with a knife; *la* to remove part from whole; *-t* into canoe; *-an* past inexperienced; *wa*nū*ga* quotative)

\[ \text{la} \text{ la} \text{ q} \text{e} \text{i} \text{ t} \text{i} \text{x} \text{i} \text{d} \text{a} \text{n} \cdots \] he started cutting it up, they say (*qleit to cut up [stem]; *-tid* inchoative; *-an* past inexperienced)

\[ \text{v} \text{ a} \text{ u} \text{o} \text{ g} \text{a} \text{ la} \text{ g} \text{i} \text{ q} \text{e} \text{i} \text{ t} \text{x} \text{i} \text{d} \text{i} \text{ a} \text{i} \text{ y} \text{a} \text{ g} \text{a} \text{n} \text{ h} \text{o} \text{ m} \text{ e} \text{ r} \text{ m} \text{ i} \text{ t} \text{ c} \text{ u} \text{ t} \text{ o} \text{ f} \text{ f} \text{ o} \text{ r} \text{ h} \text{ i} \text{ m} \text{ } \text{ 7.2} \]

\[ \text{v} \text{ q} \text{e} \text{i} \text{ d} \text{a} \text{i} \text{ e} \text{ -i} \text{ x} \text{i} \text{d} \text{i} \text{ a} \text{ i} \text{ e} \text{ -i} \text{ ū} \text{ when} \text{ he \ began \ to \ cut \ off} \text{ (the round thing)} \text{ 12.14} \]

23. *qlo- by means of the teeth.*

\[ \text{la} \text{ ga} \text{ q} \text{o} \text{ l} \text{ e} \text{ t} \text{ a} \text{s} \text{i s} \text{ something} \text{ held \ him \ tight \ in \ its \ mouth} (*ga* something; *-t* shape [§ 15.20]; *dās* stem [i]; *-ts* participle)

\[ \text{xā} \text{ gai} \text{ hao} \text{ q} \text{i} \text{ e} \text{ n} \text{ a} \text{n} \text{ q} \text{ o} \text{ g} \text{ a} \text{n} \text{ a} \text{ t} \text{ a} \text{n} \] the dog was playing with [a stick] (*xā*-*gai* the dog; *hao* that; *qie*nān in company with; *ga* shape [§ 15.17]; *nān* to play [stem]; *-agān* [§ 23.2]; *-t* [§ 25.6])

\[ \text{xā} \text{ gu} \text{ q} \text{o} \text{k} \text{u} \text{ h} \text{ u} \text{ g} \text{a} \text{ t} \text{i} \text{x} \text{i} \text{ a} \text{s} \text{i} \text{ they \ had \ halibut \ in \ their \ mouths} (*xā*-*gu* halibut; *k*-*u* short obj. [§15.15]; *gāt* stem; *ti* [i]; *-asi* participle)

\[ \text{k} \text{u} \text{n} \text{ g} \text{i} \text{ a} \text{ q} \text{o} \text{ l} \text{ e} \text{ t} \text{ z} \text{ a} \text{ i} \text{ the} \text{ piece} \text{ of} \text{ whale} \text{ bitten} \text{ off} \text{ (Masset)} (*kun* whale; *gia* piece of; *qē* shape [§ 15.18]; *l* to remove; *a*-*e* the)

\[ \text{xā} \text{ l} \text{ q} \text{o} \text{k} \text{o} \text{ t} \text{ u} \text{ l} \text{ g} \text{ a} \text{ g} \text{ a} \text{ w} \text{ a} \text{n} \text{ w} \text{ a} \text{n} \text{ s} \text{ū} \text{ g} \text{a} \text{ they \ say \ the \ dogs \ killed} \text{ them with} \text{ their} \text{ teeth} \text{ 81.42} \]

24. *xa- by grasping with the hands.*

\[ \text{au} \text{ n} \text{ gi} \text{ la} \text{ x} \text{ a} \text{ g} \text{ a} \text{l} \text{ xa} \text{ g} \text{ i} \text{l} \text{ ga} \text{n} \text{ a} \text{s} \text{i} \text{ he} \text{ brought} \text{ it} \text{ to} \text{ his} \text{ mother} (*au* mother; *-[u]n his own [§ 28.3]; *gi* to; *ga* stem [i]; *-laxa toward; *-gīl shoreward; *-ga*n continuative; *-asi* participle)

\[ \text{k} \text{i} \text{ w} \text{ g} \text{ a} \text{i} \text{ d} \text{j} \text{ a} \text{o} \text{ xā} \text{ q} \text{ i} \text{n} \text{ a} \text{s} \text{s} \text{ sledge-hammers} \text{ held} \text{ in} \text{ their} \text{ hands} (*kīw-} \text{ gāidjao sledge-hammers [gāidjao perhaps = qāi-} \text{j} \text{ dju roundish}; \text{ *gīn* stem [i]; *-as* participle)}

\[ \text{[Compare § 15.26, p. 234. Perhaps all these forms belong to the classifier} \text{ za. — Ed.]} \]

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—15 § 14
A xagudjāʾ nasi he threw them around (gudjān analysis uncertain; -asi participle)
la gi la xaʾstclas he handed in to him 55.7 (sl stem; tc! into)

25. xaʾn- with the face. This is the stem of the word for face, and it is rather doubtful whether it belongs properly in this class, although similar to the others in form.
lkiāʾguī lʾ djāʾga la sta xaʾnlgūʾldas his wife turned her face away from him toward the door (lkiāʾ outside; guī toward; djāʾ wife; -ga possessive; sta from; lgūl stem to turn about; da to cause; -s participle)
la sta la xaʾnggaʾogaʾnas she turned around from him (sta from; gao stem; -gān continuous; -as participle)
gam lāʾga xaʾngīnqanānas she did not look in the face as though anything had happened (gam not; -ga possessive; gīn stem [perhaps properly gīn to look]; -gān negative; -as participle)

26. L- by any kind of contact, but more particularly contact with the hands. It is the stem of the verb to touch.
lʾa gu la ldaʾlas he laid his hands on them (lʾa them; gu at or there; dal stem; -as participle)
dī la lsl let me go (dī me; la imperative particle; sl stem)
gudaʾn la lnanāʾnasi he rubbed the medicine on himself (gud upon; -ān himself; nan stem to rub; -ān continuous; -asi participle)
la lexʾgilai ṭu when she made a noise at the door (by touching it) (xepil [or xegil] stem to make a noise; -ai demonstrative or article turning clause into a noun; ṭu when)

27. Lu- by canoe. It is also the word for canoe.
xaldaʾndjida laeil silgiāʾn luqāʾidesi the five slaves started back by canoe (xaldaʾn [or xaldaʾn] slave; -djī plural of human beings [§29.2]; -ai demonstrative; leil five; silgiaʾn back [adverb]; qū to go; -id inchoative; -esī participle)
nāʾn gāʾnsta la luqāʾ lʾxas he came to one by canoe (nāʾn one [indefinite person]; gāʾnsta to [probably compound post-position of gān for and sta from]; qū to go; -lʾxa toward; -s participle)
la daʾnāt la luqāʾʾitʾįgyiáŋqa ṭu when he started to go home with him (daʾnāt in company with; qū to go; -i it inchoative; -tįt seems to be inchoative used again, -it with qū having become so common as to have become stereotyped; -gian [f]; gai demonstrative; ṭu when); see also 7.9

28. xi- with the arms (from xi arm, wing).
la xiʾsgilaʾi ṭu when he waved his arms toward the town (sl stem; gil shoreward; -ai demonstrative; ṭu when)

§ 14
29. sqōt- WITH THE ARMS. It is also the word for armpit.
la sqōtxagia'naqani he had under arms 69.13
la gi sqō'tgādāgan (he) took him by the arm 65.12
la spotskida'na'nsi vansu'ga it is said he clapped with the hands
29.22
L! sqotxē'gans they beat drums 89.41

30. kái- BY TYING.
kiūgā-igadañasi fastened stones by tying (to it) 71.6 (qšā- rounded object [§ 15.18])
kiūte!läxiwagani (it) was tied (to the doorway) 67.1 (tc!ts- cubic object [§ 15.2])

§ 15. Second Group: Classifying Nominal Prefixes

Following is a list of the more important of these, with examples:

1. tcī- classifies such objects as full sacks and bags, pillows, etc.
la'gi la la tcī'slægā'ias she brought the full sack out to him (gi to;
lā it [sack]; la she; tcī- classifier; sl stem; -sqa seaward; -i perfect; -s participle)
Ga k'i'ēdji tcīq'ēda' some people with big bellies (ga some [people];
k'i'ēdji bellies; q'ēda' big)
la gi g'andījūgągi gai la kūwciugide'st he tied a dancing blanket to
him (gi to; gandījūgā dancing blanket; gai demonstrative;
kīw- tying; sqid stem; -esi participle)

2. tcīs- cubic objects, such as boxes.
la'ia L! tcīsikida's they picked up a whole box of cranberries
(la'ia cranberries; xid to pick up; -as participle)
qayū'da tcīsle'il five boxes of berries and grease (qayū'da boxes
containing a mixture of grease and berries; le'il five)
nādījā'nu at sga'na wa'ga sqā'godai tc'i'sgodīgęngi'nī masks and
whistles were always in the secret-society box (nādījā'n to
imitate; -n noun-forming suffix [§26.1]; at with; sga'na supernatural
objects, and thus secret-society whistles; wa that; ga in; sqā-
sacred; goda box; ai the; go stem TO LIE; -di determine suf-
fic; -gān continuative [?]; -gın usitative; -i perfect)
la tcīl'slesqas he brought out a box 55.23

3. taī- applied generally to objects lying on or close to the ground,
but also to clubs, etc., grasped in the hand.
L! ta이ltega'gas they all went to bed (sl stem; -lga all; -ga
auxiliary TO BE; -s participle); see also 67.15
Ga'gus tlagane' ta'igodies lo! a house (shape) lay there (gā'gus
what! tlagane' behold! go stem TO LIE; -di determinate suf-
fic; -es participle); see also 65.28

1 See also § 17.2.
gia'sgalañ taistä'nstixa eight storehouses (gia'sgalañ storehouses; 
stá'nstixa eight)
nak gataidā'las one (wave) came moving toward him (nak one, 
a; qa [?]; dāl to move; -as participle)
ūl'ūl slā'naqī la tā'igīn he held a club on the left side (ūl'ūl club; 
slā'na left; gi at, in; gīn stem [?])

4. tla- flexible objects represented as crossing or coiled.
tcā'lga la la t!algū'ls he put a ground squirrel about her as a 
blanket (tcā'lga ground squirrel; lgūl to go around [stem]; -s 
participle)
gitqā'ñ la la t!algūldayañ wansū'ga she had put it on her son as 
a blanket, they say (git son; -gan her own; l- with hands; 
lgūl to go around; da to cause; -y perfect; -an past inexpe- 
rrienced; wansū'ga quotative)

5. tlao- objects shaped like spoons and feathers (tlagū'ñ feather)
aga'ñ la t!a'ogelildas he puts himself (into the water) as an 
evergreen needle (shape indicated) (aga'ñ himself; a stem [?]; 
-gei̇l to become [§18.10]; -da to cause [§18.2]; -s participle)
la'ga la sgasti'olasi he bit off his tongue (-ga possessive; sqas [?]; 
la stem; -si participle)
gut la la dāt!a'onana'ñas he rubbed it (his tongue) on it (gut upon; 
dā- outward motion; nanañ stem; -as participle)
sla'gwal t!aogö'ña a big spoon (sla'gwal spoon; qö'ña big) 
gā-ūl!a'ogīndā'las feathers floating about 41.4, 6 (ga- floating 
la tla'o'ostas he took out a feather 55.25
la dānt!a'o'sdaiyasi— man he pulled out the feather 55.26, 31 
(dañ- by pulling)

tla'odju it is a feather 55.26
Skia'mskun-tla'odjudins hawk with feather sticking out of water 
41.31 (skia'mskun hawk; dju to be; -gin afloat)

6. tlAm- certain slender objects.
tl!amdiwasi it was slender (djiw = dju sort, kind [§39]; -asi partic- 
iple)
wa'ga tla'mgitdiasi it became smaller there (wa demonstrative; 
-ga at; git stem [?]; -di determinate suffix; -st participle)
lū tla'mdjü a narrow canoe 7.7 
ko!tla!amdagasi flowing narrow 8.10 (ko- by a current) 
l'tamżei'nl!za'si he came to a narrow one 73.38

7. sta- ring-shaped objects, like finger-rings, bracelets, barrel-hoops. 
lnaga'i gut'ga stale'tlasi a village of five curving rows (lña = lana 
town; ga- demonstrative; gut together; -ga in, at; leil five; 
-asi participle)
l' dastā'sgidasi he pushed a curved (bow) against it 79.7
staga'ote'layast they came in and sat down in circular lines (qao stem; -lca motion into; -y perfect; -si participle)
qow'atel gatsta'sqit'a'lgans a rainbow moved up and down (qow' stäl rainbow; gat- with rapidity; sqit = sqit stem; -tal motion down from above; -gan = -gän continuous; -s participle)

8. skła- small cylindrical, and occasionally square objects.

gi'na skł'a'dala some cylindrical objects (stones) (gi'na thing; dala plural with adjectives [§ 39])
sqoda'n gë'istsa gë'gu skl'asda'yas he had pulled a basket out from under his armpit (sqoda armpit; -än his own [§ 28.3]; gë' into; sta from; gë'gu basket; sda = sta stem; -y perfect; -s participle)
št'awai wada'nat gu'tguü la dasközun'äs he was rolling the lake together with it (št'aw = šu lake; ai demonstrative; wa it; d'at together with; guü toward; guü toward [with motion]; da- motion outward; zum stem [?] -än continuous; -asi participle)

nani skl'a'djuwogas the one that had a knot-hole (shape) in it (nani the one; dju it is of that sort; -ga to be; -s participle)

lduda'i la ga skl'azun'ndalasi mats rolled toward him 89.11

9. ska- round objects, like marbles, berries, eggs, and potatoes.

asì djezi' skl'alda'nesti the waterdrops falling from this were round (asì this; djezi' [?] däl = dala plural with adjectives; dan stem; -si participle)

la la gaska'xidas he picked it (cranberry) up with it (spoon) (ga-
[?] xið stem; -as participle)

10. sga- (Masset s'a-) strings, ropes, hairs, etc.

dägil sqalu'nal three strings (dägil strings; lu'nal three)
wa'lu'zan ga qal'go'stala'ya'n wans'ga something pulled all of them up (wa it; lu when; xan just so; ga something indefinite; gal- by pulling; sta stem; -la suffix meaning up; -y perfect; -an past inexperienced; wans'ga quotative)

'al s'a'sgu all night, night being spoken of metaphorically (Masset) (äl night; sgu it is all [?])

11. sqla- long objects, like sticks and paddles.

sqlagilänas extending out in lines (from the island) (gil seaward
[?]; -än continuous; -as participle)
älai sqala'al ten paddles (äl paddle; ai demonstrative; la'al ten)
lqe'ma qa'dji sqast'än two kelp-heads 53.24 (lqe'ma kelp; qa'dji heads; stin two)

sqalxu'sqagai sqlast'än'ñsqa'st four lines of people danced
toward the beach (xiu stem; -sqa toward beach; gai the;
stän four; -sqa toward beach; -st participle)

§ 15
la dañsqlasdgag'−i lá'haq when he pulled (it) out 77.43 (dañ− by pulling)
dasglausgidañ push on the long one 55.18 (da− by pushing)
sgâ'bagga'−i sglasa'gâl ten deadfalls 61.3
sgâ'na lq'u'na sglastâ'ñ two dorsal fins 89.3
k'tawu sq'astâ'ñ two spears (Masset) (k'tau spears; e=aí demonstrative; stâñ two [Masset dialect])

See also
sglâ'nó pole 41.1
sglagawa'−i stringers 89.12

12. sLî− indicates the shape assumed by objects lying in a heap, such as driftwood, pieces of dry halibut, a cord of wood.
tca'annuâ sl!gâ'wasi the fire lay there (tcânnu fire; ai demonstrative; gâ'w=go or go to lie; -si participle)

13. gî− materials such as blankets, shawls, tablecloths, mats, thin sails. It is sometimes used for canoes, instead of ga−.
mañ qâ'li la gisalîxa'esgas he brought the insides of a mountain-goat (mañ mountain-sheep; qâ'li insides; ga stem; -lîxa toward; -sga seaward; -s participle)
gâ'îgañ la sl!gîsta'yas he pulled out a blood-clot with his fingernails (gâ'îgañ blood-clot [from gai BLOOD]; sl! with fingers; sta stem; -y perfect; -as participle)
qwê'gal gia'at gîstî'ñ two sky blankets (qwê'gal sky; gia'at blankets; stîñ two)

lqûs gîle'il five mats 55.12
la dañg'istâla'−i lû when she pulled up (her dress) 31.19
la dañg'îdji!xaga'ñasi he pulled out the canoe 29.28 (dañ− by pulling; dî'ji stem; -lîxa towards)
la kitgî'slgâ'nsqa he will push (the canoe) 41.30 (kit− with pole; -sl stem; -sga future)

14. gâ− flat but broad and thick objects.
Ski'na qâsga la la qioqusgidañ . . . he emptied all from his mouth at the head of Skeena, they say (making a lake) (Ski'na Skeena; qâs contraction of qâ'dî head; -ga at; qi'o− with teeth [§14.23]; skid stem; -an past inexperienced)
Qi'îgî lanâ'ga xe'tqyu anô' qâl gudja'ogidas it must have been in front of Qi'îgî's town that a reef came up (Qi'îgî [name]; lanâ' town; -ga possessive; xe't down in front of; gu there; anô' it must have been; qâl reef; dja'o=dju it was of that sort; gid stem; -as participle)
l'gûlasga'ñ wanesû'ga he went off in the shape of a flounder, they say (la stem; -sga toward the sea; -an past inexperienced)
xā'gu la daŋgūga'! xa'st he pulled the halibut out on the surface (xā'gu halibut; daŋ- by pulling [§14.4]; xa stem; -!xa toward; -si participle)
la daŋgulqaldā'asi he pulled (a cloud) around it 41.40
la daŋgū'sialeilas he pulled out five (boxes) in succession 55.24

15. k!u- short objects. Posts, nails, and some short loops are so denominated.
stā la k!u'gwētc!ast he (a short bird) came in from it (stā from; gwē stem; -tc!a motion into; -si participle)
lā daŋk!u'stašgoā'naŋąganī he pulled (the spear) out for good 69.9 (daŋ- by pulling; stā stem; -sgoān for good)
lā l'golqak!ušlai'yaŋ wansū'ga it is said he made (gambling sticks) 53.1
qī'na k!u'qī'nasì something he held in hand 73.40

15a. k!A- small objects.
k!u'da k!A'tdʒui xa'ga'i a small beak came out 53.28 (-!xa towards)
qe'iqao k!A'tdju a small basket (qe'iqao basket; k!A- classifier; dju it was of that sort)

16. xa- small objects. Used like the above.

17. ga- (Masset 'a-') flat objects, such as boards, doors, pictures, looking-glasses, dishes, lakes, canoes.

lnaga'i gara'lidūya'qanì there were five towns (lna = lana town; gai the; la'īl five; -da causative; -ya perfect; -qan past in-experienced; -i perfect)
q!a'daxwi' aga'ñ la gas'qo!yas he turned himself in his canoe (indicated by its shape) toward the mainland (q!a da toward sea [mainland being considered outward]; xwi toward; aga'ñ himself [§ 28.3]; xa stem; -sga seaward; -ya perfect; -s participle)
lā'ya la gašqal!xa'sqas he brought out a dish of cranberries (lā'ya cranberries; ga stem; -!xa toward; -sga toward open place)
gū'qas t!agone' qo'godies! lo! a level (pond) lay there (gū'qas what! t!agone' behold! qo stem to lie; -di determinate suffix [§20.7])
lā gas'qoā'nsìñ one canoe 10.9
sqal'ola'i gale'it five clam-shells 55.11
lā'na qašoa'nsìñ one town (Masset) (lā'na town; s'oa'nsìñ one)

§ 15
18. *q'at*- (Masset *qle*) roundish objects, such as rolls of dry-goods, lumps of bacon, and pieces of whale-meat.

*q'at* is a roundish reef (*q'at* reef; *go* stem to lie; -di determine suffix [§ 20.7]; -es participle); see also 77.45

*gi'gawa* *la dañq'a'iistaš* he pulled out the fish-trap (*gi'gawa* = *gi'qao* fish-trap; *ai* the; *dañ*- by pulling; *ústa* stem [ʔ]; -si participle)

*sta si'ñañ la q'a'islasti* he snuffed from the (round basket) (*sta* from; *si'ñañ* snuffling; *sl* stem; -asi participle)

*ge'ista* *la gi* *la l* *q'a'istas* they gave him a round thing out of it (*gei* into; *sta* from; *gi* to; *sta* stem; -s participle)

*kitq'al'iidjulgwagagan* (they) put down (a copper plate) 87.24 (kit- with a point)

*la qea'q'ala'-idáldi qa'odi* after he had looked at (the sun) for a while 29.9 (qea- by looking; *dal* motion; -di [§ 20.7]; qa'odi after)

*l! q'a'-islgiasi* they put down (the drum) 14.3

*l* *qá'dji ga q'loqlá'-isgdaqagan* by biting it jammed his head 91.11 (qás head; *qlo*- by biting; *sgiá* contact)

We find also

*l! qlá'-issll!xalc!al'iyaganî* they brought (the canoe) in to him 101.4 (*sl*- stem; -l!xa towards; -tc! into)

*la l* *q'a-istloq'iyagan* they took him (porcupine) out to sea 45.16 (*sl*- stem; *sga* out to sea); the same for knife 87.7

*la l* *q'a-istloq'iyagan* they took him (beaver) up 47.1 (-l up)

*q'la'-idjul!xadies* (foam) coming piled up 95.10 (-l!xa towards)

*qon q'esta'nsañan* four moons (= four months) (Masset) (*qon* moon; *sta'nsañ* four; -an past inexperienced)

19. *qöli*- the shape assumed by long flexible objects, such as hairs or strings, when they are tangled together; also bushes with many stems.

*a'lgan q'lañ djidja'i wa'gut qölzã'was* here was a hemlock with a clump of branches sticking out all over it (*a'lgan* here; *q'lañ* hemlock; *djidja'i* the branches; *wa* it; *gut* upon; *xaw* = *xao* stem; -as participle)

*k'ładla qöltqwe'la* a clump of branches; fall down! (*k'ładla* clump of branches; *gue* stem; *la* imperative)

*k'ñxan ga la dãq'tölskideš* he shoved in a bunch of moss to stop up the hole (*k'ñxan* moss; *ga* in; *da*- by pushing; *skid* stem)

*stn qöldjú'gan* a bunch of gambling-stick wood 55.2

20. *L*- animate things, such as human beings, animals, fish, insects.

*l* *xiiendá'las* he was running along (*xien* probably means quickly) § 15
la 1.1a sila'iga lgodia'st he, however, was lying down in the
baby's place (indicated by shape) (l.1a however; sìla'i the
place; ga in; go to lie; -di determinate; -asst participle)
ündadača 1đi'li'las a grebe came out of the water (ündada
grebe; dji stem; -l!xa toward; -s participle)
la'güw aqa'n la 1sgi'la'las he (a fish) turned himself toward him
(güw toward [with motion]; aqa'n himself; sì stem; -gi'l
toward shut-in place; -as participle)
la q!la-it'i'stas he cut up (a whale) 51.7 (q!la-it- by cutting)
la dän'stai'yaqani he pulled out (a bear) 95.14 (dän- by pulling;
stai to move away)
la y'site'las he brought in (a bird) 27.31 (-tc! into)
la la y'li'nä'gas he put a living one down 13.1
l'xida to take (a child) 27.17
l'xgugeils found a whole one 49.11

21. L- or Lu- the shape assumed by a number of clams or fish
with a stick run through them to hold them together, and also
by a canoe with many persons standing up in it.
y'a'guli la gíxa'n lúdjüdä'asi he placed them standing in line
in the middle of the canoe (ya'gu=ya'ku middle; l euphonric;
-si participle; gíxa'n standing; dju it was of that sort; -da
causative [§18.2]; -as participle)
kun'ngado l'dä'll!xas (a canoe full of men) is coming around the
point (kun point; gado around; däl to go [pl.]; -l!xa toward;
-s participle)

22. L!- thin objects, such as thin boards, berry-cakes, pies and pie-
plates, flat cans of beef.
gu'tig l! la däl!skida'st he flattened it together (gut together; gi
to; däl- by pushing; skida stem.; -asst participle)
qa t'i'djai l!göság' certain flat rocks lying out from (the woods)
(qa certain; tidi=tis rocks; ai the; go to lie; -sgä seaward)
L!le'ül five (plugs of tobacco) (le'ül five)
ya'mdäj l'djiwogangä go to the flint which sticks out thin! (ya'mdäj
flint; djiw=du it is of that sort; gän=gän continuative; -gä
to be [§18.5])

23. lga- branching objects, such as bushes with numerous branches
from one stem, combs, several hooks on one line, clothing with
a coarse weave, the vertebral column, and even a person who
is very thin.
l! lā'djī la gilgai'las he broke off the ends of some cedar-limbs
(l! some; lā'djī limbs; gî- [?] l stem to touch)

§15
la lgai'ngawus he put up (a stone wall) (i'ngaw perhaps contains go to lie; -us participle)

la daŋgā' staq'a'gasi he pulled out (a hemlock branch) 10.6

ta'ole lgalunul'â'wan there were three hooks (Masset) (ta'ol hooks; ē the; lunul three; *aw = *lo to lie; -an past inexperienced)

24. lgam- large roundish or cubic objects.

si'sa la lgammqēda l! lgam'mqatzī they had large round rattles in their hands (si'sa rattle; qēda large; gatzī stem [?])
xalga'mdaxide's (skin) shriveled up in fire 37.15 (xal- by fire)

25. lgī- large cylindrical objects, like logs, steam-boilers, smokestacks, rolls of bedding, many objects flowing in a stream, also driftwood sometimes, and large fence-rails.

wage'ista kwalgī'stasqasī (olachen) ran out of it in a stream toward the sea (wa it; gei into; sta from; kwa- in a stream; sta stem; -sga outward; -si participle)

t'an la lgǐ'qīnas he was carrying a hard, dead limb (t'an limb or knot rotted out of a tree; qīn stem; -as participle)

lāi xutlgī' đīl!magias there cranberries were blown out (in a cylindrical body) (lāi cranberries; xut- by the wind [§14.19]; dji stem; -l!ma toward; -ga outward; -s participle)

ī'lgā xo'dai dā lgī'atalgagasañ you might eat our hair-seal (īl! our; -ga possessive; xo'd = xo't hair-seal; ai the; dā you; a [?]; ta stem to eat; -lga all [§20.2]; -ga to be; -asañ infallible future)

l! lgī'スタンシニダイヤガト they make four (grave-posts) 91.29 (スタンシニ eight; -dā to make)

lgijdū'usqadỉa's (glow of fire) shines toward beach 39.6

sk'ilē l wē lā lgijdū'diwaan put a tall dance-hat on his head!
(Masset) (skil dance-hat; ē the; l imperative particle; w = wa it [hat]; ē into; lā probably = la with the possessive -a his; dji stem; -di determinate suffix; -an past inexperienced)

26. xa- many inanimate small objects.

... xā'qodigani they (gills) lie 97.26 (go to lie; -di determinate; -gan experienced; -i [p.253])
ta-ū xā'ziwas halibut-hooks were hanging 67.19 (ta-ū hook; xiu to hang; -as participial)

27. slap-

gi'na gō'lgal slap pdala some slim, blue things (gi'na some; gō'lqal blue; dala plural with adjectives of shape)

28. tlap-

gi'na sqēt tl'pdu'l 'xa something short and red protruded (gi'na something; sqēt red; dji stem; -l!xa toward)

§ 15
29. **k'Am**- small (cf. no. 15a, p. 231).

*lū k'Am'dala* small canoes (*lū* canoe; *dala* plural with adjectives)
*t'la'gas k'Am'dala* small flakes of snow 31.28

30. **gām**-

gə *q'la'laqa gā'mgodies* a large open space in the woods (*ga* some [indef. pl.]; *q'la'laqa* open place or swamp; *go* to lie; *-di* determine; *-es* participle)

31. **L'Ap**-

*la L'Ap'djil'axadas* he let a small part (of the surface of the moon) be seen (*djilaxa* [?]; *-da* causative; *-s* participle)

32. **SLām**-

*q'ā'djai l' xē'lā ge'ista sēt SLā'mdānqolā'ndalasi* the gum hung out from his mouth red (*qādj = qās* gum; *ai* the; *xēlā* mouth; *gei* into; *sta* from; *sēt* red; *dān* probably = *dju* it is of that sort; *qolā'ndal* analysis uncertain; *-asi* participle)

33. **tcī**- the insides of such objects as sea-eggs.

34. **stla**- dumb-bell shaped objects, such as the liver of a dog-fish.

35. **skāp**- applied to such an object as the curled tail of a dog.

*skā'pdala* crooked wedges 33.13

36. **skīt**- small and very slender objects, such as certain small, slender teapots.

**Third Group: Principal Predicative Terms** (§§ 16-21)

§ 16. **Characterization of Predicative Terms**

Most elements of this group must be considered as independent verbs. It has been pointed out before that they may also enter into combinations. Among some of them this tendency is strongly developed. Here belong the verbs forming terms of the first group (see § 14). A number of others are so intimately related with other ideas in their significance that they occur only rarely alone, if at all, and appear, therefore, in part rather as auxiliary verbs, or even as affixes.

§ 17. **Stems in Initial Position**

Some of these stems take initial positions.

1. **gai**- (Masset gō-) refers to any object floating upon the water, *gai* being the stem of the verb TO FLOAT.

*Nā-giū' ga la gā'islgeilgīgas* he stopped at House-fishing-ground (floating there upon the water) 29.8 (*Nā* house; *giū* fishing-ground; *ga* in; *sl* stem; *-gil* to come to be [§18.10]; *gi* completion of action; *ga* to be; *-s* participle)

§§ 16, 17
gan l' lanâ'ga da'osqual ga'isla'oga'anganga ga' drifted ashore in his town (gan not; lanâ town; -ga possessive: da'osqual driftwood; sl stem; gao [?] -gan negation; -gan continuous; -ga to be)

l' xet'gu l' ga'isla'gilâ it floated ashore in front of him (zet down in front of; gu there; sl stem; -gil shoreward; -s participle)
l' ga'îngwoânas it was floating about (gâ = gâi-floating; -în on sea; -quan about; -as participle)

[This stem might be considered as an instrumental, like those discussed in § 14. It takes the same position before classifiers as other instrumentals do: gâ'-itlaoga'ogadie's a feather floated ashore 37.24 (tla'o feather-shaped object).—Ed.]

2. gan- applied when a number of people are doing a thing en masse.

la sta l' ga'ndaxîdîtisasi they all started away from her (sta from; da=dal to go [pl.]; -xt inchoative [§ 18.6]; -djîl truly)
la sta l' ga'îngala'nas they went home from him (sta from; lgal to go indirectly; -an continuous; -as participle)
l' ga'înstâ gan'dâ'îl'sagîlîsi they came to him together (ga'nstâ to [-gan for and sta from=coming for a purpose]; dál to go [pl.]; -îla toward; -gil landward; -si participle)
lgu'nul gan'daxî'dan three came along 107.20
l' ganâ'îlgo qa'ôdiha o after they had gone along 37.2

[It would seem that this element must be considered as a classifier, analogous to those discussed in § 15 and meaning group of people. The following example illustrates its use following an instrumental: la l' galga'ndaxîtgâ'wa'n wansu'ga it is said, they led him home 81.39 (gal- by leading).—Ed.]

3. xao- (Masset xo-) to do a thing quickly.

la at gut la da'oxaostas they seized each other quickly (at with; gut each other; dao- to go and get [prefixed]; sta stem)
l' ga ga nâm'înaîla'gana'nasi it quickly ground off his skin (ga to; ga something; nân = nan to grind [§ 14.8]; sl stem [?] -gan continuous; -asi participle)
l' dâ'ala'n stan l' dôp'stâs'ian her two brothers ran down to take her (Masset) (dâ'îa younger brother; -lan plural; stan two; dô to go and get; sta stem; -s'ia seaward; -i perfect; -an past inexperienced)

4. ta- expresses the use of a transitive verb without object.

tag'a'ogâ'nan wansu'ga they say few were left 11.8
taq'la'das she cut up 49.1
taq's'ldjwulas he spread out in morning 53.4
taskîdâ'âganî they plundered 105.4

§ 17
§ 18. Stems in Terminal Position, First Group

Most of these verbal stems take a terminal position:

1. **ā** to sit or continue to be.
2. **da** to cause.
3. **dāl** to move along while something else is taking place.
4. **sīn** to wish.
5. **ga** to be.
6. **xit** (Masset *-lid*) to begin
7. **xāl** or **xāl** (Masset *Al* or *Al*) to tell.
8. **qa** (Masset *'a*) to go.
9. **gaya** (Masset *'aya*) to know how to do a thing.
10. **geit** or **geal** (Masset *'el* or *'el*) to become.
11. **xaṇ** to think or guess.

Examples of the use of auxiliaries with nouns:

1. **ganāl xēlauas** there lay a water-hole (*ganāl* fresh water; *xēla* a water-hole; *u* to lie or sit [no. 1]; *-as* participle)
2. *l! lgā’uas* they put stones into the fire (*lgā* stones; *u* auxiliary [no. 1]; *-as* participle)
3. *la gā’ldas* he stayed all night (*la* he; *gāl* night; *da* [no. 2])
4. *la lā sū’udas* he said to him 27.2 (*sū* to say, intransitive)
5. *l’ tecā’ldas* he had a war-spear (*l’* he; *tecāl* war-spear; *-da* auxiliary [no. 2]; *-s* participle)
6. *daṇ gu l madā’dasqa* I will put mountain-goats upon you (*daṇ* you; *gu* there; *l* I; *mad=mat* mountain-goats; *ā* [?]; *-da* auxiliary [no. 2]; *-sqa* future)
7. *nāṇ tlē’djī lgā’gas* the one who was half rock 8.9 (*nāṇ* one; *tlē’djī* half; *lgā* stone)

Examples of the use of auxiliaries with other verb-stems:

1. *l’ qālā’o-ū qa’odī* after he had sat there for a while (*qālā[o]* to sit; *u* auxiliary [no. 1]; *qa’odī* after a while)
2. *la goyā’das* he caused it to be dear (= he valued it) (*goyā* dear; *-da* auxiliary [no. 2]; *-s* participle)

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1 Gāza appears to have been originally a verb meaning *to be weak* (see § 19.1), but here it is made a verb over again just as if it were a noun.
l’ dā’yīndal qa’odī after he had gone along hunting for a while
(dāyīn hunting; dal to go [no. 3]; qa’odī after a while)
da’ gi l! gi’dayū’ansīnga they wish to give you much food
(dā’ you; gi to; gidā to’give food to any one; yu’an much;
-śīn auxiliary [no. 4]; -ga perhaps this should be -sga future)
l’a’oga l’ tā’gas his mother ate it 27.28 (ao mother; -ga possessive;
tā to eat; ga to be [no. 5]; -s participle)
la la qā’l!xazalgoas they told him to come out to them (la they
[with suffix -go]; qā to go; -l’xa toward; -xal auxiliary [no. 7];
na’i qea’ṅgasi one went to look (na’i one; qea stem to look; -aṅ
continuative; -ga auxiliary [no. 8]; -si participle)
na’i gaxā’s na’ṅgayageils the child came to know how to play
(na’i the [with suffix -s]; gaxā child; -s participle; na’na = nā
stem; -gaya to know how to [no. 9]; -geil to come to [no. 10];
-s participle)
qon’a’i la’ na’ qöstā’nsaṅi’eils their months became eight, or eight
months passed over them (Masset) (qon moon; ai the; la’ na’
their [singular form covering plural]=la + ana their own; q’ō
classifier [§ 15.18]; sta’nsaṅa=sta’nsaṅa eight; i probably
euphonic; -el auxiliary [no. 10]; -s participle)
ha’yīnxan laga xa’lza’ṅguwa I think he has danced long enough
(Masset) (ha’yīn instead of [dancing longer]; xan so, thus;
laga enough [?]; xa’l to dance; -xan auxiliary [no. 11]; -gua
declarative suffix [25.5])

§ 19. Stems in Terminal Position, Second Group

A number of others are also apparently verbal stems, but appear
in close connection with other verbs, so that they almost convey the
impression of suffixes. In some of them, however, their independent
character is quite apparent.

1. -xa usually occurs in such close conjunction with the verb
stem that it is hard to determine whether it is a true suffix or
not. It may indicate state.

dī dala’n lqaxaqṭ’lyga you tire me with your handling (dī me;
dala’n you [pl.]; -l by handling [§ 14.26]; qa’taqqa together means
weak; -gil to become [§ 18.10]; -ga auxiliary [§ 18.8])
Sawali’xa gia’xayas Sawali’xa stood up (Sawali’xa man’s name;
 gia to stand; -y perfect; -s participle)
la gan l’ stī’xaqālaṅ wansū’ga he became angry with him, they
say (gan with [?]; stī’ angry or sick; gi’al to become [§ 18.10];
-ān past inexperienced; wansū’ga quotative)
l’a’gi l’ lqoa’aqñils he became afraid of him (gi of; lqoa stem to
fear; -gil auxiliary; -s participle)
La la kilge’idaza-k’otwâ’lañ... he made her so ashamed by his words that she died (kil- by words [§ 14.14]; geida perhaps means IT is THAT WAY, but with -ra it signifies to BECOME ASHAMED; k’otul to be destroyed; -an past inexperienced)
gam l’qê’zagañas they did not find him (gam not; qê’ perhaps is qea to SEE, but with -xa it means to FIND; -qañ negation)

2. -gän, -gän, or -in MOTION BY SEA; also an independent stem.1
l’ qa’idañgïnas it went of itself by sea (qa to go; -id inchoative [§18.6]; -an continuative [?]; -as participle)
qä’gïn qa’odi after it had gone along on the ocean for a while (qä to go; qa’odi after a while)
l’ xa’obs he was fishing 29.7 (xao to fish; -s participle)
l’ sa’iins he went out hunting by sea (säit to hunt; -s participle)

3. -gôn (Masset -gôn) conveys the idea of random progression on foot, and is used only after the verb stems qä and ts.
l’ djïl’qogaqog’ndät after he had danced around for a while (l’ they [with suffix -go]; djïl stem to DANCE; qa to go; -gôn = -gôn suffix; -tï determine suffix)
l’ qä’goñgani he wandered around (qä to go; -gan past inexperienced; -tï perfect)
la qîñqa’goñas he saw walking about 12.2
la qä’gôn qa’odi after he had walked about 67.33

4. -gïa is also used principally after qä, and seems to indicate that the motion is with a definite object in view, straight on to a certain place. Possibly it is the stem of the verb TO STAND, with which it is morphologically identical.
gut ssa qagiga’s’ñ qa’odi after he had gone along upon the trail for a while (gut upon; qa stem to GO; -gan continuative; qa’odi after a while)
qä la qä’giga’s’nst he was going thither (qa to; qä stem to GO; -gan past experienced; -tï perfect [§ 25.6])
la’ga nañ qä’gigañas one came to him upon the trail (qa to; nañ one; qä stem to GO; -gan continuative; -as participle)

5. -q’ol or -q’ol TO DO SECRETLY; also independent verb stem.
Sawali’xa l’ qîñq’o’ltadiês Sawali’xa looked at him unobserved (Sawali’xa man’s name; qîn stem to LOOK; -la perhaps FOR; -da auxiliary; -di determinate suffix; -ês participle)
l’ sû’dâq’oldaian he whispered to her secretly (sû stem to SAY; -da to cause; -da to cause [used twice]; -tï perfect [§ 23.7]; -an past inexperienced)

1[Nos. 2-4 might be classed with the locative suffixes described in § 22. − Ed.]

§ 19
di la qʰǒlgʰ'nda don't let any one know of me (di me; la imperative particle; qʰin [ŋ]; -da to cause)

§ 20. Stems in Terminal Position, Third Group

It is probably due to their significance that the following groups take ordinarily their position following the last series:

1. -go (Masset -ʰo) plurality. Originally this probably marked distributive plurality. It always follows la, the personal pronoun of the third person singular.

\( \text{gən la la djilə'dagoas they had her as bait for it (gən for; la they [with -go]; djilə bait; -da to cause; -as participle)} \)

\( \text{sta la luqʰ'itgoast they went away (sta from; la they; lu- by canoe [§ 14.27]; qʰ to go; -it inchoative [§ 18.6]; -si participle)} \)

\( \text{l' nə'xogəŋəqə'sŋa they fly about (l' they [with -go]; nə'xa to fly [pl.]; -gaŋ continuous; -gaŋ probably continuous also, the suffix being doubled; -ga auxiliary)} \)

\( \text{la qʰə'ošlogagawaŋ . . . they came and sat down by the fire (la they [with gəw = -go]; qʰa to sit; -o probably auxiliary; səo stem [ŋ]; -ga auxiliary [ŋ]; -əŋ past inexperienced)} \)

\( \text{la sta la luqʰ'itgoas they left him by canoe 59.3} \)

\( \text{l' qʰ'tqatgəwa'i lu when they had gone 59.4} \)

\( \text{la lanaqəqəlqəwaŋ they had a town 103.11} \)

2. -lga (Skidegate dialect) indicates that all of the objects or persons just mentioned are included in the action.

\( \text{l' ga'ošuqagəwas they all got up (l' they [with -gəw = -go])} \)

\( \text{la'giago gi'nagai qa'ilqagəs all his property was lost (gia property; -qa possessive; gi'na things; gai the; qa'il stem; -ga auxiliary; -s participle)} \)

3. -odjə Masset equivalent of the above.

\( \text{'alə'nsələdjawant it was all cooked ('alən to cook; sə appears to be the principal stem; 'odjaw = 'odju all; -an past inexperienced; -i perfect)} \)

\( \text{'a l' sədalədjawən all went down to it ('a to; sə [ŋ]; dal to go; s [ŋ]; 'odjaw = 'odju all; -an past inexperienced)} \)

\( \text{l' l' lada'odjawən all went down to it (l' lada [ŋ]; 'odjaw = 'odju all; -an past inexperienced)} \)

\( \text{lə'guə s'ə'na l' sədalədjawən he took all into the canoe (lə canoe; gu there; e = e into; s'ə'na his own; səda stem; -odjaw = -odju all; -an past inexperienced)} \)

4. -skə applied to an action that fails of accomplishment, or perhaps to one that nearly succeeds.

§ 20
kɪwa'ɪ gei l' za'ptaʊgaʊskɪə'sɪ he almost went flying through the doorway (kɪw = kɪu doorway; ai the; gei into; za probably means quickly; tagoa [ʔ]; -əsi participle)
lə də'ya'nskía'qadʒúugəń he hunted for it in vain (də'yań to hunt; rest uncertain)

gei l' dayʃ'nskiya'ɪ ɿu when they found nothing there by hunting (gei into; dayʃ'ŋ to hunt; -ɣ perfect; ai the; ɿu when) qadó l' geit'skiña I could in no way get them (qadó' around (always used with this stem); l I; get stem; -an [ʔ])

5. -goañ. A frequentative best translated by the English word ABOUT.

l' zetl't tɛl'ŋgoañgas he went about hunting birds (zetl't birds; tɛl'n to shoot or hunt; l perhaps euphonic; -ga to go; -s participle). See also 27.27
l' g translateY=go translate(- floating; -n on water; -sə participle)
ɡó'ŋgoañ də'ɲat la na'ugoaŋ qa'odí after he had lived along with his father for a while (qóń man's father; -goañ his own; də'ɲat in company with; na to live; ū auxiliary; -goañ along or about; qa'odí after a while)
lə la i'na-ugoaŋ qa'odí after he had remained with his wife for a while (i'na to marry; ū auxiliary; qa'odí after a while)

6. -gɪ the completion of action; also, sometimes, continuation, in which case it probably means continuation to the end.
lə getlgi'daga'ɪ ɿu when she had finished (getl to become; -da auxiliary; gai the; ɿu when)
lə sugi'gai ɿu when he was through talking (su to talk; gai the)
lə qĩŋqĩ'qvasi they looked at it for some time (la they [with -gw = -go]; qĩn stem to look; -asi participle)
xao gʷ tadjugin'gañan the raven always sat upon it (xao [ʔ]; gʷ at or upon; ta probably a classifier; dju stem [ʔ]; -gañ continuative; -an past inexperienced)

7. -dl a suffix that seems to define the action as having taken place at a certain particular place and moment. Its use is not so pronounced in the Masset dialect as in Skidegate.
q'al lgai k'allt'dala q'as gõxă'godieś some small black-skinned persons held burning pitchwood then (q'al skins; lgai black; k'allt-short or small; -dala plural with adjectives [§39]; q'as pitchwood; go- burning; xa inanimate pl.; -go to be somewhere; -əs participle)
lə liiŋá'ndigandí xăn at the moment when she was striving to disentangle it (li- with the hands [ʔ]; nań probably stem; -di seems to be determinate suffix used twice; -gań continuative; xăn thus, at that moment)

44377—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—16 § 20
gu la ta'idiasi he lay right there (gu there; tai to lie)
l' qaxā'di at the time when he was a boy (qaxā boy)

This suffix is used very often before qa'odi.

l'sūdi qa'odi after he had cried 7.7

8. -ul or -ul to do a thing early in the morning.

Q!ana'ñ t'la'ga l qla'o-ulas I sit early in the morning at
the mouth of Q!ana'ñ river (Q!ana'ñ river name; t'la mouth of;
-qa at; l I; qla to sit; -o auxiliary; -as participle)
gañ'ñ ge'itulas (the weather) becomes like this early in the
morning (gañ'ñ like; geit stem it was so; -as participle)
yañ'ñana ta'igfiulia'i lu when it was cloudy (or foggy) early in
the morning (yañ'ñana clouds or fog; ta' to lie [close to water];
gin on water; ai the; lu when)
l' lā'uliga it is fine weather so early this morning (lā good, fine)
nañ k!wai'yagaa klodax go-ulaianañ one brother lay dead in the
morning 77.33 (k!oda- dead; l- classifier; go to lie)

9. -tīna' marks potentiality.

t'sīn lqao l! xadaliñañŋūda'nsi he thought he might restore
them (t'sīn again; lqao new; l! he [plural because a great hero
is speaking]; xada human being; -an continuative [l]; -gūd to
think; -an continuative [contracted before s]; -si participle)
gīnna at l' lālna wa'tuxan la'gi la t'sdas he gave him all things
which might make him happy (gī'nna things; at with; lā good
or happy; wa'tuxan all [wa + lu + xan]; gi to; t'sda gave)

skān, sta'iga lgua l sqasgā'itlīna' blockhead, I can knock out
your labret (skān blockhead; sta' labret; -ga possessive; lgua
a sort of adverbial interjection, whatever it is; l I; sqasgā'it
to knock out)

gam gu 'anldañ ga t!alā'ñ v'nalīnañus may we not leave fresh
water with you? (Masset) (gam not; gu interrogative particle;
'anl fresh water; dañ you; ga to; t!alā'ñ we; v'na stem; -an
continuative [?]; -us interrogative suffix)

liña' may also be employed as the stem of an independent verb
and as an adjective.

l! dō'na k!adañã'sis ü l' līna'yan she made it so that younger
sisters are wise (Masset) (l! indefinite; dō'na younger sisters;
k!adañã' wise; -s participle; -s probably contracted form of
verb to be; ü general demonstrative; līna stem; -y perfect;
-an past inexperienced)

Nañk'īlslas liña'i he who was going to become Nāñk'īlsas, or
the potential Nāñk'īlslas (Nañ one; kil- voice; sl stem; -as
participle [all meaning ONE-WHOSE-VOICE-IS-OBEYED]; ai the)
a’hao qai tīna’ī hao īdja’n wansū’ga those were the future (or potential) trees, they say (a this; hao general demonstrative; qai trees; tīna’ī the potential; hao general demonstrative; īdja to be; -an past inexperienced; wansū’ga quotative)

It is also often used in the formation of names.

§ 21. Stems in Terminal Position, Fourth Group

All of these except two are nothing more than incorporated adjectives.

1. yū' big.
la gā’na yū' andayagan he had it very thick 33.9 (gā’na thick; -da to cause [§18.2]; -y perfect [§23.2]; -agan past inexperienced [§23.2])
la’gan sk’ul’ yā' anas it was very crowded for her (gan for; sk’ul a crowd; -as participle [§27.5])
v lā' la daoyū' anas they came near him on the opposite shore in a very great crowd (lā’i abreast of on shore; dao to go to get)
v’ qoanyū’an an they were very many (l’ they [sing. used for pl.]; qoan many; -an past inexperienced [§23.2])

2. djiti’ real.
gā’la-getdjiti’ gai lu when it became quite dark (gā’l night, dark; -ga [?]; geti to become; gai the; lu when)
gi la gwadjiti’ gasi he really did not care for it (gi for; gwao stem not to care for; -ga auxiliary [§18.5])
di sk’qeldjiti’ ga I am truly full (di I; sk’qel to be full [perhaps compounded of sk’t and sl]; -ga auxiliary to be)
la’gi la day’insktdjiti’ gas he was absolutely unable to find him (gi to or for; day’i’n to find; -ski in vain [§20.4]; -ga auxiliary to be [§18.5]; -s participle)

3. Lā’gān the first.
nān la getiqi’gala’gañas he finished a certain one first 33.2 (nān one; geti to become; -gi completed action [§20.6]; -ga auxiliary [§18.5]; -as participle)
gila kia’gañlagaña’agan he asked for him first 33.26 (kia stem; -gaañ continuative [§24.1]; -agan past inexperienced [§23.2])

1. gō’dā (Masset ‘oda) the last. Originally this appears to have been the word for buttocks. In the Masset dialect it is used as a connective meaning after.
la ga tā’gagotslas the ones he ate last (la [?]; ga the ones; tā stem to eat; -ga auxiliary to be [?]; -got last; sl stem; -as participle)

§ 21
5. *sgeoan* forever, or for a long time. This is derived from the same stem as *sgeoane* one, *squin* only.

*ga'igu hao l' tce'agentsegova'an wansu'ga* he came to have a place there forever, they say (gai the or that; gu there; hao general demonstrative; tcia a place; geit to come to; -an past inexperience; wansu'ga quotative)

*la'ga la da'nda'ostasqoa'naana* he pulled his [spear] out for good (-ga possessive; dan- by pulling; dao to go and get; sta to move from a place; -an continuous [%24.1]). See also 69.9

The numerals from two up are suffixed to take the place of ordinals, numerals, and numeral adverbs.

*la gox'ia'tciasnaana'i lu* after he had swallowed four times, or the fourth time (*gox'ia* stem [i]; -tcia motion into [%22.1]; -sta'nsana four; -ai the; lu when)

*atha' l' la tciga'stiaana* ... he shot him twice with it (at with; hao general demonstrative; tciga- by shooting [%14.2]; ga stem; stiana = stina two; -an past inexperience [%23.2])

*gugetista la la danjistaile'las* he pulled apart five times (gut together; gei into; sta from; dan- by pulling [%14.4]; djista stem [i]; -letil five; -as participle)

§ 22. Fourth Group: Locative Suffixes

1. -tcia or -tcil indicates motion or action into something, especially a house.

*k'ia'lu aw'ni gi la k'isltcias* he brought a cormorant into his mother 27.27 (kiu'lu cormorant; aw mother; -un his own; gi to; klu- classifier [%15.15]; sl stem; -s participle [%25.7])

*da'tcil* la l'sltcias he brought in a wren 27.31 (da'tcil wren; l- classifier [%15.20]; sl stem; -s participle)

*l' qataclayas'as he came in (ga stem; -ya perfect; -s participle)

*ga'gei la qi'tnclayas* he looked into some houses (ga some; gei into; qin stem; -y perfect [%23.7]; -s participle)

2. -guna direction of action out of something, especially a house.

*la la da'oxaostqua'gawa' wansu'ga* they ran out of the house to him quickly, they say (la they [with suffix -gaw = -go]; dao to go to get; xo- quickly [%17.3]; sta stem; -an past inexperience; wansu'ga quotative)

*la gi la qingua'gas* she looked out at him (gi at; qin stem; -ga auxiliary; -st participle)

*l' ANDJigoagai lu when he put his head out (ANDJi erect; gai the; lu when)

§ 22

1 See also § 19.2-4.
ktiwa'i qa la giā'zagoasi he stood at the door outside (ktiw = kliu door; ai the; qa at; giā stem; -za suffix of unknown significance; -goa out; -st participle)

3. -Xul or Xual (Masset -gult or -gual) has a meaning similar to the above, but in this case actual motion out is always meant. la qaxuā'lañ wansu'ga he went out, they say 29.38 (qa stem; an past inexperienced; wansu'ga quotative) sludjā'gadañai t'sin da'ñat la qā'xuls he also went out with the woodpecker 29.46 (sludjā'gadañ woodpecker; ai the; t'sin also; da'ñat with; qa stem; -st participle) l' lā'laq qaxuā'lasì her husband went out (lāl husband; qa possessive [§28]; qa stem; -st participle) l' qā'gualan he went out of doors (Masset) (qa stem; an past inexperienced) gam hawi'dan l' qaqla'añan he did not go out quickly (Masset) (gam not; hawi'dan quickly; ā' carries accent; an negative)

4. -t!adj across a body of water, especially an arm of the sea.

Si'k!a kun 'a o l' sa'int!adjan he went across to Sik!a point to hunt (Masset) (Si'k!a name of a point; kun point; 'a to; o general demonstrative; sa' in stem; an past inexperienced) l! lā'o't!adjan they went across the harbor (Masset) (lū by canoe [§14.27]; do to go to get; an past inexperienced) wa'a l! l't'adjanî they brought them across it (Masset) (va it; 'a to; li stem; an past inexperienced; i perfect) q!ā'dat!adjasi (he) threw across 73.42

5. -s gièn across a strip of land, such as a peninsula.

'a l' qā'sgiènani he went across to it (Masset) ('a to; qā stem; an past inexperienced; i perfect) waguî' l' qā'sgiènani he went across to a distant point (Masset) (wa it; gui toward [with motion]; qā stem; an past inexperienced [§ 23.2])

6. -t!At or t!Al motion downward.

tc'éwai v'ngei kitz!Apha'ot!Alsi it stuck into the floor-planks from above (tciew = tcu plank; ai the; un on top of; gei into; kit- by a stick [§ 14.13]; t'apha'o stem [?]; st participle) lnaga'i dala'.nga la kitchôt!Alidaasañ I will tip over your town (lna = lana town; gai the; dala'n you [pl.]; -ga possessive; la I; kit- with a stick; gū stem; da to cause; -asāñ future [§ 23.5]) stlguî'gañ la gaxiat!alagan he descended to his home (stl back; gui toward [with motion]; -gañ his own [§ 28]; gaxia' stem [?]; -agan past inexperienced [§ 23.2])

§ 22
la l! qā’t!allagandasí they let him off first (qā stem; la [l]; gan = gan continuous [§ 24.1]; -da to cause [§ 18.6])
l! dadjit!aldai’yaganí they pushed (it) down 45.15

7. -t motion upward.
l’ qa’tidí qa’odí after he had gone up for a while (qa stem; -dí determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; qa’odí after a while)
l’ k’utú’tāsta la he spits water upward (k’ut- with the lips [§ 14.16]:
lu- probably a classifier; sta stem; -la up)
naga’i qa la qa’tidí he went up to the house (na house; gai the; qa
to; qā stem; -sí participle)
l’ da’nandjilas he pulled it up out of the water (da-n- by pull-
ing; andjí erect; -as participle)
l! qí’ñgalasí they went up to see 12.4

8. -sga (Masset s’u) motion toward an open place, particularly toward the open sea, toward the fire.
q’adaxuá’ la sa’ana q’ausga come down toward the sea and sit
idle 29.4 (q’ada seaward; -xua toward [without motion]; la
imperative particle; sa’ana idle; q’a to sit; -u auxiliary)
tá’djilegas the wind blew out of the inlet (tadji wind; l [l])
l’ xa’qatesgas she stretched her arm seaward to grasp (something)
31.22 (xa- by grasping; qat stem; -s participle)
là’là’u da’nà’tat qí’a’wosga sit down by the fire with your husband
(lâl husband; -añ own; da’nàt with; qí’a stem; -o auxiliary
[§ 18.1])

9. -git or -gial motion toward a shut-in place.
l’ qa’islagíls it came in and floated (gai- floating; sl stem; -s partici-
ple)
l’ qa’iagia’lañ wànsú’ga she started into the woods (qa stem; ña
perhaps = xit to start; -añ past inexperienced; wànsú’ga quot-
tative)
l’ gòdà’ljialañ wànsú’ga she moved farther inland, in a sitting
posture (gòdà buttocks; l [l]; -añ past inexperienced; wàns-
ù’ga quotative)
gwatiyé a l’ l’u’qagalt’awan they went up to the island (Masset
(gwai island; ye = ai the; ‘a to; l’ they [with suffix -aw = -o];
lu- by canoe [§ 14.27]; qa stem; -gá’l landward; -an past inex-
perienced)
la squ’qagatgilis he swam ashore 12.11

10. -l’l’u (Masset -l’u) toward anything.
l’ stí’l’xagai lu when he came back toward (it) (stíl stem; gai the;
lu when).
là lúqá’l’xagaoas they approached by canoe 39.5

§ 22
11. -gia or -gi UNDER WATER.

l' gao'qias it vanished under water (gao stem; -s participle)
lu'ai dagul'st gatgia'at (the arrow) fell into the water at the side
of the canoe (lu canoe; ai the; dagul' side; st at; gat stem;
-st participle)
wa'gei la gi'halgiasti they poured it into (the ocean) (wa it [ocean];
gei into; la they [singular used for plural]; gi hal [?] -si participle)
la la xi'dagias he let him down into the sea (xida stem; -s participle)

12. -L INTO A CANOE.

gu'gei la gaq'gast he got into his canoe (gu there; gei into; qa stem;
-ga auxiliary; -st participle)
l'a gu'gei la b'slagwas they got into the canoe with him (gu there;
gei into; la they [with -gw=-go]; s stem; -s participle)
l'a la ge'tga'dayagan he got him into the canoe (get stem; ga aux-
iliary [?]; da to cause; -i perfect [§ 23.7]; -gan past inde-
terminate)
l'a la gaq'dagwas they took her aboard 41.8

Syntactic Treatment of the Verbal Theme (§§ 23-26)

§ 23. Temporal Suffixes

1. -gan, sometimes -an, indicates past events which the speaker has
himself experienced.

la l' tc!ln goa'ngan they began shooting at them (that is, us) (la
them [singular form used for plural]; tc!ln stem; l probably
 euphonic; -goan about)
la na'ni stildagan I borrowed one (la I; na'n one; stl stem; -da
auxiliary)
l'la l' tc!ln goa'nxidan they started shooting at them (l'la them;
tc!ln stem; l euphonic; -goan about [§ 20.5]; -xid inchoative
[§ 18.6])
dā’nxua aga’n l skia’gαlgan I jumped into the stern (dā’nxua stern; aga’n reflexive; l I; skia’ga stem [i]; -l aboard [§ 22.12])
See the use of this suffix in the text on pp. 105–109, Bulletin 29.

2. -aga’n (Masset -an or -gan) past events known to the speaker only by report.
l’ djā’ga la gi’a-inxayagan his wife left something for him (djā wife; -ga possessive; gi’a-inxα [i]; -i perfect [§ 23.7])
l’ l’ sā’wagan she spoke to him (sāw = su to speak)
lα la vi’nagealagan he married her (iνa stem; -geal to come to [§ 18.10])
nαn vli’na hao sqā’badax:idagan a man began to set deadfalls 95.1 (nαn a; vli’na man; sqā’ba deadfall; -da to make; -xid to begin)
všē te’lasta’nsa’nαn the canoe had four men (Masset) (tu canoe; šē the; te’la- people in canoe; sta’nsan four)
See the use of this suffix in the text on pp. 33–35, Bulletin 29.
Before wansi’ga, the quotative in the Skidegate dialect, this suffix takes the form -an.

A’ŋα la sqotskidā’na’n wansi’ga he struck his canoe with his hands, they say 29.22 (A’ŋα his own; sqot with arms [§14.29]; skid contact; -ān continuative; wansi’ga quotative)
gitga’n gan la gago’yā’nαn wansi’ga he was calling for his son, they say (git son; -gan his own [§ 28.3]; gan for; gago [i]; -i perfect; -an continuative; wansi’ga quotative)
lα e’stēn qa’idān wansi’ga he also started off, they say (e’sēn also; qa stem; -id inchoative [§ 18.6]; wansi’ga quotative)
lα la qā’gandaqαn wansi’ga she saved him, they say (qā’gan to save; -da to cause [§ 18.2]; wansi’ga quotative)

3. -gin events that occur or occurred habitually, and usually those which the speaker himself has experienced or is experiencing.
ā’thao gan “Da’gal” han l! sā’ga’ngαngin therefore they were not in the habit of saying “to-morrow” 35.4 (ā’thao therefore; gan not; da’gal to-morrow; han like it; sā stem; -gan negation [§ 25.3]; -gan continuative)
gaga’nha’o la wā’ga’nginē that is the reason why I do so (gaga’nha’o that is why [=gaga’n + hao]; la I; wā stem to do; -gan continuative; -gin =-gin usitative; -i perfect [§ 25.6])
A’nēle wa’a v’si l ntlgi’nē I used to drink the water that was in it (Masset) (tanl water; v’ the; wa it; ‘a in; v’si was; l I; ntl stem to drink; -i perfect [§ 25.6])
gα di too’gaqēgēnē I used to be afraid of it (Masset) (ga something indefinite; di I; too stem; -ga auxiliary [§ 18.5]; -t perfect)
4. -sga simple futurity.

sgā’na-qeda’s da’ñga qa’xolgilgā’nsaŋ the supernatural beings will not become tired of looking at you 31.4 (sgā’na supernatural; qeda’s probably those that are so born [from qe to be born, -da auxiliary, -s participle]; dañ you; qa at; qa’ by looking; xol stem; -gil probably -gil to become; -gān = -gañ continuative)

di gi stīña’gasga no one is going to touch me 31.7 (di me; gi to; stīña stem; -ga auxiliary [§ 18.5])

dañ l qiñgā’nsaŋ I shall see you sometimes 31.13 (dañ you; l I; qiñ stem; -gān continuative)

5. -(a)sañ infallible future occurrence, similar to English you shall.

[In both these suffixes the future element is probably -s, while -sga contains also a declarative ending (-ga).—En.]

lua’i dañ lā stildadaasañ I will let you have the canoe (lua canoe; ai the; dañ you; lā I; stild stem [!]; -da auxiliary)

djā’gañ dá da’ogasañ you shall go and get your wife (djā wife; -gañ your own; dañ you; dao stem; -ga auxiliary).

l’ sgā’lyatgsaasāñ he will conceal you (sgāl 1st yerbal stem TO CONCEAL; gat 2d verbal stem IT WAS LIKE THAT; -ga auxiliary)

gūsu l! v’l!agidas ta’asañ what will the chiefs eat (gūsu what? l! indefinite demonstrative; v’l!agidas chief; ta stem TO EAT)

6. -qasañ, -qasas, immediate or imminent future occurrence; evidently compounded from the above.

a’dal di l! tā’nsaŋqasañ they will come to get me to-morrow (a’dal to-morrow; di me; tā’nsan to come by sea)

git qa’l’a’tañqasañ her child was about to come (Masset) (git child; qa stem; -l’a toward [§ 22.10]; -añ [!])

nañ ya’e’ts ù da’ñat b’ni’laxaŋqasañaŋqua the princess is going to bring plenty of food (Masset) (nañ the [becomes definite with suffix -s]; ya’e’t child’s child; -s participle; ù general demonstrative; dañ nat with; in stem; -l’a toward; -xañ continuative; -gua declarative)

l’ laganā’ñqasas they were about to make a feast (lagan to make a feast; -añ continuative; -qasas imminent future followed by participle)

7. -l, in intervocalic position y, perfect time.

lgitgu’n awa’n gi lā lsłtc!a’yañ wansi’ga he had brought in a goose to his mother, they say (lgitgu’n goose; aw =ao? mother; -añ his own; gi to; l- classifier [§ 15.20]; sl stem; -tc!a motion into [§ 22.1]; -añ past inexperienced; wansi’ga quotative)

§ 23
dagalē'ga t'sīn l' xet'il tc!l'ngoaŋgayas next day he had again gone out shooting birds (dagal the next day; ū the; -ga on; t'sīn again; xet'il birds; tc!l'n to shoot; ī euphonic [ī]; -goaŋ about [§ 20.5]; -ga auxiliary; -s participle) la sudā'yagaŋh iva' isda'śi he did differently from the way he had said (he would do) (su stem to say; ďā to cause; -agaŋ past inexperience; -ś perfect; iva' differently; is stem; -da auxiliary; -sī participle) gana'zān la sū' dayaŋgant so he had said (gana'zān so [fron gana'n like; zān just]; sū to say; -da auxiliary; -agaŋ past inexperience; -ś perfect)

§ 24. Semi-Temporal Suffixes

Suffixes related to temporal suffixes, but defining the nature or time of the action more minutely.

1. -gaŋ, -aŋ, or -tū. The common continuative or perhaps rather habitual suffix, similar to the English form of the verb ending in -ing.

au'n gi la xaqal!xag'ilaŋasi he was bringing up things to his mother (au'n [= ao mother + aŋ his own]; gi to; xa- by grasping [§ 14.24]; qa stem; -l!xā toward [§ 22.10]; -gil shoreward [§ 22.9]; -si participle) 

gi'nā at la nā' ngaŋas he was playing with something (gi'nā something; at with; nāŋ stem to play; -as participle)

gitga'n la gagoyā'naŋ wansū'ga he called for his son, they say (git son; -gaŋ his own; gagoy=gagoe stem [ʔ]; -aŋ past inexperience [§ 23.2]; wansū'ga quotative)

Sometimes this suffix takes the form -xaŋ or xan.

ga qa'za'nās the ones sitting there (ga the ones [indefinite]; qa' stem to sit; -o auxiliary [§ 18.1]; -as participle) 

l! naza'ndi qa'odi after they had lived there for a while (na stem to live; -di determinate suffix; qa'odi after a while)

l! taizā'ndi qa'odi after they had remained in bed for a while (ta' stem to lie; -di determinate [§ 20.7]; qa'odi after a while) 

The occasional reduplication of this process has been referred to in § 6.

§ 25. Modal Suffixes

The following have also a modal significance:

1. l or la indicating the imperative; placed before or after the verb.

di la q!ōs!l let go of me with your mouth (di me; la imperative; q!ō- with mouth; sl stem)

§§ 24, 25
sti'lda la let us go back (sti'l stem; -da auxiliary; la imperative)
hai ls'na di ga'snesta la ki'nda now, cousin, be my herald (hai
now; ls'na male cousin on father's side; ai the; di me; ga'snesta
for; la imperative; ki'nd stem; -da auxiliary [§ 18.2])
gin t!el s'umnan l tc!a'anu ^an tsta'ñ get only wet things for fire-
wood (Masset) (gin things; t!el wet; s'umnan only; -an just;
tc!a'anu firewood; ^an for; tsta stem [?] -an continuative)

With the auxiliary ga to go, however, instead of l, -la is suffixed
to the verb.

han a l' sù'dagala go and speak to it like this (han like; a this;
sù stem; -da auxiliary; -ga auxiliary)
tc!a'anu da'ogala go and get firewood (tc!a'anu firewood; dao
stem to go and get; -ga auxiliary)
liká'gua na'galjú'gala go and sit toward the door (liká side
toward door; gú'a toward; na'gal [?] -djú it is of that sort;
-ga auxiliary)
lút dal'sñ tciagá'nsa ga tsogogala go to the place where you are
going to settle (lút where; dal'sñ you [pl.]; tcia stem to
have a place; -gan continuative; -sa = sañ infallible future
[§ 23.5]; ga to; is stem; -go plural [?]; -ga auxiliary)

2. -djúñ (Masset -te'in) is employed to indicate what is usually
denominated the first person imperative, both singular and
plural, let me, let us.

ha'la t!alal'ñ tc!a'anugadadjañ come and let us make a fire (ha'la
come! t!alal'ñ we; tc!a'anu fire; -ga -da auxiliaries [§ 18.5, 2])
hal'sñ gi l gi'ngatdajñ come and let me adorn you 29.2 (hal'sñ
come! dañ you; gi to or for; l I; giñ-agent in general [§ 14.12];
gat stem)

ha'la t!alal'ñ ga'galjú'ndjajñ let us go over to look (ha'la come!
talal'ñ we; ga'galjú'nd [?])
t!al qasa'tc!in let us go away (Masset) (t!al we; qa stem to go;
-sa probably infallible future [§ 23.5])

3. gañ (Masset 'Añ) NEGATION, always preceded by the negative
particle gam.

gam gi'na gut l qealgi'nigan I saw nothing upon it (gam not; gi'na
thing; gut upon; l I; qea stem to see; l euphonic or possibly
up; -gan past inexperienced)
sga'na-qeda's gam la gut gaqá'dagañangaga the supernatural
beings will never know it (sga'na qeda's supernatural beings
[see § 23.4]; gam not; gut upon; gaqáda [?]; -gan = -gañ con-
tinuative [§ 24.1]; -saga future [§ 23.4])

§ 25
... *gam la sū'udagānasi* (he) had not told him 27.6 (sū to say; -da auxiliary; -si particle)

*gam l' tānda'n'ānānt he did not feel it (Masset) (gam not; tānda'n stem [?]; -an past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; -ī perfect [§ 25.6])

*gam la ga l! gī'da'tānānān* they did not give him food (Masset) (gam not; ga indefinite things [food]; gī'da stem to give food; -gān continuative; -an past inexperienced)

4. *-udja*, contracted sometimes to *-us*, marks interrogation, and, like the two suffixes last mentioned, is always preceded by a particle (gua or gu) or by an interrogative pronoun.

*dā kīl'slasi gast'ūhao dān qe'a'ga tsū'udja'n say, chief, what has happened to your brother-in-law? (dā say! kīl'slasi chief [whose voice is obeyed]; gast'n what? hao general demonstrative; dān your; qe'a brother-in-law; -ga possessive; ts stem; ā udja = udja interrogative suffix; -ān continuative)

*a$xada'i gua ga galt'alsga'udja* were the meshes of the net pulled off? (axada'i the net; gua interrogative particle; ga indefinite plural subject of verb, and agent of pulling; gal- by pulling [§ 14.20]; tla- classifier [§ 15.4]; l stem; sā seaward [§ 22.8])

*gast'nl'ao la dān lista'udja'n why did you tease her? (gast'nl'ao why? dān you; līsta stem [?]; -ān continuative)

*gast'nl'ao l la dān qō'yadaaldjuudjīn why do you love it so much? (gast'nl'ao why? l [?]; dān you; qō'ya stem to love; -da auxiliary [§ 18.2]; līdju [?]; -udji interrogative; -n continuative)

*Gua* (Masset gu) or the pronoun may, however, be employed independently.

*dā gua skīā'na* are you awake? (dā you; skīā'na stem [?]; -di determinate suffix [§ 20.7])

*gam gua qleiga'nā gan dala'n u'nsaatga'n* don't you know any stories? (gam not; qleiga'nā stories; gan for always precedes u'nsaat); dala'n you (pl.); u'nsaat stem to know; -gān continuative)

*dān gu l! t'nētuudja were you married? (Masset) (dān you; l! they [used in lieu of passive]; tīn to marry; tē principal stem)

*dā gu sīl'gu tī'a-udja did you kill a land-otter? (Masset) (dā you; sīl'gu land-otter; tīa stem to kill)

*gu'istō z'idjīn who are you? (gu'istō who? z'idjī stem to be)

*gast'nl'ao dān z'djīn* what is the matter with you? (gast'nl'ao what? dān you; z'djī stem to be; -n continuative)

*gū'su l! t'ī'lagidas tā'asa'n what will the chiefs eat? (gū'su what? l! indefinite demonstrative; tī'lagidas chiefs; tā stem to eat; -asa'n future infallible occurrence and continuative)

§ 25
5. -gua suffixed in the Masset dialect to declarative sentences in direct discourse.

\[g'am\ \text{t}ao\ \text{t}!ala'\text{n} \ da'a^eA'\text{ng}a^n\text{gua}\ \text{we have no food (}\text{g'am not; tao food; t}!ala'\text{n we; da'a stem to have; }^eA^n\text{ negation; }^e\text{g}an\text{ continuative)\n}
\[\text{d}i\ q'o'\text{l}a\ '\text{a}n\text{l}v'dji^n\text{gua}\ \text{I have fresh water (}\text{d}i\ \text{me; q'o'\text{l}a\ probably means near by; }^e\text{anl fresh water; }dji\text{ to be; }^e\text{n continuative)\n}
\[\text{l}u\ \text{d}i\ '\text{a}n\ \text{q}a'^l\text{as}^i\text{g}a^n\text{gua}\ a\ \text{canoe came out for me (Masset) (}\text{l}u\ \text{canoe; }\text{d}i\ \text{me; }'\text{an for; }^e\text{g}a\ \text{stem to go; }^e\text{la toward [§ 22.10; }^e\text{s}^i\text{ = }^e\text{s}a\ \text{seaward [§ 22.8; }^e\text{gan continuative)\n}
\[\text{d}i\ '\text{an} \ l' \ 'a'y'i^n\text{gin\text{gua\ they used to call me (}\text{d}i\ \text{me; }^e\text{an for; }'\text{ay}n\ \text{stem [i]; }^e\text{gin usitative [§ 23.3; }^e\text{i perfect)\n}
\[\text{n}a^n\ v'l\text{lad}a's \ 'a'i^y'u\ \text{ta}n'a^g\text{a^n\gua\ the chief's blood is salt 22.14 (}\text{n}a^n\ \text{with following }^e\text{s definite article; }^e\text{a-i blood; }\text{ta}n\ \text{sea-water)\n
6. -e is a final vowel used very frequently after the past and usitative suffixes. In most cases it may be employed or omitted indifferently; but in the cases in which there is a choice seem to show that it closes the sentence, and so probably indicates the completion of the idea.

\[l' \text{g}i\text{date}ci'\text{a'i} \ \text{lu} \ \text{l}a'\text{g}i\ \text{l}a\ \text{is}d\text{a}g\text{a}'\text{wa}^g\text{a}n\text{t\ when she brought food, they gave them to her (}\text{g}i\text{da to bring food to give to her; }\text{tc'i into [§ 22.1; }^e\text{a-i the; }\text{lu when; }g\text{t to; }l\text{a they [with suffix }^e\text{gaw = }^e\text{go}; ^e\text{gan past inexperienced)\n}
\[k'i\text{u}^l\text{hao} \ \text{lu}^a'i \ \text{a}'\text{n}ga\ \text{la} \ \text{lgol}ga'y\text{a}^g\text{a}n\text{t\ all that time he worked upon his canoe (}k'i\text{u}^l\text{hao all that time [=}k'i\text{al + the general demonstrative hao]; }\text{lu canoe; ai the; }a'\text{n}ga\ \text{his own; l- with hands [§ 14.26; }\text{gol}ga\ \text{to make; }^e\text{ya perfect [§ 23.7])\n}
\[\text{gaga'n}h\text{ao} \ \text{la} \ \text{wa'}\text{g}a'n\text{gin}t\ \text{that is the reason why I do it (}\text{gaga'n}h\text{ao that is the reason [=}\text{gaga'n + hao}; }\text{la I; }\text{wa' stem to do; }^e\text{gan continuative; }^e\text{gin usitative [§ 23.3])\n}
\[\text{g'am }^e\text{a l qa'^a}n\text{gin}t\text{gua I did not go thither (Masset) (}\text{g'am not; }^e\text{a to; }^e\text{I; }^e\text{qa stem to go; }^e\text{an negation; }^e\text{gin usitative; }^e\text{gua declarative)\n
Possibly the }^e\text{ after }^e\text{s is the same in meaning; but I doubt whether it had the same origin.}

\[\text{lnaga'i }\text{gu }l' \ q'o'dal\text{st they were in a starving condition at the town (}\text{lnaga'i the town; }\text{gu at; q'o- mouth [§ 14.23])\n\[\text{l}a\ \text{qa'n}g\text{ast he dreamed (}\text{gan} \text{stem to dream; }^e\text{ga auxiliary)\n\[\text{l}a'\text{qa h'a'\text{i}l\text{urast his (food) was gone (}\text{l}a his; }^e\text{qa possessive; h'a'\text{i}l\text{a gone or destroyed; }^e\text{si participle)\n
§ 25
7. -s or -st is properly used in forming infinitives and participles, but by some speakers it has come to be employed as the equivalent of the past-temporal suffix. It indicates that everything in the preceding clause or set of words is to be taken as a unit, and so occasionally appears to have a plural significance. It also has the force of aforesaid, and, after a noun preceded by nañ, gives the indefinite article the force of a definite.

la la tc̱n'gas he shot it
la la qi'ágadas he dried it
nañ sqoa'na l' qe'tñas he saw one
Łgā'xetgu lā'nas the Pebble-town people
nañ Łgā'xetgu lā'na a Pebble-town person
nañ la'oaatwas one who was whittling, or the whittler
nañ sqadjā'sas the future brave man
nañ sqadjā'sa a future brave man
nañ gažā'gas the child, or one who was a child

In the Masset dialect it generally concludes a subordinate clause.

l' v'y'lagid'ëls vu Nastō' gu 'aqł'e'dadjan when he became a chief, his mother was drowned at Nasto (v'y'lagid' chief; 'ël to become §§ 18.10); -s participle; vu when; Nastō' name of an island; gu at; 'aqł'e'dadj [?] -an past inexperienced)

§ 26. Unclassified Suffixes

1. -n is suffixed to descriptive terms to form the names of instruments, manufactured and store articles.

ni'jdā'nú mask (for derivation compare la at l' ni'jdānáñ wansû'ga he made an image of it, they say)

st'laná'nú that with which the hands are washed (=soap) (st'la- with hands §§ 14.11); nañ to play with or wash

q'laixitagá'nú round thing shaken (=rattle) (q'laì round-shaped object §§ 15.18); xít to shake; gañ continuantly)

2. -al a suffix used in speaking condescendingly, as to a slave, or sometimes in a kindly manner, to one’s equal. It is also employed sarcastically, or in belittling one’s self, out of courtesy.

gañá'n hao la sù'uláldá'lgañ he spoke like that (as if speaking to a slave) (gañá'n like; hao that; sù stem to speak; dál [?]; -gañ continuative)

ha'osk'lèn dañ gia'ga qa'ganaalδas and yet yours will be safe (ha'osk'lèn and yet [=hao+connective sk'ìén]; dañ your; gia thing, or property; -ga possessive; qa'gana stem to be safe; -da auxiliary; -s participle)

§ 26
daŋ gō'ŋa 'Aldjiwai your slave-father (daŋ your; gō nga man's father; -ga possessive; djiw=dju he is of that sort; aí the)
daŋ nāt'ga 'Aldjiwai your slave-nephew (daŋ your; nāt nephew; -ga possessive; 'Aldjiwai [as above])

3. -aant astonishment or wonder.
gam gwa la gei gi'na k'udjā's l! qīŋgā'ñaant I wonder that they do not see the object sticking into him (gam not; gwa interrogative; gei into; gi'na something; k'ui- classifier [§ 15.15]; dju it was of that sort; -s participle; qīn stem to see; -gān continuous)
gist'sdo hao l! waga'antar I wonder whence the people came who did this (gist'sdo whence [contains stA from and o general demonstrative]; hao general demonstrative; wa stem to do; -ga auxiliary)

4. -aalgīn appears to be identical in meaning with the above.
a'saqa ēstī n l! q!a'gaalgīn I wonder if I slept here (a'sa this place; -ga in; ēstī also; l! I [literally they], often used for first person singular or plural; q!a'ga stem to sleep)
wa lgu gi'na ge'ida l tagasā'algīn what a small thing I am going to eat! (wa that [thing]; lgu how or what; gi'na thing; ge'ida it is so or it is like; l! I; ta stem to eat; -gasa probably -gasa about to [§ 23.6])
st'ao hao gawaalgīn I wonder if you have become witches (st'ao witches; hao those; gawa stem)

5. da'ogō this is rather a particle than a suffix, but is usually placed after the verb. It may be best defined as a sort of dubitative, though its use is very varied. Sometimes its meaning is conditional.
n-n-n hit!aga'n lā'sta v'djins at la'staia da'o'go ĭsgwā'nxān probably it is because she has been doing the same thing again (n-n-n exclamation; hit!aga'n then; lā'sta [?]; idjins it is [including stem, continuous, and participle]; at with; ĭs stem; -gwa'n moving about [§ 20.5]; -nxān continuous [§ 24.1])
handjā'ra gasti'nl!ao di taigā'sa da'o'go alas! I wonder what is going to become of me (handjā'ra alas! gasti'nl!ao what! di me; taigā'sa contains the infallible future [§ 23.5])
l' t'ndaxuai gut gidjīg'da da'o'go la l'da'nl'ga!xnas lo! when he pulled him out of the water, he only held together by the joints (t'ndaxuai the joints; gut together; gidjī to hold; gi [?]; -da causative; l- by handling [§ 14.26]; dañ- pulling [§ 14.4]; l- classifier [§ 15.20]; ga stem; -l!xa toward [§ 22.10]; -s participle)
i'ltìn l gei k'wai'gai gao da'ogo the eldest son that I bore is as if he were non-existent (i'ltìn male person; lI; gei to bear; k'wai elder son; gai the; gao to be wanting or gone)
lqet dā dā'ga da'ogo la t'edañ if you own a bow, take it along (lqet bow; dā you; dā'ga to own; la imperative; t'edañ stem and continuative suffix)
ki'lslai ha'lA dā ts da'ogo gāl chief, if it is you, get into the canoe (ki'lslai the chief; ha'lA come! dā you; ts it is; gā stem to go; -l aboard [§ 22.12])
gasti'nl'ao ga qē'gasa da'ogo I wonder how things are going to be (gasti'nl'ao how; ga things [indefinite]; qē probably for qēt stem to be like; -gasa = gasa imminent future)
t'ak!t'nga ha'lA dā ts da'ogo dī gu qē'l!xa grandchild, if it is you, come to me (t'ak!t'ngan grandchild; -ga possessive; ha'lA come! dā you; ts it is; dī me; gu at or there; qē to go; -l!xa toward)
l' lga da'ogo gut ags'ñ la kutsadidias becoming a weasel, he climbed up (lga weasel; gut upon; ags'ñ reflexive; kuts- probably an instrumental prefix; l- classifier [§ 15.20]; da stem [?]; -l up [§ 22.7]; -di determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; -as participle)
dī djā'ga inagaq gi gudā'ña da'ogo l tia'gas l qī'ngo look at the man I killed who wanted to marry my wife! (dī my; djā wife; -ga possessive; īna to marry; gai [?] the; gi to or for; gudā'ña to think or want; l I; tia to kill; -ga auxiliary; -s participle; l imperative; qīn stem to look; -go plural)

§ 27. Personal Pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>di</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thou (subj.)</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>thee</td>
<td>dañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he, she, it</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>him, her, it</td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he, she, it (indef.)</td>
<td>nañ</td>
<td>him, her, it (indef.)</td>
<td>nañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>t'ala'ñ</td>
<td>us</td>
<td>iñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (plural)</td>
<td>dañ'ñ</td>
<td>you (plural)</td>
<td>dañ'ñ</td>
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<td>they</td>
<td>L!</td>
<td>them</td>
<td>L!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (indef.)</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>them (indef.)</td>
<td>ga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another indefinite L might be added to these.

In the Masset dialect dañ is used both for the subjective and objective forms of the second person singular, while dā serves as an emphatic form.

The subjective series is used as subject of the transitive verb and of active verbs, even when there is no object expressed. Objective pronouns are used to express the subject of verbs expressing states and qualities. Following is a short list of neutral verbs.

§ 27
kōt!a to die  gao to lie (plural)
qal, gil to become qa‘i’xa to be far away
stal to want i‘dji to be
lgoa to fear gaga(?!) to be tired
u’nsat to know gata(?!) to fall into
gao to be absent, gone gut to think

When pronominal subject and object accompany the verb, they are placed preceding the whole stem-complex, the object being placed before the subject. Only the third person plural l! always stands immediately before the stem-complex. The indirect object precedes the direct object and is characterized by connectives (see § 31).

§ 28. Possession

1. -qa (Masset -‘a). Possession of an object by a person other than the subject of the sentence is expressed by the objective pronoun preceding the noun, and by the suffix -qa (Masset -‘a). In the Masset dialect this suffix is used only rarely. We find the noun either without suffix or with the suffix -gia.

(a) The possessive forms of terms of relationship are formed by the objective pronoun and the suffix -qa, which is attached to the noun.

l’ dja’ga q!a’gada’st his wife dried it 288.12
dí gō’nga dí gi ginqe’idán my father put paint on me 290.8 (dí my; gōn father of male; dí me; gi on; gin- to cause [§ 14.12])
Wañagan gi’oga hao ídja’gàn that one was the son of Wañagan
B 87.17
Qa‘l-qons gūdjā’ñ’a I’lgas gi’d’a inata’lan Qa‘l-qons’ daughter married I’lgas’ son (Masset) 394.10 (gūdjāñ daughter; gi’t son; i’na to marry; -tel to become)

(b) In terms expressing transferable possession the noun takes neither the pronominal element nor the suffix, but both are combined and precede or follow the noun. At the same time the noun takes the suffix -t.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skidegate</th>
<th>Masset</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my</td>
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<td>your</td>
<td>dals’ñga</td>
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<tr>
<td>their</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 References in this section indicate page and line in John R. Swanton, Haida Texts (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. x), except that references preceded by B indicate page and line in John R. Swanton, Haida Texts and Myths (Bulletin 29, Bureau of American Ethnology).
dā gua gataqā' i nā'ga īsdai'yañ? did you eat my food? B 45.4 (dā thou; gua question; ga- something; ta to eat; -ga-i it)
luā' i lá'ga sta'gasi his canoe was full 288.10
gā'odjiwa-lā'ga l! sik'dañasi they beat his drum B 13.16
la'gudje l dist' di' na l'sdi take my mat from me! (Masset) 753.29
(lagus mat; l imperative; di me; st' from; di' na my)
l' kie' 'ado' lā'ña l! gudagwā'ñan they thought about its name
(Masset) 741.19 (kie' name; 'ado about; gat mind)
tc!dalanña'-i išin i'lañña l' gi'odjuwē . . . that he also take all
our arrows (Masset) 660.19 (tc!dalanñ arrow; -ödja all)
lngä' i xa'da-i dā'ña hi'lugañ your town people are destroyed
(Masset) 740.22 (länga town; xa'da people; hi'lu to destroy)
tc!dalanña-i l'a'ña 'ag l p'gal!ate!a'sañ I shall swim for their
arrows (Masset) 663.3 (tc!dalanñ arrow)

In some cases the pronoun precedes the noun.
L! st!ā'sil l!ā'ña l! qé'ñgañan they saw their footprints (Masset)
281.13 (st!ā'sil footprint)

(c) Terms expressing parts of the body do not take the suffix -ga:
but either take only the objective pronoun indicating the
possessor and a vocalic ending, or they repeat the pronominal
possessive-like terms expressing transferable possession.
l' k!u'da lá'ga la gatai'yągan he sharpened its bill for it B 59.25
l' l!xadji lá'ga the crown of his head B 13.4
l' qā'dji q'eitqā'-ilxidja'-i tā when he cut its head off B 12.14
(qās head; q'eit- with knife [§14.22]; -xid to begin)
l' sl!a-i l'lāl qā'ñan her husband saw her hands (Masset) 430.24
(sl!a hand; lāl husband; qāñ to see)

2. -E. A weak vocalic suffix is used with terms expressing parts of
the body. Words ending in a vowel, n, ŋ, l, do not take this
suffix, while others seem to transform the surd terminal into a
sonant; s becomes dj before it. The same forms are used in
Masset with terms of relationship.

(a) Words ending in vowels, n, ŋ, or l.
'ńđe xiē' the eagle's wing (Masset) 771.2
i'l!adas 'ai the chief's blood (Masset) 779.14
l' qō'łā his legs (Masset) 332.38
l' sl!ik'u'n her finger nails (Masset) 507.8
l' tc!ñañ q'a'ada between his teeth (Masset) 331.19
l' x'èl its neck part B 79.37
l' xañ his face B 10.4
tc!na-i qal the salmon skin B 13.5

§ 28
dī gi’dā l i’nañ marry my daughter! (Masset) 514.8
l’ nān l’ sudai’an said his grandmother to him (Masset) 670.4

(b) Words ending in consonants other than n, ŋ, l.

l’ k!u’gi ya opposite its heart (Masset) 294.25
di k!ōgy my heart (Masset) 298.24
dān gā’djī thy head (Masset) 301.5
l’ k!ō’ta its beak (Masset) 498.4
l’ k!u’da its beak B 59.25
l’ gā’djī his head 12.14
l’ skū’djī its bones B 8.13

3. - gia means originally PROPERTY, but in Masset is now sometimes used as equivalent of ga.
l’ e’nān gia gi’naga-i hi’lawan his father’s property was destroyed 689.18
xansū’lot gia lu’e’ sea-anemone’s canoe (xansū’lot sea-anemone;
lu canoe)
da’ngia inaga’i xada’i your town-people (inaga’i the town;
xada’i people)
nān i’līnas gia tā’wē the man’s food (nān i’līnas the man; tao
food)

Sometimes it appears instead of dī’na, signifying my, mine; as—
da’lā’n Hanogi’s ĭū l gia’gañ na-i e’n ĭsdā’lqalawan dala’n wa-
luwan a after you have eaten let all go up to my house
gia’gañ na-i ĭl tcū’nu yū’ān la’ola make a big fire in my house
gia’gañ ‘ado’ lla’o  ĭ’i’sgaga’n but they were unsuccessful with
mine

4. - gañ or -añ (Masset - Añ) expresses possession of an object by the
subject of the sentence.

(a) The possessive forms of terms expressing relationship and parts
of the body are formed by suffixing -gañ or -añ (Masset - Añ)
to the noun possessed.
djā’gañ gi xagwa’-i lā lgu’a’si he carried the halibut toward the
woods to his wife 288.12 (djā wife; gi to; xagu halibut; l- with
hands [§14.26])
gi’tgañ i’sīn l qińgā’nsga I shall see my son also 291.1 (git child;
i’sīn also; l I; -sga future)
a-uñ at lā kiā’nañas he asked his mother 289.9 (as mother; at
with; kiā’n to question)
k!o’lañ ĭū lā da’ngi’staia’-i she had it even with her knees 291.7
( ĭū even; dañ- by pulling [§14.4]; gi- flat thing; sta- to move
away from; -l up)

§ 28
xänä’ñ l lisku’negul clean your eyes (Masset) 649.23 (xän face, eye; l imperative; l- by touching [§ 14.26])

(b) Separable possession is expressed by the pronoun ʻän’ga (Masset ʻän’a).

lwa’i di’na ʻän’ga la sqotškídä’ñañ he struck the edges of his canoe with his hands 288.4
q’al’ da’ñañ ʻän’ga la qaxu’lañ wonsu’ga he went out with his skin 289.7
  ʻän’le ‘ai gi’we ʻän’a’ l’ isdai’yan he put his fish trap into the creek (Masset) 518.15 (ʻän’le creek; ‘ai in; gi’u fish trap)
  gi’we ʻän’a l’ qeän’anan he looked at his fish trap (Masset) 518.20

§ 29. Plurality and Distribution

Plural Suffixes with Nouns

1. -lak is used principally with terms of relationship. It is also contained in the pronouns t’ala’ñ we, dalal’ñ ye.

qä’galañ uncles B 27.13 (qä’qa] uncle)
nä’tqalañ nephews B 63.24 (nä’tqga] nephew)
sqä’ngalañ aunts (sqä’nqga] aunt)
yä’galañ parents B 45.31
a’ogalañ parents B 59.1
k’wai’galañ elder brothers B 37.10

2. -djit occurs with some words indicating human beings.

’iti’a a male human being
  ita’ndjidadai male human beings
xa’ldañ slave
  xalda’ndjidadai slaves
  gi’ a servant or low caste person
  gi’djidadai low caste persons

The Distributive Suffix

3. -xa is used after numerals, connectives, and nouns.

stil’ixa two apiece (stiti two)
le’ilxa five apiece (le’i] five)
qado’xa round about (qado’ around)
dji’ixa in the neighborhood of (djin near)
tcaga’ixa around under the ocean-water (tcaga’n the ocean-water)
lk’ix’ixa about in the woods (lk’i]e’n woods)
l’ st’i’xqia’lagan he became angry B 95.3

§ 29
§ 30. Demonstrative and Interrogative Pronouns

The essential demonstrative elements are a and wa, which are often used alone; but there are also several demonstrative adverbs compounded from these, such as the following:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{a'djxia} & \text{ over here (near by)} & \text{wā'nañ} & \text{farther off!} \\
\text{wā'djxia} & \text{ over there (at some distance)} & \text{a'nís} & \text{this region, etc.} \\
\text{a'gusa} & \text{here} & \text{wa'nís} & \text{that region} \\
\text{wā'gusa} & \text{there} & \text{ā'lguí} & \text{this way} \\
\text{ā'st}, \text{aldjí'}, \text{alsi'} & \text{this thing} & \text{wa'gui} & \text{that way} \\
\end{align*}\]

Interrogative pronouns are all built upon three stems by means of suffixes. These stems are gi or gís where? gús what? and gast'ñ why? or how is it? and the two former may be related to the connectives gi and gú (§ 31). Who? appears to be formed by adding the connectives stä and hao to gi, making gi'stō (literally from where are you?).

Other variant interrogative pronouns are built upon the stems in a similar manner: gi'sqët, gi'stahao, gi'lgan, where; gú'su, gú'sqiao, what?; gast'ñò, gast'ñhao, gast'ñláo, why or how? Gús is often duplicated into gú'gus. The s which occurs throughout most of these forms very much suggests the interrogative particle (sa) in Tlingit, and is one of the features which suggest community of origin for the two languages. These interrogatives and the indefinite pronouns are also used in place of our relatives; the indefinite l in conjunction with gu (lgu) being frequently so employed.

Modifying Stems (§§ 31-33)

As already stated, this group of stems includes post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs, and interjections. They may be most conveniently classed as—

(1) Connectives
(2) Adverbs
(3) Interjections and expletives

§ 31. Connectives

These are a series of words used to bind together the various parts of a sentence and also to connect sentences, and they thus perform the functions of our prepositions and conjunctions. It is evident, from the manner in which they are employed, that they depend very closely upon the verb, and in some cases they are quite essential §§ 30, 31
portions of it. The following is a fairly complete list of the connectives:

- at or al with, of
- a thao for that reason
- aťu as soon as
- ată'ňahao as soon as
- ā'xana near
- ā'la because, for
- ală therefore
- aldji' ālă therefore
- uléd now
- ulé' dha no now
- u'nu on top of
- u'ngut on top of (motion thither)
- ū'naat at the same time as
- ū'sgièn and (connects nouns)
- ūa straight opposite
- ūha that (very general meaning)
- ha'ňhao for that reason
- dji'ngi alongside
- dji'gigi behind
- da to (Masset dialect)
- daq'ullu alongside of
- da'ňat with (close company)
- dî'tgi back toward the woods
- t'a'gi opposite
- t'a'ga on account of
- t'a'ga while
- t'a'sta towing or dragging
- sa above, up
- sū'ga among
- sū'gei above
- sūl'a after
- sta from, after
- sk'tia'xan although
- gă'wan without
- gai the or that
- ga'sta after that, from that place
- ganańũ like
- gana'xan as soon as
- gi (Masset ga) to or for
- gia'ogi at the end or edge of
- giĕn and (usually when)
- gu at, there
- gua toward

§ 31
A large number of these, it will be seen, are compounded from the simpler connectives, for example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a’thao (at + hao)} & \quad \text{sil’iga’ (sil’a i the place + ga)} \\
\text{atguš’u (at + gu + ū)} & \quad \text{ga’ist’a (gai + sta)} \\
\text{atxa’nhao (at + the adverb xan + hao)} & \quad \text{gañañaxan (gañañ’ā + xan)} \\
\text{A’la (Al + a in place of a verb or clause)} & \quad \text{gu’tgi (gut + gi)} \\
\text{Alū’ (Al + hao)} & \quad \text{gu’tga (gut + ga)} \\
\text{Al’dji’Alū (Al’dji’ this + Al + hao)} & \quad \text{gō’tqadō (gō’dā + qadō’)} \\
\text{vię’dhao (vięd + hao)} & \quad \text{ge’ist’a (gei + sta)} \\
\text{ha’ohao (hao + hao)} & \quad \text{qa’odi hao (qa’odi + hao)} \\
\text{di’tgi (di’dā + gi)} & \quad \text{qāligu’t (qā’li + gut)} \\
\text{si’agei (sa + gei)} & \quad \text{qalige’i (qā’li + gei)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Still other connectives are evidently compound, although one of the elements may be rarely or not at all used alone. Thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ā’xana} & \text{ perhaps contains the demonstrative a and the adverb xan} \\
\text{u’ngu} & \text{ is evidently compounded of a connective un, not used independently, and gu} \\
\text{u’ngut} & \text{ is compounded of un and gut} \\
\text{inaat} & \text{ contains at} \\
\text{v’giēn} & \text{ contains giēn} \\
\text{di’ngi} & \text{ contains gi} \\
\text{di’qigui} & \text{ contains gui and probably gi} \\
\text{daqulū} & \text{ contains lū} \\
\text{da’ñat} & \text{ contains at} \\
\text{tla’gi} & \text{ contains gi and probably a non-independent connective tla} \\
\text{tla’ga} & \text{ contains ga and tla} \\
\text{tla’lga} & \text{ contains ga} \\
\text{tle’sta} & \text{ contains sta} \\
\text{si’uga} & \text{ contains ga} \\
\text{ski’a’xan} & \text{ contains xan} \\
\text{gia’ogi} & \text{ contains gi} \\
\text{kuv’qasta} & \text{ contains sta and probably ga and kun point} \\
\text{kwa’gi} & \text{ contains gi} \\
\text{k’la’oga} & \text{ contains ga} \\
\text{ga’atga} & \text{ contains ga} \\
\text{ga’atgei} & \text{ contains gei} \\
\text{ga’nst} & \text{ contains gan and sta} \\
\text{qī’lga} & \text{ contains ga} \\
\text{q’i’u’gi} & \text{ contains gi} \\
\text{q’le’u’za} & \text{ contains the distributive suffix za} \\
\text{xē’da’wa, xē’tgu, and xē’tgi} & \text{ contain gua, gu, and gi, respectively, with a connective xēt}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 31
lā'gu contains gu and a connective lā
lā'guda contains lā and gui
lā'xa contains lā and xa
lq'xan contains xan and perhaps lā and gi

Still another non-independent connective seems to be used with the reflexive suffix in qī'na̱n for themselves. Gā'wan in the above list is simply the past tense of the verb gao to be wanting, and go'da is the word for buttocks. Gua and gui are probably compounded of qa and gei or gi respectively, with gu; and gut is perhaps from gu and at, or else the suffix indicating motion (see below). Qā'li insides, and xč'li in the mouth of, are also used as nouns, meaning the insides of a man or animal, or a sound (body of water), and the inside of the mouth, respectively. Gañā'ũ is perhaps simply the continuative verbal suffix duplicated.

Leaving out these affixes, therefore, along with a few others which occur rarely, it seems as if the following list represented the stems of the original connectives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>at or al</th>
<th>su</th>
<th>gan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uiod</td>
<td>stã</td>
<td>gei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un</td>
<td>gai</td>
<td>qa'odi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>gu</td>
<td>q'ol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hao</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>qleu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏ'in or dji</td>
<td>giën</td>
<td>xet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>gia</td>
<td>lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏ'it</td>
<td>k'ia</td>
<td>lga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'la</td>
<td>qa</td>
<td>lā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'âl</td>
<td>qãat</td>
<td>ìgot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>gadǭ'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-t is suffixed to connectives to indicate motion of an object in the situation specified by the connective.

si'geit la xč'ilgaldaš he flew about above (sige above; -it in that place; xčit to fly; lgal moving about; -da to cause)

gam l' nā'dalani da Ĭsti'n l! dō'ān gañā'ũ l' k!otā'lan sile't after he died, they did not call his nephews (Masset) (gam not; nāda nephew; -lan plural; da [?]; Ĭsti'n also; dō to go and get; -an negation; -gan continuative; -an past inexperienced; k!otāl stem to die; -an past inexperienced; sile after; a stands for dō'ān-gañā'ũ)

L! xčit' l! Ĭsteïdanı̱ they put these before them (xčit before; Ĭste stem [?]; -id inchoative [?]; -an past inexperienced; -t perfect)

"nle džinē't alongside of the stream (they went) (Masset) ("nle fresh water or stream; Ĭ the; džin along by)
§ 32. Adverbs

The position which adverbs take in the sentence, and their use in general, connect them closely with connectives. Both are subordinated to the verb in the same way, and the only difference lies in the fact that an adverb does not refer to a substantival modifier of the verb so directly as does a connective. The fact that adverbial modifiers sometimes do refer to such a substantive (ila', sa, etc.) shows how close the relationship is. The simpler adverbs are the following:

\[ t'si{n} \text{ (Masset } t'sin) \text{ again, also} \quad d'i da \text{ landward} \]
\[ ila' \text{ differently} \quad q!a'da \text{ seaward} \]
\[ yen \text{ truly} \quad sa \text{ up, above} \]
\[ ye'nk!i{n} \text{ very much} \quad si'na{n} \text{ sniffling} \]
\[ haw'i'dan \text{ quickly} \quad gua \text{ (interrogation)} \]
\[ harmi\'n \text{ instead} \quad gam \text{ not} \]
\[ han \text{ (Masset } hin) \text{ like, as follows} \quad xan \text{ (Masset } han) \text{ still, yet} \]
\[ halgunan \text{ closer} \quad xan\!gia{n} \text{ answering, in reply} \]
\[ hit!aq'a'n \text{ (Masset } hit!a'n) \text{ then} \quad lan \text{ complete, ended} \]
\[ hi\!na'n \text{ only} \quad l!a \text{ however} \]
\[ lana'n \text{ a little} \]

A second set of adverbs is formed by means of xan, which has very much the force and function of the English adverbial ending -LY. Such are:

\[ wa'la\!nzan \text{ really} \]
\[ ha'oxan \text{ still} \]
\[ de'ixan \text{ carefully} \]
\[ ku'nxan \text{ still more} \]
\[ kia'xan \text{ outside} \]
\[ l\!gua'ni\!xan \text{ aimlessly, traveling at random} \]

Many ideas expressed in English by adverbs are rendered in Haida by a noun, or its equivalent, and connective:

\[ q!a'g\!u'i \text{ northward or to the north} \]
\[ djazui' \text{ seaward, toward the mouth of the inlet} \]
\[ gaiq\!ui' \text{ up-inletward, or toward the head of the inlet} \]
\[ tadjxua' \text{ toward the rear of the house} \]
\[ kia'g\!ua \text{ toward the door of the house} \]
\[ s\!go'lagi \text{ to the right} \]
\[ sl\!a'angi \text{ to the left or leftward} \]
§ 33. Interjections

The following is a list of interjections, or words of interj ectional nature:

a-i ah! or oh my!
āya no!
ā'digua just hear! (an angry exclamation used by old people)
aña yes!
ī don't!
ī (disgust) dirty! etc.
it'ei'ei indeed! or is that so? or why! don't you know?
wa or lengthened into wā-ā-ā pretty, nice!
yā'ya a feminine exclamation of terror
yūla'dal an exclamation used by the Ninstints people when they hear news, regardless of its quality
hai now!
hawi't quick!
hā'maya horrors! (a very strong expression)
hadjadā'a alas!
ha'ku now!
hala' come! The Ninstints sometimes use ti'n instead of this.
hūk or lengthened into hū'kukukuk look out! also the cry raised when rushing on an enemy. It always indicates danger.
djā say! well!
t'aganē' lo! surprising!
gā'o ano or gō'ano no!
gū'gus t'aganē' wonderful! or surprising!
khâwai pray! wait! hold on!
q'a pretty or nice (a Kaigani exclamation particularly)
qi'a la idjā'zan an obsolete expression, used only by chiefs, and indicative of intense anger
ña here! say!
lan or ha'oslan enough! stop! (identical with the adverb lan)
1!na would that!

§ 34. Syntax

The verb almost always stands at the end of the sentence or clause; but where the speaker wishes to supplement some thought to what he has just said, he may do so by introducing the essential part of it, and adding a, which stands for the verb and modifiers just given.

wagañā'zan la ḥsda'yagan nañ djā'adas a she did it that way, the woman (did it that way) (wagañā'zan that way [−wa + gaña'n + xan]); ḥsda stem; −ya perfect; −agan past inexperienced; nañ the [with −s]; djā'da woman; a for ḥsda'yagan)

§§ 33, 34
Ḻ' qā'idāgan tādā'oaqai st'iga a she started off, while those who were after salmon were away (she started) (qā to go; -id inchoative; -gan past inexperienced; tādā'oaqai they were after salmon; st'iga while [literally, in the place]; a for qā'idāgan)

Ḻ' qal'ixa'yagan tā'ñai djin'gi a she came out of the woods, near the sea-water (she came out) (qal stem; -l'ixa toward; -ya perfect; -agan past inexperienced; tā'ñai the sea; djin near; gi at; a for qal'ixa'yagan)

La gan ḻ! a'xanaqiq'lagani la łyga da'ogai a they came near her, those that came after her (came near her) (gan for; a'xana stem to come near; -giāl to come to be; -agan past inexperienced; -i perfect; ływ a after; dao to come to get; gai the or those; a for a'xanaqiq'lagani)

Occasionally a is omitted.

giēn ḻa qā'itqā'isqūtaliqsin łygu lā'na ēsīn and he threw it up hard into the air, the sun also (giēn and; qā'it hard or quickly; qū classifier; sqūt stem; -l up; -asi participle; sīn sun; łygu indeed; lā'na that one; ēsīn also)

gai'īluhao ḻ! laga'yañ wansū'ga gā'lai lā'algē'itši ły at that time they went off in a crowd, at the end of ten days (literally, nights) (gai'īluhao at that time; laga stem [1]; -ya perfect; -an continuative; wansū'ga quotative; gāl night; ai the; lā'al ten; ge'it to become; -si participle; ły when)

When the subject and object of the verb are nouns, the former precedes; when they are pronouns, the order is reversed. A third pronominal object is followed by one of the connectives, and is placed before the other personal pronouns. When nouns and pronouns are both used as subjects or objects, the pronouns usually stand nearest to the verb, and exceptions to this are usually for emphasis:

lan dañ l qī'inga I cease to see thee 31.5 (lan to stop; dañ thee; l I; qīn to see; -ga declarative or auxiliary [1])

la t'sin la'ga qā'gas he, too, went to him (t'sin too; qa to; qā stem to go; -ga auxiliary; -s participle)

dals'ñ l!a l! ta'lgi là'gasga you, however, will be better than the others (dals'ñ you [pl.]; l!a however; ta'lgi more than; là good; -ga auxiliary; -sga future)

I have noted above, that a connective depending upon a verb may stand at the very beginning of the sentence, the noun to which it refers being either understood or expressed in the preceding clause.

Adjectives, connectives, and possessives used like connectives, always follow the nouns to which they refer. When several adjec-
tives depend upon one noun, they are apt to occur in an order exactly the reverse of that observed in English:

\[ \text{gō'djai tīl xā'tāju the wolf, wet, small (the small wet wolf)} \]
\[ \text{gī'na gō'qal sələ'rā'djū a thing, blue, slim (a slim blue thing)} \]

Subordinate clauses almost always precede those on which they depend, though occasionally they may be inserted into the major clause itself:

\[ l'̂ ità'xui xū'adji l' tia'gan la gān gūdā' nagan his friends (that) a grizzly bear killed him thought about him (his friends thought a grizzly bear had killed him) (ità'xui friends or clansmen; xū'adji grizzly bear; tia stem to kill; -agan past inexperienced; gān for [here about]; gūdā'na stem to think; -gan past inexperienced) \]

In the Masset dialect the subordinate clause usually ends in -s (§ 25.7) and is followed by giën, ṣu, or some other connective. This is also found in the Skidegate dialect; but more often the subordinate clause ends in gai. Masset sentences are usually introduced by wa'giën; and Skidegate sentences, by giën'hao, wa'giën'hao, ṣū'hao, etc. It is often more convenient, however, to regard the sentence they introduce as a clause coordinate with that which precedes. This uncertainty always renders it difficult to divide Haida discourse into sentences.

**VOCABULARY (§§ 35-39)**

**§ 35. General Remarks**

Haida stems may be most conveniently divided into two classes—principal stems and modifying stems. The former class includes those which we should call in English, verbs, adjectives, nouns, and pronouns; the latter, post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs, and interjections.

**§ 36. Verb-Stems**

The greater number of these consist of one syllable, and, in many cases where more than one occur, it seems probable that they are really compound. The following list includes all of those most commonly employed, along with a few rarely found. They are arranged in the following order: (1) stems consisting of a single vowel; (2) those of a single consonant; (3) a consonant and following vowel or vowel-combination; (4) two consonants; (5) two consonants and §§ 35, 36
following vowel; (6) a consonant, vowel, and consonant; (7) two consonants, a vowel, and a consonant; (8) stems of two syllables.

1. ù to remain in one place or to sit
2. z to touch
3. wa to do or make
dju to be of a certain sort or kind
 dao to go and get
tai to lie
tia to kill (one person)
su to say
gao to be absent or wanting
gia to stand
guē to come
kwa to strike
kiu to tie
k?wi to mention
xia to follow
xiao to hang up
go to lie
go(xa) to burn
qa to go (one person)
gē to give birth
qia to sit (usually followed by auxiliary ù)
qila to sleep
qila to laugh
qilol to hide or secrete from the eyes
xao to fish
liù to sit (plural)
4. sL a stem of very general application, meaning to place in a certain direction
5. sta to remove from a certain place
stī to be sick, angry, sad
qī to swim
lxu to creep
lida to kill (many people)
hta to spit
6. nan to grind or rub
 nial or nil to drink
 gīn to go by sea
 kīn to ask
 kīn to make a noise, as a bird
kīel to be extinguished
xīl to howl
xī to fly
xī to pick up
 gāt to run, to act quickly
getl to become
get to be like
xut to drink
xoad to steam
xon falling of a heavy object, like a tree
sil to borrow
līn to start anything
līl to surround
7. stil to return
skit to move so as to result in contact
 skit to club
skin to wake up
sguil to weep
sgol to hide
lyal and lyul to move around
8. āba to chew up food, for a child
īdī or is to be
hailu to destroy
djapat to sink suddenly
daga to own
qīdī to seize
qisu to wipe
kīōtal to be dead
qāxa to be weak
qolpa to make
qaido to go to war
lānō to swear

§ 36
Adjectives may always be used as verb-stems and so belong to this category. The following are the principal:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{āda} & \text{ different} & \text{gōt} & \text{ last; also a noun meaning buttocks} \\
\text{yaku} & \text{ middle} & \text{goan} & \text{ much} \\
\text{yū'ān} & \text{ big (incorporated yū)} & \text{gō'na} & \text{ great, mighty} \\
\text{talqū} & \text{ half} & \text{lā} & \text{ good} \\
\text{tēlē} & \text{ wet} & \text{lqat} & \text{ black} \\
\text{sēt} & \text{ red} & \text{gō'ngal} & \text{ blue} \\
\text{nao(da)} & \text{ many} & \text{gā'da} & \text{ white} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Nouns like the following may also be used as the stems of verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yā'na} & \text{ clouds} & \text{gida} & \text{ chief's son} \\
\text{tēlā'ano} & \text{ fire or firewood} & \text{tā'ǖ} & \text{ sea-water} \\
\text{na} & \text{ house} \\
\end{align*}
\]

More often the noun is followed by an auxiliary, and these auxiliaries are used after verb-stems as well, though a few of them may occur as entirely independent stems (see § 18).

§ 37. Numerals

The numeral system has become decimal since the advent of the whites, and the word HUNDRED has replaced the original expression that covered that figure; but the old blanket-count ran as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \text{ sgoā'nsiñ} \\
2 & \text{ stiñ} \\
3 & \text{ lgu'nul} \\
4 & \text{ sta'nsiñ} \\
5 & \text{ lē'til} \\
6 & \text{ lqat'nul} \\
7 & \text{ dįguagą' } \\
8 & \text{ sta'nsa'nxa} \\
9 & \text{ lālī'ŋgisgoansi'ŋgo} \\
10 & \text{ lā'al} \\
11 & \text{ lā'āl wai'gī sgoa'nsiñ} \\
12 & \text{ lā'āl wai'gī stiñ} \\
20 & \text{ la'guat sgoa'nsiñ} \\
30 & \text{ la'guat sgoansi'ŋgo wai'gī lā'al} \\
40 & \text{ la'guat stiñ} \\
50 & \text{ la'guat stiñ wai'gī lā'al} \\
60 & \text{ la'guat lgu'nul} \\
100 & \text{ la'guat lē'til} \\
200 & \text{ la'guat lā'al} \\
300 & \text{ la'guat lā'al wai'gī la'guat lē'til} \\
400 & \text{ la'guat lā'ālē stiñ} \\
1000 & \text{ la'guat lā'ālē lē'til} \\
2000 & \text{ la'guat lā'ālē lā'al} \\
\text{etc.} \\
\end{align*}
\]
It will be seen that the term for four is derived from that for two; the term for six, from the term for three; the term for eight, from the terms for four and two; and the term for ten, from that for five; while nine is simply ten minus one.

§ 38. Nominal Stems

Following is a list of the simpler nominal stems, arranged in the same order as the verbal stems given above. Since stems of two syllables with a weak final vowel differ slightly from those of one syllable, I have given them before other two-syllable stems:

1. ao mother
2. ál paddle
3. tcïa place
tcïüm cedar
sû lake
na house
gwai island
kïiu trail
xâi sunshine
qai blood
qa uncle
qîla harpoon
qîla north
kïão salmon eggs
xao juice
zu canoe
lai cranberries

5. stïa foot
stïao wizard
skü back
lga land
lga rock

6. dïat woman
tcïi teeth
tï/s rock, ledge
djïl bait
siî place
sîn day or sky
gït son
kun point
kïial leg
gâl night
qaiit tree
qoën moon
qîlás pitch
qîłan grass
qîlän hemlock
qîlal clay
qîlal swamp
xât woman's father, also grave-post
xânî face
xêl neck
xêl hole
lên certain Tsimshian songs
lîn root

7. sqot armpit
lqan male cousin
qanî fresh water

8. tâ'ña sea-water
sqâ'na supernatural being
kîa'ida tray
kîa'ida star
qî'na something
kî'ga meat, flesh
kî'ida beak
qî'da buttocks
qo'da box
qâ'dî head
qâ'la or qâ'l reef
qo'na father-in-law and son-in-law
xa'ida human beings
lâ'na town
lxadjî middle of top of head

§ 38
Some of these last are undoubtedly compound. Thus gū'dān, kłons'ū, and gū'dān seem to have the continuative ending (ān); lā'na is probably compounded from na house, and perhaps la he or his; dā'gal probably contains gal night; i'lgas and gū'da chief's son (a gi'da being so high that he was practically certain to be a chief himself); while k't'qua probably has the possessive suffix. Other nouns which are certainly compound are: st'ūlx evening (śiū day or daylight-sky); ku'ngida corner (perhaps from kun point); ql'a'ixida woman's cloak; ga'ndjīlga'gi dancing-blanket; x̣a'tgi dancing-leggings; qa'ixāt ashes; qaqwā'tūqē cradle; ts'ūngqan ocean. The two last probably contain the verbal suffix goūn about, around, and the last seems to be compounded of this and tā'na sea-water. The word for salt, tān qlā'ga, means simply dried sea-water. The word for beans and peas is xō'ya-lūga raven's canoe, and refers to one of Raven's adventures. Rice is called t'nīn-tełīn ENGLISH TEETH. Gāxa child seems to be derived from the stem of the verb meaning weak.

A study of animal names is usually interesting; but in Haida most of the names of land and sea animals, along with those of the most common birds and fishes, are simple, and yield nothing to investigation. Such are the following:

tcīn salmon (general term)  tāl loon
tcīlīn beaver  tītn robin
tāi silver-salmon  sī'ga snake
tān black-bear  stla'u screech-owl

§ 38
sqao grouse and big variety of clam
gōt eagle
gq̓ai sea-lion
sqol porpoise
qō sea-otter
sq̓e̓n gull
xa dog
sq̓u land-otter
xā'gu halibut
nao devil-fish
xo'ya raven
k̓iu clam
xot hair-seal
k̓lāt deer
lga weasel
k̓lāl sculpin
lk'ia saw-bill
k̓l̓a's'nu mouse
lk'go heron
kun whale

The word for beaver seems to be the same as that for teeth, from which it may have been derived. Most of the other animal, bird, and insect names are evidently derived from descriptive terms. Such are the following:
yə'nunga spider
dj̓a'gulda'xu'ñ fly; also snipe
dji'gul-a'oga shrew (probably literally, fern-mother)
dj̓id'a'ñ humpback-salmon
dog̓a'tlxaga'ña chicken-hawk
tə'í'ñə steelhead-salmon
tə'gun spring-salmon
taxe't small salmon found on the Queen Charlotte islands
tə'lat trout
tə'lat-ga'dala swallow
ti'lq̓un swan
sīxsidas'lgə'ña small bird
stak'sul'x fish-hawk
stāq'lä'dj̓itga' brant
sk̓a'q' dog-salmon
sk̓āq'ia' swamp-robin
sq̓as'm star-fish
sl̓u'dj̓a'gada'ñ red-headed woodpecker
k̓alq̓aš'aga'ñ butterfly, grasshopper
ku'nagu'ñ (Masset sl̓aqa'm) sand-flea
kł̓a'dj̓ida crow
qadji'ñq̓a'alq̓e'ksl̓e green-headed duck
q̓ōtq̓adaga's'm̓lg̓ul bat
q̓otq̓alū' sparrow
q̓la'isq̓ut butter-ball
q̓l̓ōyə'ñ mouse
l̓q̓q̓u'ñ goose
lk̓l̓e'ñq̓l̓q̓eštan frog (lk̓l̓e'ñ forest; q̓l̓q̓eštan' crab)
tə'xt-ga'dala fast trout

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Another set of names appears to be onomatopoetic either in fact or in idea:

- hi'xodada or i'a'xodada grebe
- wit salmon-berry bird
- mä'mate!ëgt dragon-fly
- dį'djį't small hawk
- dį'tdįtga'ga small bird
- tca'tc'ia song-sparrow
- da'tc'ti wren

I know of but two story-names of animals, k!ü'xug'ìg'ìts martens (instead of k!ü'xu) and sqo'lıg'ìg'ìts porpoises (instead of sqol); but it is possible that the same suffixes may have occurred after other animal-names as well. gi'na means something, and gi't son; but whether those are the words included in the suffix is uncertain.

Several animal-names are almost identical with those found in Tlingit:

tc!tqga skate
 tc!sqg* moose
tc'olg' ground-squirrel
 nā'gadjè fox
 nūsq wolverene
 k!ü'xu martens

gčdji wolf
g!ā'zada dog-fish
g!ō'ran fur-seal
xā'adjit grizzly-bear
laguā'dji sea-bird

Igo heron, and k!lua'n (Keene’s) mouse, also resemble the Tlingit terms; and the Tlingit word for raven, yēl, is the same as that used by the Masset Haida. This similarity between the two vocabularies extends to a few words other than names of animals, of which the following are the principal:

- yage't or ya'te't chief’s son
- higayē'dji iron
- gaodja'o drum
- gu'lqa abalone

Nā'gadjè fox is also found in Tsimshian, and the following names are also from that language:

- a'odà porcupine
- mat mountain-goat
- skii'msm blue-hawk
- gu'tgunis horned owl

Names of implements and various utensils are formed from verbs by means of a noun-forming suffix o (u):

- sgunxola'o perfume (from sgun, skün to smell)
- sīlanad'nu soap (from sīl'a hand; nañ to play)
- nidjā'ñu mask (from nidjā'ñ to imitate)
- kī'taotao spear handle (from kīt to spear)

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Of a similar character are the following, although their derivation is not clear:

- daqu’nlaqo matches
- kisqalá’ño poker
- xa’lqagja’o tin pan
- qa’adja’ño rattles
- q’lāsqudjao lamp
- lqalda’o baking-powder
- l’ño milk

Probably the Masset word for food, tao, should be added to this list. The Skidegate word for food is formed in a peculiar way—by prefixing the plural indefinite pronoun ga to the stem of the verb eat (ga ta food).

Proper names are often formed from nouns or descriptive terms by means of the suffix s, already referred to. The following are examples:

- D’am’ilndjaos a man named Devil-club (d’am’ilndjao devil-club)
- Gao qons the name of an inlet (gao qon mighty inlet)
- Q’ets name for the Kaigani country (q’ets narrow strait)
- Gu’lgaq a man named Abalone (gu’lgaq abalone)
- Na’ñk’lala the Person-who-accomplished-things-by-his-word; that is, the Creator, Raven (na’ñ k’lala a person who accomplishes things by his word)
- Qai al lā’nas a family called the people of Qai (Qai al lā’na a man of the town of Qai)
- Na’ñ-st’ns The-one-who-is-(equal-to)-two (na’ñ one person; st’ns two)
- Na q’lā’las a family called Clay-house People (na q’lā’la a clayey house)
- Tc’a’n lā’nas Mud-town

This, however, is not essential to the formation of proper names, as the following examples will show:

- Xō’ya ga’nla Raven creek
- Qa’itqogaoq Inlet-from-which-the-trees-have-been-swept-away (a camp between Kaisun and Tc’a’at)
- Ḵa’tqaln xa’idagai Far People (the Kwakiutl)
- Gi’da’nsta From-his-daughter (name of a chief)
- Tc’a’nja al q’ola’i Master-of-the-Fire (name of a chief)
- Sq’na yū’an Great Supernatural Power (name of a chief)
- Qena-qa’is People Floating-heavy-in-his-canoe (name of a chief)

The following nouns are nothing more than verb-stems:

- wā’qal potlatch
- st’è sickness
- gū’su’ speech
- k’l’da dead body
- xi’l dance
- e’da shame (Masset)

As already noted, there are a few other stems difficult to classify as absolutely nominal or verbal; such as na house, xa’ida person.

§ 38
§ 39. Plural Stems

By substitution of one stem for another, plurality is sometimes indicated in the verb itself; but a close examination shows that this phenomenon is not as common as at first appears. A large number of plural stems of this kind prove to be nothing more than adjectives with the plural suffix -dala or -da, and still others really have the same stem in the singular and plural; but the Haida mind requires some additional affix in one number to satisfy its conception fully. In the other cases there seems to be an alteration in idea from the Haida point of view, such as would impel in all languages the choice of a different verb. The only verbs which show conspicuous changes in stem in the plural are the following four:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qa</td>
<td>is, dal, or isdal</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q!ao</td>
<td>l!ü</td>
<td>to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xit</td>
<td>ŋa(lgäl)</td>
<td>to fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tia</td>
<td>l!da</td>
<td>to kill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first three cases the plurality refers to the subject; in the last case, to the object.

The plural of adjectives expressing shape and size is expressed by the syllables -dala and -da. These may be plural equivalents of the stem dju.

- t!a'gao k!a'mdala fine snow (k!a'mdju a small or fine object)
- që'gu yü'dala big buckets (yü'an big)
- 'a x!a'dala small children (x!a'dju small thing) (Masset)

-da is sometimes used instead of the preceding.

- yu!a'nda big things (yu'an big)
- dji'nda long things (dji'n long)

§39
HAIDA TEXT (SKIDE GATE DIALECT)

A RAID ON THE BELLA COOLA BY THE PEOPLE OF NINSTINTS AND KAISUN

Qa’isun gu Ga’ixüt xa’idagai⁴ Lū gusta’nsin⁵ gu gada’n³ Kaisun at Ninstints people canoes four at in company with themselves

L! qa’idoxalga’n⁴ Lū’ixlaxagan⁵ Gié’nhaø⁶ Lū gusta’nsin⁵ gu they to ask to go to fight came by canoe. And then canoes four at,

tla’ogaga⁷ L! i’djinì⁸ Ga’ilsuhaø⁹ L! Lūda’ogani¹⁰ sta Liligimf¹¹ together they went At that time they went across after Bentinck arm (lit., were),

gex L! Lūssd’itcigan.¹² Gié’nhaø ga’ltxa¹³ tla’odjiga’i¹⁴ Lā’xa¹⁵ into they went in by canoe. And then during the the fort opposite night

L! Lūssd’itcigan. Gié’nhaø slisin¹⁶ ga ga naxanda’yagan¹⁷ they went in by canoe. And then the inlet in some had been camping

xa’ingusta¹⁸ L! te’itxi’idanî.¹⁹ Gū’haø²⁰ Amai’kuns klo’dageidan.²¹ from in front them started to fire on. Right there Amalikuns was killed.

Gay’ns i’sin L! te’il.⁰’dagan.²² Qoya i’sin L! te’il.⁰’dagan. Floating too they wounded. Beloved too they wounded.

La’haø²³ L! sūga sqa’djigan. Ga’igu²⁴ ga stīn L! He them among was a brave man. There some two they

¹ Ga’isut was the name of a cape close to the southern end of the Queen Charlotte islands, though, according to Dr. C. F. Newcombe, it is not identical with the Cape St. James of the charts. The Haida on this part of the islands received their name from it. -saf is the connective.
² ga- prefix indicating shape; stla’nsaf four.
³ ga’idoxalga’n around the possessive suffix -a (§ 23.4) (literally, around themselves).
⁴ qa’idox to go to war; -ažl the auxiliary to ask (§ 18.7); -gad the continuative suffix (§ 24.1).
⁵ Lū canoe, and so motion by canoe; ls stem of verb to be; -lūs motion toward any object mentioned (§ 22.10); -gad suffix indicating past event experienced by the person speaking (§ 23.1).
⁶ giën and + hao.
⁷ -saf is the suffix denoting intimate possession (§ 23.4).
⁸ Although, the story-teller himself went along, he speaks of his party in the third person throughout much of the narrative. -is is the same suffix as -gas, spoken of above (§ 23.1). The -is a suffix of doubtful significance, probably giving a very vague impression of the completion of an action (§ 25.6).
⁹ giën and + hao.
¹⁰ Lū- by canoe; dso stem; -gas past-temporal suffix experienced (§ 23.1); -saf see note 8.
¹¹ Lūigimf is applied to interior Indians generally by the Bella Bella at the mouth of Bentinck arm and Dean canal.
¹² Lū- by canoe; ls stem; dūl several going; -dē time motion into a shut-in place, such as a harbor or inlet (§ 22.1); -gas temporal suffix (§ 23.1).
¹³ Lūl night; pi’u (pi’ia) toward, without motion, and thus derivatively during (§ 31).
¹⁴ Lūl in the neighborhood of or opposite something on shore; -saf distributive suffix (§ 29.3).
¹⁵ Lūl.is means anything that is well back, such as the rear row of several lines of houses, and thus it is applied to an inlet running back into the land.
¹⁶ Lū to live, temporarily or permanently; -gas the continuative suffix (§ 24.1); -gas auxiliary indicating cause (§ 18.2); -gas perfect time (§ 23.7); -gas past-experienced-temporal suffix (§ 23.1).
¹⁷ Lūl face; ga at or there; ata from (§ 31).
¹⁸ -gad to shoot with guns; -gad the inchoative auxiliary (§ 18.6); -gas the past-experienced-temporal suffix, which drops g after d; -saf as above.
¹⁹ Lūl at or there + hao.
²⁰ klo’də dead body; -gad to be in that condition; -gas temporal suffix.
Ga'ista 23 L! Lüfäx̌itgoæ'gani. 24 Giën Li! enskai. After that they started out. And them
ku'nästa 25 ga qąlt'a'gängan 26 ga xütgüligi'gani 27 ga'itsagangan. 28 before those first some coming sailing went out to.
Dijigwa'i 29 sqa'stín 30 WA gu 31 qa'da'ogagani. 32 Sta ñu'a q'äl Guns two it was the noise of. After the empty
ward canoe
xütgüli'da'gani 33 giën ga dij'a'da stín xältä'ngadagangan. 34 drifted along and some women two were enskai.
Giën ga'nssta 35 L! Lüüs!xän'gani 36 giën wa gu tag'i'di'jigitai 37 And to they came and it at persons captured
at Lga sqü'ngi 38 aga'n! L! xañalxängan! 39 xän 39 L! qa'daga nañ with land close to them they rejoiced that having while them near a
selves
kundju'gani 40 ga'do' ga xütgü'djí-li'xagai 41 la gei që'exagai 42 lu point was around some came sailing them (into) saw when
qla'i!t'a'gani. 43 Gië'nhaqo go'taga 44 L! daot'a'lgani. 45 Gië'nhaqo jumped. And then after (them) they landed. And then
aga'n! L! gołgagin' 46 qa'diqhaq 47 L! qat'a'lgani. 48 Gië'nhaqo qa'yawai 49 self I prepared after a while I got off. And then the sea
La'xa nañ Lxienta'ls! 49 la xi'txi'dan! 50 Lk!i'nxet! 51 la l xütgüi'dal near one was running I started to pursue. About in the him I chased about woods

23te'i- instrumental prefix meaning by shooting (§ 14.2); L/da stem of verb to kill when used with plural objects, probably used here because two are in close connection (§ 39).
24gai the + sla from, both being connectives.
25Lü- by canoe; is stem; -da contraction of -dal (§ 14.5); -li to begin to (§ 18.6); -go motion out of doors (§ 22.2).
26Probably means literally from a point (hun point; ga in; sla from).
27ga to go; -li (probably originally contracted from -fit) to start (§ 18.6); -lapa? first, first time (§ 21.3).
28te'i- instrumental prefix meaning with the wind (§ 14.19); -pá motion with the wind (§ 14.2); -gë motion seaward (§ 22.8).
29dij'ga + gai, the g being dropped after u.
30aq/la- classifier indicating objects like sticks (§ 15.11).
31wa demonstrative pronoun + gu at.
32ga probably auxiliary meaning to be.
33te'i- with the wind (§ 14.19); -pá motion on the sea; -dal, auxiliary indicating motion (§ 14.5).
34lapa? slave; -ga perfect time (§ 23.7).
35Probably from pán for + sla from, the idea being motion from a certain place with a definite object in view, and thus to something else.
36Lü- by canoe; is stem; -lixa motion toward; -pan temporal suffix.
37li- a noun-forming prefix; pl'djí stem of verb to seize.
38ga the connective meaning to or for.
39aga'á the reflexive pronoun; L! nominal subject; xatál to rejoice; -qá on the sea; -pan - go the the continuative; -di index indicating that the action is held suspended in a certain position pending some further developments; xan the adverb still or yet.
40kun point; dijí sort of thing; -pan past-experienced-temporal suffix.
41ga plural indefinite pronoun; xitl- motion by means of the wind; xitlí to seize or carry along, seized; -lix- motion toward; gai the of those.
42që'za to see; gai connective turning the verb into an infinitive.
43li'õal motion downward; -pan temporal suffix.
44që is evidently from që'da or që posterior, and secondarily afterwards; -lapa? is the same as -lapa.
45qa'da is probably the stem to go and get; -li'õal motion downward, out of the canoe.
46aga'á the reflexive pronoun; l subjective pronoun of the first person singular; l- to accomplish by touching with the hands; pëlopa stem of verb meaning to make; -që upon the ocean; qa'diqha the connective before which a verb loses its temporal suffix, and which is itself compounded of qa'odí + hao.
47ga singular stem to mean; -li'õal motion downward.
48që'da? sea + (ga) the connective.
49L- shape of a human being; dal auxiliary; -at the infinitive suffix.
50di. This stem is perhaps identical with the stem meaning to fly, and so indicates rapid motion; -që to begin to do; -lan the past-experienced-temporal suffix.
51li'õal woods; -za distributive suffix; -at motion in that place.
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qa’odiñaho 58 ga’yawai gei la gă’tgigani.53 Giën l’ qa’dji 54 da’ñat 55 l’
after a while the sea into he jumped. And his hair with his
a’xinas 56 la’ sta la gilgigani.57 Giën qa’d’a l’ l’tcîll’xaga’n 58
yellow cedar him from I took. And toward he came up
bark blanket

giën di xapa’ga 59 la llaqgîl’dâ’ngan.60 Giën’nhao di ga la
and my face he held up his hands at. And then me to he
Lgigilgan.61 Di gan l’ a’xanagealga’li 62 lu 63 fisîn l’ ga’igigan 64
swam shoreward. Me for he came to be near when again he dove
qi’a’d’a l’ l’djîll’xagan 64 giën la gi’ 65 l’te’ndjû’xt’dân.66 Giën l’
and seaward he came to the surface and him at I began to shoot. And he
Lgigilgan giën nañ stala’ xa’ngi 67 aga’n la gidjîgîl’dal’skî’dân.68
swam landward and a cliff on the face himself he held tight against.
Ga’digu fisîn la la te’ngastia’ngi 69 lu 70 lan la la gë’t’dagani.70
There too him I shot twice when ended him I caused to become.
Giën’nhao stala’xa’ngi qalt 71 giaga’ngagani 72 gut la qaxia’lgan.73
And then the cliff on the face tree was standing upon he climbed up.
Giën l’ qa’dji stala’i sta dij’ñaganî.74 Sklîx’xan 75 wa’gui 76 la
And its top the cliff from was some distance. But still toward it he
t’askitga’ngandi 77 qa’odi stala’i xa’ngi aga’n la gidjîgîl’dal’gaskî’dân.78
bent it after the cliff on the himself he got hold of.

Giën gu ga xe’l’gan 79 gei la qa’tcîll’gan.80 Gam sta l’gut 81 xe’tgi 82
And therein was a hole into he went in. Not from either downward

53 gi = stem above referred to (50); -isn probably the continuative -gai; -dâl the auxiliary.
54 qa’di = move rapidly; -gi motion down into the water; -gâñ temporal suffix.
55 qa’d = is used both for hair and for head.
56 da’ñat contains the connective at. It means very much the same thing as at, but is a stronger form.
57 -ad = the contracted form of ga’i.
58 -ad = classifier indicating shape of blanket; -adl motion landward.
59 -a ñ = shape of human being; -la motion toward.
60 di = objective personal pronoun of the first person, used as the possessive; -añ face; -as possessive suffix.
61 -adi = action with hands; -di toward the land; -dat auxiliary to cause; -as continuative suffix.
62 -a = shape of man; -gi swimming on water; -gìl motion landward.
63 la = the near, is also used independently as a connective; -si the auxiliary meaning to become or
to come to be; -gi the infinitive-forming connective.
64 -gâñ = floating on the water; -gâñ motion down into the water.
65 -la = human shape; -l’a motion toward.
66 la = personal pronoun of the third person singular; -gi the connective to.
67 -l’a = to shoot; -a to begin to do.
68 -xâñ face; -gi or at.
69 gidji to grasp, seize; -gi to become; -da the auxiliary to cause; -la human shape; skl’ contact,
-ñan temporal suffix.
70 -l’a = to shoot; -sa the auxiliary to be; -stid’a = stid’a two; -gi the connective.
71 La = objective pronoun of the third person singular; -la subjective pronoun of the first person singular
gei to become; -da to cause.
72 Also the word for spruce.
73 gi = to stand; -gâñ the continuative suffix.
74 ga = to go (one person); -gâñ quickly; -gì motion upward.
75 diff’a also as a connective meaning a long distance, far.
76 -xâñ = the adverb still, yet.
77 wa = the demonstrative pronoun that; -gi toward (with motion).
78 -a ñ = shape of curving tree; -añ to put; -gâñ = -gâñ the continuative suffix.
79 -gi = to seize; -gi to become; -da to cause; -ga shape assumed by a branching object, referring here,
either to the top of the tree or to the shape assumed by the man as he climbs off from it.
80 -ge = connected there, referring to the cliff which is understood; -ga connective in; -xe hole; -gâñ past-
experience-temporal suffix.
81 -sa = to go (singular); -le motion inside of something.
82 a = en indefinite pronoun or adverb; -gi the connective with or together.
83 xe = down; -gi to.
at sī’i 83 qalā’āiñai 84 gaoga’āiñanî. 85 Ga xa’ňha 86 l’ kōtulîn 87 or upward (he) could go was wanting. In right he would die
talâ’ī xuntla’agānî. 88 we said to each other.
Giè’nha gastric L! Lūśdaxîdâni. 89 Lū’ha 90 L! te’āañugadagâ 90 And then from that they started by canoe. When they had a fire
place gièn gut at L! dā’yīñxidan. 90 Gièn ga’îsta L! Ldaxidai Lū’ha 91 and each to that they started to give to eat. And from that they started by when canoe
tla’odî-gai i’šin L! xītga’âiñanî. 92 Lū’ha gu il! gëtgađā’dâni. 93 the fort too they started to fight. Then there we could not get away from.
Ga’lū’ha 94 il! gëtgađâ’gedân gièn ga’îsta il! il! gëtga’dadâ. 94 At the time we could not get away when from that us they got back in.
Gièn ná’gai 95 u’ngu 96 nañ L’uxuq’ā’ôndigan, 97 la’hao L! And the house on top of one crept around. him they
tcilîtqatla’îgân. 98 Gièn qa’îda L! ga’ilî’îñîñ 99 qa’ôdi nañ i’îña 100 made fall by shooting. And seaward they lay after a while a man
gandîjga’giada 101 l’tâ’înigia-qâ’îldada 102 Lű daŋgidî’lîxasaga 103 dancing-blanket cedar-bark rings canoe dragged down,
nañ djâ’a’îshin i’šin L’ gō’laga qâ’lîxasaga 104 gièn i’l! ga 105 a woman also him after came and to us
caxia’sagâgi 106 Gièn Ldô’gwañ gû’ga’ L’a ga kî’gulgan. 107 came out. And Ldô’gwañ therein them to talked.

82 si’ (from sa) up; gi’ to.
83 qa to go (singular); -la motion upward; -îñ potential suffix; si the connective gai, which turns this all into an infinitive.
84 ga to be wanting; -âa negative modal suffix after the adverb ga’n not which stands at the very beginning of the sentence.
85 ga in; L윤 the adverb meaning right there; hao, the connective.
86 l’=la the personal pronoun of the third person singular, subject of the verb; kî’otul to die; -îñ potential suffix.
87 tala’î subject personal pronoun of the first person plural; -a the temporal suffix.
88 te’l’ánum fire of firewood; -sî auxiliary to be; -sa auxiliary to cause; -sî temporal suffix.
89 dal to give food; -si the cumulative suffix; -sî to start to give.
90 l’l used of travel by canoe, several going together; dal to go; -si to start to go; si the connective gai.
91 -sa the cumulative suffix; -sî temporal suffix.
92 l’l the personal pronoun of the first person plural; -sîga to be unable (perhaps compounded of qet to be like or in that condition + ga to be); -sa probably the auxiliary to cause; -sî to be in that condition; -sa past-inexperienced-temporal suffix.
93 gê’tiga to be in such and such a condition; -l motion of boarding a canoe; -sa the auxiliary meaning to cause.
94 na house; gai the connective.
95 u’ngu contains na’ at, there.
96 l’uxu- by creeping; qa to go (singular); -pôa rather aimless motion on land; -di presents the action as just taking place; -sî temporal suffix.
97 hao is a connective placed after la for emphasis; te’l’-by shooting; qa motion; -sî motion downward.
98 gai floating; -pî on the sea; qa’ôdi the connective before which temporal suffixes are dropped.
99 qa’m a male being.
100 ga’dîjga’gi dancing-blanket; -sa the auxiliary meaning to cause, and here to have been put on by somebody else.
101 l’ta’înigia the ring itself; qa i’l alder; -sa the auxiliary to cause, the whole evidently meaning cedar-bark ring dyed with alder or upon which alder has been placed. The last -sa means that it had been put upon this man by somebody else.
102 Lű canoe is object of following verb; -sî to accomplish by pulling; -îñ shape of canoe; dal motion; -sî motion toward; -sî motion toward the sea; -sî temporal suffix.
103 qa motion of one person; -l’sî motion toward; -sî motion toward the sea; -sî temporal suffix.
104 L’l objective pronoun of first person plural; -sî connective to.
105 qa motion (singular); -sî motion toward the sea.
106 l’t- action with the voice; lqul verb-stem indicating an action lasting some time, covering considerable ground, different phases of a question, etc.
The Ninstints people came to Kaisun in four canoes to ask the people to go to war in company with them. Then they went along in four canoes. After they had crossed (to the mainland), they entered Bentinck arm. And they went in opposite the fort during the night. Then some people who had been camping in the inlet began firing from in front. There Amai'kuns was killed. They also wounded Floating. They also wounded Beloved. He was a brave man among them. There they also enslaved two persons. After that they started out. And those who started first went out to some people who were coming along under sail. The noise of two guns was heard there. Afterwards the canoe drifted away empty, and

---

The stem of this is probably tala', which is also used as an interjection.

\( \rho \) floating; -\( \rho l \) to move quickly; \( \rho l \) motion under water; -\( \rho l \) the auxiliary to wish.

\( \rho \) verb stem.

\( \rho a \) the objective personal pronoun of the third person plural; \( \rho a \) the connective from.

\( \rho a \) to go (singular); -\( \rho d \) is probably contracted from the auxiliary -\( \rho d \) to begin.

\( \rho a \) probably the suffix indicating motion straight through to the object; -\( \rho a n \) temporal suffix.

\( \rho a \) the connective the.

\( \rho a \) means the open expanse of sea; in taking the connective \( \rho a \) the final i is dropped.

The suffix -\( \rho a \) the auxiliary to the.

\( \rho a \) by canoe; \( \rho l \) stem; -\( \rho l a \) motion toward anything; -\( \rho l \) motion landward.

\( \rho a \) an adverb always used when something falls out differently from what was expected. In this case the rest of the clause, which naturally belongs with it, is omitted and its sense left to the hearer.

\( \rho a \) really, actually; is strengthened and emphasis placed upon it by the connective hao.

\( \rho a \) an adjective depending upon the preceding noun \( \rho a \) country.

\( \rho a \) the past-experienced-temporal suffix.

\( \rho a \) refers to all of the story preceding, which it connects with this sentence; \( \rho a \) an adverb depending upon \( \rho a \) da; \( \rho a \) a demonstrative referring also to the preceding story; \( \rho a \) the connective with, of, etc.
they enslaved two women. (The others) came thither, and while they lay close to the land, rejoicing over the persons captured, some people came sailing around a point in a canoe, saw them and jumped off. Then (we) landed in pursuit of them. And after I had spent some little time preparing myself, I got off. And I started to pursue one person who was running about near the sea. After I had chased him about in the woods for a while, he jumped into the ocean. And I took his hair, along with his yellow-cedar bark blanket, away from him. And he came up out at sea and held up his hands in front of my face (in token of surrender). Then he swam shoreward toward me. When he got near me, he dove again and came to the surface out at sea, and I began to shoot at him. Then he swam landward and held himself tightly against the face of a certain cliff. After I had shot at him twice there, I stopped. Then he climbed up upon a tree standing upon the face of the cliff. And although its top was some distance from the cliff, he bent it toward it, and after a while got hold of the face of the cliff. And he went into a hole in it. He could not go from it either downward or upward. We said to one another that he would die right in it.

Then they started from that place in their canoes. Then they had a fire and began to give each other food. And after they again started off, they again began fighting with the fort. Then we got into a position from which we could not get away. Then, although we could not get away at first, they finally got us into (the canoes). And a certain person crept around on top of the house. They shot him so that he fell down. And after they had lain out to sea for some time, a man wearing a dancing-blanket and cedar-bark rings dragged down a canoe and came out to us, accompanied by a woman. And those in Ldó'gwañ's canoe talked to them. Then they told the woman to come closer, and said that they should shoot the man so that he would fall into the water. Ldó'gwañ refused and started away from them. Then they fled away in terror. Their ammu-
nition was all gone. Then we also started off.

Then they started from Point-Dji'dao, and, after they had spent four nights upon the sea, they came to Cape St. James. After they had traveled two more nights, they came to Kaisun. Instead of accomplishing what they had hoped, they returned from a far country almost empty-handed. Here this story comes to an end.
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§ 1. DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS

The Tsimshian (Chinimesyan) is spoken on the coast of northern British Columbia and in the region adjacent to Nass and Skeena rivers. On the islands off the coast the Tsimshian occupy the region southward as far as Milbank sound.

Three principal dialects may be distinguished: The Tsimshian proper, which is spoken on Skeena river and on the islands farther to the south; the Nisqa\textsuperscript{4}, which is spoken on Nass river, and the G\textsuperscript{4}itkcan (Gyitkshan), which is spoken on the upper course of Skeena river. The first and second of these dialects form the subject of the following discussion. The description of the Tsimshian proper is set off by a vertical rule down the left-hand margin of the pages.

The Tsimshian dialect has been discussed by the writer\textsuperscript{1} and by Count von der Schulenburg.\textsuperscript{2} I have also briefly discussed the dialect of Nass river,\textsuperscript{3} and have published a collection of texts\textsuperscript{4} in the same dialect. References accompanying examples (like 290.2) refer to page and line in this publication; those preceded by ZE refer to a Tsimshian text with notes published by me.\textsuperscript{5}

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. System of Sounds

The phonetic system of the Tsimshian dialects is in many respects similar to that of other languages of the North Pacific coast. It abounds particularly in $k$-sounds and $l$-sounds. The informants from

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\textsuperscript{1} Fifth Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada (Report of the 59th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1889, 577-589).

\textsuperscript{2} Dr. A. C. Graf von der Schulenburg, Die Sprache der Zimshian-Indianer (Brunswick, 1894).

\textsuperscript{3} Tenth and Eleventh Reports of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada (Reports of the 65th and 66th Meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1896, 588-589; 1896 598-599).


\textsuperscript{5} Eine Sonnensage der Tsimshian, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1906, 776-797.
whom my material in the Nass river dialect has been gathered used the hiatus frequently, without, however, giving the preceding stop enough strength to justify the introduction of a fortis. A few people from other villages, whom I heard occasionally, seemed to use greater strength of articulation; and there is little doubt that the older mode of pronunciation had a distinct series of strong stops. In the Tsimshian dialect the fortis survives clearly in the t and p; while the ts and k fortis have come to be very weak. I have also observed in this dialect a distinct fortis of the y, w, m, n, and l. In these sounds the increased stress of articulation brings about a tension of the vocal chords and epiglottis, the release of which gives the sound a strongly sonant character, and produces a glottal stop preceding the sound when it appears after a vowel. Thus the fortés of these continued sounds are analogous to the Kwakiutl 'y, 'w, 'm, 'n, and 'l. Presumably the same sounds occur in the Nass dialect, although they escaped my attention. Differentiation between surd and sonant is difficult, particularly in the velar k series.

The phonetics of Tsimshian take an exceptional position among the languages of the North Pacific coast, in that the series of l stops are missing. Besides the sound corresponding to our l, we find only the l, a voiceless continued sound produced by the escape of air from the space behind the canine teeth; the whole front part of the mouth being filled by the tip of the tongue, which is pressed against the palate. The Tsimshian dialect has a continued sonant k sound, which is exceedingly weak and resembles the weak medial r, which has almost no trill and is pronounced a little in front of the border of the hard palate. It corresponds to the sound in Tlingit which Swanton (see p. 165) writes y, but which I have heard among the older generation of Tlingit distinctly as the same sound as the Tsimshian sound here discussed. With the assumption that it was originally the continued sonant corresponding to x of other Pacific Coast languages agrees its prevalent u tinge. I feel, however, a weak trill in pronouncing the sound, and for this reason I have used the symbol r for denoting this sound. In some cases a velar trill appears, which I have written r.

In the Nass dialect, liquids (m, n, l) that occur at the ends of words are suppressed. Tongue and lips are placed in position for these sounds, but there is no emission of air, and hence no sound, unless a following word with its outgoing breath makes the terminal sound audible.

§ 2
The vocalic system of Tsimshian is similar to that of other Northwest Coast languages, with which it has in common the strong tendency to a weakening of vowels. The Tsimshian dialect has no clear \( \alpha \), but all its \( \alpha' \)'s are intermediate between \( a \) and \( \ddot{a} \). Only after \( v \) does this vowel assume a purer \( a \) tinge. A peculiarity of the language is the doubling of almost every long vowel by the addition of a parasitic vowel of the same timbre as the principal vowel, but pronounced with relaxation of all muscles.

Following is a tabular statement of the sounds observed in the Nass dialect.

The series of vowels may be rendered as follows:¹

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{Short} & . & . & . & . & . & u & o & \delta & a & \ddot{a} & e & i \\
\text{Long} & . & . & . & . & . & \ddot{a} & \ddot{\delta} & \ddot{a} & \ddot{\ddot{a}} & \ddot{e} & \ddot{i} \\
\text{With parasitic vowel} & . & . & . & . & . & \ddot{\ddot{u}} & \ddot{\ddot{\delta}} & \ddot{\ddot{a}} & \ddot{\ddot{\ddot{a}}} & \ddot{\ddot{e}} & \ddot{\ddot{i}}
\end{array}
\]

This series begins with the \( u \)-vowel with rounded lips and open posterior part of mouth-opening, and proceeds with less protrusion of lips and wider opening of the anterior portion of the mouth to \( a \); then, with gradual flattening of the middle part of the mouth-opening, through \( e \) to \( i \).

The system of consonants is contained in the following table:

<table>
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<td>Dental</td>
<td>( d )</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( (t') )</td>
<td>( dz )</td>
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<tr>
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<td>( g' )</td>
<td>( k' )</td>
<td>( (k'') )</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle palatal</td>
<td>( g )</td>
<td>( k )</td>
<td>( (k') )</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>( g )</td>
<td>( q )</td>
<td>( (q') )</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|               | Lateral, voiced continued | - | - | - | - | - | - | \( l \) |
|               | voiceless stop \( (?) \) | - | - | - | - | - | - | \( L \) |
|               | Breathing               | - | - | - | - | - | - | \( h \) |
|               | Semi-vowels             | - | - | - | - | - | - | \( y \) |

It is doubtful whether \( c \) (English \( sh \)) occurs as a separate sound; \( s \) seems rather to be pronounced with somewhat open teeth. The sounds \( g \) and \( k \) take very often a \( u \)-tinge. The semi-vowel \( w \) is almost always aspirated.

¹ Notwithstanding its defects, I have adhered for the Nass dialect to the spelling used in previous publications.

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—19 § 2
§ 3. Grouping of Sounds and Laws of Euphony

Clustering of consonants is almost unrestricted, and a number of extended consonantic clusters may occur; as, for instance, -lik*ty-, ppt, qe1, xtg*, and many others.

Examples are:

a'qik*det they reached 111.1
ā'd'ik*ak*L came 35.1
xsk'āk* eagle 178.10

There are, however, a number of restrictions regulating the use of consonants before vowels. Terminal surd stops and the affricative ts are transformed into sonants whenever a vowel is added to the word.

\( g'at \) man \( g'ad'em \) 90.6
\( qwalk\)a dry \( gual'nya \) 176.2
\( ne-bē'p \) uncle \( dep-bē'sbē \) my uncles 157.9
\( n-tsē'ēts \) grandmother \( tsē'ēdēzē \) my grandmother 157.10

It seems that single surd stops do not occur in intervocalic position. A number of apparent exceptions, like \( k'ōpe- \) small, were heard by me often with sonant, and contain probably in reality sonants.

There are a number of additional intervocalic changes:

Intervocalic \( x' \) changes into \( y \).

\( x \) changes into \( w, ā \).

\( x \) changes into \( q \). This last change is not quite regular.

\( ók' \) to throw \( ó'yin \) you throw 139.3
\( ḇtooli'x' \) to know \( ḇtooli'yì \) I know
\( ḇux' \) to use \( ḇuxem \) use of—55.3
\( ẑebsi'x' \) afraid \( ẑebsi'x'ēvō \) I am afraid
\( k'sax' \) to go out \( k'sax'wûn \) I go out! 171.4
\( yāḇōk\)a to eat \( yāḇōq'an \) to feed

In a few cases \( l \) is assimilated by preceding \( n \).

\( an-hwūi'n \) instead of \( an-hwēl \) 40.6, 7

§ 4. The Phonetic Systems of Nass and Tsimshian

The system of vowels of Tsimshian is nearly the same as that of the Nass dialect, except that the pure \( a \) and \( ā \) do not occur. The vowels \( o, ā, \) and \( e, ē \) appear decidedly as variants of \( u, ā \) and \( i, ī \) respectively, their timbre being modified by adjoining consonants.

---

I have been able to observe the system of consonants of Tsimshian more fully than that of the Nass dialect. It may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stop</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Fortis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior palatal</td>
<td>g'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle palatal</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vellar</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lateral, continued, voiced</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breathing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td>y, w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y!, w!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The terminal surd is much weaker than in the Nass dialect, and I have recorded many cases in which the terminal stop is without doubt a sonant:

wålb house  
g'ad people

Before g and k, terminal sonants become surds:

vo-tis!em-lâ'o'geo great cave ES 96.30
ne-gâ'itgo his hat ES 90.1

Before t and vowels, the sound remains a sonant:

g'a'bs . . . to draw water . . . ES 96.10
he'o'ldet . . . many . . . ES 96.14

The fact that some terminal sounds always remain surd shows that in the cases of alternation of surd and sonant the latter must be considered the stem consonant.

Some of the sounds require fuller discussion. It has been stated before that the fortés, as pronounced by the present generation, are not as strong as they used to be and as they are among more southern tribes. The t-series is alveolar, the tip of the tongue touching behind the teeth. The affricatives have a clear continued s-sound, the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth; while s has a decided tinge of the English sh. It is pronounced with tip of tongue turned back (cerebral) and touching the palate. The teeth are closed. The sound is entirely surd. The nasals m and n are

§4
long continued and sonant, even in terminal positions; \( m' \) and \( n' \) have great tension of oral closure with accompanying tension of glottis and epiglottis. The sound \( r \) has been described before. It is entirely absent in the Nass dialect. Bishop Ridley, who prepared the translation of the gospel on which Count von der Schulenburg’s grammar is based, has rendered this sound, which often follows a very obscure \( è \) or \( e \), by \( ü \); but I hear distinctly \( r \). Thus, in place of Bishop Ridley’s \( nëyëu \) (I), I hear \( n'ëryu; \) instead of \( gëel, gë'ël; \) instead of \( shgë, sëger \). In the Nass dialect, \( è \) or \( ü \) takes the place of this sound:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sëger</td>
<td>sg'ëi</td>
<td>to lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'ëren</td>
<td>në'en</td>
<td>thou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gë'ël</td>
<td>gë'ël</td>
<td>to pick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>së'rel</td>
<td>së'el</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kë'rel</td>
<td>kë'el</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gë'redax</td>
<td>kë'dax</td>
<td>to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gë'retks</td>
<td>gë'tks</td>
<td>to reach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gë'reng'axs</td>
<td>gë'eng'axs</td>
<td>to crush with foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>së'renx</td>
<td>sënx</td>
<td>box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>së'remli</td>
<td>sëml</td>
<td>bucket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'ëla</td>
<td>sëla</td>
<td>seal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sound has, however, a close affinity to \( u \), before which it tends to disappear.

\( pëiù'ër \) to tell; \( pëiù'u \) I tell.

It is suggestive that many \( u \)-sounds of Tsimshian are \( ù \) or \( ë \) in Nass. This may indicate that the \( u \) and \( r \) in Tsimshian are either a later differentiation of one sound or that a loss of \( r \) has occurred in many forms. On the whole, the latter theory appears more plausible.

Examples of this substitution are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dëuls</td>
<td>dëls</td>
<td>to live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!ëis</td>
<td>t!ëis</td>
<td>to push</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dë'ola</td>
<td>dë'hx</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uës</td>
<td>uës</td>
<td>root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ië'otk</td>
<td>ië'tku</td>
<td>to have around neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dë'lk</td>
<td>dë'lh'x</td>
<td>cedar-bark basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hë'otk</td>
<td>hë'oth'x</td>
<td>to call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lë'onti</td>
<td>lë'onti</td>
<td>angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lë'alg'at</td>
<td>lë'alg'it</td>
<td>feast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>së'ns</td>
<td>sëns</td>
<td>blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lët</td>
<td>lët</td>
<td>wedge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gë'op!el</td>
<td>k'ë'ûl'el</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 4
In terminal position Tsimshian -er corresponds to Nass -ax, and after long vowels r to x.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>der</td>
<td>dax</td>
<td>to die, plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kser</td>
<td>ksax</td>
<td>to go out, plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yer</td>
<td>yax</td>
<td>to hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'er</td>
<td>ts'ax</td>
<td>much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ser</td>
<td>sax</td>
<td>mouth of river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ler</td>
<td>lax</td>
<td>under</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of r following a long vowel are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lär</td>
<td>læx</td>
<td>trout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'är</td>
<td>ts'ax</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzir</td>
<td>dzax</td>
<td>porpoise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Combined with change of vowels are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plüä'r</td>
<td>pleyò'x</td>
<td>to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xdir</td>
<td>xlaw</td>
<td>to burst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sound r, the continued sonant corresponding to g, is heard very often in the middle and at the end of words, as ganra'n trees; but it disappears invariably when the word is pronounced slowly, and g takes its place.

The sounds x' and x of the Nass dialect do not occur in the Tsimshian dialect.

The ending x' of the Nass dialect is generally replaced by i in Tsimshian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noila'i</td>
<td>howila'x</td>
<td>to know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoi</td>
<td>hax</td>
<td>to use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gai</td>
<td>qaix</td>
<td>wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wai</td>
<td>wäx</td>
<td>to paddle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This change is evidently related to the substitution of y for x' before vowels.

Terminal x of the Nass dialect tends to be displaced by a terminal a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dū'ola</td>
<td>ðé'bx</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'la</td>
<td>ðax</td>
<td>seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā'ola</td>
<td>nālx</td>
<td>jejun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaina</td>
<td>qënxx</td>
<td>trail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qō'ep'la</td>
<td>qō'ep'ax</td>
<td>light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāo</td>
<td>nax</td>
<td>bait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!ōo</td>
<td>ð'ax</td>
<td>lake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 4
Here belong also—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mē</td>
<td>màx</td>
<td>sour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būw</td>
<td>bōw</td>
<td>to wait</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vocalic changes, besides those referred to before in connection with the sound r, occur.

In place of au in Tsimshian we find ē in Nass.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hau</td>
<td>hē</td>
<td>to say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gil-hu'li</td>
<td>g'ēl'hēx</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'itxw'tk</td>
<td>g'itxē'tk</td>
<td>some time ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'sm-ga'us</td>
<td>t'sm-gē's</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ulkst (mālkst)</td>
<td>mēlk'st</td>
<td>crab-apple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian āu is replaced in Nass by āū.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yā'uxk</td>
<td>yā'ēxk</td>
<td>to eat, singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā'uk</td>
<td>yā'ōk</td>
<td>to follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'.ā'watsx</td>
<td>q'.ē'ōtsx</td>
<td>gills</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Initial wā of Tsimshian is sometimes replaced by ō in Nass.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wāpx</td>
<td>ōpx</td>
<td>forehead</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another very frequent change is that from ā following w to ā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wālp</td>
<td>hwālp</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāl</td>
<td>hwāl</td>
<td>to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wātk</td>
<td>hwātk</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts!'wā'n</td>
<td>ts!'wō'n</td>
<td>top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tgwā'lksək</td>
<td>lgw-ùk'lsək</td>
<td>prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wās</td>
<td>(hā)nōl's</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The substitution is, however, not regular, for we find—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wāi</td>
<td>hwāx</td>
<td>to paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wān</td>
<td>hwān</td>
<td>to sit, plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Related to this is probably—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hā'wets</td>
<td>hēts</td>
<td>to send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā'yetk</td>
<td>hētk</td>
<td>to stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gā'nə</td>
<td>gēnx</td>
<td>trail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sqā'yiks</td>
<td>sqēkə</td>
<td>to wound</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian p/ is replaced by Nass m.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p/al'g'ixs</td>
<td>ma'lg'ix</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p/as</td>
<td>mas</td>
<td>to grow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p/ē'yan</td>
<td>miyā'n</td>
<td>smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p/al</td>
<td>mal</td>
<td>button</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gan-sp/a</td>
<td>gan-smə</td>
<td>baton</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 5. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The most characteristic trait of Tsimshian grammar is the use of a superabundance of particles that modify the following word. Phonetically these particles are strong enough to form a syllabic unit, and they remain always separated by a hiatus from the following word. Most of them, however, have no accent, and must therefore be designated either as proclitics or as prefixes. These appear particularly with verbal stems, but their use with nominal stems is not by any means rare. They do not undergo any modifications, except in a few cases, and for this reason a large part of the grammatical processes relate to the use of these particles. On the whole, their position in the sentence or word-complex is fairly free. Suffixes are rather few in number. They differ fundamentally from the proclitic particles in being phonetically weaker and in forming with the preceding stem a firm unit. Some pronouns which belong to the proclitic series are also phonetically weak and share with the suffixes the inclination to amalgamate with the preceding elements. Thus the proclitic pronouns sometimes become apparently suffixes of the preceding words, whatever these may be.

Incorporation of the nominal object occurs principally in terms expressing habitual activities. In these it is well developed.

The Tsimshian uses stem modifications extensively for expressing grammatical processes. Most important among these is reduplication, which is very frequent, and which follows, on the whole, fixed laws. Change of stem-vowel is not so common, and seems sometimes to have developed from reduplication. It occurs also in compound words, which form a peculiar trait of the language. Not many instances of this type of composition have been observed, but they play undoubtedly an important part in the history of the language. Many elements used in word-composition have come to be so weak in meaning that they are at present more or less formal elements. This is true particularly of suffixes, but also, to a certain extent, of prefixes, though, on the whole, they have preserved a distinct meaning.

The grammatical processes of Tsimshian have assumed a much more formal character than those of many other Indian languages. It is not possible to lay down general rules of composition or reduplication, which would cover by far the greatest part of the field of grammar.
Instead of this, we find peculiar forms that belong to certain definite stems—peculiar plurals, passives, causatives, etc., that must be treated in the form of lists of types. In this respect Tsimshian resembles the Athapascan with its groups of verbal stems, the Salish and Takelma with their modes of reduplication, and the Iroquois with its classes of verbs. The freedom of the language lies particularly in the extended free use of proclitics.

§ 6. Ideas Expressed by Grammatical Processes

The use of the same stems as nouns and as verbs is common in Tsimshian, although the occurrence of nominalizing and verbalizing elements shows that the distinction between the two classes is clearly felt. The proclitic particles mentioned in the last section may also be used with both verbs and nouns. While many of these particles, particularly the numerous class of local adverbs, always precede the stem from which they can not be separated, there are a considerable number of modal elements which have a greater freedom of position, and which merge into the group of independent adverbs. These elements are so numerous and diverse in meaning, that it is difficult to give a satisfactory classification. The group of local proclitics occupies a prominent place on account of its numbers and the nicety of local distinctions. It is, however, impossible to separate it strictly from the group of modal proclitics.

The use of these proclitics is so general, that the total number of common verbal stems is rather restricted.

The proclitics are used—
(1) As local adverbial and adnominal terms;
(2) As modal adverbial and adnominal terms;
(3) To transform verbs into nouns;
(4) To transform nouns into verbs.

Almost all the proclitics belonging to these groups form a syntactic unit with the following stem, so that in the sentence they can not be separated from it. The pronominal subject of the transitive verb precedes the whole complex.

Another series of proclitics differs from the last, only in that they do not form so firm a unit with the stem. The pronominal subject of the transitive verb may separate them from the following stem. To this group belong all strictly temporal particles. The transition from this class to true adverbs is quite gradual.

§ 6
In the group of inseparable modal proclitics must also be classed the plural prefixes *qa-* and *l-*, which will be discussed in §§ 43–45.

The pronominal subjects of some forms of the transitive verb—and of some forms of the intransitive verb as well—are also proclitics. They consist each of a single consonant, and have the tendency to amalgamate with the preceding word.

Suffixes are few in number. They are partly modal in character, signifying ideas like passive, elimination of object of the transitive verb, causative. A second group expresses certainty and uncertainty and the source of information. By a peculiar treatment, consisting partly in the use of suffixes, the modes of the verb are differentiated. Still another group indicates presence and absence; these take the place to a great extent of demonstrative pronouns. The objective and possessive pronouns are also formed by means of suffixes. Most remarkable among the suffixes are the connectives which express the relations between adjective and noun, adverb and verb, subject and object, predicate and object, preposition and object, and conjunction and the following word. There are only a few classes of these connectives, by means of which practically all syntactic relations are expressed that are not expressed by means of particles.

Reduplication serves primarily the purpose of forming the plural. A number of particles require reduplicated forms of the following verb. Among these are the particles indicating *imitation, genuine, action done while in motion*. The progressive is indicated by a different kind of reduplication.

Nouns are classified from two points of view, according to form, and as special human individuals and common nouns. The selection of verbal stems and of numerals accompanying the noun is determined by a classification according to form, while there is no grammatical differentiation in the noun itself. The classes of the numeral are formed partly by independent stems, but largely by suffixes or by contraction of the numeral and a classifying noun. In syntactic construction a sharp division is made between special human individuals—including personal and personal demonstrative pronouns, some terms of relationship, and proper names—and other nouns.

Plurality is ordinarily expressed both in the noun and in the verb. It would seem that the primary idea of these forms is that of distribution, but at present this idea is clearly implied in only one of the many methods of forming the plural. The multiplicity of the methods
used for forming the plural is one of the striking characteristics of the Tsimshian language.

It has been mentioned before that most forms of the transitive verb are treated differently from intransitive verbs. While the subject of these forms of the transitive verb precedes the verb, that of the intransitive verb, which is identical with the object of the transitive verb and with the possessive pronoun, follows the verb. This relation is obscured by a peculiar use of intransitive constructions that seem to have gained a wider application, and by the use of the transitive pronoun in some forms of the intransitive verb. The independent personal pronoun, both in its absolute case (subject and object) and in its oblique case, is derived from the intransitive pronoun.

All oblique syntactic relations of noun and verb are expressed by a single preposition, a, which also serves frequently to introduce subordinate clauses which are nominalized by means of particles.

**DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 7-87)**

**Proclitic Particles (§§ 7-16)**

**§ 7. General Remarks**

The Tsimshian language possesses a very large number of particles which qualify the verb or noun that follows them, each particle modifying the whole following complex, which consists of particles and a verbal or nominal stem. All these particles are closely connected with the following stem, which carries the accent. Nevertheless they retain their phonetic independence. When the terminal sound of the particle is a consonant, and the first sound of the following stem is a vowel, there always remains a hiatus between the two. Lack of cohesion is also shown in the formation of the plural. In a very few cases only is the stem with its particles treated as a unit. Usually the particles remain unmodified, while the stem takes its peculiar plural form, as though no particles were present. There are very few exceptions to this rule.

The freedom of use of these particles is very great, and the ideas expressed by them are quite varied. There is not even a rigid distinction between adverbial and adnominal particles, and for this reason a satisfactory grouping is very difficult. Neither is the order of the particles sufficiently definitely fixed to afford a satisfactory basis for their classification.

§ 7
As will be shown later (§ 22), nouns, verbs, and adverbs may be transformed into elements analogous to the particles here discussed by the addition of the suffix -em. Since a number of particles have the same ending -em (haldem- no. 77; pelem- no. 80; belxsem- no. 81; mesem- no. 83; nōbm- no. 96; tsagam- no. 9; ts'elem- no. 7; xpilypem- no. 126; legem- no. 5; and the monosyllabic particles am- no. 136; ham- no. 156; t'lem- no. 140; t'lem- no. 13; ts'lem- no. 152; k'sem- no. 146; q'am- no. 118; xlem- no. 56; lem- no. 134; sem- no. 168; dem- no. 170), it seems justifiable to suggest that at least some of these may either have or have had an independent existence as stems that may take pronominal endings, and that their present form is due to contractions (see § 33). At least one particle (q'ai- no. 122) seems to occur both with and without the connective -em.

The particles may be classified according to the fixity of their connection with the following stem. In a large number the connection is so firm that the pronoun can not be placed between particle and stem, so that the two form a syntactic unit. A much smaller number may be so separated. Since only the subject of the transitive verb appears in this position (see § 48), it is impossible to tell definitely in every case to which group a particle belongs. Furthermore, the particles of the second group may in some cases be joined to the verb more firmly, so that the pronominal subject precedes them, while this freedom does not exist in the former group.

The most distinct group among the particles is formed by the local adverbs. Many of these occur in pairs; as up and down, in and out, etc. All of these express motion. In many cases in which we should use an adverb expressing position, the Tsimshian use adverbs expressing motion, the position being indicated as a result of motion. For instance, instead of he stands near by, the Tsimshian will say he is placed toward a place near by. These particles are generally adverbial. This seems to be due, however, more to their significance than to a prevalent adverbial character. We find instances of their use with nouns; as,

qali-a'k's river (qali- up river; ak's water)

A second group might be distinguished, consisting of local adverbs, which, however, show a gradual transition into modal adverbs. Here belong terms like in, on, over, lengthwise, all over, sideways, etc. In composition this group precedes the first group; but no fixed
rules can be given in regard to the order in which particles of this group are arranged among themselves. The use of some of these particles with nouns is quite frequent.

The second series leads us to the extensive group of modal adverbs, many of which occur both with nouns and verbs. These gradually lead us to others, the prevailing function of which is a nominal one.

I have combined in a small group those that have a decidedly denominative character.

There is another small group that is used to transform nouns into verbs, and expresses ideas like TO MAKE, TO PARTAKE OF, TO SAY.

It will be recognized from these remarks that a classification necessarily will be quite arbitrary and can serve only the purpose of a convenient grouping.

§ 8. Local Particles appearing in Pairs

1. **bax-** up along the ground (Tsimshian: **bax-**).
   
   - **bax-iä'** to go up, singular 142.8
   - **bax-qä'dä'ən** to finish taking up 209.2
   - **bax-sg'è** trail leads upward (literally, to lie up)
   - **bax-dö'q** to take up several 208.8

   We find also—
   
   - **bax-iä' s ak's** water rises (literally, goes up)

   **Tsimshian:**
   
   - **bax-voa' lax** to go up hill
   - **bax-ge'wəca** to haul up

2. **iaqa-** down along the ground (Tsimshian: **y!iaqa-**).
   
   - **iaqa-sg'è** trail leads downward (literally, to lie downward)
   - **iaqa-iè** to go down 137.5
   - **iaqa-sa'k'sk'** to go down (plural) 29.9

   **Tsimshian:**
   
   - **y!iaqa-gò'q** to go down to ——
   - **y!iaqa-dò'x** to take down

3. **men-** up through the air (Tsimshian: **men-**).
   
   - **men-g'da'ask** to look up 214.2
   - **men-dä'ult** he went up through the air 95.4
   - **men-g'ibä'yuk** to fly up 126.9
   - **men-lò'ò** to go up, plural 42.8
   - **lò-men-hwəan** to sit in something high up, plural 34.1 (**lò**- in; **hwəan** to sit, plural)
   - **men-dò'x** to be piled up; (to lie up, plural) 164.13
   - **men-qä'dä'ò** to finish taking up 95.10
Tsimshian:

| man-ìä⁰ to go up | ZÈ¹ 790³⁸⁵  
| di-man-hōk'eg to go up with some one  
| mśla-man-wālxs both go up  
| man-lit' plume (literally, upward feather)  

4. **d'EP-** down through the air (Tsimshian: **tgi-**).

| d'EP-ìæ' to go down (from a tree) 9.14  
| d'EP-hē'lik⁰ to stand downward, a tree inclines downward 201.8  
| dē-gulik's-d'EP-mā'qs to throw one's self down also (dē also; gulik's self [obj.]; māqs to throw)  
| lō-d'EP-gal to drop down inside (lō in; gal to drop) 181.13  
| lō-d'EP-dā'ul lōqs the sun sets  

Tsimshian:

| tgi-nēt̕isg to look down  
| lu-tgi-lō⁰ to stretch down in something  
| tgi-ìä⁰ to go straight down through the air  

5. **ŁegEm-**, **łōgōm-** into, from the top (Tsimshian: **łōgōm-**).

| łōgōm-ba'x to go aboard (literally, to run into [canoe]) 111.11  
| Łegem-qu'd'lën to finish (putting) into 215.12  
| łōgōm-ð'x' to throw into from the top  

Tsimshian:

| sa-łōgōm-gōs to jump into (canoe) suddenly  
| łōgōm-bā¹⁰ to run in  
| łōgōm-tël'ä to sit on edge of water  

6. **t'ūks-** out of, from top (Tsimshian: **uks-**, **t'ūks-**).

| t'ūks-lō⁰ to stretch down out of canoe 181.3  
| t'ūks-ìä' to go out of (here, to boil over) 132.5  
| t'ūks-ba'x to run out of dish (over the rim)  
| t'ūks-ð'x' to throw (meat out of skin of game) 150.12  

Tsimshian:

| uks-halhōlt they are full all the way out  
| uks-dō'g to take out of (bucket)  
| adat uks-sa'k'ala n-ts'a'ltga⁰ then he stretched out his face  

7. **ts'ElEm-** into, from the side (Tsimshian: **ts'ElEm-**).

| ts'ElEm-ba'x to run in 204.9  
| ts'ElEm-hē'lik⁰ to rush in (literally, to place one's self into) 209.11  
| ts'ElEm-a'qlk⁰ to get into 129.12  
| ts'ElEm-dē-ba'x to run in with something 140.15  

Tsimshian:

| ts'ElEm-wi-ha'utg to cry into (house)  
| ts'ElEm-tël̕ to put into  

¹ References preceded by ZÈ refer to the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1906.
8. *kṣi*- out of, from the side (Tsimshian: *kṣE*).

- *kṣi-gō'nu* to take out 129.12
- *kṣi-g'ōts* to cut out 121.6
- *kṣi-hā'tkʷ* to rush out (literally, to place one's self outside) 30.7

Tsimshian:

| *kṣE-lō* to shove out |
| *kṣE-hūʔik* to call out |
| *sem-kṣE-ya'dz* to cut right out ZE 784³ |
| *kṣE-gwa'dntg* to rise (sun), (literally, to touch out) |

9. *tsagam-* from on the water toward the shore (Tsimshian: *daqam-*).

- *tsagam-ha'k's* to scold from the water toward the shore 16.4
- *tsagam-ho'yu* to escape to the shore 51.14
- *tsagam-dē-g'ibā'yuK* to fly ashore with it (dē- with) 178.12
- *t lēp-tṣagam-q'ā'qxt* he himself dragged it ashore (*t* he; *lēp-* self [subj.]; *q'ā'qxt* to drag; -*t* it) 175.14
- *tsagam-g'ē'n* to give food shoreward 175.3

Tsimshian:

- *daqam-dā'ul* to go ashore
- *daqam-bu-yālyaltg* to return to the shore, plural

10. *uks-* from the land to a place on the water (Tsimshian: *uks-, *t'uks*).

- *uks-iē* to go out to a place on the water near the shore 150.14
- *uks-a'qukʷ* to reach a point out on the water 74.13
- *dē-uks-ba'xt* he also ran down to the beach 104.13

Sometimes this prefix is used apparently in place of *iaqga-* (no. 2), signifying motion from inland down to the beach, although it seems to express properly the motion out to a point on the water.

Tsimshian:

- *uks-hō'otk* to stand near the water
- *uks-ha'yu* to say turned seaward
- *uks-dā'ul* to go out to sea

In Tsimshian this prefix occurs also with nouns:

- *uks-a'pda-g'ämë'otg* one canoe after another being out seaward
- *waqagit-uks-G'idegamë'idzet* the Tlingit way out at sea

11. *qaldik*- to the woods in rear of the houses; corresponding nouns, *g'ile'ik*; *qay'alā'n* 65.13 (Tsimshian: *qaldik-*; corresponding noun, *gil-ha'wil*).

- *qaldik*-iē* to go back into the woods 8.4
- *qaldik*-ma'ga to put behind the houses into the woods 65.13
Tsimshian:
- *qadlik-sge’r* to lie aside
- *qadlik-iä’o* to go into woods

12. **na**- out of the woods in rear of the houses to the houses; corresponding noun, *g’äu* (Tsimshian: **na**-).
  - *na-ba’x* to run out of woods 147.11
  - *na-hë-ts* to send out of woods 213.13
  - *na-de-iä* to go out of woods with something 214.8

Tsimshian:
- *na-gol* to run out of woods, plural
- *na-bä’a* to run out of woods, singular

13. **t’Em**- from rear to middle of house (Tsimshian: **t’Em**-).
  - *t’em-ië’* to go to the middle of the house 130.12
  - *t’em-dä’l* to put into the middle of the house 193.14
  - *t’em-q’ä’q* to drag into the middle of the house 62.11

Tsimshian:
- *t’em-stëwö’l* to accompany to the fire
- *t’em-di-iä’o* to go also to the fire

14. **asë**- from the middle to the front of the house (Tsimshian: **asdi**-).
  - *asë-’ö’* to throw from the middle of the house to the door

Tsimshian:
- *asdi-gä’o* to take back from fire

The same prefix is used in Tsimshian to express the idea of mistake:
- *asdi-ha’u* to make a mistake in speaking

Tsimshian synonyms of **t’Em**- (no. 13) and **asdi**- (no. 14) are—

15. **laqauk**- from the side of the house to the fire.
  - *laqauk-iö’o* to go to the fire
  - *laqauk-hu’otg* to call to fire

16. **ts!Eklal**- from the fire to the side of the house.
  - *ts!Eklal-maq* to put away from fire

17. **gali**- up river; corresponding noun, *magä’n* 117.6 (Tsimshian: *q!ala*).
  - *lô-gali-sg’i* (trail) lies up in the river 146.10
  - *gali-ië’* to go up river 117.6

This prefix occurs with nominal significance in *gali-a’k’s river* (literally, up river water).

Tsimshian:
- *viq!ala-a’ks* large river
- *luq!ala-yä’ok* to follow behind

§ 8
18. **g'isi**- down river; corresponding noun, **sax** 23.6 (Tsimshian: **gist**-; corresponding noun, **ser**).

- **g'isi-ba'x** to run down river 18.11
- **g'isi-a'q'lk** to arrive down river 23.6
- **k'u!-g'isi-l̩ək's** they float about down the river 16.10

In one case it seems to mean **down at the bank of the river**.

- **g'isi-l̩ə-və̱d'veq'** it was dug down in it down the river 197.8

Tsimshian:

- **ste-gisi-idə** to continue to go down river
- **gisi-kəsiə'n** down Skeena river

19. **g'idi**- right there, just at the right place or in the right manner

(Tsimshian: **g'idi**-).

- **sem-g'idi-l̩ə-hət'k** exactly just there in it it stood 88.8
- **g'idi-qək'skət** just there he was dragged 51.5
- **g'idi-gə'u** to catch (literally, to take in the right manner) 147.8

Tsimshian:

- **g'idi-gə'o** to catch ZE 787<sup>137</sup>
- **g'idi-wəl'** to stop
- **se-g'idi-hət'og** to stand still suddenly
- **g'idi-tələ** to stop ZE 788<sup>155</sup>

20. **ilig'i**- at some indefinite place, not in the right manner; i. e., almost (Tsimshian: **ilig'i**-).

- **ilig'i-k'ul-da'** to sit about somewhere 54.10
- **ilig'i-tsagam-ə'x'lpk** it was a short distance to the shore somewhere 104.8
- **ilig'i-mətəmə'k** full in some place (i. e., almost full) 159.10

This particle is often used with numerals in the sense of **about**:

- **ilig'i-tsx'əlx** about four 14.1

It is also used as a nominal prefix:

- **ilig'i-ləx-ə'x'** somewhere on the edge 104.8
- **ilig'i-nda'** somewhere 87.1
- **ilig'i-həlłl** goods (i. e., being something) 164.8

Tsimshian:

- **ilig'i-nda'** somewhere ZE 782<sup>20</sup>
- **ilig'i-gə'o** something
- **ilig'i-la-nii'ədə** to see bad luck coming
- **ilig'i-gə'n** any tree

A few others appear probably in pairs like the preceding, but only one of the pair has been recorded.

21. **spi**- out of water.

- **spi-iə'** to go out of water 52.2
- **spi-gə'u** to take out of water

§ 8
22. **wul'am-** out of water (Tsimshian: **wul'am-**).

Tsimshian:

- **wul'am-bax-ðò'q** to take up from water
- **wul'am-ar'xly** to get shore
- **wul'am-ia'ò** to go shore

§ 9. **Local Particles**—Continued

The following series of local particles do not appear clearly in pairs, or—according to their meaning—do not form pairs:

23. **tsaga-** across (Tsimshian: **dzaga-**).

- **tsaga-sg'i** to lay across 40.12
- **lep-** **tsaga-** **yòxk** a he went across 40.13
- **tsaga-de'ãnkh** to lead across 79.11
- **tsaga-hō'kaan** to fasten across an opening 217.5
- **tsaga-his'iat's** to chop across 201.7
- **gum-** **tsaga-** **iè** to order to go across 40.13

Tsimshian:

- **dzaga-ii'ò** to go across
- **dzaga-di-â'ò** staying also across (a name).
- **q'ap-k'a-dzaga-** **alu-ba'ò** to run really very openly across ZE 786^11

24. **galk-** **si-** through a hole (Tsimshian: **galkse-**).

- **galk-** **si-yòxk** a to go through 149.12
- **galk-** **si-g'ar'as** a to look through 127.8
- **galk-** **si-libû'yuł** to fly through, plural 14.9
- **lu-** **galk-** **si-ha'qoax** to squeeze through inside 149.15

This prefix occurs also before nouns:

- **galk-** **si-nō'ò** a hole through 11.9
- **galk-** **si-sqû'áck** a through the darkness

Tsimshian:

- **galkse-nō'otsq** to look through
- **galkse-kli'tots'el** to poke through
- **galkse-a'zèg** to get through (literally, to finish through)

25. **g'ime-** probably far into, way in (Tsimshian: **gami-**).

- **g'ime-iè** to walk to the rear of the house, through the space between people sitting on the sides 132.14, 189.13
- **g'ime-qa'ats** to pour through a pipe, along the bottom of a canoe
- **g'ime-yòxk** a to go through a pipe 183.1

Tsimshian:

- **lu-gami-t'ò'ò** it goes way in

26. **lōgöl-** under (corresponding noun, **lōr**).

- **lōgöl-** **lep-** **d'è** a, to sit under (a tree) 8.4

44577—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—20
27. **lukL-** under (Tsimshian: **lukli-**).
   
   *lukL-g'ibä'yuk* to fly under
   
   Tsimshian:
   
   *lukli-da'ul* to go under
   
28. **lë-gan-** over. (In Tsimshian **q'an-** occurs alone, but also **l'i-q'an-**, which is more frequent. This prefix is a compound of **l'i-** on, and **q'an** over.)
   
   *lë-gan-bx* to throw over
   
   *lë-gan-g'a'ask* to look over
   
   Tsimshian:
   
   | **l'i-q'an-bë'l** to be spread over |
   | **l'i-q'an-së'i** to swing over |
   | **sa-q'an-t!ā** to put over |
   
29. **lô-** in; the corresponding noun has the prefix **te'em-** **INSIDE**; independent noun, **të'āwou** (Tsimshian: **lu-**; the corresponding noun has the prefix **te'em-** **INSIDE**).
   
   *lô-d'a* to be in 118.10
   
   *dë-lô-d'elq'ixl gë'ot* he also speaks in his mind (i.e., he thinks) 49.14
   
   *lô-d'ep-iux'iaq* to hang down inside 65.10 *(d'ep- down [no. 4])
   
   *lô-sqa-mad'qaan* to put in sideways 150.3 *(sqa- sideways [no. 36])
   
   *lô-wusen-mëtk* it is full inside all along 29.10 *(wusen- along [no. 51])
   
   *hasp'a-lô-yë'xk* to go in the same road 202.15 *(hasp'a-, hasba-upside down [no. 74])
   
   *lë-lô-d'ep-yu'k* to move on the surface in something downward 104.11 *(lë- on [no. 30]; d'ep- down [no. 4])
   
   This prefix occurs in a few fixed compositions:
   
   *lô-ya'ltk* to return
   
   *lô-dä'ltk* to meet
   
   It occurs also in a few cases as a nominal prefix:
   
   *lô-të'āwou* inside 102.10
   
   *lô-k's-g'ë'ît* in the lowest one 53.11 *(k's- extreme [no. 143])
   
   *lô-k's-g'ë'ks* at the extreme outside 219.1
   
   *lô-tëpła'p* deep inside 197.8
   
   *lô-s'ë'luk* in the middle 184.13
   
   Tsimshian:
   
   | **lu-sge'r** to lie inside ZE 782²⁷ |
   | **lu-t!ā** to sit in |
   | **sa-lu-haldem-bë'o** suddenly to rise in something |
   | **lu-tqi-lô** to stretch down in |
   | **lagax-lu-dë'o** to put in on both sides *(lagax- on both sides [no. 38]) |

§ 9
30. **lē-** on; the corresponding noun has the prefix lax-; independent noun, lax'o' (Tsimshian: l/ū-; the corresponding noun has the prefix lax-; independent noun, lax'o').

lē-d'a' to sit on 202.4
lē-men-pid'likw to rise up to the top of (see no. 3)
lē-ia'q to hang on 89.10
txa-lē-bal to spread over entirely (see no. 93)
lē-sqa-sq'i to put on sideways 184.13 (see no. 36)

**Tsimshian:**

| sa-l'i-g'a'oks to drift suddenly on something (see no. 98) |
| l'i-b'k's'en to put on |
| sem-l'i-t'ālb to cover well (see no. 168) |
| l'i-se-gw'ilg to make fire on something (see no. 164) |
| ha-l'i-gad'ot to think (see no. 160) |

31. **tgo-** around (Tsimshian: tgu-).

lō-tgo-ba'x to run around inside 77.11
k'vad'ik's-tgo-ma'ga to turn over and over much 52.10 (see no. 176)
tgo-ya'likw to turn around 47.9
k'ul-lō-tgo-lāx-lō'lb'en to roll about around inside to and fro 13.14 (k'ul- about [no. 33]; lō- inside [no. 29]; tgo- around; lāx-to and fro [no. 38])

**Tsimshian:**

| k'ul-tgu-nē'oteg to look around (see no. 33) |
| tgu-wa'n to sit around, plural |
| tgu-ia'w to go around |
| tgu-da'p to measure around ZE 7848|

32. **k'utgo-** around; corresponding noun, dax- circumference.

sā-k'utgo-dā'ul to go suddenly around (the trunk of a tree) 211.9
k'utgo-ič'ethw to go around (the house) 218.1

33. **k'ul-** about (Tsimshian: k'ul-).

k'ul-ba'x to run about 94.10
k'ul-lō-tō'okw he puts about on it 218.7
q'aba-k'ul-ho'd'ax' he paddled about astray 17.2
k'ul-lāx-lō'k to scatter about

**Tsimshian:**

| alu-k'ul-ia'w to go about plainly ZE 7834 |
| k'ul-yu-ha'ok to carry bucket about (see no. 159) |
| k'ul-da'msax to be downcast here and there (i. e., always) |

34. **k'itq'al-** round on the outside.

k'itq'al-ma'n to rub over the outside 103.12
k'itqal-ax'etā'ok scabby all around

§ 9
35. **tq'äl-** against (Tsimshian: *txal-*).

*tq'äl-gwałkʷ* to dry against (i. e., so that it can not come off) 104.2
*tq'äl-dät* to put against (i. e., on) face 195.12
*tq'äl-də'kʷl* to tie on 68.12

This prefix is often used to express the idea of MEETING:

*tq'äl-hwa' to meet and find 31.6
*hwaqáit-lō-tq'äl-gō'uskʷ* to reach up to inside against (i. e., meeting) (hwaqáit- up to [no. 71]; lō- in [no. 29])
*tq'äl-qō'ō* to go to meet (to go against) 158.11

Sometimes it expresses the idea of WRTH:

*tq'äl-a'k's* to drink something with water 21.9
*tq'äl-h'i'kšaan to place with something 36.8

In still other cases it signifies FOREVER, in so far as the object remains fastened against something:

*lō-tq'äl-gwałtikʷ* to be lost forever in something (lō- in; tq'äl- against 166.1

It also may express the idea FOR A PURPOSE:

*tq'äl-ā'm* good for a purpose 80.14
*sem-tq'äl-si'is'en* to like much for a purpose 45.1
*tq'äl-wé'lemlikʷ* female servant

**Tsimshian:**

| sa-txal-g'ā'sg to float suddenly against (i. e., so that it reaches) |
| txal-hō'ltg full all over |
| txal-a'xlg to arrive at |

36. **sqa-** across the way (Tsimshian: *sqa-*).

*sqa-d'a* to be in the way 183.10
*lō-sqa-hē't'en* to place inside in the way 129.10
*sqa-sg'i* to lie across 148.11

**Tsimshian:**

| lū-sqa-yēdz to strike in and across the face |
| lep-sqa-dak (he) himself ties across (see no. 129) |
| sqa-g'ō'tqg to swell lying across |
| sqa-bā'o to run across (i. e., to assist) |
| sqa-na'k some time (literally, across long) ZE 791³⁰⁴ |
| sqa-bō' a few |

37. **g'ilwul-** past, beyond (Tsimshian: *g'ilwul-*)

*g'ilwul-däm* to hold beyond a certain point 61.8

**Tsimshian:**

| g'ilwul-bā'o to run past |
| g'ilwul-ax'a'xlg to get ahead |
| l'i-q'an-g'ilwul-dū'olxk not to be able to pass over (see no. 28) |

§ 9
38. **lax**- to and fro, at both ends (Tsimshian: *lagax*).

(a) to and fro:

lax-3a're to run to and fro

(b) at both ends, on both sides:

* lax-g'ig'a'kk's carved at both ends
* lax-lo-ts'xk't to move in it on both sides 34.4
* lax-lë'k:k to watch both ends 136.10
* lax-ad'lg'tx to talk both ways (i.e., to interpret)
* lax-hvod'nemlk's seated on both sides (two wives of the same man) 194.7

This prefix occurs also with nouns:

Lax-3dsx, Wás (a monster) at each end 106.14
Lax-mák'x3k's white at each end (name of a man)

**Tsimshian:**

| lagax-lu-dë'lo to put in on both sides |
| lagax-ne-std'lo both sides |

39. **sa**- off (Tsimshian: *sa*).

* sa-3k' to throw off 145.2
* sa-besbë's to tear off 25.4
* sa-hë'3k to stand off 137.9
* sa-t'oq to scratch off

* sa-3ks-ts'ëns-x'k'3axk to escape going off, leaving out to sea (3ks- toward water [no. 10]; ts'ëns- leaving [no. 104])

**Tsimshian:**

| sa-gä'lo to take off |
| sa-ts'ënt to pull off |

40. **gis**- away to another place.

* gis-d'a' (plural gis-hwas') to transplant (d'a [plural hwan] to sit)
* gis-3i' to move away to another place
* gës-hë'3ks! move away to another place!

41. **wud'En**- away forward (Tsimshian: *wud'En*).

* wud'En-3i' to step forward
* wud'En-k'sld'ga' to kick away

**Tsimshian:**

| wud'En-gwa'lo away here along the middle |

42. **lüks**- along a valley (Tsimshian).

| lüks-g'ig'ä'3nit down along the river |

43. **wil**- away, probably in some special direction (Tsimshian: *auvil*).

* wil-3o to take away

**Tsimshian:**

| auvil-ma'g to put aside, to sidetrack |
44. hagun- toward, near; corresponding noun, avoa' (Tsimshian: gun-; corresponding noun, avoa').
   hagun-i' to go toward 129.14
   aql-hagun-yd'k' unable to get near 201.6 (see no. 137)
   hagun-hëtk' to stand near 125.4
   hagun-dëlpk' a short distance near by 147.5

Tsimshian:
   gun-i' to go toward
   gun-gd' to go toward something
   gun-ld' to sit near

45. héla- near by.
   héla-d'a' to sit near by

46. lösä- in front.
   lösä-i' to walk in front of
   lösä-d'a' to sit in front of

47. txas- along the surface of a long thing (Tsimshian: txas-).
   txas-i' to walk on a long thing
   txas-la'agul to wrap up a long thing
   txas-id'ts to chop along a long thing

Tsimshian:
   lu-txas-sg'k' to put in edgewise
   sa-lu-txas-lô' to shove in suddenly edgewise
   txas-k'ôl through the year ZE 79223

48. hadix- lengthwise along the middle line (Tsimshian: hat/Ek-).
   hadix'-qô'ts to cut (a salmon) lengthwise 55.3

Tsimshian:
   lu-hat/Ek-d'ô't to push in endwise

49. stEx- lengthwise, on either side of middle line.
   stEx-lôtsk' one side lengthwise is black
   stEx-sg'îl qënex lax-ts'ê'l ak's the trail lies along (the water) on
   the beach-side; (sg'i to lie; qënex trail; lax- on [no. 151];
   ts'ê'l beach; ak's water)

50. hal- along the edge, edgewise (Tsimshian: hal-).
   (a) Along the edge:
      k'ul-hal-i' to walk about along the edge (of the water) 122.4
      dët-hal-dôg t he held it also along the edge (of the fire) 47.8 (dë
      also [no. 167]; t he [subj.]; dôg to place; -t it)

Not quite clear is the following:
   q'am-lô-hal-l'uxt'a'k'det they only twisted off (their necks) inside
   along the edge 115.5 (q'am- only [no. 118]; lô- in [no. 29];
   -det they)

§ 9
(b) Edgewise:

*hal-g'd'bl'en* to put (the paddle into the water) edgewise

Tsimshian:

| **k'ud-hal-hē'tg** to stand about alongside of ZE 796
| **hal-k'-a'n** to go along beach in canoe
| **hal-gwa'o** along here

51. *wuseN*- along the inside (Tsimshian: *wuseN*).  

*wuseN-hō'tkʷ* to rush along inside (the canoe) 57.5  
*lō-wuseN-mē'tkʷ* full along inside (the canoe) 29.10  
*wuseN-bībē's* to tear lengthwise (to split) 99.13 (or *wudēn*—see no. 41)  
*wuseN-yēs'ia'ts* to chop lengthwise (into wedges) 148.4

Tsimshian:

| **lax-wuseN-iā'o** on the flat top of a mountain (literally, on along going)

52. *witsEn-, hūts'En*- along through the middle (Tsimshian: *wuts!En*).  

*wits'En-iā' to go back through the house 125.3  
*hūts'En-dāl to put from fire back to the rear of the house 207.2

Tsimshian:

| **wuts!En-iā'o** to go along through the house

53. *xlEp*- at end (Tsimshian: *xlEp*).  

*xlEp-gu'z* to hit at end 88.11  
*xlEp-fōst'ōteskʷ* black at the ends 31.5

Tsimshian:

| **xlEp-hō'kṣen** to put on at end
| **sem-xlEp-tswa'n** the very end of the top

54. *xtsē*- in the middle of a long thing (Tsimshian: *xts!E*).  

*xtsē-ia'ts* to chop across the middle 133.9  
*sa-xtsē-qō'ts* to cut quickly across the middle 100.6

Tsimshian:

| **xts!E-gai'** to bite through in the middle

55. *kʷLē*- all over (Tsimshian: *kʷlit*).  

*kʷLē-hashā'ts* to bite all over 84.15  
*kʷLē-bībē's* to tear to pieces 71.6  
*kʷLē-ia'ts* to hit all over 58.2

Tsimshian:

| **kʷli-iā'm laxha'** going across the sky ZE 783  
| **kʷli-gaigai'** to bite all over  
| **kʷli-galgōl** split all over
56. xLEm- around an obstacle, making a curve around something
   (Tsimshian: xLEm-).
   xLEm-īs' to go overland, cutting off a point
   xLEm-ma'gāl to put a rope over something
   xLEm-hē'isl to send around something
   xLEm-da'qā to choke some one, hang some one

Here belongs also—
   xLEm-gal-ga'n'sēt to kneel down

This prefix occurs also with nouns.
   xLEm-qē'nex trail going around in a circle

Tsimshian:
   ✗ xLEm-īs'ok to embrace
   ✗ xLEm-da'kō to tie around

57. k'Edō- sideways.
   k'Edō-ga'n'ask to look sideways

58. k'āl- aside.
   q'an-k'āl-ō tō she only pushes aside 191.11
   k'āl-hē'tgūm qē'venq labret standing on one side 191.13

59. qana- inclined against (Tsimshian)
   ✗ qana-tō to sit leaning against something
   ✗ qana-hō'otg to stand leaning against something
   ✗ qana-ba'teg to stand leaning against something

60. maxLE- through a narrow channel (Tsimshian).
   ✗ maxLE-bō to go through a channel
   ✗ maxLE-ha'dē eks to swim through a channel
   ✗ maxLE-qā'p a narrow channel
   ✗ MaxLE-qā'la Metlakahtla, narrow channel of sea (compare
     G'it-qā'la people of the sea)

61. g'ik-si- out of; undoubtedly a compound of k'si- out of (no. 8).
   ✗ g'ik-si-hweǐtku to come out of 10.1

62. lāila- near the end; perhaps a compound of lō- in (no. 29), and
   hēla- near (no. 45).
   lāila-dē'lik's cut off smooth at end (name of a dog), from
   dē'lik's smooth
   lāila-dā'lyt to speak close to some one

§ 10. Modal Particles

There is no strict distinction between this group and the preceding
one. Many of the particles classed here are used with equal frequency
as adverbial and as adnominal elements. Thus we find wo-, which
means at the same time GREATLY, MUCH, and LARGE; lgo-, which sig-
nifies both a little and small. The attempt has been made to relegate all elements which may be separated from the stem by a pronoun into a group by themselves (§ 15); but since such separation occurs only in transitive verbs, and not all particles have been found with transitive verbs, it seems likely that the grouping may have to be changed when the language comes to be better known. While in some cases the composition of particles and stems is quite firm, others convey the impression of being almost independent adverbs.

63. awus- ready to move; not free (Tsimshian).
   awus-t’ā’ ready to stand up, singular
   awus-wa’n ready to stand up, plural
   awus-hē’ōtk ready to move

63a. a- easily (Tsimshian).
   a-sonā’l easily tired
   a-ku’ti’ easily hungry
   a-bā’g’ask worried (literally, easily tasted)

64. anb’El- in an unusual frame of mind. This prefix is not entirely free (Tsimshian: p’El-).
   anb’El-hō’ to say crying 220.5
   anb’El-a’ly’ix to speak while angry, to talk behind one’s back
   anb’El-ia’dalk’ to strike, break, in a state of anger
   anb’El-qalā’q to play

Tsimshian:
   p’El-ga-mi’ōtk to play with something

65. ank’š- opening up (Tsimshian: aks-).
   ank’š-kla’qst to kick apart 134.3
   ank’š-iē’ to increase
   ank’š-t’em’st paint-pot
   wē-ankw’-s’gan large rotten (open) tree 106.12

Tsimshian:
   sa-hagul-aks-ia’ to open suddenly slowly (see no. 76)
   aks-ia’og to increase
   aks-t’ā’oh to push open
   se-aks-q’a’g to open up

66. agwi- outside, beyond (Tsimshian: agwi-).
   agwi-tq’al-da’ it is outside close against it
   agwi-an-dā’x’ the outside
   agwi-māl’ boat (literally, beyond a canoe)
   agwi-huxdā’ek’en great-grandchild (lit., beyond grandchild)

Tsimshian:
   agwi-ba’tsg to stand outside

§ 10
67. alū- (a- easily, lu- in?) plainly; alone (Tsimshian: alu-).

(a) Plainly, real:

alū-a' there was plainly 106.13
alū-bā'n run quickly ! 93.4
sem-k'ar-a-ale-ba'x to run really exceedingly quick 107.10

As a nominal prefix we find it in—
alū-g'ig'a't real persons (i.e., Indians) 170.13

Here belongs probably—

sem-alu-göl to run quite suddenly, plural 141.8

(b) Alone; always with reduplication:
alū-hehē'tk to stand alone 44.15
alū-sisgī' to lie alone
alū-d'ed'a' to sit alone

Tsimshian:
alū-k'ul-iā'o to go about plainly ZE 783\textsuperscript{48}
alu-t!ā'o to be in evidence
alu-bā'o to run really

68. aLax- in bad health (Tsimshian: la-).
alax-hag'āl'ōtk\textsuperscript{44} having a crippled back

Tsimshian:
la-g'ar'k in bad health

69. aLda- in the dark.

alda-wō'c to paddle in the night
alda-ič to walk in the dark

70. i- with reduplication; action done while in motion.
i-g'ig'ebā'yuk flying while being moved
i-al'yinë I talk while moving, while at work
i-hahā'dik's swimming while carrying

71. hwagait- completing a motion entirely (Tsimshian: wagait-).

This prefix belongs to the series bagait- (lēbagait-) (no. 82),
sagait- (no. 99), spaqait- (no. 103), q'amqait- (no. 119).

hwagait-qalk'si-di'ul to pass through entirely 143.14 (see no. 24)
hwagait-sq'iri' to lie way over 134.3
hwagait-mu'q to put away

This is also a nominal prefix:

hwagait-g'ik's way off shore 146.14
hwagait-gō'st over there 134.4

Tsimshian:

sem-sa-wagait-uk's-di'ul to go right out to sea very suddenly
(see nos. 168, 98, 10)
wagait-g'ī'ks way off shore

§ 10
72. walen- former.
    walen-ga’n an old (rotten) tree 25.4
    walen-na’dk’st his former wife 135.14
    walen-g’ig’a’t the people of former times 191.1
    walen-wi-g’egd’ot the same size as before 23.4

73. wi- great, greatly; singular (Tsimshian: wi-). This prefix is commonly used as an attribute, but also as an adverb, expressing, however, rather a quality of the subject. See also lgo- no. 135.

(a) Adverbial:
    wi-se-med’l to make burn much 89.8
    wi-sa’qat it splits much 148.8

It is also found in fixed combinations:
    wi-yed’k’ to cry 90.3
    wi-am-het to shout 89.12. Here it is apparently connected with the adverbial -em (§ 22)

(b) Adjectival:
    wi-g’a’t big (awkward) man 196.9
    wi-lig’i’ensk great grizzly bear 118.4
    Wi-xba’la Great West-wind (a name)

Tsimshian:

(a) Adverbial:
    wi-ha’utk to cry

(b) Adjectival:
    wi-g’d’ep’a great light ZE 785
    wi-medi’ek great grizzly bear
    q’ap-k’a-wi-naxnog’ really exceedingly great supernatural being (see nos. 117, 106)
    wi-sem’daqit great chief

73a. wud’ax- great, plural (Tsimshian: wut’a-).
    wud’ax-qa-wen large teeth 84.3
    wud’ax-ax-qa-g’d’odet great fools 33.10

74. hasba- upside down (Tsimshian: hasba-). This prefix is related to g’asba- no. 121.

    haspa-b’es to tear out so that it is upside down 127.13
    sem-hasba-sg’i’ to lay exactly face up 214.11
    hasba-sg’i to lay upside down (a hat) 17.2

Peculiar is—

    hasba-ti-g’d’xk’ to go in the same trail 202.15

Tsimshian:

| hasba-p’i’egal to tear out so that it is upside down |
75. hats’Eks- terribly, causing feeling of uneasiness.
   hats’eks-hool’il to act so that people get afraid
   hats’eks-a’lgr’ix to talk roughly

76. hagul- slowly (Tsimshian: hagul-).
   hagul-hool’il to do slowly 54.4
   hagul-grool’otk’ to disappear slowly

Tsimshian:
   hagul-baa’o to run slowly ZE 786\textsuperscript{134}
   hagul-dsaga-iia’o to go slowly across ZL 787\textsuperscript{135}
   hagul-kadaxs to leave slowly
   hagul-ia’ox to go slowly

77. haldeM- (Tsimshian: haldeM-) occurs only with the verbs
   bax, plural goli, to run, with the meaning to rise 124.9, 114.7.
   In Tsimshian the same composition with baa, plural goli, to run,
   occurs with the same meaning; but the prefix seems to be a
   little freer with the meaning RISING FROM THE GROUND.
   haldeM-niidoz to look up

78. hi- to begin (Tsimshian: hi-).
   hii-yuit to begin 133.14
   q’ai-hii-lot duqdet they just began to shoot 20.4
   This prefix is much more common with nouns:
   hii-mesax’ beginning of day
   hii-luk morning

Tsimshian:
   hii-se-ta’ax it just began to be ZE 781\textsuperscript{9}
   hii-tasso tto just to enter
   hii-setla-demt p’a’egant he began to break it down

79. his- to do apparently, to pretend to (Tsimshian: his-); always
   with medial suffix (see § 17.3-5).
   his-aku’sk to pretend to drink 18.7
   his-huvadi to pretend to sleep 219.10
   his-hwulitk’ to pretend to do 23.1
   his-nootk’ to pretend to be dead 65.11
   his-miyedk’ to pretend to cry 217.10
   his-li’ntk’ to pretend to be angry
   his-xda’ks to pretend to be hungry

Tsimshian:
   sis-kutu’nu I pretend to be hungry
   sis-a’x to laugh (literally, to play with the mouth)
   sis-yu-hu’k’da’ks to play having (i.e., with) a bow (see nos. 159, 160)

§ 10.
80. **pelem**- to act as though one was performing an action (Tsimshian: *benem*-).

*pelem-g'o* to act as though taking 38.8
*pelem-i'ε* to go and turn back again at once
*pelem-g'a'p* to act as though eating something

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>benem-xst'otk</th>
<th>to act as though vomiting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>benem-t'ú'os</td>
<td>to act as though about to strike</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

81. **belesem**- in front of body, forward; similar in meaning to *xina*- no. 127 (Tsimshian: *xelesem*-).

t ló-belesem-qaq'áq'ant he opened it in front of his body 26.14

Tsimshian:

| xelesem-sger | to lie prone ZE 78911 |

82. **bagait**- just in the right place or manner (Tsimshian: *leba-gait*-). Compare *hwagait*- (no. 71), *sagait*- (no. 99), *spa-gait*- (no. 108), *q'amqait*- (no. 119).

*bagait-krod'εt* it is cracked right in the middle
*bagait-g'o* to hit just in the right place
*q'am-bagait-bebesba'tsk* only to be lifted just in the right way 62.13

Like the other prefixes ending in *-gait*, this prefix is also nominal:
*sems-bagait-se'lluk* just right in the middle 73.4.

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lebagait-sqa-ba'tseg</th>
<th>to stand across just there ZE 793249</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lebagait-det'á'o</td>
<td>sitting alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lebagait-ba'il</td>
<td>to be lost</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83. **meselem**- separate.

*mesem-hrod'n* to sit separately
*mesem-ló'j* to walk separately

84. **ma**- like (Tsimshian: *me*-).

*ma-vat'æx* crazy (literally, like a land-otter)
*ma-d'l* having epileptic fits (literally, like a bear)

Tsimshian:

| mes-vat'sa | a crazy (literally, like a land-otter) |

85. **wadi**- like (Tsimshian).

*wadi-hats'i'a'n* innumerable (literally, like fly-blows)
*wadi-kse-l'ætit* like fluid slime
*wadi-walb* like a house

86. **max**- only, entirely, all.

*max-händ'q* (they are) all women 184.5
*max-t'uxt* a woman having only sons; (they are) all men
*max-hé'x* it is only fat 42.3

§ 10
87. *mEL(a)*- to each, distributive (Tsimshian: *mELa*-).
   *mELa-gulā’nt* three to each
   *mELi-k’d’l* one man in each (corner) 33.12

Tsimshian:
   | *mELa-k!’rel* one to each

88. *mELa*- both (Tsimshian).
   | *mELa-men-owā’lz* both go up (see no. 3)
   | *mELa-l’l-dā’* to put on both (see no. 30)
   | *mELa-hakh’dl’em g’at* both (villages had) many people

89. *sEN*- firmly (Tsimshian).
   | *sEN-nā’* to bait
   | *sEN-dō’tx* to hold fast
   | *sEN-wō’* to admonish

90. *dEX-, dIX*- firmly; not free (Tsimshian: *dax*-).
   *dIX-’yu’kʷ* to hold fast

Tsimshian:
   | *dax-yā’qwa* to hold fast

91. *dE-, dē*- with (Tsimshian: *dE*-).
   *dE-dā’ul* to carry away (literally, to go away with)
   *tsuam-dē-g’ibā’yuk* to fly ashore with something 178.12

Tsimshian:
   | *dE-bā’* to run away with
   | *har-dē-gō’it’eks* to come up with
   | *t dē-tš’ont* he entered with it

92. *dūla*- improperly.
   *dūla-al’gy’ix* to talk improperly, to grumble
   *dūla-dā’čel āqt* to put mouth on one side
   *dūla-yē’txʷs* to walk improperly, to wobble
   *wē-dūla-g’at’kʷ* being a great improper man (i.e., cowardly) 195.3

93. *txa*- entirely, all (Tsimshian: *txa*-).
   *txa-gō’l’segat* he carried all on his shoulder 116.4
   *txa-reb’bd* to invite all 186.15
   *txa-lō-tstå’l’ōt* to skin inside entirely 150.10
   *txa-bel’da* it was all abalone 45.3

This prefix is contained also in—
   *txan’tkʷ* all

Tsimshian:
   | *txa-ga’ntyg* stiff (literally, woody) all over
   | *txa-re’ntyg* to have teeth to the end (of life)
   | *txa-yō’l* all slippery
   | *txa-l’i-qai’nat* all fall on

§ 10
94. **nā-** to complete an action (Tsimshian: *na-*)
   
   nā-da'qt to strike with a hammer so that it breaks
   nā-ha'ts to bite through 127.8
   na-š'x' to hit so that it breaks 48.8
   na-gapgā'bet they fastened it so that it staid 178.3
   nā-d'isē'g'ē's to knock with the hand 8.12

   **Tsimshian:**
   | na-g'əlk to punch through

95. **na-** each other, one another (Tsimshian: *na-*)
   
   k'ax-na-al'a'lg'ədet they talked to each other for a while 19.8
   (see no. 107)
   na-xe'q'ədet they disbelieved each other 28.2
   k'ul-na-gaq'q'ədet they howled about to one another 96.4

   **Tsimshian:**
   | lu-na-lat'əl to put into each other

96. **nō'ōm-** to desire. This may possibly be the verb *nō'ō* to die.
   
   nō'ōm-iə' to desire to go
   nō'ōm-a'k's to desire to drink 21.8

   If this element is an adverbial form of *nō'ō*, it corresponds to

   **Tsimshian:**
   | dzə'qəm xe'q'əg'ənus I am dead asleep

97. **sEl-** fellow, companion (Tsimshian: *sEl-*)
   
   silhāna'q fellow-woman 208.12
   sil-q'aima'q'sit fellow-youths 195.13

   This prefix is also used with verbs:
   
   sil-hwa'n to sit together
   sil-gas-gə'bi'ən to be of the same size 89.7

   **Tsimshian:**
   | ne'-sel-vəl't his companions

98. **sā-** suddenly (Tsimshian: *sa-*)
   
   sā-hē'kə to stand suddenly 99.14
   sā-gə'seckə to stop crying suddenly 22.5

   **Tsimshian:**
   | sa-ha'u to say suddenly
   sa-l'i-g'ək'ks to float suddenly on something
   sa-lu-haldem-bə' to arise suddenly on something
   sa-lu-nā'ək to lie on something suddenly

99. **sagait-** together (Tsimshian: *sagait-*) (see nos. 71, 82, 103, 119).
   
   sagait-da'k'z' to fasten together 68.10
   sagait-iə' to go together 51.8
   sagait-wə'lgət to carry all together 70.10

§ 10
Tsimshian:

\[ \text{saqait-\text{wa}'n to sit together ZE 786}^{13} \]
\[ \text{saqait-\text{*teg} to stand together} \]
\[ \text{saqait-\text{lu-}\text{am'}d'\text{m qaq\text{\textasciitilde{a}}d} they were all glad (literally, good in their hearts)} \]
\[ \text{saqait-\text{w\text{\textasciitilde{l}}xem} we walk together} \]

100. \text{saq'ap- without purpose (Tsimshian: saq'ap-).} 
\[ \text{k'u-\text{saq'ap-i\text{\textasciitilde{e}}} to walk about without purpose ZE 96.10} \]
\[ \text{saq'ap-\text{te'mix\text{\textasciitilde{r}} to sing without purpose}} \]

Tsimshian:

\[ \text{k'u-\text{ul-saq'ap-i\text{\textasciitilde{e}}} to go about without purpose ZE 796}^{23b} \]

101. \text{si- new (Tsimshian: si-).} 
\[ \text{si-\text{n}\text{\textasciitilde{a}'}k'}\text{-st his new wife 135.15} \]
\[ \text{si-\text{kwil new}} \]

Tsimshian:

\[ \text{su-p'a's young, singular (literally, newly grown)} \]
\[ \text{su-ma'as young, plural (literally, newly standing)} \]
\[ \text{su-sa'mi fresh meat} \]
\[ \text{su-se-n-dz'\text{q} to make a new village (see no. 164)} \]

102. \text{si\text{\textasciitilde{x}}- steadily (Tsimshian: stu-).} 
\[ \text{si\text{\textasciitilde{x}}-\text{g'\text{\textasciitilde{a}}a to look steadily, to watch 156.1} \]
\[ \text{si\text{\textasciitilde{x}}-\text{i\text{\textasciitilde{e}}} to walk steadily} \]
\[ \text{si\text{\textasciitilde{x}}-\text{w\text{\textasciitilde{a}}x\ to paddle steadily}} \]

Tsimshian:

\[ \text{sta-\text{i\text{\textasciitilde{a}'}nu I walk steadily} \]
\[ \text{sta-\text{gis\text{\textasciitilde{i}}}\text{-i\text{\textasciitilde{e}}} to go down river steadily} \]

103. \text{spaqait- among (Tsimshian: spaqait-). This prefix belongs to the series hwaquit-, bagait-, saqait-, q'amqait- (nos. 71, 82, 99, 119); -spa seems to belong to haspa- inverted, q'aspa- astray, which have spa in common with spaqait-.}
\[ \text{d\text{\textasciitilde{\text{\textasciitilde{o}}}}-\text{loqspaqait-h\text{\textasciitilde{k}}\text{sk}\text{\textasciitilde{a}} also to be inside among 42.4} \]

This prefix occurs also with nouns:
\[ \text{spaqait-\text{ganga}'n among trees 31.14} \]
\[ \text{spaqait-\text{sq'\text{d'}}\text{ek}\text{\textasciitilde{a}} in the darkness 11.9} \]
\[ \text{spaqait-\text{loq\text{\textasciitilde{a}}} l\text{\textasciitilde{e}}q [among] in a rotten corpse 217.9} \]

Tsimshian:

\[ \text{spaqait-\text{sq\text{\textasciitilde{\text{\textasciitilde{e}}}}teg} in the darkness ZE 782}^{23} \]
\[ \text{spaqait-\text{g\text{\textasciitilde{a}}t among people}} \]
\[ \text{spaqait-\text{ganga}'n among trees} \]

104. \text{ts'Ens- to desert, deserted (Tsimshian: ts'Ens-).} 
\[ \text{ts'Ens-\text{\textasciitilde{\text{\textasciitilde{e}}}k to desert by moving 159.15} \]
\[ \text{ts'Ens-\text{\textasciitilde{\text{\textasciitilde{\text{\textasciitilde{e}}}}k\text{\textasciitilde{a}}} widow (literally, deserted by dying) \]

§ 10
Tsimshian:
  | ts'ëns-lá'yik to desert by moving
  | ts'ëns-dza'k widow (literally, deserted by dying)

105. ts'Enl- a short way (Tsimshian).
  | ts'ën-dzo'x to move canoe back a short way
  | ts'ën-lá' to go a short way off

106. k•'a- to a higher degree, exceedingly (Tsimshian: k!a-).

  sem-k•'a-ale-ba'x to run really exceedingly fast 107.10 (see nos. 168, 67)
  k•'a-wi-hé'del élx there were exceedingly many seals 107.6 (see no. 73; élx seal)
  k•'a-wi-t'ë'sl hvilpt as né'e his house is larger than mine
    (literally, his house is exceedingly large to me) (see no. 73;
    hvilpt house; as to; né'e me)
  k•'a-wi-t'ë'sl hvilp (this) house is the largest
  lgö-k•'a-wi-t'ë'st he was a little larger 108.15 (see no. 135)

Tsimshian:
  | g'ap-k!a-dzaga-alu-bá' to run really very openly across ZE
    786
  | g'ap-k!a-wi-naxné'g really a greater supernatural being
    k!a-na'g exceedingly long ZE 786

107. k•'ax- for a while (Tsimshian: k!a-).

  k•'ax-há'ót it stops for a while 218.3
  k•'ax-háx- to use for a while 34.6
  k•'ax-gun-g'a' to show for a while 26.6 (gun- to cause; g'aa to see)
  k•'ax-na-al'da'lx to talk to each other for a while 19.8
  k•'ax-so-qè't to make a string for a while 117.6

Here belongs also—
  g•'ax hao'n later on

Tsimshian:
  | ada' k'a-lá'ót then he sat for a while

108. g•'in- seems to occur only in g•'in-hé'tk to rise 151.14.

Tsimshian:
  | g•'ina-hé'tg to rise

109. g•'ina- (left) behind (Tsimshian g•'ina-).

  g•'ina-hé'tk to stand behind 141.2
  g•'ina-g'dó to be there, being left behind 67.2
  g•'ina-d'a' to remain, being left behind 194.13
  k'ut-g•'ina-d'éx to be (plural) about being left behind 70.8 (see
    no. 33)
  lgö-q'am-g•'ina-d'a' only a little one was left 95.14
Tsimshian:

| g'ina-tl'á to stay behind |
| g'ina-šá to go slower than (literally, to leave going) |
| g'ina-tši'k left dry |

110. k'r!ina- to go to do something; the action to be done is expressed by a noun (Tsimshian).¹

| k'r!ina-xsa'n to go to gamble |
| k'r!ina-da'o'sta to go across (to see) |
| k'r!ina-su-p'ads to go after a young girl |

111. g'uldEp- underneath (?), upside down (?)

| g'uldEp-da'lk'sk to cling to the under side (of the canoe) 57.6 |
| k'u-l-g'uldEp-qaxd'ik to drift about capsized, upside down 24.3 |
| g'uldEp-qal'iks I turn dishes over upside down |

112. k'sax- only, just (Tsimshian: k'sa-, often with q'am- or am-only).

| k'sax-d'q just to take (i.e., without implements for taking) 41.7 |
| k'sax-k'u-l-daxd'q they just lay about 162.5 |
| k'sax-q'ina'nul tso'osk'hé'x' he only gave a little fat 163.6 |
| (tso'osk: little; hëx: fat) |

This may really belong to the particles given in § 15.

k'sax- is often used with nouns:

| k'sax-te'q only bones 214.12 |
| k'sax-lo-nts'ets only the little grandmother 152.10 |

Tsimshian:

| q'am-ksa-ts XP only four |
| q'am-ksa-k'el only one |
| am-ksa haná nga only the women |
| kwa-hó'tget he just stood still |

113. k'öpE- little, plural; a little (Tsimshian: k'abE-). This is commonly used as an attributive prefix for the plural only. The idea of a LITTLE, SLIGHTLY, is generally expressed by this prefix; while lgo-, which is the singular of the attributive prefix, seems to imply that a small one performs the action expressed in the verb. See no. 135.

(a) Adverbial:

| k'öpE-aba'q'ask to be troubled a little 74.15 |
| k'öpE-ama-g'a'dæsæm, look out a little well for her 192.1 |
| k'öpE-lo-gabu'z to splash in something a little |

(b) Adjectival:

| k'öpE-huwil'p little houses 185.8 |
| k'öpE-th'zil'k' children 102.1 |

¹This particle is classed more properly with those given in § 13.
Tsimshian:

(a) Adverbal:
   *k’labs-si’epqenu* I poor one am sick
(b) Adjectival:
   *k’labs-ga-qo’k* little baskets

114. **gun-** to order, to cause (Tsimshian: *gun-*).

   *gun-ba’l* to cause to spread out 130.11
   *gun-go’u* to cause to hit 53.8
   *gun-se-mé’l* to order to make burn 91.14
   *gun-qé’lqan* to order to poke 91.6

Tsimshian:

   *gun-mo’gan* to ask to be taken aboard
   *gun-ni’odz* to show (literally, to cause to see)

115. **gulik’s-** backward; also reflexive object (Tsimshian: *g’ileks-*)

   *gulik’s-hë’tk* to rush back 210.4
   *gulik’s-a’qlk* to reach (arrive) coming back 76.10
   *gulik’s-g’a’ask* to look back
   *dë-gulik’s-ëp-madqs* to throw one’s self also down (dë also;
   *dë*  exp down) 42.13
   *gulik’s-da’xk* to kill one’s self
   *sem-gulik’s-ëtk* to repent (literally, to name one’s self much)
   52.3
   *gulik’s-dë’tk* pocket-knife (literally, covering itself)
   *anik’s-lö-la’galk* looking-glass (contracted from *an-gulik’s-lo-
   la’galk* what one’s self in beholds)

Tsimshian:

   *g’ileks-ba’o* to run back ZE 78814a
   *g’ileks-ga’o* to take back
   *g’ileks-ni’odz* to look back
   *lep-g’ileks-d’igit* he threw himself down

116. **gulx-** continued motion (Tsimshian: *gugulx- * for all times).

   *gulx-të’es* to push along
   *gulx-ba’x* to jump along

Tsimshian:

   *gugulx-hë’otg* to stand for all times

117. **g’ap-** really, certainly, must, strongly (Tsimshian: *g’ap-*)

   *g’ap-ku’kssaan* to be really unable (to carry) 167.13
   *g’ap-dë-dzë’pt* really on his part he made 170.5
   *g’ap-ha’qal* to urge really 43.13
   *g’ap-wö-të’st* it is really large 13.13
   *g’ap-gö’dë* I have taken it entirely
   *g’ap-yö’qgun* you must eat
   *g’ap-ölq’ë* certainly, it is a bear

§ 10
Tsimshian:

| g'ap-ks-ts'a'ps really to be called a tribe ZE 783 |
| g'ap-k'a-wi-naxm'b'q really a greater supernatural being (see nos. 106, 73) |
| g'ap-wul'am-bə'cg really to blow ashore (see no. 22) |
| g'ap-bə'tsg really to stand |

118. q'am- only, i.e., without result, to no purpose; compare k'sar- (no. 112) only, i.e., without doing anything else (Tsimshian: q'am-, am-).

(a) Adverbial:
q'am-and'q to agree without caring 18.13
q'am-tsagam-stid'ext he only fastened it ashore (without taking it up to the house to eat it) 178.3
q'am-stid'extt he only finished eating (but did not go) 107.10
q'am-lo-g'at'el only to lie down (without doing anything) 59.7.

(b) Adnominal, with numerals:
q'am-kx'ə'l only one 100.13
q'am-gul'd'n only three 113.1
q'am-alb'q only few 178.10

(c) Adnominal; refuse, useless:
q'am-wid'ts chips
q'am-ho'fl'p a miserable house

Tsimshian:

(a) Adverbial:
am-man-wə'lxə he just went up (see no. 3)

(b) Adnominal, with numerals:
q'am-kəx-təlpx only four
q'am-kəx'ə'l only one

(c) Adnominal; useless:
lɔg-q'am-kəxwa's an old little broken one
q'am-wə'lb old house
q'am-tə's'ots charcoal

119. q'amgt- already, just then (Tsimshian: amgt-). This prefix, which is related to the series in -qait- (nos. 71, 82, 99, 103), appears also independently.
kəxt q'amgt-g's'as Tə'xə'məem T. had already seen it 17.12
t q'amgt-ho'g'iəx'ə'l sem'd'q'iət the chief knew it already 220.1
(ho'g'iəx'əl to know; sem'd'g'iə chief)
q'amgt niq'i və'q't just then he did not sleep 37.1
q'amgt q'd'məs'en də'gəl . . . məq'd'qət already he had secretly taken salmon berries 49.15 (q'd'məs'en secretly; də'gə to take; məq'd'qət salmon berry)
Tsimshian:

| ada amgait-tā'ot then he was just there ZE 782²

120. ganē- always, permanently, without stopping. This prefix occurs commonly with hvoil and adverbal ending -a in the sense of always 121.4, 15. Other compounds are—

ganē-mē'i it burns so that the fire can not be put out again
ganē-d' a to sit down for good
ganē-ts'e'n to have entered to stay
ganē-alq'sə to talk without stopping
ganē-qabē'yit there are just as many

121. q'asba- anywhere, astray. This prefix is related to hasba- upside down (no. 74); see also no. 103.

q'asba-k'ul-hvoā'ax* to paddle about astray 17.2 (k'ul- about [no. 33])
q'asba-sa-k'ul-icə he went about away astray 38.14 (sa- off [no. 39]; k'ul- about [no. 33])

122. q'ai- still, just, near; also used as an independent adverb.

(a) Adverbial:

q'ai-huvoqt he was still asleep 127.5
q'ai-hoagait-tsagam-yû'k'det they moved still far away toward the shore (hoagait- [no. 71]; tsagam- toward shore [no. 9])
q'ai-lig'o-q'i sk*st just any time he stopped 91.5 (lig'i- any place or time [no. 20]; q'eskl* to stop speaking)

(b) Adnominal:

q'ai-q'd'ilił tqa just six months 29.5
lgo-q'ai-ts'osgam'im wi-tə's just a little large 153.5 (lgo- small [no. 135]; ts'osk- small; -m adjectival connective; wi- great [no. 73]; tə's large)

123. gal- too.

gal-alə'n too slow
gal-d'ə'lt too fast
gal-lə'ltk* too late

124. gal- without people, empty (Tsimshian: qal-).

qal-hvoilp house without people in it
qal-bë'ts space 81.6
qal-ts'ap town, tribe

This particle is also used with verbs:

qal-d'ə' to stay away from a town
qal-dë'q to camp away from a town

Tsimshian:

| qal-xërnx empty box
| qal-ts'ap town

§ 10
125. xpi- partly.
   xpi-ma’k’sha partly white
   xpi-ts’e’me’lix- partly beaver (name of a monster supposed to
   resemble a seal with beaver-tail)
   xpi-n’dts partly coward (name of a man)

126. xpilyim- forward (in time and space).
   xpilyim-g’a’a to look forward

127. xlna- bending forward (Tsimshian: xlna-).
   xlna-sg’e’tk to fall down forward
   xlna-d’a’k to kneel down

Tsimshian:
   xlna-ma’xsg to dive, plural (literally, to stand head foremost)
   xlna-d’e’dul to go down headlong with

128. I- is a particle used to express the plural of certain words, and
     will be found discussed in § 45.

129. lep- self, as subject (see gułik’s- self as object [no. 115]).

   (a) Adverbial:
   lep-g’iin-hê’tk’u’t he himself arose 156.11
   t lep-tuqam-g’a’d’k’it he himself dragged it ashore 175.13
   lep-gułik’s-ha’l’ulik’u’t it itself acted by itself 61.3
   lep-gułik’s-hanu’lak’u’s na’è I, I myself destroyed my own 220.5
      (nà’è I)

   (b) Adnominal:
   lep-nebè’pt his own uncle

Tsimshian:

   (a) Adverbial:
   lep-o’d’i’tg he himself takes a name
   lep-lgusge’ret he himself is happy
   dà t-lep-d’o’get he himself, on his part, took
   am-di-lep-neanò’xsedet that they themselves, on their part, are
   supernatural
   lep-g’uleks-o’i’get he himself threw himself down

   (b) Adnominal:
   lep-qas’dà’ (their) own canoes

130. lebèlt- against (Tsimshian: lebèlt-).
   dè-lebèlt-huilenestü’ you also do against (some one) 65.14
   lebèlt-k’o’tk’u to incite against
   lebèlt-al’g’ìc to talk with some one

Tsimshian:
   lebèlt-da’l to fight against
   lebèlt-wàl enemy

§ 10
131. **lEg’ul**- for good (Tsimshian: **lEk’ul**- for good; see *ganè-* always, permanently [no. 120]).

   *lEk’ul*-s’ns to be entirely blind
   *lEk’ul*-dā’ul to leave for good
   *lEk’ul*-ts’èn to have entered to stay

Tsimshian:

   | lsk’ul-*k*da’xs to leave for good

132. **lIg’èx**- partly, half.

   *lIg’èx-md’gal to put away half
   *lIg’èx-g’a*t nobility (literally, halfway [chief] people)

133. **leks**- strange, different, by itself (Tsimshian: **LEks**-).

   *leks-g’a*t a strange person
   sa-tru-leks-g’a*t to make quite different
   *leks-d’a* island (literally, sitting by itself)

Tsimshian:

   | leks-t’ā*ο island
   | leks-g’ig’a’d kinds ZE 791²⁸⁵

134. ** lem**- stopping a motion (Tsimshian: **LEM**-).

   *lem-ba’x to stop by running
   *lem-gò*c to offend
   *lem-èlk*c to interfere (literally, to stop by calling)

In Tsimshian this prefix does not seem to be free.

   | lem-g’ipò*g to fly against the wind
   | lem-bā*a*sg head-wind

135. **lgō**- little (Tsimshian: **lgu**-). This is commonly used as an attributive prefix, but for the singular only. The adverbial idea is expressed by *k’öpe*- (Tsimshian: *k’abè*- [no. 113]), which, in an attributive sense, is used only for the plural.

   *lgō-a’lg’èxt* he said with a low voice (perhaps better, the little one said) 54.12

The use of *lgō-* as attributive is very common:

   *k’sax-lgō-ts’eps’d*p only the little wren 126.5 (see no. 112)
   *lgō-ts’èw’èng’it* the little youngest one 185.14

Still more frequent is its use with adjectives:

   *lgō-gvōl’em* *lgō-tl’èlk* the little poor little boy 139.7
   *lgō-q’ai-ts’ösq’im wi-t’e*s only a little large (*q’ai*- just; *ts’ösq* small; *wi*- great; *t’e* large)
   *lgō-dax-g’a*t a little strong

Tsimshian:

   | lgú-xà*ο little slave ZE 789³⁷⁷
   | lgú-q’am-k!wo’a*s a bad little broken one

§ 10
§ 11. Nominal Particles

A number of particles, according to their meaning, can occur only in a nominal sense, modifying nouns and adjectives. A few of these might as well have been classed with the preceding group.

136. **am-** serving for (Tsimshian: *am-*). This prefix is not free.
   - *am-lo'x* alder-tree (serving for [the dyeing of] head rings of cedar-bark)
   - *am-mal* cottonwood (serving for canoes)
   - *am-halai't* head-dress (serving for shaman's dance)
   - *am-sq'inist* pine-tree (serving for pitch)
   - *am-yu'kt* used in potlatch 194.1

Tsimshian
   - *am-moqal* mask (serving for dance)
   - *am-qao'n* cedar (serving for wood)

This prefix is also used in some connections where the explanation here given does not seem satisfactory:
   - *am-qao'n* a kind of salmon-trap
   - *am-xlal* willow (*xlal* fruit of willow)
   - *am-ha'ts* stump 55.5

In other cases it appears as a verbal prefix, the meaning of which is not known:
   - *am-qao'd* to remember 209.13
   - *am-sq'i* to lie (on the beach?) 172.11
   - *am-ala'eq* to destroy in anger

137. **ax-** without (Tsimshian: *wra-*). This prefix is nominal, and serves as negation in subordinate clauses, which in Tsimshian are transformed into nominal form. Examples are here given of nominal forms and of subordinate clauses:

(a) Nouns:
   - *ax'-a'k's* without water
   - *ax-wun'a'x* without food
   - *ax-gaq'd* foolish (literally, without minds) 123.10
   - *ax-ga'dem* *g'a't* foolish person
   - *an-ax-ko't* carelessness
   - *ax-mbo'ku* unripe 50.5
   - *ax-gam-da'xku* disgraceful
   - *ax-de-si-halai't* never giving a dance (an opprobrious epithet)
   - *ax-na-mu*x without ear-ornaments (an opprobrious epithet)
   - *ax-g'ets* without labret (a little girl)
   - *ax-tqal-g'a'tku* virgin (not against a man)
(b) Subordinate clauses:

\[ k^{'e} \text{et } g^{'a} \text{al wun\'a} \text{x} \text{r} \text{a ax-g\text{e}'betg\text{e}} \text{ then he saw the food which he had not eaten 41.3,4 (k\text{e} then; -t he; g\text{e}a to see; -l connective [§ 23]; wun\'a} \text{x} \text{r} \text{a food; La past, nominal form; ax- not; g\text{e}'p to eat something; -t his; -g\text{e} absent [§ 20])} \]

\[ n\text{a} \text{t'an ax-hvıll\text{a}gın? who does not know thee (n\text{a} who; t'an he who; ax- not; hvıll\text{a}x to know; -n thee)\]

\[ nıg\text{e} \text{in dem d\text{e} g\text{e}ut hvıll ax-k\text{a}ta'yı 1, on my part, shall not take it, not being hungry (nıg\text{e}i not; -n 1; dem future; d\text{e} on the other hand, on (my) part; g\text{e}u to take; -t it; hvıll being; ax- not; k\text{a}ta'yı hungry; -ı 1)\]

There is a second form, aql, the relation of which to ax is difficult to understand. Apparently this form is ay with connective -l (see § 23). It does not occur in subordinate clauses, and may perhaps be considered as a verb meaning IT IS NOTHING.

\[nlk^{'e} \text{ aql hvıllt then he did nothing 68.6 (then nothing was his doing)}\]

\[nlk^{'e} \text{ aql g\text{e}'blem then nothing is your food 157.11}\]

\[nlk^{'e} \text{ aql-yı\text{e}xk\text{e}s Ts\text{a}k then Ts\text{a}k was without (place to) go 126.7}\]

\[nlk^{'e} \text{ aql-hvıllt then he was without doing anything 68.6}\]

It is doubtful, however, whether this explanation is really satisfactory. Difficulties are presented particularly by forms like—

\[aq \text{ dep-hvıll\text{a}gut what can we do? 103.7 (dep we)}\]

\[aq n hvılla dzı\text{'bet I do not know how to make it}\]

Only a few Tsimshian forms may be given here:

| va-di-lgu-xa\text{a} on their part without even a little foam |
| (di on their part; lgu- little; xa\text{a} foam) |
| va-dzaga-lı\text{a}p\text{e}l without twinkling across |

138. **hwin-** innermost part (Tsimshian: wun-).

**hwin-gı\text{e}s brain**

**hwin-havul' point of arrow**

**hwin-ts\text{u}wul heart of tree 148.8**

Tsimshian:

| wun-ga\text{e}s brain |

139. **dE-** extreme, plural; see k\text{e}s- singular (no. 143) (Tsimshian: ta-)

**de-laxı\text{e}t the highest ones**

**de-lı\text{a}vı\text{e}t the lowest ones**

**de-galgalı\text{a}n\text{t} the last ones**

Tsimshian:

| man-ta-gı\text{e}ga the first ones to come up (see no. 3) |

\[ta-sı\text{e}olgı\text{e}t the eldest ones\]

§ 11
140. *t'Em*—a nominal prefix of very indefinite significance (Tsimshian: *t'Em*). In several cases this is clearly a weakened form of the attributive form *t'ām* sitting, and probably this is the meaning of this particle everywhere. (See § 33.)

*t'Em-ba'x* hip
*t'Em-qē's* head (qēs hair) 46.6
*t'Em-lā'm* leg below knee
*t'Em-lā'nix' neck
*t'Em-gā'x*' fathom, shoulder; and some other terms for parts of the body
*t'Em-lā'n* steersman
*t'Em-tsā'iq* man in bow of canoe

Tsimshian:

| lax-t'Em-ga'us crown of head |
| t'Em-lā'n steersman (g'īlā'n stern) | (See § 33)

141. *spe*—place where something belongs, where one lives (Tsimshian: *spe*).

*spe-a'p* wasp-nest
*spe-a'xt* den of porcupine
*spe-thō'tqan* ant-hill
*Spe-neenō'q* place of supernatural beings 32.11
*Spā-wa'Lā'u* place of taboos 32.12
*spe-sō'ntk* place where one lives in summer
*spe-kso'nt* place where one lives in autumn

Tsimshian:

: *spe-sa'mi* bear's den

142. *sgan*—tree, stick; evidently from *gan* tree (Tsimshian: *sgan*).

*sgan-mē'līk'xt* crabapple-tree 17.11
*sgan-qala'mst* rose-bush
*sgan-lā'xs* elderberry-bush
*sgan-dā'pxl* harpoon-shaft
*sgan-ha'lo' mast

Tsimshian:

| *sgan-k'īnt* wooden quiver |
| *sgan-t'ā'otsg* spear-shaft |

143. *ks*- extreme, singular; see *de*- plural (no. 139) (Tsimshian: *ks*).

*k's-galā'n* the last 140.8
*d'ep-k's-qāq* down first 81.4
*lō-k's-g'ēkst* in extreme outer side 219.1

Tsimshian:

| ks-qā'qa* first ZE 791³⁴
144. kse- fluid (Tsimshian: kse-). This is evidently an abbreviated form of aks water. (See § 33.)

kse-tō'tsk' black fluid
kse-nā'dēk's milk (literally, breast fluid)

Tsimshian:

wadi-kse-tē'atx fluid-like slime (see no. 85)
kse-ā'mks clear water
kse-gwā'nuk's spring
kse-sqanēq'st water of mountain

145. k'ce- fresh (Tsimshian: kse-).

k'ce-cē'k' fresh olachen
k'ce-smā'x' fresh meat

Tsimshian:

kse-meg'āq'āx' fresh berries

146. k'sEm- woman (Tsimshian: kseM-).

k'sem-nisq'a'a a Nass woman
k'sem-qā'k'l mouse woman 136.4
k'sem-sawwā't Tongass woman
k'sem-alō-g'ig'ā't Indian woman 207.12

Tsimshian:

ksem-wutsi'on mouse woman
ksem-q'asgl'os crane woman

147. g'it- people, person (Tsimshian: g'it-). (See also § 33.)

G'it-wik'ē'na Awī'k'ē'nḵ'u, Rivers Inlet tribe
G'it-gā'ns Tongass
G'it-wé'l̓ik's warriors 113.13
G'it-lax-dā'mek's people of lake

148. gwis- blanket, garment (Tsimshian: gus-).

gwis-halā'it dancing blanket 71.5
gwis-qā'aqt raven blanket 39.8
wi-gwis-qanā' large frog blanket 168.3
gwis-ma'k'sk' white blanket

Tsimshian:

gwus-ya'ni mink blanket
gwus-bēlḥā'tk button blanket
gwus-sqā'n mat coat (rain coat)

149. qa- seems to indicate location (Tsimshian: g'it-).

qa-sā'x place in front 61.4
qa-qalā'n place behind the houses 138.6
qa-g'ē'u place in front of house 138.13
qa-dāl the other side 211.10

The same prefix appears in certain plurals. These will be discussed in § 43.
Tsimshian:

| g'í-ts'ílèq bow of canoe  
| g'í-là'n stern of canoe  
| g'í-q'áni up river  
| g'ilhau'li in the woods (with euphonic l [?])  

150. qaldèm- receptacle (Tsimshian: qaldèm-).  
qaldèm-halda'ú-g'íit box of a sorcerer 217.3  

Tsimshian:  

| qaldèm-a'ksk bucket (literally, drinking-receptacle)  

151. lax- surface of, top; corresponding to the adverbial prefix lè-  
(Tsimshian: lax-).  
lax-ló'òp surface of stone 109.4  
lax-a'ús surface of sand 122.4  
lax'o' top 55.4  
lax-ha' sky (literally, upper side of air)  

The names of some clans contain this element.  
lax-ski'yék eagle clan (literally, on the eagle) 108.3  
lax-k'ebó' wolf clan (literally, on the wolf) 108.2  

Names of islands and of the ocean are compounded with this prefix:  
Lax-waq̓l Dundas island  
lax-se'dda ocean 104.7  

Tsimshian:  

| lax-t'em-ga'ús crown of head  
| lax-la'mgem lepló'òb top of hot stones  
| lax-ha' sky ZE 782  

152. ts'Em- inside; corresponding to the verbal prefixes lò-, ts'elem-,  
legem- (Tsimshian: ts'Em-).  
ts'Em-hwol'lp inside of house 134.2  
ts'Em-dz'ádz'ik's inside of ground 201.9  
ts'Em-ló'òp inside of stone 20.2  

A considerable number of words require this prefix:  
ts'Em-á'q inside of mouth 118.15  
ts'Em-qalà's stomach 118.11  
ts'Em-an'b'n palm (literally, inside) of hand 110.10  
ts'Em-t'é'n valley 77.3  

Tsimshian:  

| ts'Em-lax-ha' in the sky ZE 782  
| ts'Em-xdà'o inside of canoe  
| ts'Em-a'ks inside of water  
| ts'Em-wál'lb inside of house  
| ts'Em-ts'a'ns armpit  
| ts'Em-ne-a'o oven  

§ 11
153. *ts'α*- inside. I found this prefix, which is evidently related to the last, only in *ts'α-hwəł'lp* (Nass) and *ts'α-wālb* (Tsimshian) the inside of the house, so designated in contrast to the outside; while *ts'um-hwəł'lp* (*ts'um-wālb*) appears in conjunction with the locative adverbial prefixes lu-, *ts'ελen-*, etc.

154. *an̄*- direction toward (Tsimshian: *nak*- or *na*-).
   
   an̄-g'εlka south
   an̄-qal-ts'α'p direction of the town
   an̄-tεm-qε's head end
   an̄-lax-mο'bn direction of (on the) sea

Tsimshian:

| *nak-semiα'vunt* or *na-semiα'vunt* left hand  
| *nak-stα* one side  
| *nak-txa-g'isi-hi-wα's* east (literally, direction along down river at the same time rain) ZE 785

155. *ts'ik's*- surrounding (Tsimshian: *t!Eks*-).
   
   *ts'ik's-nad'qs* bracelet (literally, surrounding jade)
   *ts'ik's-daβ'* finger-ring

Tsimshian:

| t!Eks-nα'oxs bracelet

156. *ham*- nearness.
   
   *ham-ts'εv'n* place near the top, 80.12

§ 12. Particles Transforming Verbs into Nouns

157. *an*- This prefix is very difficult to translate. It is used to transform verbs into nouns, and expresses abstract terms, local terms, and even instruments. (Tsimshian: *n*-,* nE*-).

(a) Abstract nouns:
   
   an-xpedzα'x fear
   an-lsbεlq hatred
   an-sε'ibεsk* love
   an-ld'msk honor

(b) Local terms:
   
   an-la'k* fireplace
   an-sq'εmlk* womb (literally, lying-in place)
   an-təq'εlεlβk'sk* whirlpool (what around drifts) 104.12
   an-səlεp hole for steaming 55.4
   an-λο'ulk* nest (literally, place of young ones)
   an-sq'ε't grave (literally, where he lies) 218.5
   an-qalα'q play-ground
   an-dd' other side

§ 12
Tsimshian:

\[ n\text{-}l\text{k} \text{ fireplace} \]
\[ ts.\text{em-ne-ù}^o \text{ oven (literally, in-baking-place)} \]
\[ n\text{-}g\text{ùl-hau’li a place in the woods} \]

(c) Result of an act, instrument, etc.

\[ an\text{-}hē’t what he said 118.1 \]
\[ an\text{-}lē’pēlk\text{ thread (for sewing)} \]
\[ an\text{-}dōy’\text{in garden} \]

158. \textit{anda}- receptacle, perhaps from \textit{an}- no. 157 (Tsimshian: \textit{nta}-).

\[ \textit{anda-ha-ši’x} \text{“rattle-box” 124.12} \]
\[ \textit{ande-la’ix} \text{ box of crabapples 192.4} \]
\[ \textit{anda-ha\text{wi’l} quiver (literally, arrow receptacle) 19.5} \]
\[ \textit{ande-lē’lx’} \text{ box of grease 192.3} \]

Here belongs—

\[ \textit{anda-xx’a’n gambling-sticks 28.11} \]

Tsimshian:

\[ nta\text{-}ha\text{-}voulâ’\text{ovad work-box} \]
\[ nta\text{-}hawâl quiver \]

159. \textit{yu—k\textsuperscript{a} one who has} (Tsimshian: \textit{yu—g}).

\[ yu\text{-}hwo’li’p\textsuperscript{k} \text{ one who has a house} \]
\[ yu\text{-}negwî’ôtk\textsuperscript{k} \text{ one who has a father} \]

Tsimshian:

\[ k\text{!ut-yu\text{-}ha\text{-}a’ksq carrying a bucket about} \]
\[ yu\text{-}wa’\text{mîg having meat} \]
\[ yuhg’\text{a’tg having manhood ZE 783}^a \]

160. \textit{ha-} instrument (Tsimshian: \textit{ha-}).

\[ ha\text{-}x\text{dâ’k\textsuperscript{a} bow (literally, shooting-instrument) 19.6} \]
\[ ha\text{-}k\text{’s cup (literally, drinking-instrument) 96.12} \]
\[ ha\text{-}q\text{’ôl knife for splitting 192.12} \]
\[ ha\text{-}la’k\textsuperscript{a} powder (literally, fire-instrument) 213.9 \]

Tsimshian:

\[ ha\text{-}g’\text{’ôtg harpoon (literally, harpooning-instrument)} \]
\[ ha\text{-}na’kst marriage present (literally, means of marrying) \]

The compound prefix \textit{ha-łē-} is particularly frequent:

\[ ha\text{-}łē\text{-}d’\text{a’ chair (literally, instrument to sit on)} \]
\[ ha\text{-}lē\text{-}dî’lep pile of wood to roast on 131.12 \]
\[ ha\text{-}łē\text{-}dzô’qî’wē world (literally, means of camping on) 14.10 \]

Tsimshian:

\[ ha\text{-}lî\text{-}dzo’g world (literally, means of camping on) ZE 782^a \]
\[ ha\text{-}lî\text{-}qâ’ôd to think (literally, means of minding on) \]

§ 12
The days of the week are nowadays designated by the same prefixes:
ha-lé-gan’söothu day of dressing up (Sunday)
ha-lé-yës’eq day of paying out (Saturday)

161. gan- means of, cause of (Tsimshian: gan-).
    gan-mð’lku means of saving
    gan-dedëlks cause of life
    gan-lëntw’ cause of anger
    gan-lö-gö’ibax window (literally, cause of light inside)
    gan-hu’a’líx’ carrying-strap, (literally, means of carrying)

Tsimshian:
    gan-ha’a’xaxg difficulty
    gan-p’a’lgu’taxsg ballast (literally, means of being heavy)

This prefix is identical with the particle gan therefor.e.

162. guwik- nomen actoris (Tsimshian: huk-).
    guwik-ö’ld fisherman
    wö-guwik-su-gät great murderer 23.5
    guwik-wo’b’l hunter 108.4
    guwik-i’a’mq’as’ku cheater 52.12

Tsimshian:
    huk-gu’t’s’x one who pours out, an auctioneer
    huk-yë’lks’k one who drills

163. an- the one who ——; preceding transitive verb (Tsimshian: t’n-). This prefix is used very frequently in phrases corresponding to our relative clauses. It is always preceded by the subjective pronoun of the third person.

në’en t’an-dedö’q’l lax you are the one who caught the trout
157.4
k’ë k’saxl lgo-g’t’mx’dit, demt an-ts’elem-wö’ol nak’s’st then his little sister went out, she who was to call in his wife 204.6 (k’sax to go out; g’t’mx’d sister; ts’elem- into; wö’o to invite; nak’s wife)

nak’ë dä’ull k’öll g’at t’an-gö’ul lgo-tk’ë’lk’u’ then one man left, who took the child 205.6 (dä’ull to leave; k’öll one person; g’at person; gö to take; lgo-tk’ë’lk’u child)

k’ë hruul sagait-ha’p’alu t’an-ku’le-hësyatst then they rushed togeth ers who beat him all over 62.12 (sagait- together; hæ’p’lu to rush; ku’le- all over; yats to strike

Tsimshian:
    nööl demt in-na’ksga lgul’ges Gauö’ who is it who will marry
    the daughter of Gauö
    t n’ëryu demt in-na’ksga lgul’gent it is I who will marry
    your daughter
    n’ëni’l’s’ dep gwa’i t’i’n-së-t’l’ös’ga these are the ones who began
    ada n’ëni’l’ t’i’n-leb’ol’set’ga he was the one who paid it back

§ 12
§ 13. Particles Transforming Nouns into Verbs

164. *SE-* to make something (Tsimshian: *SE*).
   *SE-*h unh to call (literally, to make name) 97.13
   *SE*-lêt to make wedges 148.4
   *SE*-hâl̓n to catch salmon
   *SE*-lêmx̣ to make a song 77.9
   *lep*-se-nexn̓e̓x̣ to make one's self supernatural 152.6
   *se-*beld̓ to make abalone shell 45.14

Tsimshian:
   l̓u*-se-gu̓l̓g to make fire on
   su*-se-n-dzóq to make a new village
   *se-*ma'xṣ to cause to grow ZE 791

165. *X-* to eat, consume (Tsimshian: *X-*).
   *X-*hâl to eat salmon 205.1
   *X-*ama'lgwax eating scabs 41.14
   ha*-x*-smâ'x̣ fork (literally, meat-eating instrument)
   ha*-x*-miyâl to pipe (literally, smoke-eating instrument)

Tsimshian:
   *x*-sts'ld'la to eat beaver
   *x*-gwâl̓tksun I feel cold (literally, I consume cold)
   lu*-x*-dzii usk until morning (literally, in consume morning)
   *x*-sqaan' is to kill mountain goats (literally, to eat mountain)
   *x*-q̓ôp ekem we enjoy the light ZE 786

166. *XS-* to say, to appear like (Tsimshian: *XS-*).
   *x*-negul̓'tk to say FATHER
   *x*-md'mek to say HM
   *x*-ia'nsks it sounds like leaves
   *x*-ma'k-skw white (literally, it appears like snow)
   *x*-q̓usg̓ul̓d‘osp light blue (literally, it appears like a bluejay)

Tsimshian:
   wi*-xs-nål̓ it sounds loud like a drum
   wi*-xs-suwał̓nsk it sounds loud like curing disease
   q̓ap*-xs-ts'ldps to be called a tribe ZE 783

§ 14. Transitive Pronominal Subject

The transitive subjective pronouns are in both dialects:

n I
m sen ye

dep we

m thou

These are placed before the verb and the particles treated in §§ 8-13.

They will be discussed more fully in § 52.

§§ 13, 14
§ 15. **Particles that may Precede the Transitive Subject**

The particles enumerated in the present section differ from all those previously treated, in that their connection with the verb is not so close. In certain cases of the third person, to be discussed later, they precede the transitive pronominal subject. Since many of these particles have not been found with transitive verbs of this kind, it remains doubtful whether they are simply adverbial particles placed before the verb, or whether the first and second persons of the transitive verb, when used as subject, precede them. The particles enumerated under nos. 167-174 are more clearly connected with the verb than the later ones.

167. **dé-** with, also, on (his) part (Tsimshian: **di-**).

- *dé-t-gun-g'üipt* on her part, she ordered (her) to eat it 155.11
- *dé-ukš-boxt* he, on his part, ran out to the sea 104.13
- *dé-gulik-s'ep-md'qet* he also threw himself down 42.13
- *dé-t-gōut* he, on his part, took it 14.8
- *nig'-nādsm dé-g'üipt* not I shall, on my part, eat it
- *dé nig'-ti-deskt* she, on her part, had no bag 206.9, 10 (*dé-di* on her part; *nig'-i* not; *deskt* bag)
- *nig'-i-n dé-g'dat* I have not seen him

**Tsimshian:**

- *t'em-dì-yā'la* he went to the fire, on his part
- *dīt-lep-dō'qet* he, on his part, took it himself
- *ada g'ik dīt q'am-gá'otge hanā'oxet* and also he, on his part, blessed (*q'am-gd'ot*) the woman ZE 797

168. **sem-** very, exceedingly (Tsimshian: **sem-**). This particle is very free in its position. It is often used in nominal compounds in the sense of **genuine**.

- *sem-aba'g'ask'at* he was much troubled 80.1
- *sem-hasba-sq'è* to lay really upside down 214.11
- *sem-hō'm a'lq'samē I speak the truth*
- *yagai-sem-k'ā-wi-hē'lt*, however, exceedingly very many 158.11
- *sem-t-lo-gō'dent* she emptied it inside entirely 208.7
- *sem-ama sg'è'det* they laid it down well 214.10 (*am good; sg'è to lay*)
- *sem-hux-dè-lgo-wilk-sillk* also, on his part, a very prince (*hux* also; *dè* on his part; *lgo- little*)
- *wi-sem-ga'n* the great very tree (i. e., cedar) 147.9
- *sem-tsè'vwin* the very top 80.4
- *sem-q'ai-teetsō'osk* just very small 171.8
- *sem-q'am-k'āl* really only one 145.18

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§ 15
Tsimshian:

sem-lu-da'ga gô'ot very downcast (literally, very dead in heart)
sem-lu-xâ'xst to weep bitterly
ada semt tgu-da'pt then he measured exactly around it ZE 784
ne-sem-se'relg exactly the middle

169. hux also, again (Tsimshian: gîk).

hux a'dîk-skûl yù'kâa evening came again 142.8 (a'dîk-skûl to come;
yù'kâa evening)
hux dë-ëm-ië't he also, on his part, went down to the middle
of the house 142.14
hux dët gu'nat he also, on his part, demanded it 143.1
k'êt hux g'înâ'nt then he gave it again 139.6
hux k'â'll g'at another man 108.1

Tsimshian:

lat gîk t'âle ne-mes-d'use lemka'odet a ts'âltgo when his
sister again put on her paint on her face ZE 795 (mes-d'us
ochre; lemka'od sister; ts'âl face)
adat gîk wula'idë g'a'd then the people knew it again ZE 795
ada g'îkt wula'i dem hatl'â'ge then they knew again that it
would be bad ZE 796

The following four particles serve to express future, present, past,
and continuation. Their syntactic use will be discussed in § 59.
Here I give only a few examples illustrating their use with the verb.

170. dem future (Tsimshian: dem):

dem i'ë'nëe al avo'an I go to thy proximity 196.12
dem g'a'an you will see 80.2
n dem swant I shall cure her 123.7
dem nu'k'del txox' they were going to catch halibut 43.6

In the following examples dem is nominal:

nîg'idi a'dîk-skûl dem meâ'a x' not had come the future day-
light 11.10
dem lep-hva'yîml dem nû'em we ourselves will find our future
bait 56.6 (lep- self; hva to find; nûx bait)

Tsimshian:

demt da'be txan'î' gô he was about to make everything
n dem k'a-tral-wân I shall overtake you soon
ada demt se-ma'wse gô'ot then it will make things grow

171. hwîl present (Tsimshian: wul).

taxn'îk-hwîl ses'sîl kî'îpe-tsô'ts all the small birds 124.11
nawna's Ts'ak' hwîl dâ'îl han'a'q Ts'ak' heard (about) a woman
being there 126.2 (nawna'x to hear; d'a to sit; han'a'q woman)
t hwîl lô-ba'qt at his touching into it 203.6

§ 15
Tsimshian:

at gâ'o voul kse-gwa'ntge g'a'mget he went to where out comes (touches) the sun
lat ni' estgs ts!a'bede voul k'/a-sa-gidi-t!a'o g'a'mgem đé'ust when the people saw the sun standing still suddenly for a while ZE 788.13 (ni to see; ts!ab people; k'/a- for a while; sa- suddenly; t!a'o to sit; g'amg heat, heavenly body; đé'ust day-light)
-a voul wa-di-aya'owul on account of his being without cleverness ZE 789.14 (wa- without; di on his part; aya'owul clever)

172. La past (Tsimshian: la).

nlk'/ê la hux hê' luk it had been morning again 204.2 (hux again; hê' luk morning)
la délpg'al dem mesâ'x' it was shortly going to be daylight 143.7 (délpg'a short; mesâ'x' daylight)
la hux hvi'lt he had done this also 145.4
k'/ê lat hvióla'x'! hvió nó'ôt he had known that he was dead 57.7 (hvióla'x' to know; nó'ô dead)

Tsimshian:

n'lîni' lat ni' estgs ts!a'b that was when the people saw
ada la al di ts!i'nsgə vok't but then his brother had gone in (al but; di on his part; ts!i'n to enter; vok' brother)
ni' vəldə la ha'uld it happened, what he had said

173. Lâ while (Tsimshian: lâ).

lâ wî-ch'es lgo-th'â'lk''y'â al lô-çä't al ts'êm-xpê'ist while the child was large, it was in the box 9.9 (wî-ch'es large; lgo-th'â'lk'' child; lô- in; çä to sit; ts'êm- inside; xpê'is box)

Tsimshian:

lâ n'lîni' ne-sela-vôldes while that one did it with them
lâ q'aldeka'i'ôta while he was walking about in the woods

174. iagai- already, however, rather (Tsimshian: y'iagai-).
iagai-g'in-hê'tk'st however, he stood behind 141.1
iagai-nê't however, it was so 26.7, 157.9
iagai-sem-k'/a-vi-hê'lt however, exceedingly many 158.11
k'/êt iagai-lê-iq'qt then, however, it hung on it 46.1
k'/ê iagai-g'ô'elt then, he had picked it up already 26.3
iagai-lô-dâ'qit he had put it on already 50.4

Tsimshian:

y'iagai lâ'-wula tgi-ni'ôteget however, he looked always down
adat y'iagai-dzaga-gâ'o'ist then, however, he went across it
n dem y'iagai-na'ksen I shall marry thee
y'iagai-sem-bô's very much afraid, however

§ 15
175. *má'dze-E* almost.
   *má'dze-sg*'-it he almost lay 62.8
   *q'am-má'dze-nö'dže* I am only almost dead 76.13
   *má'dzet-ox't* he almost hit it 140.7

176. *kwa'ıts'tik*a* close by.
   *kwa'ıts'/ik'-s-tq'ga'-'al-sg*'-in you lie close against 75.12

177. *sEm-g*'-it strongly (derived from *sem-* much [no. 168], and *q*'-at
   person) (Tsimshian: *sEm-g*'-it).
   *dåm sem-g*'-it *dax-yu'kden* you will hold fast strongly
   *sEm-g*'-it *de-yò'gul* tä'm-lä'në'tst hold on to my neck! 80.10

Tsimshian:
   | *ada sem-g*'-it *hë'tge hand'gat* then the woman stood fast

178. *sEm-gal* very, much (from *sem-*) (Tsimshian: *sEm-gal*).
   *sEm-gal aba'q*'-ask*t he was much troubled 36.4, 40.4
   *sEm-gal guò'et* he was very poor 38.4

Tsimshian:
   | *sEm-gal xoö*! arch-slave! ZE 790<sup>170</sup>
   | *t sem-gal lebä'lexst* they hate them much ZE 793<sup>173</sup>

179. *q'ams'tEn* secretly.
   *q'ams't'en hë't* he said secretly 40.5
   *q'ams't'en tsë'nt* he entered secretly 25.6

180. *nig'-l* not; used in indicative sentences (Tsimshian: *a'lgE*).
   *k'-ë *nig'-l* *daa'qlk*-det then they did not succeed 123.6
   *nig'-l* *bakl* ak'-*s* the water did not run 18.3
   *nig*-it *hux* *dzak*'-t* she did not kill him also 203.7
   *nig*-tä *hwö--s* Lògölò Lògòlò*l* did not paddle 17.3
   *nig*-in *dë* *q*'-at I have not seen it

The syllable *dë*, *dé*, which is very often added to the negative,
probably signifies ON HIS PART, and is the particle no. 167.

Tsimshian:
   | *a'lgE äml demt wula'i*det *g*'-at it is not good that the people know
     it (*äm* good; *wula* to know; *g*'-at people)
   | *ada a'lgE ts'ai*kr'-usga *la'kğ*Ö then the fire was not out
   | *a'lgE ndem k'-inä'nt at hansö'or* I will not give it to the woman

§ 16. Alphabetical List of Particles

As a matter of convenience, I give here an alphabetical list of parti-
cles, the letters being arranged in the order vowels, semi-vowels,
labials, dentals, palatals, laterals. In each series the order of sounds
is sonant, surd stop; sonant, surd affricative. Each particle is given its
§ 16
number in the preceding lists. It will be remembered that there are slight differences in the rendering of the Nass (N) and Tsimshian (T) sounds, which are due to imperfections in the recording of the former dialect.

\[
\begin{align*}
a T & \text{ 63a} & \text{wil N (woul T) 43} \\
avous T & \text{ 63} & \text{wul T (hwotl N) 171} \\
avoul T & (\text{wul N}) \text{ 43} & \text{wul'am N T 22} \\
am N & \text{ 136} & \text{ha N T 160} \\
am, q'am T & (q'am N) \text{ 118} & \text{ham N 156} \\
amqait T & (q'amqait N) \text{ 119} & \text{hadix' N (hat'ek T) 48} \\
an N (t'ln T) & \text{ 163} & \text{hasba N T 74} \\
an N (n, ne T) & \text{ 157} & \text{hat's'eks N 75} \\
anö N (na, nak T) & \text{ 154} & \text{hagun N (gun T) 44} \\
anda N & (nta T) \text{ 158} & \text{hagul N T 76} \\
and'el N & (p'el T) \text{ 64} & \text{haldem N T 77} \\
ank's N & (aks T) \text{ 65} & \text{hal N (hak T) 50} \\
asë N & (asdi T) \text{ 14} & \text{hi N T 78} \\
asdi T & (asë N) \text{ 14} & \text{his N (ehs T) 79} \\
agwi N & \text{ 66} & \text{hela N 45} \\
aks T & (ank's N) \text{ 65} & \text{hüts'en, wüts'en N (wuts'pn T) 52} \\
ax N & (wa T) \text{ 137} & \text{huk T (grov'N) 162} \\
alö N & (alu T) \text{ 67} & \text{huz N (gik T) 169} \\
alax N & (la T) \text{ 68} & \text{benem T (pelem N) 80} \\
alda N & \text{ 69} & \text{p'el T (and'el N) 64} \\
alge T & (neg'i N) \text{ 180} & \text{pelem N (benem T) 80} \\
i N & \text{ 70} & \text{belsem N (xberem T) 81} \\
iga N & \text{ 2} & \text{bagait N (lebagait T) 82} \\
igai N & (y'agai T) \text{ 174} & \text{bax N T 1} \\
yu-g N & (yu-g T) \text{ 159} & \text{me T (ma N) 84} \\
'in T & (an N) \text{ 163} & \text{men N (man T) 3} \\
urs N & \text{ 6, 10} & \text{mesem N 83} \\
wa T & (ax N) \text{ 137} & \text{mela T 88} \\
wadi T & \text{ 85} & \text{mel N (mela T) 87} \\
hvagait N & (wagait T) \text{ 71} & \text{ma N (me T) 84} \\
valen N & \text{ 72} & \text{man T (men N) 3} \\
vi N & \text{ 73} & \text{max N 86} \\
wod'ax N & (wul'a T) \text{ 73a} & \text{maax T 60} \\
wod'en N T & \text{ 41} & \text{madze N 175} \\
wotn N & (wotn T) \text{ 138} & \text{des, de N (de T) 91} \\
won T & (hvotn N) \text{ 138} & \text{des N (ta T) 139} \\
wusen N & \text{ 51} & \text{dë N (di T) 167} \\
wut's'en T & (wuts'en, huts'en N) \text{ 52} & \text{d'ep N (tip T) 4} \\
hwotl N & (woul T) \text{ 171} & \text{dem N T 170}
\end{align*}
\]
| t'em | N T | 13 |
| t'en | N T | 140 |
| ta T (de N) | 139 |
| dek, dix' N (dax T) | 90 |
| t'ek's T (te'ek's N) | 155 |
| t'uke N T 6, 10 |
| dula N | 92 |
| t'gal N (txal T) | 35 |
| tgi T (d'ep N) | 4 |
| tgo N (tgu T) | 31 |
| txw N T 93 |
| txas N T 47 |
| n T (an N) | 157 |
| na N T 12 |
| na, nak T (anō N) | 154 |
| nā N T 94 |
| na N T 95 |
| nak, na T (anō N) | 154 |
| nig'i N (algē T) | 180 |
| nō'm N | 96 |
| nta T (anda N) | 158 |
| se N T 164 |
| sā N (sa T) | 98 |
| sa N T 39 |
| sem N T 168 |
| sem-g'it N T 177 |
| sem-gal N T 178 |
| sen T | 89 |
| saqait N T 99 |
| saq'ap N T 100 |
| sis T (his N) | 79 |
| skr' N (sta T) | 102 |
| sel N T 97 |
| si N (su T) | 101 |
| su T (si N) | 101 |
| spe N T 141 |
| spagait N T 103 |
| spī N 21 |
| stekc N | 49 |
| sta T (stēc N) | 102 |
| sgan N T 142 |
| sqa N (sqa T) | 36 |
| ts!em N T 152 |
| ts!ens N T 104 |
| ts!enl T 105 |
| ts!ek'al T | 16 |
| ts!a N T 153 |
| tsaga N (dzaga T) | 23 |
| tsagam N (dzagam T) | 9 |
| ts!ek's N (ts!ek's T) | 155 |
| ts!elem N T 7 |
| k'ā N (k'a T) | 106 |
| k'ax N (k'a T) | 107 |
| k'ali N 58 |
| g'i T (ga in part, N) | 149 |
| g'ime N (gami T) | 25 |
| g'it N T 147 |
| g'idi N T 19 |
| k'!edo N | 57 |
| g'in N (g'ina T) | 108 |
| g'ina N T 109 |
| k'!ina T 110 |
| g!ts N 40 |
| g'isi N (gisi T) | 18 |
| gik T (hux N) | 169 |
| g'ik'si N | 61 |
| g'uleks T (gulke's N) | 115 |
| g'uloul N T 37 |
| g'ildep N 111 |
| k'!ilq'al N 34 |
| k's N (ks T) | 143 |
| kse T (ks'i N) | 8 |
| kse N T 144 |
| k'cs N (kse T) | 145 |
| k'sem N (ksem T) | 146 |
| ksa T (ksax N) | 112 |
| k'si N (kse T) | 8 |
| qa N in part (g'i T) | 149 |
| q'ai N | 122 |
| q'ap N T 117 |
| q'am N (q'am, am T) | 118 |
| gami T (g'ime N) | 25 |
| q'amts'en N | 179 |
| q'amgait N (amgait T) | 119 |
| gan N T 161 |
| q'an T 28 |
| qana T 59 |
| qanē N | 120 |
| q'asba N 121 |
| gal N | 123 |
Suffixes (§§ 17-32)

§ 17. Suffixes following the Stem

There are quite a number of suffixes in the Tsimshian dialects, almost all of which are firmly united with the stem. The significance of most of these is much more ill-defined than that of the prefixes, but those that immediately follow the stem appear to be primarily modal elements. Some of them indicate the passive, causative, elimination of the object, etc. Their use shows great irregularities. These suffixes are followed by pronominal suffixes, while demonstrative elements and the interrogative element are always found in terminal position.
1. -En causative (Tsimshian: -En). In both dialects this suffix generally modifies the terminal consonant of the stem.

*hētkʷ* to stand, singular

*lō-tqʷal-hēt'en* to place a thing upright against something and inside of something 131.3

*mētkʷ* full

*yā'əx̱kʷ* to eat, singular

*yāl'og'an* to feed one person

*təd'okʷ* to eat, plural

*təd'og'an* to feed several persons

*bā'sīq'an* to separate (v. a.)

*hē-lat'gan* to break (v. a.)

*ba'an* to cause to run

*ma'qsaan* to place several things upright 8.1

*qół'skʷ* covered

*qół'k'saːn* to cover (v. a.)

*lō-la'qskʷ* she washes in 197.10

*hōk'skʷ* to be with 91.8

*hu'ksaːn* to place with 36.8

*gu'kskʷ* to awake 121.9

*gu'ksaːn* to awaken 121.8

*lē'błk' skʷ* whirlpool 104.12

*təl'bl'en* to roll

Tsimshian:

| sa'ipk hard | sa'ip'en to harden |
| māłk to be uneasy | māl'k'en to force |
| mōsk to be aboard, singular | mō'g'an to put aboard one object |
| hōx̱k annoyed | hā'g'an to annoy |
| lākʷ bent | lā'h'än to bend (v. a.) |
| bā² to run | bō'han to cause to run |
| gaksk to wake up, singular | ga'k'sen to awaken one person |
| tə'də̱ksk to wake up, plural | ti'dek'sen to awaken several |
| hōksk to be with | hō'ksen to place with |

2. -skʷ expresses primarily the elimination of the object of the transitive verb (Tsimshian -sk).

*tə'aża to clap (v. a.) 34.10 | tə'a'skʷ to clap (no object) 203.3 |

*suwo'ns to blow (v. a.) 123.1 | suwo'anskʷ to blow (no object) 124.8 |

*ma̱l to tell (v. a.) | ma̱la'skʷ to tell news 161.15 |

*g'ə' to see (v. a.) | g'ə'a'skʷ to look 137.6 |

*də'mgan to pull (v. a.) | də'mganskʷ to be in the act of pulling 51.8 |

*gə to take (v. a.) | gəskʷ to extend 126.7 |

Verbs with this ending often form verbal nouns:

*də'pxən to nail | də'pxənsk nail |

*sə'p'en to love | sə'p'en sk love |

*aʔə'q to command | aʔə'q'skʷ commander |

*lē'bl'en to roll | lē'blk' skʷ whirlpool 104.12 |

§ 17
Tsimshian:

| lu-t'!ü'yu xər's I sweep out a t'isk to sweep box |
| se-yi'īgə wa'i I polish a pad- dle |
| sə'ol to spin something səl's to spin |
| hə'ksen to place with-some- thing |

Undoubtedly related to the preceding are the following two:

3. -kə used commonly after terminal p, t, s, ts, q, w, l, and sometimes after l (Tsimshian: -k); and

4. -tkə used after vowels, l, m, and n (Tsimshian: -tk).

Both of these have the same meaning, and seem to be primarily medial or semi-reflexive, while in other cases no clear reason for their use can be given. These endings are found regularly in the possessive form of names of animals. (See § 55.)

Examples of -k are:

- hět- upright
- göks- to awake
- lēs- finished
- bats- to lift

Tsimshian:

| ha'tīt to send
| se'ip- hard

Examples of -tk are:

- d'a to sit
- se-hva to name
- wə't to invite
- hala'du to bewitch
- də'pxa out nail
- bələtn belt

Tsimshian:

| sə'op'hen to love
| kə'ıtnəm to give
| se-uvə to name
| plən sea-otter

These endings occur in many intransitive verbs, and in nouns:

- dəlpkə short
- təlpkə strong
- ayəvodtkə to cry
- mətə to scatter

metkə full
o'lik-skə to drift
bəskə to expect
da'lbik-skə to bend
ba'askʷa wind
a'd'ik·škʷa to come
ä'ēmekʷa to blame
lisl̓ı́škʷa to hang
mō'ōskʷa gray
tś'läškʷa canyon
g'ätškʷa to be tired
yōckʷa to follow
dē'lemekʷa to answer
maexkʷa to go aboard a canoe
t'ăl̓eškʷa to shout
ā'deł̓exkʷa enough
aq̓l̓kʷ to attain
i'a'l̓lkʷa slimy
ā'l̓kʷa fuel
wəl̓kʷa taboo
dēmq̓l̓kʷa friend
tkʷ'el̓l̓kʷa child
meł̓kʷa to shine
dəl̓kʷa bag
mao'l̓lkʷa rope
mal̓kʷa to put into fire
ama'l̓lkʷa scab

It is uncertain in many of the endings in -škʷ whether they are derived from stems ending in -s, or whether they belong to the suffix -škʷ. The same is true of forms in -tkʷ, which may be derived from stems ending in -t or represent the suffix -tkʷ. The following have probably the suffix -tkʷ:

yaltkʷa to return
laltkʷa slow
daltkʷa to meet
ptaltkʷa to climb
dē'ontkʷa to guide

The same conditions are found in Tsimshian, but it does not seem necessary to give additional examples.

5. -a In the Tsimshian dialect, words ending in p, t, s, ts, q, x, l, and sometimes in l (i.e., those corresponding to the group with the suffix -k [no. 3, p. 345]) have, instead of -sk (no. 2, p. 344), -a. The terminal consonant is here modified, as before the suffix -en (no. 1, p. 344).

dab to measure something
da'p̓"a to measure
tl̓'ä'p to drive piles
tl̓'ä'op̓ to be engaged in pile-driving
g'āb to dig
gan-qa'p̓ to a spade
se-wul̓g'ad to dye something
se-wul̓g̑a'd̑ a dyer
gats to pour out
huk-ga'ts a one who pours out
huk-bu's a one who splits

6. -s is used in Nisqa'x and in Tsimshian in place of -k and -tk (nos. 3 and 4, p. 345) after k-, x-, kʷ, q, and x.

okʷ to throw
ok's to fall (literally, to be thrown)
be̓kʷ to lie
sa-hek's to make lies
hwi:l̓a'x̱ to know
se-preul̓a'x̱ to teach (literally, to make known)

mag to put
ma'qas to be put 11.14

§ 17
Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dzak to kill</th>
<th>dzaks killed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mədə’ek grizzly bear</td>
<td>ne-mədə’kosu my grizzly bear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the -s suffix is also used after p, although not regularly:

| wəl̓b house       | ne wəl̓psu my house |

7. -Es appears in Tsimshian a few times after terminal p in place of -sk.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>təl̓b to plane down something</th>
<th>la’lp’es to plane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lə’o̱b to sew something</td>
<td>lə’o̱p’es to sew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. -x seems to mean in behalf of.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gə’ent to chew</th>
<th>gə’endəx to chew for 36.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>həp cover 8.15</td>
<td>lə-hə’baxxt it is on as a cover for it 67.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| lə’lə’g’it a feast    | lə’lə’g’itx a feast for somebody 83.1 |

9. -n. This suffix designates the indicative, and appears only preceding the suffixes of the first person singular and plural, and the second person plural of the intransitive verb and the same objects of the transitive verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a̱t gill-net</th>
<th>a̱tnə̀x I fish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a’l̓q̓’al to examine 138.8</td>
<td>a’l̓q̓’alnə̀x I look at something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a̱esk* to call</td>
<td>a̱eskʷnə̀x I call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wəth* to come from</td>
<td>wəthʷnə̀x I come from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>də’ul to leave</td>
<td>dəm də’ulnə̀x Lə’sems I shall leave for Nass river</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| iə’e to go           | iə’enə̀x I go        |

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tə’wəg to sweep</th>
<th>tə’wəgənu I sweep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bə̓ to run</td>
<td>bə̓nə̀nu I run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lə’o̱mi to sing</td>
<td>lə’o̱minu I sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wə̓ to find</td>
<td>t wə̓’yinu he finds me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t wə̓’yinəm he finds us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. -a. The corresponding suffix -a appears in the indicative of many transitive verbs, both in Nass and in Tsimshian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>id’ə’x what I roast 121.9</th>
<th>id’ə’det he roasts it 121.7, 154.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>habə̓’l to take care of 143.1</td>
<td>bə̓’eldə̀x I take care of it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>həts to bite 65.9, 127.8</td>
<td>hətsə̓’dx I bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ugi agə’l ə̱dm hə’nisə̓t whatever you say 59.3</td>
<td>dep hə’idə̓nəm we say 42.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>qə̓g to open</th>
<th>qə̓gə̓’dx I open something</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sax to shake something</td>
<td>sa’xə’dx I shake it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anə’ elə’ to allow 122.1</td>
<td>anə’eldə̀x I lend</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ts潮湿ian:
- $dzak$ dead
- $bū$ to wait
- $gā^o$ to take
- $dza'kdu$ I kill
- $bū'odut$ I wait for him
- $gā'odu$ I take

11. -ma may be, perhaps (Ts潮湿ian: -ma).
- $lōg'i-gula'eldēna$ Lōgs may be three months 170.13
- $nō'et-maē$ maybe he is dead 182.8
- $sī'egumānē$ maybe I am sick.

Ts潮湿ian:
- n'ini' gwai k'unōmatga$^o$ this is what they may ask

§ 18. Pronominal Suffixes

The group of suffixes treated in the preceding section are followed by the pronominal suffixes, which will be described fully in §§ 50-51, and § 53. For the sake of completeness I give here a list of the suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Nass.</th>
<th>Ts潮湿ian.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person singular</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ē, -ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person plural</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person singular</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person plural</td>
<td>-semb</td>
<td>-semb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person plural</td>
<td>-det</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 19. Modal Suffixes following the Pronominal Suffixes

12. -g'ē might (Ts潮湿ian: -g'ēn, -gun). The position of this suffix seems to vary.
- $nēxna'ytgē$ they might hear it 91.10
- $sī'ēpkug'īnē$ I might be sick
- $gwō'tslgē$ it might be dung 207.7

Ts潮湿ian:
- naha'ung'ēn maybe it is true
- naha'unguna n'axno'yu it may be that it is true what I have heard
- n t!ū'useng'ōn (take care!) I might hit you!

13. -sēn evidently (Ts潮湿ian).
- n'ini'et-sēn evidently it is he
- ne te gwōlgesēn evidently there has been a fire

14. -sen indeed! (Ts潮湿ian).
- n'ini'et-sen indeed! it is he
- naha'unsen indeed! it is true

§§ 18, 19
15. -gat it is said (Tsimshian: -gat).

sg'i'-gat ama xpē'is there was a good box, it is said 19.4 (sg'i' to lie; ām good; -a connective; xpē'is box)
k'ax-ā'm-gat t'em-qē'st his head was good before, it is said 32.8 (k'ax- before; ām good; t'em-qē's head)
tgōn-gal dem hvo'lem dem ald'tkʷ-gat nōm this, we are told, we shall do, we are told we shall swim in a shoal 70.6 (tgōn this; dem future; hvo'le to do; -em we; ald'tkʷ to swim in a shoal; nōm we)
dem suw'a'nt-gal lgō'ułkʷst he says he will cure his child 123.10 (suw'a'n to cure; lgō'ułkʷ child)
nē-gat-g'i di gwīx'-g'ēipt he says he does not like to eat it 40.6 (nē-g'i not; di on his part; gwīx'- expert; g'ēipt to eat something)

Tsimshian:

| si'epge-gat I hear he is sick

§ 20. Demonstrative Suffixes

There are two suffixes which are generally attached to the last word of a clause, and which indicate distance and presence in space and time. They are quite distinct from the demonstrative pronouns, and determine the demonstrative character of the whole sentence. These elements are much simpler in the Nass dialect than in Tsimshian, and their general discussion in the latter dialect will be given in §§ 24–31. In Nass we find:

-gʷ absence and distance:

nlk'ʷə d'lg'ıxtg'ʷə then he said 53.1 (referring to one who is absent and to an event of the past)
nlk'ʷə lō-ya'ltlʷL g'æty'ʷə then the man returned 113.3 yu'k'dēx ga'ŋg'ʷə za dza'p'det they took the sticks they had made 114.7 (yunk to take; gan stick; dzap to make)
ha'ng'ʷə nakʷst da yu'k'sə before long it was evening 152.14 (ha'n it is soon: nakʷ long; yu'k'sə evening)

-st presence and nearness:

dem q'ai'igmə̌ ḍk'sdē havō'leist my arrow will drop near by 19.15 (dem future; q'ai near; -em connective [see § 22]; ḍk's to drop; havō'le arrow)
tgōn tō'ulst this I guess 28.2
sem-hō'daast it is true 29.13
twēlเดsemesst ye will burn 215.10
ndōlə̌ dem d'Ík'sdəst when will he come?

§ 20
In some cases a terminal -t is found which indicates presence and nearness and corresponds to the analogous form in Tsimshian.

na-gan-holtā'gut therefore I did so 113.6

This element is, however, quite rare in our texts.

**Connectives (§§ 21-31)**

**§ 21. GENERAL REMARKS**

The connective suffixes form a class by themselves. They are always terminal in the word and connect two words that are syntactically related. Therefore they never stand at the end of a clause. We must distinguish between attributive and adverbial connectives, and predicative and possessive connectives.

**§ 22. ATTRIBUTIVE AND ADVERBIAL CONNECTIVES**

-Em. The connective -em is used to express attributive and adverbial relations. Thus it occurs as—

1. Connective between adjective and noun.

2. Connective between two nouns, one of which has the function of an attribute.

3. Connective between an adverb or adverbial phrase and a verb.

The following examples illustrate the use of -em:

1. Between adjective and noun. In this case the adjective always precedes the noun, and the connective is firmly attached to it. The analogy with the second group suggests that the adjective expresses the class of things referred to, while the following noun qualifies the particular kind; as qē'squm gan, a small tree (namely, a slender thing which is a tree, or which belongs to the class "tree").

\[\text{sīsō'sem gan} \text{ little sticks 27.15} \]
\[\text{wi-hē'ldem gat} \text{ many people 28.12} \]
\[\text{lgo-quā'em lgo-tk'ē'čō} \text{ little poor little boy 155.15} \]
\[\text{mā'k'squm lō'p} \text{ white stone 139.8} \]
\[\text{wō'bm van} \text{ the invited deer 83.3} \]

Tsimshian:

\[\text{sīlq'idem lqū'qy} \text{ the eldest child ZE 783"} \]
\[\text{lgū'qem hana'x} \text{ little woman ZE 797.32} \]
\[\text{gwa'deakesem yē'ën} \text{ cool fog ZE 797"} \]
\[\text{lū'nnksem sīpy} \text{ dry bone} \]

Numerals do not take this connective, but take -L instead (see § 23)

(Tsimshian, -A pp. 351, 353).

§§ 21, 22
2. Between nouns. The first noun takes the ending -em, and designates the kind of thing referred to, while the second noun specifies the class.

g’a’den gan a wooden man 89.12 (a man belonging to the class “wood”)

davo’sem l’ö’op a stone ax 147.14 (an ax belonging to the class “stone”)

huxdal’g’intgum q’aug’a’ö crow-grandchildren 19.15 (grandchildren of the class “crow”)

a’lg’igam Te’emsan Tsimshian language 20.9 (speech of the class “Tsimshian”)

ang’a’g’im Le’sems sawbill ducks of Nass river 114.5 (sawbill ducks of the kind [belonging to] Nass river)

hucam had’a’xl a bad names 41.12 (names of the kind “bad”)

Tsimshian:

| gô’ip’em ts’al light-face |
| g’a’mçem dzl’us day-sun ZE 781 |
| ts’a’b’em yë’ts’esg the animal tribe 783 |
| mû’sem an’ð’n thumb of hand 792 |
| yë’ts’esgem gihaul’li the animals of the woods |

3. Adverbal.

had’gam a’lg’ixs Txë’msem Txë’msen spoke badly 38.11

sem-hô’m nô’ôt he was truly dead 9.6

wî-l’ê’sem yô’ôk’at he ate much 36.10 (yô’ôk’at is an intransitive verb)

te’ô’sg’im mast he grew a little 175.8

K’ul-wî-yë’tgum xda’x’t he was hungry (going) about 39.9

Tsimshian:

| dzâ’gem xsl’ôx to be dead asleep |
| ks-qô’gôm a’lg’ix to speak first |
| ks-qô’gôm man-a’d’lg he reaches up first |

-a. The connective -a is used in a number of cases in place of -em. It would seem that its use is determined largely by the particular qualifying term. Some of these seem to take -a regularly in place of -em. In Tsimshian this connective is -A; it appears regularly after numerals.

ama hovilp a good house 48.3

wî-ama g’at very good man 203.7

ama a’lg’ixt he spoke well 45.6

wî-ama hucandêt they sat down very well 83.4

good’gwa txô’r’ dry halibut 161.10

hë’ya ôlx fat of seal 161.12

t’ë’la ôlx oil of seal 47.2

§ 22
Tsimshian:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{leks}g'\text{i}g'de \text{ bi}l'\text{letet various stars} \\
\text{a}m\text{a} y'/u'\text{et a good man} \\
\text{w}i-l\text{o}k'\text{se lu-}a\text{m}'d'm \text{ ga-g'odemt we are exceedingly glad} \\
\text{k}'\text{lerde g'a}m\text{get one moon} \\
\text{k}'\text{lo}ld'e \text{ g'a}d' one person \\
\text{he}l'd'e \text{ ts'a}l'ap many people
\end{align*}\]

§ 23. PREDICATIVE AND POSSESSIVE CONNECTIVES

The development of these connectives is quite different in Nass and in Tsimshian, and the two dialects must be treated quite independently. In the present section I give the Nass forms. In all cases where the connection between words is not attributive or adverbal, -l or -s are used as connectives, -s being applied in all cases where the following noun is a proper name designating a person, a personal pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun designating a person, or a term of relationship. In all other cases -l is used. With terms of relationship -s is not always used, but -l may be substituted.

The particular cases in which -l and -s are used are the following:

1. In sentences with intransitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal subject.

(a) -l.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{le}l'-\text{id}'q\text{g og a copper hung on it 138.3} \\
\text{g}d'\text{b}'\text{m\ text{al there lay a canoe 138.13} \\
\text{hu}l'\text{ll ts'em}l'h\text{xr the beaver did so 81.4} \\
\text{ts}l'\text{enl ts'em}l'h\text{xr the beaver entered 77.4} \\
\text{a}l'\text{gy}l\text{xl wi-g'a}t' the great man said 195.15
\end{align*}\]

(b) -s.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{gali-i'd's Ts'ak\cdot Ts'ak entered the river 117.6} \\
\text{hu}l's\text{ de}p-bë'ebë my uncles did so 157.9 \\
\text{x}dax's \text{ Ts'x'mem Ts'x'msem was hungry 21.2}
\end{align*}\]

2. In sentences with transitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal subject.

(a) -l.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{nl}k'-\text{et l}e\text{l}l'k'-\text{l gus}l'\text{s}k'\text{nt then watched his nephews 9.5} \\
\text{w}d'\text{b}'\text{l xl ts'em}l'h\text{xr axë the beaver invited the porcupine 73.2} \\
\text{l}b'd'\text{p}-\text{lo}l'd\text{e}l \text{s}k'\text{idemn'a}q \text{ an'o}nt inside down put the chief- \\
t\text{t}n\text{a}x\text{ness her hand 183.8}
\end{align*}\]

(b) -s.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{k}'\text{ul-yu'k'dets Ts'ak\cdot lo}b'p Ts'ak\cdot carried a stone about 118.9 \\
\text{nl}k'-\text{et bx's Ts'ak\cdot lo}g\text{o-ga'mt Ts'ak struck a little fire 118.12} \\
t\text{hv}as \text{ Ts'x'msem hvilp Ts'x'msem found a house 43.3}
\end{align*}\]
3. In sentences with transitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal object.

(a) -L.
1. de̱m lò-ma'q'dēel ts'e'qgun I shall put thy louse in 43.10
2. nlk'-t g'a'al ts'e'qem q'at then he saw a large man 95.10
3. a'miə wəb'əl na'k'əsn (good you) invite your wife! 205.10

(b) -s.
1. nlk'-t sa-gō'uđets Ts'ak' they took Ts'ak' off 120.15

4. In sentences with transitive verb, the object may sometimes precede the verb, and is then connected with the predicate by -L or -s.

1. txanē'ik'q̓ul qal-ts'ēp-ts'a'pl g'e'daxdēt they asked all the towns 87.3
2. naxl g'a'at he saw bait 50.15

5. To express the possessive relation between nouns.

(a) -L.
1. qa-qalə'n̓l hwtlpl sem'ə'g'it the rear of the house of the chief 137.8
2. anē'st gan the branch of a tree 137.9
3. maq̓ə'n̓l K'̱san the mouth of Skeena river 15.3
4. qa-wē'n̓l k'ẽb̓o' the teeth of the wolves 84.4
5. q̓deid̓el'ôl lg̓'il hana'q̓q̓ ə six were the children of the woman 97.8

(b) -s.
1. qal-ts'ə'ps de̱p negu̱d'ôt the town of their fathers 107.13
2. ndə'ets Ts'ak' the grandmother of Ts'ak'. 119.8
3. xpə'ets Lə̓q̓əbələ' the box of Lə̓q̓əbələ' 19.4

6. Between definite and indefinite numerals and nouns, the connective is -L.

1. k'̱'əll sem'ə'g'it one chief 137.1
2. k'̱'ełl sa one day 137.2
3. k'̱'ə'q̓uł hàn one salmon 169.8
4. q̓ai-t xpə'əl q̓q̓ even two ravens 155.4
5. bagəd̓'ləl lg̓'it two children 159.5
6. bagəd̓'ləl näk̓'st two wives 194.6
7. wi-hə'ł ləx many trout 157.6
8. txanē'ik'q̓ul q̓aima'q̓'sit many youths 141.10
9. g'ul-qanə'ł hə-xəd̓akst'mə̱sə̱l all your arrows 144.10

A few indefinite numerals may also take the attributive connective -em.

1. wi-ẖ̊ələm q̓aima'q̓'sit many youths 144.3

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—23 § 23
7. Connecting the preposition a (see § 67) with the following noun.
   (a) -L.
   k’atsk’st at gol-tsh’a’p they landed at the town 107.13
   ló-hw’l’lt at lax-ló’áp it is on the stone 109.4
   a’l’g’tx al gol-tsh’a’p at dem sem’sdí’yít the people said he should be
   chief 163.10 (a’l’g’tx to say; dem future; sem’sdí’yít chief)
   mált al nak’st he told his wife 165.11
   
   (b) -s.
   a’l’g’txt as né’tg’è he said to him 157.1
   a’l’g’txt as Ts’ak’- he said to Ts’ak’ 120.6
   k’ét sg’it as Ts’l’msem he laid it before Ts’l’msem 48.10

8. Connecting the conjunction qan with the following noun.
   (a) -L.
   hě’ya élx qanl hě’ya dzix fat of seal and fat of porpoise 161.12
   lás qanl sesò’sem hán trout and little salmon 157.4
   
   (c) -s.
   né’en qans né’e qans ts’e’edzé you and I and my grandmother
   157.10

**PREDICATIVE AND POSSESSIVE CONNECTIVES OF THE TSIM-
SHIAN DIALECT (§§ 24-31)**

§ 24. General Characteristics of the Connectives

While the connectives -s and -t seem to be regularly used in
the Nass dialect, they are absent in Tsimshian in many cases, and a
much more complicated series takes their place. We have to dis-
tinguish between the connectives in indicative and subjunctive sen-
tences; those belonging to the subject of the intransitive and
object of the transitive verb; and those belonging to the subject of
the transitive verb. Furthermore, those belonging to common nouns
must be distinguished from those belonging to proper nouns; and
in each form, indefinite location, presence, and absence, are treated
differently. Some of these endings are very rare; others, the exist-
ence of which may be expected by analogy, have so far not been
found. The series of forms in which a proper name appears as
subject of the transitive verb is, for instance, hardly found at all,
because sentences of this form are almost invariably rendered by
a periphrastic form: “It was (John) who” . . . It will be
noticed in the following discussion that the prepositional and pos-
sessive forms agree with the predicative forms. The peculiar
agreement of the indicative connectives of the subject of the tran-
§ 24
sitive verb and of the subjunctive connectives of the subject of the intransitive verb corresponds to a similar phenomenon that may be observed in the pronominal forms. These will be discussed in §§ 49–50. The series of connectives may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Indicative.</th>
<th>B. Subjunctive.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Indefinite.</td>
<td>(b) Present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-sas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Subject of transitive verb</td>
<td>1. Subject of intransitive verb, and object of transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-st</td>
<td>-dst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 25. Predicative Connectives

In the present section I shall give examples of these various classes of connectives, such as occur between verbs and nouns.

A I 1. Intransitive verbs, indicative, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -E

da uks-hëotge a’utu a ne’-gôdz’a’i’knet then the porcupine stood at the edge of the water (da then; uks- toward water; hëotge to stand; a’ut porcupine; a at; ne- possessive; dzôg edge; ks water)
hëotge ba’ntg’ega a’ksqax his belly was full of water (hëotge full; ban belly; gega development of preposition a [see § 28]; ks water)
sem-bâótse stâ’al’lga the beaver was much afraid (semvery; bâón afraid; stâ’al beaver)

(b) Present connective -DE

na-stâolde lỳu’olgem y’ôtg’ega the boy went along (na- past; stôol to go in company; lỳuolg child; -em attributional connective [§ 22]; y’ôtg man)
da al ts!’elem-ha’pde n’år’o’ret but then the killerwhales rushed in (du then; al but; ts!’elem- into from the side; hap to rush [plural]; n’år’o’d killerwhales)

(c) Absent connective -GE

da na-bâ’o’ge o’lga then the white bear ran out of the woods (na- out of woods; bâ to run; ôl bear)
da gik kse-nà’o’tega stâ’al’lga then the beaver breathed again (gik again; kse- out; nàolg breath; stâ’al beaver)
A I 1. Transitive verbs, indicative, common nouns. It is difficult to find the connectives of transitive verbs before the object, because the order of words in the sentence requires ordinarily that the subject shall follow the predicate. The cases here given, except the first one, contain the pronominal subject of the third person.

(a) Indefinite connective -e
k’woc’te be ne-ha-xba’ga laq’o’lgut my child has lost his knife (k’watg to lose; ne- possessive; ha-xba’q knife; laq’olg child; -u my)
wä’de hào’set he has found the dog
dem dza’kidö q’o’he he will kill the dog

(b) Present connective -de
ne la ma’ldebe wula dza’bedes Gunaxnësem’ad he had told what did Gunaxnësem’ad (la past; ma’l to tell; wul verbal noun; dza’ to do)

c) Absent connective -ge
wä’itge hào’sgaö he has found the dog
dem dza’kidö tga hào’sgaö he will kill the dog

A I 2. Transitive verbs, indicative, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -e
wa’i han’a’xge hào’sgaö the woman found the dog
agnö-ba’tsge ne-yä’du my lance stands outside ES 94.20

(c) Absent connective -ge
q’u’isge hëksut’ensgete ö’lgaö the hunter hit the bear
(q’u to hit; hëksut’ensq hunter; ö’l bear)
dem dza’kdesgaq g’ib’a’uga hào’sgaö the wolf will kill the dog (dzak to kill; -d- [see § 17.10]; g’iba’u wolf; hào’g dog)
da dë-l’r WA’isge vo’mes-ö’lga qal-ts’al’pyöö the great bear found the town (dë on his part; r’ on; wa to arrive, to find; vo’ great; mes- white; ö’l bear; qal- empty; ts’al’ tribe)

A II 1. Intransitive verb, indicative, proper names:

(a) Indefinite connective -et
ama wäl’t Tom Tom is rich
da hào’ut Sadzapan’i’l then Sadzapan’i’l said
du’o’lqget Asdi-wäl’ Asdi-wäl’ can not move ES 90.15

(b) Present connective -det
l’ì-g’an-dal’uddet Astiwå’lqgaö Astiwå’l has gone across (l’ì-on; q’an- over; då’ul to leave)

(c) Absent connective -get
bào’get Dzö’ngaö John is running

§ 25
A II 2. Transitive verb, indicative, proper names:

(c) Absent connective -s

da ni’edzes Astiwâl wul hö’ltge ... then Astiwâl saw that it was full (ni’ to see; höltg full)

B I 1. Intransitive verbs, subjunctive, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -e

adat ni’ wul gatgô’it’eksa t’epxadû’olda y’û’ota then they saw two men coming (ada then; te’ he [subj.];
gô’it’eksa [plural gatgô’it’eksa] to come; t’epxadû’ol two persons; y’û’ot man)
a wul hasâ’ga sts’âl because the beaver desired (hasâ’g to desire; sts’âl beaver)

(b) Present connective Sde

dze ha’usde semd’a’g’it a k’â’i if the chief says to me
(dze conditional; ha’u to say; semd’a’g’it chief; a to;
k’â’i me)
asâ dâ’usde f’în-gâ’e’sda na’ksen he who took your wife has just left (asâ just; dâ’ul to leave; t he; ìn-
who; gâ’e to take; naks wife; -en thy)

(c) Absent connective -sgê

adu wul tral-tâ’sgê bâ’osgêgaô then his fear increased
(trail-tâ’o to increase; bâ’osg fear)
wul lu-la’psge a’ksgaô where the water is deep (lu-;
ap deep; aks water)
n’ini’gan ha’wge sts’âl’guô therefore the beaver said
(n’ini’ it is that; gan reason)

B I 1. Transitive verbs, subjunctive, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -e

ada n dem sa-l’i-t’û’sa ne-galdem-a’ksgu I shall suddenly push over on it my bucket (n I; dem future
sa- suddenly; l’i- on; t’û’s to push; ne-
possessive;
galdem- receptacle; aks water; -u my)
adat lu-xba-q’asgô’dze ne’ga-ts’etis’al’sge hâ’osgagô then he cut (in) across the faces of the geese (t he;
lu- in; xba- across; gôdz, with plu. obj. q’asgôdz
to cut; ne-
possessive; ga-
plural; ts’âl, distributive plural ts’etis’al’ face; hâ’x goose)

(b) Present connective -sde

... ’în gâ’e’sde na’ksen he who took thy wife

(c) Absent connective -sgê

adat ge’redelegse hanâ’osgagô then he asked the woman
(t he; ge’redeleg to ask; hanâ’og woman)
dat wul så’sgê maâ’wulku‘gaô then he shook the rope
(sû to shake; maâ’wulk rope)
B I 2. Transitive verb, subjunctive, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -\(\text{s}\)
\(\text{adat ts'elem-ks-gâ'ge xê'oget}\) first foam came in (\(t\) it, subj.; \(ts'e\)lem- into, from the side; \(ks\)- extreme; \(gâ\)g first; \(xê\)g foam)

(b) Present connective -\(\text{de}\)
\(\text{adat g'ap-yâ'okede txan'i'ga-wula-dza'bet}\) then all the hunters really pursued it (\(g'ap\)- really; \(yâ\)k to pursue; \(txan'i'\) all; \(g\)- plural; \(wula-dza'\)b hunter)

(c) Absent connective -\(\text{te}\)
\(\text{ada wült kse-hashê'otstge sem'd'g'itge hanâ'naixtge}\) then the chief sent out the women (\(kse\)- out; \(hë\)s plural obj.; \(hashê'ts\) to send; \(sem'd'g'it\) chief; \(hanâ'g\) [plural \(hanâ'naq\)] woman)
\(\text{adat nê'detzetx sî'sd'lye nî'tya}\) then the beaver saw him (\(nî\)dz to see; \(sî'sd'\) beaver; \(nî't\) he)

B II 1. Intransitive verb, subjunctive, proper names:

(a) Indefinite connective -\(\text{s}\)
\(\text{lu dem bâ's Dzôn John was running}\)
\(\text{ada wût sî'epges Tôm Tôm was sick}\)

(b) Present connective -\(\text{des}\)
\(\text{wula dza'bedes Gunaxnésemg'a'd what Gunaxnésemg'a'd was doing}\)

(c) Absent connective -\(\text{s}\)
\(\text{hi-ts'i'ens Gunaxnésemg'a'tga}\) Gunaxnésemg'a'd came in
\(\text{ada wût sem-bâ'os Gunaxnésemg'a'tga then Gunaxnésemg'a'd ran fast}\)

B II 2. Transitive verb, subjunctive, proper names:

(b) Present connective -\(\text{det}\)
\(\text{ada wült ge'tredaxdet Kse-n'asgâ'osga\(\text{\} then Crane- Woman asked him (ge'tredag to ask; \(kse\)- female; \(q'asgâ'os\) crane)}\)
\(\text{adat dôrxet Gunaxnésemg'a'tge lu'dem me-sî'osnye then Gunaxnésemg'a'd took the copper wedge (dôx to take; lu'd wedge; -em attributive connective; \(me-sî'os\) copper)}\)

(c) Absent connective -\(\text{lyet}\)
\(\text{adat ge'tredaxlyet negrwâ'tge kge'tem y'u'datya then the father asked his sons (ge'tredag to ask; negrwâ't father; kge'ter children; -em attributive connective; y'u'd man)}\)
\(\text{ada al wült li'o'koxet Astiwâ'lga\(\text{\} then Astiwâl counted it (li'o'ker to count)}\)

\(\text{§ 25}\)
§ 26. Connectives between Subject and Object

In sentences with transitive verb as predicate, the subject generally follows the predicate and precedes the object. The connectives between subject and object are in all sentences, and for both common nouns and proper names, -e, -de, -ge, which generally agree with the predicate connective.

A I. 2. Indicative, common nouns:
(a) (with -e) wa'i hanâ'ga hā'oset the woman found the dog
(b) (with -ge) dem dza'kâsetga g'íba'uga hā'osga the wolf will kill the dog

B I. 2. Subjunctive, common nouns:
(a) (with -e) ada voult gâ'det Gunaxnêsem'ga'de ha-
    kdâ'ostga then Gunaxnêsm'ga'd took his knife
    ada dit waqait-lu-yâ'oskêtset Asdi-wâlde ts'ëm-
    ga'inaqo then Asdi-wâl also followed in the path
    (di on his part; -t he; waqait entirely; lu-
    in; yâ'oskêtset follow; ts'ëm- in; ga'ina path)
    demt bax-gâ'de la'msu ma'ti my son-in-law will go
    after mountain-goats (see § 29)
(b) (with -de) ada al sa-nâ'osde ne-ts'a'ben ya'ts!ege-
    de voult kse-gwa'ntge wi-gó'ep!a, but then suddenly
    saw the animal tribe the great light rising
(c) da di l'í-wâl'ge wí-mer-ô'lye gal-ts'a'pqo then the
    great white bear, on his part, found the town (di-
    on his part; l'í- on; wâl to find; wí- great; mer-
    white; ôl bear; gal- empty; ts'a'pq tribe)
(d) da voulat y'aga-ks-dô'ltge hanâ'naxge su-p'd'ësem
    y!ó'ogas then the women accompanied the young
    man down (Tsimshian Texts, New Series, Publica-
    III, 78.29; y'aga- down; ks- extreme; dôl to
    accompany; -t he; hanâ'nax, plural, women; su-
    newly; p'ësem to grow; -em adjectival connective;
    y!ó'ta man)
(e) adat voult k'-i'na'mdet Asdiwâl'ge go'kge . . . then
    Asdiwâl gave the basket . . . (Ibid., 98.17; k'-i-
    na'm to give; -det connective B II 2b; gôk basket)

So far I have not been able to find examples in which proper names appear as objects.

§ 26
§ 27. Possessive Connectives

The possessive connectives differ in indicative and subjunctive sentences, and it seems that the complete series must be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Common nouns.</th>
<th>II. Proper names.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Indefinite.</td>
<td>(c) Indefinite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Present.</td>
<td>(b) Present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Absent.</td>
<td>(c) Absent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-s)</td>
<td>(-s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have not been able to get examples of the whole series.

A I. (a) Indefinite connective -e

n'ini' ne-wâl'be sem'âl'g'it this is the house of the chief

(b) Present connective -de

ne-mële-l!i-q’i'l'sxun ne-ga-ts!iwâl'de hâ'oset the fingers of the dog were six on each (paw) (ne- past; mële- each: l!i- on; q’i'alt six; -sxun long; ne- possessive; ga- plural: ts!i)wâl' finger; hâ's dog)

(c) Absent connective -ge

gû'ga dzô'gat gëge qal-ts!a’pge ne-wâl'ptga'o who lived in the houses of the town (gû who; dzôg to camp; gëge from a in [see § 28]; qal-ts!a'b town; wâl'b house)

B I. (b) Present connective -sde

ada ne wul nîp ne-wâl'bashè y!'û'ota then I saw the house of the man (ne I; nîp to see; wâl'b house; y!'û'ot man)

(c) Absent connective -sge

ada wul gwâl'şgege ne-wâl'bashè y!'û'ota then the house of the man was burnt

B II. nàgîl dém in-na’ksga lgwâl'ges Gau’o? who will marry Gauo's daughter? (nàgî who; dém future; in- he who; naksg to marry; lgwâl'g child)

txa-n!i’ ne-ligi-wâl’s negwâ'o’denga'o all the wealth of thy father (txa-n!i’ all; ne- possessive; ligi-wâl wealth; negwâ’ed father; -n thy)

§ 28. Prepositional Connectives

The general preposition a, which has been described in the Nass dialect (§ 23.7), occurs apparently alone in Tsimshian; but it seems more likely that the a without connective must be considered as a special form for ae (see § 29). With connectives we find both the indicative and subjunctive forms.

§§ 27, 28
Furthermore, several of these forms occur contracted with demonstrative *d* and *g*; as—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{deda} & \quad \text{gega} \\
\text{desda} & \quad \text{gega}
\end{align*}
\]

I A. (a) Indefinite *a*

\[k'\text{a}-\text{a}'\text{m} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{txa}-\text{nl} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{it is better than all things (k'\text{a}
exceedingly; \text{am} good; \text{txa}-\text{nl' all; g}\quad \text{something})}
\]

\[\text{da} \quad \text{uxs-h} \quad \text{tg} \quad \text{d'uta} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{ne}-\text{dz} \quad \text{a'kset then the porcupine
stood at the edge of the water (da then; \text{uxs-} toward
water; h\quad \text{tg} \quad \text{to stand; d'uta porcupine; ne- possessive; dz} \quad \text{edge; aks water})}
\]

(b) Present *da*

\[\text{lep-l} \quad \text{qsg} \quad \text{res} \quad \text{ste}-\text{ld} \quad \text{aks-} \quad \text{a'kset the beaver himself
was happy in the water (lep- self; lqsg} \quad \text{resg} \quad \text{happy; ste}-\text{ld beaver; lax- surface; aks water)}
\]

(c) Absent *ga*

\[\text{h} \quad \text{otl} \quad \text{geg} \quad \text{a'k} \quad \text{ga} \quad \text{a'k} \quad \text{a'k} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{his belly was full of water (h} \quad \text{otl
full; ban belly; t his; geg} \quad \text{from ga; aks water)}
\]

I B. (a) Indefinite *a*

\[\text{la} \quad \text{bz} \quad \text{a'x} \quad \text{get a} \quad \text{ne}-\text{miy} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{w} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{meng} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{he came up to the foot of the great spruce tree (la past; bz- up; arx
arrive; ne- possessive; miy} \quad \text{n foot of tree; w} \quad \text{great; sa'men spruce)}
\]

(b) Present *a*\text{daa}

\[\text{ada al} \quad \text{l} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{q} \quad \text{an} \quad \text{d} \quad \text{a'ul} \quad \text{da'ne} \quad \text{t} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{w} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{sgan} \quad \text{est} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{but he has gone over the top of the mountain (al but; l} \quad \text{i}-
on; q'an- over; d'ul to leave; ne- possessive; t} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{w} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{n top; sgan} \quad \text{est mountain)}
\]

(c) Absent *asga*

\[\text{ada h} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{sga d'uta asga st} \quad \text{a'l} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{then said the porcupine
to the beaver}
\]

II. (a) Indefinite *as*

\[\text{ada ha'ut na'kset as n} \quad \text{ot then his wife said to him}
\]

(b) Present *des*

\[\text{do-ya'it Astiw} \quad \text{a'lt des neg} \quad \text{w} \quad \text{ot} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{said Astiw} \quad \text{a'lt to his father}
\]

(c) Absent *ges*

\[\text{da'w} \quad \text{ula ha'wsga d'uta ges n} \quad \text{ot} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{a then the porcupine said
to him}
\]

§ 28
Examples of the forms desdə and gesgə are the following:

ne n kser‘nu desdə da‘ulo gə da wi-am-ha‘usgə a‘uta gesgə stis!d‘lgə then the porcupine shouted to the beaver

The forms in dedə and ge̱gə occur in the translations of the Gospels with great frequency; but I have not been able to find any examples except the one given before under A I (c).

§ 29. Phonetic Modification of the Connectives

1. All forms in e described in the preceding paragraphs have no ending after the vowels l, m, n, and r.

ada al sger a‘uta ... then the porcupine lay ...  
adat ks‘inəm ne-wnandə’tgə then he gave him tobacco  
da wul wəl ne-ba‘du because of what happened to my wedge  
ada demt qad‘yan leksa‘qat then it will obstruct the doorway (q!a‘qegən to obstruct; leksa‘q doorway)  
sti‘op el wul tənaka‘ken your wife is in the rear of the house (sti‘op el rear of house; tən to sit [singular]; naks wife; -en thy)  
ala tə ɡə‘ep!at when he saw the light

2. The endings beginning with s lose this sound after words with terminal s; for instance,

ada sem-ba‘sga stis!d‘lgə then the beaver was much afraid  
(ba‘s afraid; ba‘sga instead of ba‘s-ga)

§ 30. Connectives of the Conjunction AND

The conjunction AND, when expressed by di or gan, takes the connectives s and l, as in the Nass dialect—the former before proper names, some terms of relationship, and pronouns designating persons; the latter before common nouns.

n!срен dis n!срiu thou and I  
gwa‘o dis gwə‘o that one and this one  
Dzón dis Tóm John and Tom  
Dzón gans Tóm

On the other hand:

gwa‘o dil gwə‘o that thing and this thing  
yu‘ota dil hanə‘q the man and the woman  
yu‘ota gans hanə‘q

§ 31. The Connective -l

Besides its use with the conjunctions di and gan, the connective -l is used in negative, conditional, and interrogative sentences, be-

§§ 29–31
tween the intransitive verb and its subject, and between the transitive verb and its object.

*a'v'ge dza:k wan* the deer is not dead yet (*a'v'ge* not yet; dza:k dead; wan deer)

*a'v'ge dí hê'tye vâl'b asge gwa'gsa'gö* there was no house there (asge not; dí on its part; hê'ty to stand; vâl'b house; asge at [see § 28]; gwa'gsa that; -gaö [see § 20])

*a'lyet dza:g'ul wan* he did not kill the deer (dza:g' to kill)

*a'lye aml demt wula'ídel g'at* it is not good that the people should know it (aml good; demt future, nominal particle; wula'í to know; g'ad people)

In interrogative sentences:

*du nâö dem dedû'olsedel txâ'lpeixa'de wul k'!ipk'a'pî sa at melâ-k'ë'rel'del g'amk a txas-k'â'qel?* who will live (with) forty days each month throughout the year? (du demonstrative; nâö who; dem future; dedû'ols to live; txâ'lpeix four; wul being; k'!ipk'a'pî distributive; sa day; a at; melâ- each; k'ë'rel one round one; g'amk sun, moon; a at; txas- along, throughout; k'â'qol, year)

§ 32. Suffixes of Numerals

In the Nass river dialect, only three classes of numerals have distinctive suffixes. These are:

- **-âl** human beings
- **-ku** canoes
- **-al'ôn** fathoms (derived from the stem 'ôn hand)

In the Tsimshian dialect the corresponding suffixes occur also, and, besides, another one used to designate long objects. These are:

- **-âl** human beings
- **-sk** canoes
- **-ep'ôn** fathoms
- **-szan** long objects

The numerals will be treated more fully in § 57.

§ 33. Contraction.

The Tsimshian dialects have a marked tendency to form compound words by contraction which is apparently based partly on weakening of vowels, partly on the omission of syllables. In some cases it can be shown that omitted syllables do not belong to the stem of the word that enters into composition; while in other cases this is doubtful. Since my material in the Tsimshian dialect is better, I will give the Tsimshian examples first.

§§ 32, 33
Contraction by weakening of vowels:

$t!em-lâ'n$ steersman; for $t!â'm$ g'î-lâ'n sitting stern ($t!â'$ to sit; g'î-lâ'n stern of canoe)

_negutshâ'os_ smart, frisky; for _negwâ'os_ hâ's father of dog

_ste'mâ'n_ humpback salmon; for _stâm hân_ on one side salmon

_lede ts!â'g'_ kidney-fat; for _lâ'be ts!â'g'_ fat of stone (i.e., of kidney)

_lede-ô'n_ biceps; for _lâ'be an'ô'n_ arm-stone

 ts!â'ne l!î-hê'ty he stands on the end of it; for ts!uwoân

Here belongs also the particle _kse_- fluid; for _aks wâ'nuks_ spring of water.

Following are examples of contraction by omission of prefixes:

$t!em-lâ'n$ steersman, for _t!â'm g'î-lâ'n_

_t!em-ts!â'g_ harpooneer, for _t!â'm g'î-ts!â'g_ sitting bow

_ne-kâluî'sk_ looking-glass, for _ne-g'îleks-lu-nâ'o'sk_ where backward in one looks. It seems probable that _g'il_- is a separable part of _g'îleks_

_t!em-g'â'nî_ the one up river, for _t!â'm g'îg'â'nî_, is not used.

but is understood; also _t!em-hâ'li_ the one in the woods; for _t!â'm g'îl'hâ'li_

Contraction with omission of syllables that are not known as prefixes seems to occur in—

_sig'idemna'x_ chieftainess; for _sig'idem hâ'naq_ chief woman

_ha-l!î-ta t!î'bê'n_ when sea-lions lie on; for _ha-l!î-dâ t!î'bê'n_ contains also a material change of the stem-form.

The name of the tribe itself is interpreted in a similar manner: _ts!em-siâ'n_ for _ts!em-ksiâ'n_ in the Skeena river. The latter word may possibly contain the element _ks_- fluid.

In the Nass river dialect the same kinds of contraction occur, but

examples are not numerous:

_anik'su-lô'qâl'tk_ looking-glass; for _an-gulik's-lô-lâ'qâl'tk_ where back in one examines.

_sïg'idemna'q_ chieftainess; for _sïg'adem hâ'naq_ chief woman

_sem'd'g'it_ chief, seems to contain _sem_- very; _g'at_ person.

_Masemts'ets'ku_ (a name); for _mâ'semst yô-n-ts'ets'ks_ growing up having a grandmother (mâs to grow; -m connective; -st [t]; yô—hâ' to have; n-ts'ê'ets' grandmother)

_Xpî'yelek_ (a name); for _xpi-hagul'd'q_ partly sea-monster.

In connection with this phenomenon may be mentioned the use of some elements as verbs and nouns in fragmentary form,—or without affixes, as particles. An instance is:

_hasa'ga_ to desire; _saô dem yâ'ogu_ I desire to go.

§ 33
§ 34. Incorporation

In expressions designating an habitual activity directed toward an object, the verbal stem and its object form a compound word, which is treated like a single verb, so that the object appears in an incorporated form. Examples of this form are the following:

Tsimshian:

\[ \text{gōlits'exgan to be a stick-carrier (gōlits'eq to carry; gan stick)} \]
\[ \text{gōlits'exlōob to be a stone-carrier (lōb stone)} \]
\[ \text{waliga'n to be a stick-carrier (wali to carry on back)} \]
\[ \text{g'ēpol'Erla to be out harpooning seals (g'ēlg to harpoon; Erla seal)} \]
\[ \text{bū'sgan to split wood (būs to split)} \]
\[ \text{bū'slag to split fire-wood (lag fire)} \]
\[ \text{g'ēxēbi'enu I am a box-carver (g'ēlg to carve; xēbi's box)} \]
\[ \text{se-yēl-xa'xīnu I am a paddle-polisher (se- to make; yēl smooth; xa'xī paddle)} \]

Reduplication (§§ 35-38)

§ 35. General Remarks

There are two types of reduplication in Tsimshian—one in which the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel, is repeated; the other in which the initial sounds, including the first vowel, are repeated. The functions of these two methods of reduplication are quite distinct. The former is generally used to form plurals, and with a number of proclitic particles that imply more or less clearly the meaning of repetition or plurality. The second forms generally a progressive form, or, perhaps better, a present participle of the verb.

§ 36. Initial Reduplication, including the First Conso- nant following the First Vowel

This part of the word is repeated before the stem-syllable with weakened vowel. The accent of the word is not changed, and the reduplicated syllable remains separated from the word by a hiatus. This is particularly evident in words beginning with a vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ȳx̱</td>
<td>ṯx̱</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ām</td>
<td>em̱m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>产物\̱w̱</td>
<td>ṉ ̱w̱</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>产品\̱w̱</td>
<td>ṉ ̱w̱</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṯḵs</td>
<td>ṯḵs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 34–36
This method of reduplication may be considered as duplication modified by phonetic laws. Monosyllabic words terminating with a consonant cluster retain only the first sound of the cluster, thus avoiding a great accumulation of consonants in the middle of the word. The same causes probably affect polysyllabic words in such manner that the whole end of the word is dropped. This seems the more likely, as the repeated syllable has its vowel weakened. This process would easily reduce the terminal parts of polysyllabic words, when repeated, to consonant clusters.

The weakened vowels have a tendency to change to e or i. The great variability of the vowels makes it difficult to establish a general rule.

(a) Monosyllabic words, beginning and terminating either with a vowel or with a single consonant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bəx</td>
<td>bə'x'əx'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bs</td>
<td>es'ə's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋm</td>
<td>em'əm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bl</td>
<td>al'əl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəx'</td>
<td>dəx'dəx'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəc</td>
<td>dəc'dəc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lap</td>
<td>leplə'p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bal</td>
<td>belba'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hap</td>
<td>hapha'p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gan</td>
<td>ganga'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təaq</td>
<td>(but also təel'a'q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzəq</td>
<td>dzəqdzə'q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tə</td>
<td>təel'ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məl</td>
<td>məlmə'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məl</td>
<td>məlmə'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ic</td>
<td>g'icg'ic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lədəp</td>
<td>leplə'dəp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təap</td>
<td>təeptəd'p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'əl</td>
<td>ts'əlts'ə'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ətəp</td>
<td>ts'əeptəts'ə'tp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qəs</td>
<td>qəsqə's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzəq</td>
<td>dzəqdzə'q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-dzə'm</td>
<td>n-dzemdzə'm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel is apparently strengthened in

nə' nənə'

§ 36
### Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɓy</td>
<td>ɓy'ɓy</td>
<td>to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ám</td>
<td>am'á'm</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hə'os</td>
<td>hashə'os</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>də</td>
<td>dədə'</td>
<td>to place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dam</td>
<td>demda'm</td>
<td>to hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal</td>
<td>dildal'</td>
<td>to fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>də'op</td>
<td>depdə'o'p</td>
<td>foot of mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hə'n</td>
<td>hənhə'n</td>
<td>to fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hə'o</td>
<td>həbə'o</td>
<td>to wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>həl</td>
<td>həbə'l</td>
<td>to spread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kə'ak</td>
<td>kə'il'ak'</td>
<td>to choke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'əl</td>
<td>ts'elts'ə'l</td>
<td>to slice fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mappedBy</td>
<td>melma'l</td>
<td>to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>də'ol</td>
<td>dzəldə'o'l</td>
<td>to slide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ap</td>
<td>ts'elts'ap'</td>
<td>tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lə'oh</td>
<td>ləplə'o'h</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>də'əu</td>
<td>dudə'əu</td>
<td>ice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lə-sə'ox</td>
<td>lə-sezə'ox</td>
<td>red-hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'əi</td>
<td>q'əi'qai'</td>
<td>to bite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Monosyllabic words beginning with a vowel or a single consonant, and terminating with a cluster of consonants, reduplicate the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>stench</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>lean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>narrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>to meet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>to move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>to swell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>to pierce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>to be angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>to end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>to name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>meek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>ə'epkə</td>
<td>to return</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tsimsian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sē'pk</td>
<td>sepsā'pk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ālx</td>
<td>alā'lx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wālb</td>
<td>wulā'lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hō'sk</td>
<td>haxhō'xk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōkšk</td>
<td>hakšk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ōskk</td>
<td>g'sgōskk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaltk</td>
<td>yīlya'ltk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ēlks</td>
<td>g'īlō'lkš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aνg</td>
<td>aν'dąg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gē'pk</td>
<td>gapgē'pk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwē'ktk</td>
<td>kutkwē'ktk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Polysyllabic words, beginning with a vowel or a single consonant, reduplicate the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sē'eb'en</td>
<td>sēpsē'eb'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hada'xk*s</td>
<td>hadhad'a'xk*s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvōlōx</td>
<td>hvōlōhvōlōx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bō'sixk*s</td>
<td>besbō'sixk*s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwō'lx</td>
<td>hvōlōkwō'lx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'dę'kšk*s</td>
<td>a'dę'a'dę'kšk*s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gʿi'dex</td>
<td>gʿi'dgʿi'dex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asā'x</td>
<td>aša'sa'x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dō'lx</td>
<td>dō'lx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lō'laq</td>
<td>lēlō'laq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gan)mā'la</td>
<td>(gan)melmā'la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'lyśc</td>
<td>a'lyśc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ōgōkšk*s</td>
<td>melma'ōgōkšk*s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōzda'k*s</td>
<td>hōzha'zda'k*s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hō'mts!tšx</td>
<td>hō'mts!tšx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku'xg'at</td>
<td>ku'xg'at</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To love    | sick      |
To know    | brave     |
To separate| house     |
To carry on back | annoyed |
To come    | to be with |
To ask     | to go past |
To foot    | to return  |
To tongue  | to feel    |
To ghost   | to attain  |
To button  | to scratch, to rake |
To speak   | to disappear |
To heavy   | to kiss    |
To bow     | sweet-smelling |
To give    | to give    |
To shuffle about | to give    |
To wrap up | to shuffle about |
To roll    | to roll    |
To nudge   | to nudge   |
To miss    | fire is out |
To drown   | to drown   |
(d) A number of euphonic changes occur in this type of reduplication. They differ in character in the two dialects. In the Nass dialect, when the reduplicated syllable ends in k', g', and k, these are aspirated, and become x'; q and q are aspirated and become x; y becomes x; ts becomes s; dz becomes z.

(α) k', g', k following the first vowel are changed into x':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g'ila'ol</td>
<td>g'ilg'ilə'ol</td>
<td>to look after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'msax</td>
<td>dsmda'msax</td>
<td>downcast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'al'g'ixsk</td>
<td>p'elp'a'il'g'ixsk</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vu'ul't'.oks</td>
<td>vu'ulvi'ul't'.oks</td>
<td>to rub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su-wulvi'onsk</td>
<td>su-wulvi'onsk</td>
<td>hunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'it'.eks</td>
<td>gatg'iit'.eks</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(β) y following the first vowel changes to x':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t'ak'</td>
<td>t'te't'a'k'</td>
<td>to forget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hak's</td>
<td>hax'hə'k's</td>
<td>to abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ək's</td>
<td>ax'ə'k's</td>
<td>to drop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əd'ək's</td>
<td>tx'ə'd'ək's</td>
<td>to wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ək's</td>
<td>əx'ə'k's</td>
<td>broad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dax'ək'</td>
<td>dtx'da'k'</td>
<td>to tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sak'sk'</td>
<td>səx'sa'k'sk'</td>
<td>clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le-g'at</td>
<td>tx'e-le'g'at'</td>
<td>weak, sickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mök'</td>
<td>mx'mə'k'</td>
<td>to catch fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'uxs</td>
<td>g'ix'g'uxs</td>
<td>fish jumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hokck'</td>
<td>hax'hə'kck'</td>
<td>to be with others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(γ) q and q following the first vowel change to x:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maga'nsk</td>
<td>mixmaga'nsk</td>
<td>explanation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gə'iqch</td>
<td>gəxg'iqch'</td>
<td>to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sə'uqsk</td>
<td>səxə'uqsk'</td>
<td>to dive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'aqL</td>
<td>q'eqq'əqL</td>
<td>to drag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aq'L</td>
<td>ax'aq'L</td>
<td>to succeed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(δ) ts and s following the first vowel change to s and z:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yats</td>
<td>yə's'id'ats</td>
<td>to chop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ət's</td>
<td>q'eqq'ət's</td>
<td>to chop a tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hə't's</td>
<td>həshə't's</td>
<td>to send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hə'tsumex</td>
<td>hashə'tsumex</td>
<td>to command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'dzixs</td>
<td>az'a'dzixs</td>
<td>proud</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sometimes a \(x\) is introduced at the end of the reduplicated syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dedā'leg</td>
<td>dix'dedā'leg</td>
<td>to talk to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amō's</td>
<td>ar'amō's</td>
<td>corner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōtsk(^a)</td>
<td>tix'tōtsk(^a)</td>
<td>iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinā'tsik</td>
<td>yix'ina'tsik</td>
<td>wrap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-dō'yen</td>
<td>ar'an-dō'yen</td>
<td>garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-sg'ist</td>
<td>ar'an-sg'ist</td>
<td>grave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sā'alk(^a)</td>
<td>six'sā'alk(^a)</td>
<td>weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halā'ist</td>
<td>hax'elā'ist</td>
<td>to work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-lebi'sk(^a)</td>
<td>hax'el-elebi'sk(^a)</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanlai'dik's</td>
<td>six'sanlai'dik's</td>
<td>sign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tē esk(^a)</td>
<td>axt'ēesk(^a)</td>
<td>debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax-yl'ok'sk(^a)</td>
<td>axt'yl'ok'sk(^a)</td>
<td>to trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tū'al-hwo'lemlk(^a)</td>
<td>tū'al-hwo'lemlk(^a)</td>
<td>servant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here may also belong—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yō'lmex</td>
<td>hix'yō'lmex</td>
<td>to advise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems possible that these forms of reduplication should be considered as belonging to the class to be discussed in § 37.

The phonetic changes in the Tsimshian dialect do not agree with those found in the Nass dialect.

(\(α β γ\)) The aspiration of \(g\), \(k\), \(g\), and \(k\) does not seem to occur; only \(g\) and \(q\) are aspirated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dzōg</td>
<td>dzex'dzōg</td>
<td>to camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y'aq</td>
<td>yix'y'aq</td>
<td>to hang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(\(δ\)) The changes from \(dz\) and \(ts\) to \(z\) and \(s\) are also not regular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gōdž</td>
<td>gadžgō'dž</td>
<td>to tear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōts</td>
<td>hashō'ots</td>
<td>to send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yu'dž</td>
<td>yisynu'dž</td>
<td>to chop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'i'tsk</td>
<td>t'i'tsk</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(\(ε\)) In many cases a \(k\), corresponding to Nass \(x\), appears inserted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>su'oka'ensk</td>
<td>sekisa'oka'ensk</td>
<td>dismayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōl</td>
<td>leklōl</td>
<td>to shove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōntōi</td>
<td>lektō'ontōi</td>
<td>angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lō</td>
<td>leklō</td>
<td>fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāmk</td>
<td>wukwā'mk</td>
<td>to suffer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō</td>
<td>nekni'ō</td>
<td>to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nōts</td>
<td>nekni'ōts</td>
<td>to look</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 36
§ 37. Initial Reduplication, Including the First Vowel

(a) In most cases the stem-vowel is weakened in the reduplicated syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lâṭk</td>
<td>ḷkklâṭk (better: ḷz-lâṭk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sṭ/clịṭ</td>
<td>sṭekstị/ḷṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaḅa'x̣</td>
<td>gakgaḅa'x̣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâ'uleṃx</td>
<td>ytkyâ'uleṃx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gâḷa'ḍ</td>
<td>gakgâḷa'ḍ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Some words insert a ṭ after the first vowel. Since a ḍ or ṭ occurs in some of these cases after the first vowel of the stem, the occurrence of the ṭ may sometimes be due to an irregular treatment of the reduplication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gwânṭk</td>
<td>gutgwa'nṭk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge'reḍax</td>
<td>getge'reḍax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wâ'</td>
<td>wutwâ'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 37. Initial Reduplication, Including the First Vowel

(a) In most cases the stem-vowel is weakened in the reduplicated syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'lg̣'ạx̣</td>
<td>a'lg̣'ịx̣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'iḅâ'yuḳ</td>
<td>g'ig̣'iḅâ'yuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xmiyịân</td>
<td>igexmiyịâ'ës</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ḍiḳ's</td>
<td>ihaḥa'ḍiḳ's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geḅa'ksḳw</td>
<td>igexgeba'ksḳw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lê'p'êṣ</td>
<td>llê'p'êṣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭx̣aḳw</td>
<td>tṭx̣a'ṭḳw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ëp'</td>
<td>ang'ëg̣'ëpṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'ën</td>
<td>aḷö-tṣëṭë'n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belongs also:

wôq to sleep

Similar forms occur in the Tsimshian dialect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'lg̣'ạq̣</td>
<td>a'lg̣'ịq̣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hësṭg̣</td>
<td>hæḥë'sṭg̣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ/ịọ̈</td>
<td>iëṭ'ịọ̈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bëḅọ̈</td>
<td>bëḅọ̈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lî'ëdeg̣</td>
<td>llî'vedeg̣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sëp'</td>
<td>sesị'ëp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ad'</td>
<td>g'ig̣'a'd'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 37
(b) In a number of cases the vowel of the reduplicated syllable is long and the accent is thrown back upon it, while the vowel of the stem is weakened:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>legs</td>
<td>lā'legs</td>
<td>to wash body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭoq</td>
<td>wā'ṭoq</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakt'</td>
<td>sē'istk'</td>
<td>to haul out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaŋ'</td>
<td>lē'ltk'</td>
<td>to bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tī'q</td>
<td>tī'lt'eq</td>
<td>to scratch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lōč</td>
<td>lōč'la</td>
<td>to swim (fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōxt</td>
<td>lōxt'wa</td>
<td>to hold with teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaŋ</td>
<td>ṭaŋ'ltk</td>
<td>to bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭoq</td>
<td>ṭoq'wuq</td>
<td>to bury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tīq</td>
<td>tīq'deg</td>
<td>to step on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sē'n-wōq'</td>
<td>sē'n-wōq'</td>
<td>to rebuke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Words beginning in ḥo (o Tsimshian) have a form of reduction which is evidently of the same origin as the forms here discussed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥoā</td>
<td>ḥoāt'</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥoīlp</td>
<td>ḥoīlp'</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>ḥoā'wā'</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāb</td>
<td>ḥoā'wāb</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wai</td>
<td>ḥoā'i</td>
<td>paddle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Words beginning with a consonant cluster reduplicate in the Nass dialect by a repetition of the first consonant; at the same time initial ṭ is transformed into q. In Tsimshian the consonant cluster is treated like a syllable, and is repeated with insertion of a weak vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ptō</td>
<td>pptō</td>
<td>door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xlqō</td>
<td>qxḷqō'</td>
<td>to pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xlqō'lux</td>
<td>qxḷqō'lux</td>
<td>to scold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xtsa'ē</td>
<td>qxtsa'ē</td>
<td>thick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭsoq</td>
<td>ṭsoq'g</td>
<td>to refuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaŋ'</td>
<td>ṭaŋ'ō</td>
<td>flat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(e) A number of cases of irregular reduplication occur. Examples in the Nass dialect are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ali’skʷ</td>
<td>ali’iqskʷ</td>
<td>weak (a may be a prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anē’s</td>
<td>annē’s</td>
<td>branch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tsimshian:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la’g’axsk</td>
<td>lasla’g’axsk</td>
<td>to climb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hanā’g</td>
<td>hanā’naq</td>
<td>woman (for hanhā’naq)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nak</td>
<td>nekno’nk</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naonö’x</td>
<td>naonö’nönx</td>
<td>supernatural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu’wo’l</td>
<td>wu’wo’l</td>
<td>drop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 38. Reduplication of Words containing Proclitic Particles

As a rule, compound words containing proclitic elements reduplicate the stem only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lō-ā’m</td>
<td>lō-am’ā’dm</td>
<td>to be good inside</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few examples of compounds of the type which reduplicate the initial syllables have been given in § 36, d, e.

§ 39. Modification of Stem Vowel

In a few cases modifications of length and accent of stem syllables occur. I am inclined to think that all of these have originated by secondary modification of reduplicated forms. The following cases have come under my observation. All of them belong to the Nass River dialect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anē’s</td>
<td>anē’es</td>
<td>skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g’i’nā’m</td>
<td>g’ë’nam</td>
<td>to give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ba’</td>
<td>k’i’ba’</td>
<td>to wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guula’</td>
<td>guula’</td>
<td>cloak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halai’t</td>
<td>hā’la’t</td>
<td>ceremonial dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hanā’q</td>
<td>hā’naq</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Formation of Plural (§§ 40-47)**

§ 40. Methods of forming the Plural

The plural is generally sharply set off from the singular, both in the noun and in the verb, and only a limited number of words have the same form in singular and plural. Including these words and those which apply different stems in singular and plural, the following methods of expressing the plural may be distinguished.
(1) Singular and plural have the same form.
(2) The plural is formed by reduplication.
(3) The plural is formed by diëresis or by lengthening of vowels.
(4) The plural is formed by the prefix qa-.
(5) The plural is formed by the prefix qa- and the suffix -(t)lə.
(6) The plural is formed by the prefix l- with variable vowel.
(7) The plural and singular are formed from the same stem, but in
an irregular manner, or they are derived from different stems.

§ 41. First Group. Singular and Plural the same

In this group are combined the words, singular and plural of which
have the same form. Here belong the names of all animals except
dog ḍaς and bear ḏl, trees, and many words that can not be classified.

Parts of the body (see also § 43):

qec hair
opx forehead
dq’aq nose
von tooth
i’emq beard
lasq finger-nail
ban belly
ptal rib
ma’dz’ik’s breast
mi’se’k’u’a’ down of bird

nọsq upper lip
płnəx body (plural also qa-
plnə’x)
mi’nas thumb
lətxə tail of fish
nəiq fin
q’aw feather
la’ě wing
t’em-lə’nix’ neck
t’em-gū’x’ fathom

Miscellaneous:

se day
araka night
k’ọl year
lak’u fire
ak’a water
pel’st star
u’s leaf
daw’i’s axe
haw’l arrow
bela’ haliotis
ia’k’ to thunder
də’lemk’a to reply
mi’leka to dance
le’niwa to sing
q’a’a to see
həsa’q to want

§ 41
A number of stems with prefixes also retain the same form in singular and plural:

- *guts-ma'k'sh* white blanket
- *guts-halai't* dancing-blanket
- *lak-ama'k's* prairie
- *hvil-dig'a't* warrior
- *lo-sanā'lk* to be surprised
- *se-anuwoô'q* to rebuke

The same class occurs in Tsimshian. Here also all names of animals have the same forms in singular and plural except those of the dog (*hān*) and the bear (*dl*). Names of parts of the body appear also in the same form in singular and plural, although more often they have the prefix *qa-.*

Examples are—

- *n̓l̓eł̓seks* fish-tail
- *s̓a* day
- *lak̓ex* smoked split salmon-tail
- *mag̓'dəse* berry
- *həs̓a'x* to desire
- *ū* to fish with line
- *ma'k's̓il* to drop down
- *leh'la* to forbid
- *p'elô* to break law
- *əl̓ks* servant

§ 42. Second and Third Groups. Plurals formed by Reduplication and Vowel Change

In these groups are comprised the words the plurals of which are formed by reduplication or diæreses. By far the majority of words belong to this class.

The plurals of the second group, which are formed by reduplication, may be subdivided into the following groups:

(a) The plural is formed generally by reduplication of the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel, which method has been fully described in § 36.

(b) Only in exceptional cases is the plural formed by the reduplication of the beginning of the word, including the first vowel. The following instances of this type of reduplication used for forming the plural have been observed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>gʷin</em></td>
<td><em>gʷigʷin</em></td>
<td>to give food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gʷikʷ</em></td>
<td><em>gʷigʷikʷ</em></td>
<td>to buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tsʰak</em></td>
<td><em>tsʰetsʰakʷ</em></td>
<td>dish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tʰax</em></td>
<td><em>tʰetʰaxʷ</em>, <em>tʰaxtʰaxʷ</em></td>
<td>lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tsʰep</em></td>
<td><em>tsʰetsʰep</em></td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gʷat</em></td>
<td><em>gʷigʷat</em></td>
<td>people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>māl</em></td>
<td><em>mmāl</em></td>
<td>canoe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sî?p</td>
<td>sẹnû?p</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâ?</td>
<td>{ lula'ò</td>
<td>fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâ?ld</td>
<td>lêla'òld</td>
<td>to move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâ'îk</td>
<td>{ lêla'</td>
<td>to move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{ lêla'îk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A special form of this reduplication is found in words beginning with hâw, which take hûw in the plural, probably originating from hâwâw (see p. 372).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hâwa</td>
<td>hûwa'</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâwit</td>
<td>hûwî't</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâwîl</td>
<td>hûwîl'</td>
<td>to sell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâwô</td>
<td>hûwô'</td>
<td>to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hûwûr</td>
<td>hûwûr'x</td>
<td>to call</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Related to this are the two plurals described in § 37 e (p. 373).

(c) The few cases in which the syllable reduplicated according to this method is long and has the accent, while the vowel of the stem is weakened, have been described in § 37 b (p. 372).

(d) In some cases the singular is formed from a certain stem by the second type of reduplication, while the plural is formed by the first type of reduplication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dêls</td>
<td>dêdê'ls</td>
<td>dêdê'ls</td>
<td>alive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qeet</td>
<td>qeqê'tk*</td>
<td>qeqê'tk*</td>
<td>difficult</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word mak'sk*u, plural n'esma'k'sk*u, white, may be mentioned here, since its stem seems to be mas.

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dêdû'ol's</td>
<td>deldû'ol's</td>
<td>alive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Tsimshian a number of cases occur in which irregular reduplications are used, or phonetic increments of the stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xswa'dx</td>
<td>sëxswa'dx'x</td>
<td>to dive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts.'â</td>
<td>ts.'â'st'ext</td>
<td>to split</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q.'âx</td>
<td>q.'â'lx</td>
<td>to pull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'a-a'q</td>
<td>t'a-a'qlq</td>
<td>place near the door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâ'</td>
<td>lâ'o'lk</td>
<td>fish swims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laq</td>
<td>lâ'o'q</td>
<td>to bite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the third group are combined a few words the plural of which is formed by change of the vowel of the stem and by change of accent. Examples of this kind have been given in § 39.

§ 43. Fourth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix qa-

In words of this class the plural is formed by the prefix qa-. It includes many names of parts of the body; adjectives expressing states of the body, such as blind, deaf; words of location; and a miscellaneous group of words.

(a) Parts of the body:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t'ëm-që'c</td>
<td>qa-t'ëm-që'c</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ëm-wu'x</td>
<td>qa-ts'ëm-wu'x</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ëm-a'q</td>
<td>qa-ts'ëm-a'q</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ëm-që'x'</td>
<td>qa-t'ëm-që'x'</td>
<td>arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ëm-lâ'm</td>
<td>qa-t'ëm-lâ'm</td>
<td>leg below knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tswoc'ent</td>
<td>qa-tswoc'ent</td>
<td>fingers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an'o'n</td>
<td>qa-an'o'n</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pìnäx</td>
<td>qa-pìnäx and pìnäx</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ë'loq</td>
<td>qa-q'ë'loq</td>
<td>chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qät</td>
<td>qa-qät</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tqamä'q</td>
<td>qa-tqamä'q</td>
<td>lip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ë'spee</td>
<td>qa-q'ë'spee</td>
<td>knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laqst</td>
<td>qa-laqst and laqst</td>
<td>nail, claw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smax</td>
<td>qa-smax</td>
<td>meat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimsbian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bë'</td>
<td>qa-bë'n</td>
<td>belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dë'la</td>
<td>qa-dë'la</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ëm ts'ë'us</td>
<td>qa-ts'ëm-ts'ë'us</td>
<td>armpit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>që'd</td>
<td>qa-që'do'd</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an'o'n</td>
<td>qa-an'o'n</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Adjectives expressing states of the body:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'tiba'e</td>
<td>qa-k'tiba'e</td>
<td>lame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sëns</td>
<td>qa-sëns</td>
<td>blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'aq</td>
<td>qa-te'aq</td>
<td>deaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-wa'tsx</td>
<td>qa-me-wa'tsx</td>
<td>crazy (literally, like land-otter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xël'ëk</td>
<td>qa-xël'ëk</td>
<td>wise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax-që'bot</td>
<td>ax-qa-që'bot</td>
<td>foolish (literally, without out mind)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 43
Here may belong also:

| Singular   | Plural   |meaning
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qvoʻe</td>
<td>qa-qvoʻe</td>
<td>poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huz-iʻoʻnst</td>
<td>huz-qa-iʻoʻnst</td>
<td>liberal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama hvoʻl</td>
<td>ama qa-hvoʻl</td>
<td>rich (literally, well-to-do)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tsimshian:**

| Singular       | Plural       |meaning
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ama waʻl</td>
<td>ama qa-waʻl</td>
<td>rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sagan-säʻot</td>
<td>sagan-qa-säʻot</td>
<td>good luck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igusgeʻr</td>
<td>ga-igusgeʻr</td>
<td>happy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Locations:**

| Singular          | Plural          |meaning
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>däxʻ</td>
<td>qa-däxʻ</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laxʻ</td>
<td>qa-laxʻ</td>
<td>top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stōʻokʻs</td>
<td>qa-stōʻokʻs</td>
<td>side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gʻaʻu</td>
<td>qa-gʻaʻu</td>
<td>beach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Unclassified words:**

| Singular          | Plural          |meaning
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>semoʻths</td>
<td>qa-semoʻths</td>
<td>to believe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nōʻdʻen</td>
<td>qa-nōʻdʻen</td>
<td>to adorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yis-guʻsgʻitkʻuš</td>
<td>yis-qa-guʻsgʻitkʻuš</td>
<td>to rejoice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leʻluks</td>
<td>qa-leʻluks</td>
<td>to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwix-šileʻonskʻu</td>
<td>gwix-qa-šileʻonskʻu</td>
<td>hunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vos</td>
<td>qa-voʻs and vos</td>
<td>root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qɑʻiʻi</td>
<td>qa-qɑʻiʻi</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mèn</td>
<td>qa-mèn</td>
<td>butt of tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tsimshian:**

| Singular         | Plural         |meaning
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y!uʻo</td>
<td>qa-y!uʻo</td>
<td>berrying-basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōk</td>
<td>qa-gōk</td>
<td>basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būo</td>
<td>qa-būo</td>
<td>to scatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssōo</td>
<td>qa-ssōo</td>
<td>canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāks</td>
<td>qa-lāks</td>
<td>torch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāʻik</td>
<td>qa-rāʻik</td>
<td>to upset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūʻol</td>
<td>qa-nūʻol</td>
<td>to fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kxe-nūʻolk</td>
<td>qa-kxe-nūʻolk</td>
<td>to breathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māʻmega</td>
<td>qa-māʻmega</td>
<td>to smile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xstōʻ</td>
<td>qa-xstōʻ</td>
<td>to vanquish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the whole, this prefix conveys strongly the impression of being a distributive, not a plural; but in many cases its use seems to have become formal and fixed. It would seem that particularly terms for parts of the body that have no reduplicated plural may take the

§ 43
prefix qa-. The distributive character appears very clearly in one case where qa-ts'¡¹p means THE ONE TOWN OF EACH ONE, while the plural would be ts’leps’¡¹p, and also in k’ópe-qa-tept’êk’u ALL SMALL PIECES (of salmon) 56.1

§ 44. Fifth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix qa- and the Suffix -(t)ku

Plurals formed by the prefix qa- and the suffix -(t)ku are confined to terms of relationship. The prefix is probably the same as that used in the preceding class, while the suffix seems to be related to the verbal and possessive suffix -ku.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niá’</td>
<td>qa-niá’ètk’u</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntsé’èts</td>
<td>qa-ntsé’ètsk’u</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neguá’ôt</td>
<td>qa-neguá’ôtk’u</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nebé’p</td>
<td>qa-nebé’ph’u</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wak’</td>
<td>qa-wak’èk’u</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belongs also—

mè’èn     qa-mè’èntk’u | master

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nebi’op</td>
<td>qa-nebi’opg</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miá’n</td>
<td>qa-miá’ntg</td>
<td>master</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following words have qa—ku combined with reduplication, the reduplicated syllable being lengthened and the stem-vowel weakened:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nak’s</td>
<td>qa-nè’ènk’èk’u</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nôx</td>
<td>qa-nà’ènxk’u</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Without the prefix qa- are found—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wak’</td>
<td>wak’èk’u</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g’ô’mr’dè</td>
<td>g’ô’mr’dètk</td>
<td>elder brother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naks</td>
<td>nènksg</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Irregular is—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>huxdá’èk’èn</td>
<td>lúxèdá’èk’èntk’u</td>
<td>grandson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Undoubtedly the terminal -tk’u, -ku, in these forms, is the same as the suffix discussed in § 17.  § 44
§ 45. Sixth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix l-

Plurals formed by the prefix l- are pre-eminently verbal plurals, as is illustrated by the following examples taken from the Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Nominal Plural</th>
<th>Verbal Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ak's water, to drink</td>
<td>ak'a'k's waters</td>
<td>la-a'k's to drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'i paddle, to paddle</td>
<td>hwa'io paddles</td>
<td>lu-wa'i to paddle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel connected with this prefix is variable, and many irregularities are found in this class.

(a) Singular | Plural | to drink |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ak's</td>
<td>la-a'k's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y6xk</td>
<td>l6-y6'xk</td>
<td>to follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g6sk</td>
<td>l6-g6'ksk</td>
<td>to be awake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'aq</td>
<td>l6-d'aq</td>
<td>to devour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>to paddle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa'i</td>
<td>lu-wa'i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-ba'wsk</td>
<td>ga-la'bewsk</td>
<td>to shake one's self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yer</td>
<td>li-ye'r</td>
<td>to hide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Reduplication or lengthening of vowel is found with l-:

Singular | Plural | hungry |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xda'x</td>
<td>lu-xde'di'x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xe'te'a'x</td>
<td>la-xe'te'wex</td>
<td>to be afraid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here may be mentioned Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>hungry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'it'o</td>
<td>lu-k'it'o'd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Initial g', k', and q drop out after l-:

Singular | Plural | to fly |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g'ak's</td>
<td>lak's</td>
<td>a bird swims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'iba'yuk</td>
<td>liba'yuk</td>
<td>to fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'nek</td>
<td>le'nek</td>
<td>(tree) falls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belong also the reduplicated plurals:

Singular | Plural | to warm one's self | to warm something |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g'amk's</td>
<td>lemla'mk's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'amq'il</td>
<td>lemla'mq'il</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>to dry (meat)</th>
<th>to fall over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g'utenks</td>
<td>lunks</td>
<td>to dry (meat)</td>
<td>to fall over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ena</td>
<td>lee'ona</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'oks</td>
<td>loks</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>to float</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'oks</td>
<td>loko'ks</td>
<td>to float</td>
<td>floating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ig'o'ks</td>
<td>li'o'mg</td>
<td>to wipe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'amq</td>
<td>lamks</td>
<td>hot</td>
<td>to fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ipa'yuk</td>
<td>lipa'yuk</td>
<td>to fly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(a) Irregular, but related to this class, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yax</td>
<td>li'leq</td>
<td>to hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y'axya'q</td>
<td>le'li'shək*</td>
<td>to hang [v. n.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'dak*</td>
<td>lidux</td>
<td>to shoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'·in-hē' tk*</td>
<td>li'n edemk*st</td>
<td>to arise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'staqs</td>
<td>lukste'sdegs</td>
<td>to leave</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tsimshian:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gaksk</td>
<td>li'daksk</td>
<td>to wake up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'·ak森</td>
<td>li'dak森</td>
<td>to awaken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ses-a'xəs</td>
<td>les-a'xəs</td>
<td>to laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wstl'dq</td>
<td>laxstl'deqa</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 46. Seventh Group. Irregular Plurals

This last group is quite irregular. The following plurals are formed from the same or related stems, but in an irregular manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sem'd g'it</td>
<td>semq'ig'a't</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sig'idemnəx</td>
<td>sig'idemhə'nax</td>
<td>chieftainess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuyt'kə</td>
<td>siya'tk*</td>
<td>to weep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayawo'kə</td>
<td>alaywoat*</td>
<td>to shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wəməhə'</td>
<td>wudəx al'aməhə'</td>
<td>to shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lə-mək'sa</td>
<td>lə-tə dik'sa</td>
<td>to wash cloths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wə-nək*</td>
<td>nwc'nek*</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wət'əx</td>
<td>d'əxal'əx</td>
<td>stout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ai-mə's</td>
<td>q'ai-mə'qəxt</td>
<td>youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am'a-mə's</td>
<td>am'a-mə'qəxt</td>
<td>pretty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tsimshian:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sem'd g'id</td>
<td>semq'ig'a'd</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sig'idemna'q</td>
<td>sig'idemhə'nag</td>
<td>chieftainess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'huq*tk</td>
<td>nani*tk</td>
<td>to arise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the use of different stems for singular and plural belongs rather to the classification of nouns and verbs according to form of objects and actors, this feature is so prominent in the dialects of the Tsimshian that it deserves mention here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g'·axk*</td>
<td>hō'ut</td>
<td>to escape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'è</td>
<td>lə</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il'daxk*</td>
<td>twə'daxk*</td>
<td>to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'a</td>
<td>wən</td>
<td>to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzak*</td>
<td>yëts</td>
<td>to kill (plural = to chop)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 46
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hēkša</td>
<td>makška</td>
<td>to stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvitša</td>
<td>bakša</td>
<td>to come from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōd</td>
<td>dōq</td>
<td>to take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agšitka</td>
<td>dōckša</td>
<td>to lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kšax</td>
<td>kšišlō</td>
<td>to go out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maqt</td>
<td>hvūlt</td>
<td>to carry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sqats'a'x</td>
<td>alisg'ı'da</td>
<td>ugly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dā'ul</td>
<td>sakška</td>
<td>to leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malkša</td>
<td>txaḻledet</td>
<td>to put into fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mäxša't</td>
<td>cēntaš</td>
<td>to go aboard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bax</td>
<td>gōl</td>
<td>to run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'gat</td>
<td>lāl</td>
<td>to put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gō'el</td>
<td>la'lı</td>
<td>to lie down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ēn</td>
<td>la'mdzix</td>
<td>to enter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō'ō</td>
<td>dax</td>
<td>to die</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tsimshian:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kšišö'rk</td>
<td>hušt</td>
<td>to escape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iā</td>
<td>wulxa</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gō</td>
<td>hab</td>
<td>to go to a place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iāšö'rk</td>
<td>trəö'rk</td>
<td>to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!ā</td>
<td>wān</td>
<td>to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzag</td>
<td>yadz</td>
<td>to kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēty, bats</td>
<td>nulx</td>
<td>to stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wā'ty</td>
<td>amiaš</td>
<td>to come from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gō</td>
<td>doq</td>
<td>to take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hayações</td>
<td>makš</td>
<td>to put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mō'rk</td>
<td>sōntka</td>
<td>to go aboard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō'g'än</td>
<td>sō'n</td>
<td>to put aboard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baö</td>
<td>g'ōl</td>
<td>to run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nōk</td>
<td>lāelk</td>
<td>to lie down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ēn</td>
<td>la'mdzex</td>
<td>to enter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzag</td>
<td>der</td>
<td>to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waö</td>
<td>klu'ng'ı̂t</td>
<td>male slave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyā'ölg</td>
<td>klger</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òl</td>
<td>sa'mi (i.e., meat)</td>
<td>bear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 46
§ 47. Plurals of Compounds

In by far the majority of cases the plural of compounds is formed, in cases of reduplication, by leaving all prefixes unmodified, and by forming the reduplicated plural of the principal theme.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gā'ica</td>
<td>txā'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥu'utk</td>
<td>bāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laxla'c</td>
<td>tgi-kle'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'as</td>
<td>maxs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su-p'a's</td>
<td>su-ma'xs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lyu-</td>
<td>k'abe-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w dib-</td>
<td>wut'a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k8-</td>
<td>.ta-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥu'utk</td>
<td>to cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laxla'c</td>
<td>to drop down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'as</td>
<td>to grow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su-p'a's</td>
<td>youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lyu-</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w dib-</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k8-</td>
<td>extreme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gā'-l'sa'p</td>
<td>gā-l's epts'a'p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dax-g'a't</td>
<td>dax-g'iq'a't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-se'shensk'</td>
<td>an-se'shensk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-dzaghm-lu-yo'ltg</td>
<td>sa-dzaghm-lu-yo'ltg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lū-am qa'od</td>
<td>lū-am'ām qa'od</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suddenly to return across to be of [in] good heart</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are, however, cases in which the whole word is reduplicated. Examples of these have been given in § 36, d (p. 370). The principal suffixes so treated are an- and ḥu-.

The position of the prefix ga- seems to depend upon the firmness of the compound. Generally it precedes the stem; as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gwič'-nil'e'nsk'</td>
<td>gwič'-qa-nil'e'nsk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'la-k'la-lu-ga-lgungere'des</td>
<td>hunter (Nass dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tsimshian dialect)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, we find in the Tsimshian dialect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ts'em-mū</td>
<td>ga-ts'em-mū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal Pronouns (§§ 48-54)

§ 48. Subjective and Objective Pronouns

The personal pronouns have two distinctive forms, which, according to their probable original significance, may be designated as transitive and intransitive, or, better, subjective and objective. The former

§§ 47, 48
express, at least partly, the subject of the transitive verb; the latter, its object, and at the same time the subject of the intransitive verb. Their use is, therefore, to a certain extent analogous to that of the subjective and objective pronouns in languages like the Siouan, Iroquois, Haida, Tlingit, and others. The use of these forms in Tsimshian, however, is peculiarly irregular. The forms in the two dialects are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjective.</th>
<th>Objective.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person singular</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person plural</td>
<td>dsp-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person singular</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person plural</td>
<td>m sm-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>t-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 49. Use of the Subjective

(a) The subjective pronouns are used most regularly in the subjunctive mood, where they appear as prefixes of the verb. It will be sufficient to demonstrate their use in one dialect only, since the rules are the same in both, and I choose the Tsimshian dialect for this purpose.

SUBJUNCTIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>me.</th>
<th>us.</th>
<th>thee.</th>
<th>you.</th>
<th>him, them.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>n-n</td>
<td>n-sm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>dsp-n</td>
<td>dsp-sm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>m-n</td>
<td>m-m</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>m sm-n</td>
<td>m sm-m</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>t-m</td>
<td>t-m</td>
<td>t-n</td>
<td>t-sm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:
ada vul me wā'yu then you (singular) found me
a vul m sm wā'yu because ye (plural) found me
ada vult wā'yu hā'tset then the dog found me
ha'wē'ōnī, n dem k' a txal wā'n wait until I shall for a while
meet you (ha'wē'ōnī, wait until; n I; dem future; k' a for a while; txal against; wā'n to find; -n thee).

a demt wē'tu that he will bake me
ada me dem sm vul man-sāk's'ut then ye will pull it up (ada then; me thou; dem future; sm ye; vul being; man- up;
sāk' s'ut to pull; -t it)
da vul dep dī-se-wō'ot because we, on our part, give them names
(a at; vul being; dep we; dī-on our part; se- to make; wō' name; -t it)

§ 49
dem-t ligi-la-ni'odzetga° he would see somewhere bad luck
(dem- future; t- he; ligi- somewhere; la- bad luck; ni'o dz to
see; -t it; -ga° absence [see § 20])
lat g'ik da'nikstega° when he squeezed it again (la when; t he;
g'ik again; damks to squeeze; -t it; -ga° absence)

(b) In the indicative, the subjective pronouns are used when the
object of the verb is a first or second person. The objective pro-
nouns are used to express the subject of the transitive verb, in the
indicative, when the object is a third person. The verb takes the
suffix -d or -n described in § 17.

### Indicative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>me.</th>
<th>us.</th>
<th>thee.</th>
<th>you.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>n—fn</td>
<td>n—fn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>dsp—fn</td>
<td>dsp—fn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>m—fn</td>
<td>m—fn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>m—fn</td>
<td>m—fn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>t—fn</td>
<td>t—fn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples:**

* m wā'ynu you (singular) found me
* m dem dza'kdu you will kill me (dzak to kill)
* t wā'ynu hā'oset the dog found me
* n dza'kden I have killed thee
* n wā'en you have found me
* me ayō'ynem you (singular) have hit us
dsp d'ynin we hit thee

(c) The subjective pronouns are used with transitive and intransitive
forms that take the objective pronouns for the purpose of emphasis.

```
me dem dza'kdent gu'i   you (singular) will kill this one
or
dem dza'kdent gu'i
me dem sem dza'ksemt gu'i   you (plural) will kill this one
or
dem dza'ksemt gu'i
t dza'kdeste hā'osga° he has killed the dog
or
dza'kdeste hā'osga°
nan la yā'owrgz'nu I was eating
or
na la yā'owrgz'nu
nan la yā'owrgen
or
na la yā'owrgen you (singular) were eating
```
(d) The verb *da-ya* to say so takes these elements always:

- *da-n-ya'onu* I say so
- *da-dep-ya'onem* we say so
- *da-n-ya'n* you (singular) say so
- *da-m-sem-ya'onsem* ye say so
- *da-yat* he says, they say

Adverbs like *g'ik* again are placed here following the subjective pronoun, including *m-sem*.

- *da-m-sem g'ik ya'onsem* ye say so again

§ 50. Use of the Objective

(a) The objective is used to express the subject of the intransitive verb.

- *sê'opgenu* I am sick
- *dem al tgi-ks-gâ'ganu* but I shall (go) down first (*dem* future; *al* but; *tgi-* down; *ks-* extreme; *gâ'ga* first)
- *ada dem l'i-o'ksen* then you will drop on (it) (*ada* then; *l'i-* on; *o'ks* to drop)
- *sa-ô'kst* suddenly he dropped
- *da wul dzô'xsemt* when you camped (*da* at [see § 28]; *wul* being; *dzôg* to camp)
- *me'la hasa'gau* tell that I wish
- *ts'elem-ks-xulâ'nu* I am the last one behind

(b) The objective is used to express the object of the transitive verb. Examples have been given in § 49, b.

(c) The objective is used in the indicative of the transitive verb when the object is a third person or a noun. When the object is a third person pronoun, the objective *-t* is added to the objective pronoun.

- *ô'yu*t* I hit it
- *ô'yu*nt* you (singular) hit him
- *ô'yu*nt* we hit it
- *ne la dza'kdemt gu'i* we have killed this one
- *dem dza'kdot* I will kill him
- *ô'yu la's* I hit the dog

(d) The objective is used in a periphrastic conjugation of the transitive verb, in which the objective pronoun is repeated in the form of the independent pronoun.

- *nîô'den* *nî'seren* I see thee (literally: I see it, thee)
- *dem dza'gden nî'seryu* you (singular) will kill me

§ 50
(e) The objective pronoun is used to express the possessive relation.

\[ \text{mi}d\,\text{nu} \quad \text{my master} \\
\text{ne-vanben} \quad \text{thy house} \\
\text{ne-si\textarrow{'}ensoget} \quad \text{his friend} \\
\text{ga-ga\textarrow{d}em} \quad \text{our minds} \\
\text{ne-wa\textarrow{'}nesem} \quad \text{what you have (w\textarrow{n} for w\textarrow{l}, l assimilated by preceding n)} \]

§ 51. The First Person Singular, Objective Pronoun

The first person singular of the objective form has a second form in -\textarrow{i}, which occurs also in the possessive pronoun (see § 55). It is used in all cases in which the event is conceived as unreal.

(a) In negative sentences.

\[ \text{a\textarrow{lye} di ha-dza'gi} \quad \text{I do not die from it} \\
\text{a\textarrow{lye} ha\textarrow{sa}'gail dem dza'gen} \quad \text{I do not want thee to die} \]

(b) In sentences expressing potentiality, but with reference to the unreality of the event.

\[ \text{ada a\textarrow{ly}get na\textarrow{d}l dem t\textarrow{in}-l\textarrow{i-q\textarrow{an}-a\textarrow{dy}gi} \quad \text{then there is no one who} \\
\text{could get across me (a\textarrow{ly}e not; na\textarrow{d}l who; \textarrow{l} [see § 31]; dem} \\
\text{future; \textarrow{t} he [trans. subj.]; \textarrow{in}- nomen actoris (see p. 335);} \\
\text{l\textarrow{i-q\textarrow{an}- over; a\textarrow{dy}g to attain})} \\
\text{se\textarrow{mgal b\textarrow{a}'osenut \textarrow{dp} dze dza'gi} \quad \text{I am much afraid lest I may die} \\
\text{(se\textarrow{mgal much; b\textarrow{a}'os afraid; -n indicative; -u 1; \textarrow{dp} lest; dze} \\
\text{conditional; dza\textarrow{g} to die})} \\
\text{me \textarrow{o\textarrow{y}ig\textarrow{'}in} \quad \text{you might hit me! (m thou; \textarrow{dp} to hit; -i me; -g\textarrow{'}in} \\
\text{perhaps)}} \]

\[ \text{ada demt ha\textarrow{o}dzige na-xa\textarrow{'}igesge demt gun-a\textarrow{k\textarrow{ym}i\textarrow{a}}; \textarrow{wi}\textarrow{y\textarrow{gie} \\
\text{dem g\textarrow{a}'du, dzed\textarrow{u} la ts\textarrow{i\textarrow{'}on\textarrow{i}, da . . . then my master may} \\
\text{send me, he may order me to get water; I shall take a large} \\
\text{basket, when I come in, then . . . (ha\textarrow{o}dz to send; \textarrow{y\textarrow{gie [see} \\
\text{s\textarrow{2}4]; na- possessive prefix [see § 55]; x\textarrow{a}'os slave; na-xa\textarrow{'}il my} \\
\text{master; gesge preposition [see § 28]; gun- to order, to cause;} \\
\text{a\textarrow{k\textarrow{ym}i\textarrow{a} to get water; -ga\textarrow{e} absence [§ 20]; \textarrow{wi}- great; q\textarrow{b}g basket;} \\
\text{g\textarrow{a}'b to dip up; dzed\textarrow{u if; ts\textarrow{i\textarrow{'}on\textarrow{i to enter; da then)}}} \\
\text{(c) In conditional clauses.} \\
\text{ada dze la lu-ya\textarrow{ltgi} \quad \text{then, if I return ——} \\
\text{(d) The possessive suffix of the first person has the form -i in} \\
\text{address.} \]

\[ \text{lg\textarrow{i\textarrow{'}otgi} \quad \text{my child!} \\
\text{n\textarrow{a}'i my mother! (said by girl) \textarrow{neg\textarrow{vo\textarrow{d}i} my father!} \]
(c) The possessive suffix of the first person has the form -i in subjunctive and negative sentences, in which it designates potentiality of existence.

 WebDriver a n dze le twal-wo'de igw'otgido I might remember when I met my child ( WARRANTY to remember; a at; n 1; dze conditional; la past: twal- against; wo'de to meet; igw'otgido child) a1ge di wai'bi I have no house (a1ge not; di on my part; wai'bi house)

§ 52. Remarks on the Subjunctive Pronouns

(a) The prefixed personal pronouns n-, m-, and t- may be considered true pronominal forms. The first person plural dep is, however, by origin, a plural of much wider application. It is used frequently to express the plural of demonstrative pronouns; for instance, dep gwod'i those. It seems, therefore, that its use as a first person plural may be secondary.

(b) The second person plural contains the objective element -sem, which remains separable from the transitive second person m-. Particularly the temporal elements wil, dem, la are placed between m- and -sem.

* adu me dem sem wulai' i la gwod'ntgut then you will know that I have touched it (adu then; me- 2d pers. subj.; dem future: -sem 2d pers. plural; wulai' i to know [singular obj.]; la past: gwod'ntgut to touch; -n I; -t it)

(c) The third person is placed following the temporal particles, while all the other persons precede them, except the -sem of the second person plural (see under b).

First person singular: n dem sū me'al'udget I shall shake the rope (n I; dem future; sū to swing; me'al'udget rope)
First person singular: n-dem na'ksyen I shall marry thee
First person plural: dep dem awul-mag I will stand by you (dep we; dem future; awul- by the side of; mag to place: -n thee)

Second person: adu me dem kse-de-bao'otga then you will run out with her (kse- out; de- with; bao'otga to run; -t her; -ga absence)

Third person: adu demt qal'pegan leksta'qat then he will close the doorway (qal'pegan to close, fill up; leksta'qat doorway)
First person: a1ge n la di-k'li'na'm dem hanao'g I have not given it to the woman (a1ge not; n I; la past; di on my part; k'li'na'm to give; dem [see §§ 28, 31]; hanao'g woman)

§ 52
First person: ada ne vul nĩⁿ ne-woâl'sge y'ũwot'a then I saw the house of the man (ada then; ne I; vul being; nĩⁿ to see; ne- possessive prefix [see § 55]; woâl house; -sge [see § 24]; y'ũwot man)

Third person: ada vult d'yitga andat vult d'yitga and then he hit him

(d) A comparison between the use of the connectives [see § 24] and the personal pronouns shows a strict correspondence between these forms. We have seen that in the indicative, in forms with the third person object, the subjective forms are not used, but that the objective forms are used instead. This corresponds to the peculiar identity of the objective forms of the subjunctive connective (B 1, § 24) and of the indicative of the subjective connective of the transitive verb (A 2, § 24). It seems justifiable, therefore, to state that, in transitive sentences with nominal subject and object, the indicative takes the objective forms in the same way as in sentences of the same kind, in which pronominal subjects and objects only occur.

§ 53. The Personal Pronoun in the Nass Dialect

As stated before, the usage in the two dialects is very nearly the same, and a number of examples may be given here to illustrate the forms of the Nass dialect.

Use of the subjective (see § 49, a):

(a) Subjunctive forms.

ām me dën vō'ōl gäl-tśaʾp good (if) you call the people 206.13
(ām good; vō'ō to call; gäl-tśaʾp town)

la ām me naḵ'squē good (if) you marry me 158.2

ām dep d'isâl'el qə-dz'əqam good (if) we strike our noses 103.8
(ām good; d'is to strike; qə- plural; dz'əq nose; -em our)
at gōd'kʷet for their drying them 169.7 (a preposition; t- 3rd per. subj.; gōd'kʷ to dry)

nīg' in ḥwīləx't I did not know it (nīg' i not[takes the subjunctive])

(b) I have not found any examples of indicative and emphatic forms

(c) (see § 49, b, c).

(d) The verb dē-ya to say so (see § 49, d) has the following forms:

nē-ya'nē I say so

dep hē'idēnōm we say so

mē-ya'an you (singular) said so 171.5

mēsem hē'idē you say so

dē-ya he says so 65.5

§ 53
Use of the objective:

Most of the objective pronouns of the Nass dialect are identical with those of Tsimshian. The only exceptions are the first person singular, which in the Nass dialect is always -ēe, and the third person plural, which is -det.

Examples of the third person plural are the following:

sem-u-barba'g'ask'adetg'ē they were much troubled 195.14
alayūk'adet they made noise 173.14
tqal-lu'k'adet al dēpxi nōi-sqanēst they reached (against at) the foot of the mountain 126.6
hux hē-yukt ìw̓ ēdet they began to throw again 139.15
həwīl'ipdet their house 102.3

The objective pronoun is used in the same way as in the Tsimshian dialect.

(a) Subject of the intransitive verb (see § 50, a).

nīg'ide halai'dēe I am not a shaman 128.9 (nīg'i not; ē on my part; halai't shaman)
dem lē'tsan you will count 129.9 (dem future; lētsx to count)
hagun-ī'ēt he went in the direction (toward it) 129.14
dem dō'-bā'gām we, on our part, shall try 114.16 (bag to try)
men-lo'łōnām we go up 42.8
g'ilō dze hux həwil'sem do not do so also 98.4 (g'ilō do not; ē conditional; hux also, again; həwil to do; -sem ye)
la sem-dex-g'īg'adet they had become very strong 98.13 (la past; sem very; der- strong; g'at person; -det they)

(b) Object of the transitive verb (see p. 389).

(c) Subject of transitive verb, indicative with third person object.

dem lep-huv'umł dem nā'em we ourselves will find our bait 56.6

(d) Periphrastic conjugation.

dem na'kškuē nē'en I shall marry thee 203.9
la liksg'ad'eren nēe thou hast taken notice of me 158.1
sak'sta'qset nē'en qans nē'e they have deserted thee and me 157.10
dem huv'ilek nē'en I shall carry thee 74.1

(e) Possessive pronoun.

aw-gaul'duŠ his playground 79.1
tsəl'abē my people 192.2
negwā'ōden thy father 133.2
lūg'ulguna thy child 205.5
nak'śt his wife 133.1
la dem g'ēibem what was to have been our food 122.9
qa-ts'ēm-uqsem your mouths 84.10
qa-ts'ēm-aqdet their mouths 84.13

§ 53
§ 54. Independent Personal Pronoun

The independent personal pronoun, which in its subjective form has also predicable character, is formed from the following stems:

Nass dialect: Subjective *nē*; objective *lā*.
Tsimshian dialect: Subjective *n'ēr*; objective *k'ā*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nē</em></td>
<td><em>n'ēr</em></td>
<td><em>lā</em></td>
<td><em>k'ā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nōm</em></td>
<td><em>n'ēr'ūn</em></td>
<td><em>lā'ū</em></td>
<td><em>k'ā'ū</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nēm</em></td>
<td><em>n'ēr'ūm</em></td>
<td><em>lā'ūm</em></td>
<td><em>k'ā'ūm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gē</em></td>
<td><em>n'ēr'ē</em></td>
<td><em>lā'ē</em></td>
<td><em>k'ā'ē</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gē</em></td>
<td><em>n'ē'ē</em></td>
<td><em>lā'ē</em></td>
<td><em>k'ā'ē</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hō</em></td>
<td><em>nō</em></td>
<td><em>lō</em></td>
<td><em>kō</em></td>
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<td><em>hō</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>hō</em></td>
<td><em>nō</em></td>
<td><em>lō</em></td>
<td><em>kō</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

*nē*ē *t'ān mukt* I am the one who caught it 44.8

*nē*en *t'ān dēdō'gqt* thou art the one who took it 157.4

*nē*nēk'!ē *lep-nē'ē lō*eg'ē then he himself the slave 40.8

*k'!ax-nē'sem* only ye 83.6

twanē*th*ē sl *hwōl* *negwō'dōden lā'o'ē all that thy father will do
to me 133.2 (twanē*th*ē all; *dem* future; *hwōl* to do; -s connective;

*negwō'dōt* father; -n thy)

*dem* *d'ēp-k's-qāq nēē'st lān* I shall (go) down first to you 81.4

*dem* future; *d'ēp-* down; *k's* extreme; *qāq* first; *nēē* 1; -st

emphatic [see § 20]; *lān* to thee)

*lō-mē*ēth*ē k'at lā'ōt inside it was full of people in it 120.3 (lō- in;

*mēth*ē full; -L connective; *g'at* people)

gōp dē-lā'sem go ahead, to you also! 83.10

*dem* na'k'skuē nēen I shall marry thee 203.9

In place of the oblique form, the subjective with the preposition as (containing the connective -s [see § 23.7]) is also found, particularly for the third person.

*hwōl* *hwōl's* dēp-bē'ēbē as *nē*ēn qans *nē*ē thus did my uncles to thee

and to me 157.9 (*hwōl* being; *hwōl* to do; -s connective; *dēp*

plural [see § 52, a]; *bēx* uncle; -ē my; *qan* and; -s connective)

dēl'ēxt . . . as *nē'ēg'ē* she spoke to him 157.1

Tsimshian:

*nē'ēriu *demt in-na*k'sqg* *lō*uy'g*ēnt* I am the one who will marry

thy child (*dem* future; *t*- he; *in-* nomen actoris; *nak'sqg* to

marry; *lō*uy'g* child; -en thy)

*nē*ērend in-ō'ēt thou art the one who hit him

§ 54
y'aqai-nivodesen gap-k'l-a-vi-naxnogun du k'la'i however, he (i. e., you) indeed, you are really more greatly supernatural than I (y'aqai—however; nivode he [here with the meaning you]; -sen indeed; gap-really; k'l-exceedingly, more; vi-greatly; naxnog supernatural; -n thou; da preposition [see § 28]; k'la'i me)

lig-i-gado dem k'unad'yan da k'la'i, dem k'xunamu du k'unan whatever you will ask of me, (that) I shall give you (ligi- any [see § 8, no. 20]; gado something; dem future; k'unato request; -n thou; da preposition; k'xunamu to give; -n I)

da-yag'et negwad'ot ges nivet thus said his father to him

§ 55. Possession

In the Tsimshian dialect three forms of possession may be distinguished, while the Nass dialect has only two. In the former dialect, separable possession is always introduced by the prefix nta-, which is absent in the Nass dialect. Both dialects distinguish possession of inanimate and of animate objects.

1. Nass dialect:

(a) All possession of inanimate objects is expressed by the suffix expressing the possessive pronoun (see § 53, c), or, when the possessive is expressed by a noun, by the addition of the connective (see § 23).

huwilbee my house  havilb's Loglobola' the arrow of Loglobola' 20.3
d'k'see my water 18.7  tsel'el'ml maulg'ö food of the canoe 107.6

(b) All possession of animate objects is expressed by the same suffixes, but the noun is given the passive suffixes -k, -tk, -s (discussed in § 17). Exceptions to this rule are terms of relationship in the singular, which take simply the possessive suffixes, like nouns expressing inanimate objects. The occurrence of the endings -k and -tk in the plurals of terms of relationship (see § 44) may be due to the treatment of these like other nouns designating animate objects.

q'плоth'st his wolf (q'пло wolf; -tk passive suffix; -t his)

huxdad'grintkt'st his grandchildren 19.10

2. Tsimshian dialect:

(a) All inseparable possession, including nouns designating parts of the body, locations referring to self, and terms of relationship, are expressed by possessive suffixes, and, when the possessive is expressed by a noun, by the connectives (see § 27).

(a) Inseparable possession relating to parts of the body:

ban belly

bal'nu my belly

ts'lag nose

ts'l'agen thy nose

§ 55
(β) Inseparable possession relating to space relations:

- *awačt* proximity
- *awačt* near him (his proximity)
- *laxš’o* the place over
- *laxš’o tu* the place over me
- *txalän’u* the place behind
- *txalän’u* the place behind him

(γ) Inseparable possession, expressing terms of relationship, in singular:

- *negwáčd* father
- *negwáčdu* my father
- *lemkdi’* sister
- *lemkdi’y* my sister

To this group belong also—

- *mít’n* master
- *mít’n u* my master
- *nesít’o pu’ ens* friend
- *nesít’o pu’ enșgen* thy friend

(b) Separable possession of inanimate objects is expressed by the prefix *ne*- and the possessive suffix (viz., the connective suffix).

- *walb* house
  - *ne-wálb*hu my house
- *láb* stone
  - *ne-láb*bu my stone

(c) Separable possession of animate objects is expressed by the prefix *ne*- , the passive suffix, and the possessive (viz., connective) suffix.

- *e’rla* seal
  - *ne-e’rlag*u my seal
- *háu* dog
  - *ne-háu*gyu my dog
- *ól* bear
  - *ne-ól*tu my bear
- *hán* salmon
  - *ne-hán*ten* gen* thy salmon
- *ske* herring
  - *ne-ske*’tg*u* my herring
- *ap* bee
  - *ne-a*’pu* my bee
- *mel’o* steelhead salmon
  - *ne-mel’o*bu* my steelhead salmon
- *ts’ap* tribe
  - *n-ts’ap*pu people of my village (but *n-ts’ap*bu my village)

- *wálb* house
  - *ne-wálb*pu* people of my house
    (but *ne-wálb*bu my house)

§ 56. Demonstrative Pronouns

I have not succeeded in analyzing satisfactorily the forms of the demonstrative pronoun. It has been stated before (§ 20) that presence and absence are expressed by the suffixes -st (-t) and -g'ë (Tsimshian -t and -ga). Besides these, we find independent demonstrative pronouns and peculiar demonstrative suffixes. In the Nass dialect there are two independent demonstratives: *gön* this, *goš* that.

§ 56
gön:
lep-nē' e qane-hwōla gön I am always doing this myself 52.3 (lep-
self; nēe I; qane-hwōla always)
nl̓kʷe tongl sa-gū'oth kw̓it then she resolved this 7.5
g̓e-g̓ip'a'psl hwil daxdō'xt gön high piles these 42.10
tongl hēt; this he said 99.12

gōs:
sem-lihk's-g'dem qa-gū't dep gō' sty'ə very different were the minds
of those 114.12 (sem- very; lik's- separate; g'at person; em
attributive connective; qa- plural; gū't mind; dep- plural [§ 52, a])
sem-g̓ō'uskw̓e qē'nek as gō'sty'ə really he reached a trail there 126.7
(sem- very; gūx to hit; sku intransitive [17.2]; qē'nek trail)
mēn̓l ts'enlōk'h gō'sty'ə that was the master of the squirrels 212.5
(mēn master; l possessive connective; ts'enlōk' squirrel)
śem̓-sem-k'ā'āna māl tūgō'sty'ə that was a large exceedingly good
cano 107.5 (śem- large; sem- very; k'ā'ā exceeding; māl, good;
-a connective [§ 22]; māl canoe)

In Tsimshian the demonstratives seem to be more numerous.
There are two independent forms: gwi this, gwa⁰ that.

gwi:
dō du gwē't they are here
adat plā'redet Waxayā'q' dep gwē't then Waxayā'q told them
lgu-squ-na'k du gwē' a little after this (squ- across; na' long)

gwa⁻:
nin'i k̓sdenā's gal-tse'epsts'de gwə those are the nine towns
(nin'i this; k̓sdenā's nine; gal-tse'epst town)
G̓ilksats'awon̓l̓ rā⁰ rā⁰ gwa³ this slave's name was G.
k'ū-sq̓ō'k'em gwa³ we will stop here for a while
adat unā'xe dep gwa³ then these agreed

Derived from gwa³ is gwa'sqa³, which always refers to absent
objects:

una al sger lgu-dza'gum a'nta gəsqa gwa'sqa³ but then the little
dead porcupine lay there (una then; al but; lgu- little; dzag
dead; a'nta porcupine; gəsqa at [see § 28])
ał̓ge hē'otgel wā'lelge gwa'sqa'q̓u⁰ no house stood there

It would seem that gwa³ refers to locations near by, since it is
never used with the ending -ga; while gwa'sqa designates the dis-
tance, and is always used with the corresponding connectives.

Derived from gwa is also gwai, which seems to point to the part
of the sentence that follows immediately; while gwa³ is almost
always in terminal position.

§ 56
nin'i' wilwā'lb gwai na-tgi-dā'uł those were the houses that had come down negwā'deo lguā'mle gwai'it Ha'ts'ëna' set the father of the boy was that Ha'ts'ëna' set

Possibly these two demonstratives are related to gu, which appears often with the function of a relative pronoun, but seems to be a demonstrative of another class. These appear to be made up of the demonstratives d and g, which have been treated in § 20, and the two vowels -i and -u. I have not succeeded, however, in gaining a clear understanding of these forms. I have found the series

-ɨ
-ʉ
-dʉ
-gʉ

of which I shall give examples:

-ɨ:

.ttʉ'ok'emʉ this one hit thee
.nin'i' bi'âl'ste gwo se-wu'temʉ yē'olde this is the star that we call yē'd
.kʉ'edʉ'ok'emʉ those around us
.gal-ts'a'de t'i'ok'emʉ la gu gwo this is the town of the sea-lions
.ada hō'lede wâ'di'a gwo much did this one here
.wi'qanē'ostë hō'otgedi a st.i'op'.elt a large mountain stands here behind the house

-ʉ:

.ne-bʉ'olʉ hanʉ'g this woman has been running
.ne-bʉ'olʉ awoo'n the one near thee has been running

-ɗu:

.nin'i' gal-ts'a'epts'a'de du gwo those are the towns
.du nā'el dem dədʉ'ol'sedël . . . who will live then? ZE 792230
gʉ' du gan lʉ'ontin you were angry for something of the kind.

-ɡu:

.ɡʉ na-di-g'ig'i'nekə ne-ga-niā'otgem those were the ones prayed to by our grandfathers
.dd'-yaga səm'â'gi'tgu e ge gə'mɡəm də'usdego thus said the chief, that sun
.tne'riiut i'm-k'.ilk'!i'nā'm ya'ts'esqe du k'wan, gu lā'wula wutir'a'yin I am the one who gave you the animals that you always found (t he; ne'rii I; in nomen actoris; k'.!inā'm to give; ya'ts'esqe animals; da to; k'wan you [dative]; lā'wula always; vo to find)

Among the demonstratives may also be enumerated the element n-, which, in the Nass dialect, forms the common conjunction n-ki'ê, and

§ 56
which also may be contained in the stem ne-(Tsimshian n.'er-) of the independent pronouns. In Tsimshian it is found in the very frequent demonstrative nin't' that one.

Numerals (§§ 57, 58)

§ 57. Cardinal Numbers

The Tsimshian dialects use various sets of numerals for various classes of objects. In Tsimshian one of these classes is used for simple counting. The others designate flat, round, long objects; human beings; canoes; measures. In the Nass dialect round and long objects are counted by the same set of numerals.

These sets of numerals in the two dialects are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Abstract count.</th>
<th>II. Flat objects.</th>
<th>III. Round objects.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nass.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tsimshian.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nass.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 k'ë'k'</td>
<td>k'ë'k'</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 t'ëpxâ't</td>
<td>t'ëpxâ'd</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 golâ'nt</td>
<td>gwant</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 txâlpx</td>
<td>txâlpx</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 k'ët</td>
<td>k'ë't</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 q'ët</td>
<td>q'ët</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 t'ëpxâ'ët</td>
<td>t'ëpxâ'ël</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 qandâ'ët</td>
<td>qandâ'ël</td>
<td>yuxâ'ët</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 k'æt</td>
<td>k'æ</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 k'ap</td>
<td>k'ap</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 k'ap di k'ëk'</td>
<td>k'ap di k'ãk'</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 k'ap di t'ëpxâ't</td>
<td>k'ap di t'ëpxâ'l</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 k'ë'bbel wul k'ap</td>
<td>k'ë'dê'ol</td>
<td>k'i'ly'ë'tke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 gula wul k'ap</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV. Long objects.</th>
<th>V. Human beings.</th>
<th>VI. Canoes.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nass.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tsimshian.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nass.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 -III q'ã'wutsxan</td>
<td>ky'âl</td>
<td>k'âl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -III q'ã'paxan</td>
<td>bagâ'dol</td>
<td>t'ëpxadâ'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -III ga'ltgan</td>
<td>gulâ'n</td>
<td>gulâ'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 -III txâ'paxan</td>
<td>txalpxâ'l</td>
<td>txalpxâ'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 -III k't'ë'poxan</td>
<td>k'estemâ'âl</td>
<td>k'estemâ'âl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 -III q'â'dita'xan</td>
<td>q'â'dita'âl</td>
<td>q'â'dita'âl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 -III t'ëpxadâ'xan</td>
<td>t'ëpxadâ'l</td>
<td>t'ëpxadâ'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 -III yu'kxtsa'xan</td>
<td>yuxâ'ë'tkes</td>
<td>yuxâ'ë'tkes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 -III k'æt'ëxan</td>
<td>k'æt'ëx</td>
<td>k'æt'ëx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 -III kp'ë'tsxan</td>
<td>x'p'al</td>
<td>kp'al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 -III x'p'al di k'âl</td>
<td>k'ap'ësk di qam'â'et</td>
<td>k'ap'ësk di qam'â'et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 -III x'p'al di bagâ'dol</td>
<td>k'ap'ësk di galbâ'ë'tkes</td>
<td>k'ap'ësk di galbâ'ë'tkes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 -III =-1</td>
<td>k'edâ'ol</td>
<td>k'i'ly'ë'tkes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 -III =-1</td>
<td>gulâ'ë'tkes</td>
<td>gulâ'ë'tkes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Measures.</td>
<td>VIII. Bundles of ten skins.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (k'lg₃x')=III</td>
<td>k'el'ō'n</td>
<td>gušk'ewa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (k'lbel$_5x'$)=III</td>
<td>gū'ēpl'ō'n</td>
<td>g'ılıpwa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 gulal₁ō'n</td>
<td>k'ul'ō'n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 txalpxal₁ō'n</td>
<td>txalpxl'ō'n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 kw'tensl₁ō'n</td>
<td>kstōnsel'ō'n, ksten'ō'n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 q'âxel₁ō'n</td>
<td>qâl'el'ō'n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 t'epxâxel₁ō'n</td>
<td>t'epxâxel'ō'n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 yułów₁xel₁ō'n</td>
<td>yułów₁xel'ō'n, yułów₁xel'ō'n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 kwtemâxel₁ō'n</td>
<td>kwtemâxel'ō'n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 x'pā'ndē</td>
<td>kpgel'ō'n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This system will appear clearer when the numerals are arranged according to their stems.

**Nass**

1. **One:**
   - k'ā(k²)
   - k'ēl
   - qamā(et)

2. **Two:**
   - t'epxā(t)
   - k'ēl₁el

3. **Three:**
   - gol(ā'nt)

4. **Four:**
   - trul₃x

5. **Five:**
   - k₃st₆ns

6. **Six:**
   - q'âel

7. **Seven:**
   - t'epx₃a

8. **Eight:**
   - q₃₄n
   - yu₇x

9. **Nine:**
   - k₃st₃m₆'s (containing m₃₄₃ thumb?)

10. **Ten:**
    - k'ap
    - x'p₁₀l

**Tsimshian**

1. **One:**
   - k'āk
   - k'ērel
   - q'amā, which may be the stem also for q'ār₄wus₃x₅

2. **Two:**
   - t'epx₃₅a(₃d)
   - gūⁿp₉el

   - bagud(él)

3. **Three:**
   - gul(₃₂₄nt)

   - gult

4. **Four:**
   - trul₃x

5. **Five:**
   - k₃st₆ns

   - q'₄ł

6. **Seven:**
   - t'epx₃a the same as two

7. **Eight:**
   - q₃₄n
   - yu₇x

8. **Nine:**

9. **Ten:**
   - k'ap
   - k₉ap
   - k₉pl probably related to the preceding one

It will be seen that a multiplicity of stems belong to the first three numerals, eight, ten, and probably twenty. Not all these distinct stems are entirely independent, but evidently in part modifications of § 57
the same remote root. It would seem that the numerals one, two, three, ten, for the class of round objects, had a suffix -l, which has brought about modifications of the stems to which it has been attached. It seems plausible, therefore, that k'elak and k'elrel, qwan, and k'elutë, k'elap and kpi, are derived each pair from one root.

In some of the other classes the suffixes are obvious, although their meaning is not always clear. The suffix -sxan, in the class for long objects in Tsimshian, may well be a contraction of the numeral with sqaq stick. The class designating human beings contains the endings -âl, -dâl, which in the numeral three (gul'dn) has been changed to -ân by dissimilation. The class expressing measures contains the element -ân hand.

In the numerals the process of contraction may be observed with great clearness. Examples are the weakened forms kstenâl five persons, and that for nine persons, which is probably derived from the same stem, kstenasâl. Here belong also the forms yukledadâl, which stands for yukdeldâl; k'elâ'n, for k'elereb'ôn; k'tlqâx, for k'tel qâr one fathom.

§ 58. Ordinal Numbers, Numeral Adverbs, and Distributive Numbers

Ordinal numbers are not found, except the words ks-gâl'o and ks-dzo the first, and anil the next, which are not, strictly speaking, numerals.

Numeral adverbs agree in form with the numerals used for counting round objects.

nlk'ët lô-la'qsek*t law gul-dalt then she washed him in it three times 197.11 (-t she; lô- in; lqesk* to wash; -t him)

Tsimshian:
| txâ'lpaxa hâda'k'uxet four times it clapped together |

Distributive numbers are formed with the prefix melâ- (Tsimshian melâ-), which has been recorded in § 10, no. 87. Besides this, duplicated forms are found.

Tsimshian:
| txâ'lpuxde wul k'âpk'â'pö sa al melâ-k'elredel g'qamk forty days to each month ZE 792.21 (sa day; g'qamk month) |

§ 58
Syntactic Use of the Verb (§§ 59-65)

§ 59. Use of Subjunctive after Temporal Particles

The method of forming the modes has been discussed before, but it remains to add some remarks on their use. By far the most common form is the subjunctive. All historical prose, every sentence that does not express the speaker’s own immediate experience, is expressed in this mode. For this reason almost all introductory conjunctions are followed by the subjunctive mode. Possibly this mode can best be compared with our participles in so far as it often has a somewhat nominal character. This is true particularly of the verb when introduced by the temporal particles huwil, la, lā, dem (Tsimshian: vul, la, lā, dem). The following examples illustrate their use:

1. huwil seems to indicate primarily an action or state, then the place where an action takes place. It occurs commonly after verbs like to know, to hear, to see, to feel, to come, to go, and other verbs of motion, to find, to tell, and after many adjectives when treated as verbs. After the preposition a (see § 67) it generally expresses causal relations.

After huwil a‘ to know:

huwil’it huwil’a’nuksem ēlxt he knew the condition of being cooked of his seal 183.13 (a’nuks done; -em attributive connective; ēlx seal)

at huwil’a’v l huwil had’a’xkʷ̓ l huwil’tgʷ he knew the being bad his doing 37.6 (had’a’xkʷ bad; huwil to do)

(Compare with this nīg’it huwil’a’v’s Ts’ak· hē’tgʷ Ts’ak· did not know what he said 127.7)

After bag to feel:

bagl huwil sqa-dāl dā’sgum ēlx 183.10 she felt the piece of seal being across (sqa- across; dāl to sit; dā’sgum slice; ēlx seal)

nlk’ʷ̓ē lat bagl dem huwil alē’skʷ̓t then he felt himself getting weak

After naxna‘ to hear:

naxna‘l huwil a’lgy’wil qāq she heard that the raven spoke 151.11 t naxna‘l huwil háł’t t’an mokʷ̓l i’a’ns he heard that some one was speaking who caught leaves 15.11 (hēt to say; mokʷ̓ to catch with net; i’a’ns leaves)

(Compare with this t naxna‘l hēt wi-dō’eset he heard what the old man said 22.6)

§ 59
After g'ā'a to see:
\[t \text{ g'ā'al hovił gōksl melē'it he saw a salmon jumping 52.15}
\[t \text{ g'ā'al hovił āłg'āl g'at wī-x-pā'ot he saw a man examining the}
\[t \text{ large jaw 52.6}
\[t \text{ g'ā'al līt'āng'it hovił la ā'd'ik'šk*la līl'ā'e the slaves saw the blood}
\[t \text{ having come out 133.15}

After ā'd'ik'šk* to come:
\[ā'd'ik'šk*la hovił mesā'x' it came to be daylight 160.7
\[ā'd'ik'šk*la hovił sig'ā'kh*det it came that they cried 104.11
\[ā'd'ik'šk*la hovił q'andā'ul lax-ha' the sky came to be clear 78.12

After iā'ē to go:
\[hagun-iā'ēl g'at al hovił ts'ēlem-nō'ūt the man went to the hole
\[\text{ being there 201.11}

After qā'ō to go to:
\[nλk'ēt qā'ōl hovił d'ūt she went to where he was sitting 209.10
\[k'ēt qā'ōl hovił sg'ūt he goes to where he lies 218.4

After hava to find:
\[nīg'īt haviat hovił g'ā'k*sl qē'ttyg'ē he did not find his string of fish
\[\text{ lying in the water 117.8 (nīg'ī not; g'ā'k* to be in water; qē'ta string of fish)}

After mal to tell:
\[t \text{ ma'd'ēt hovił wī'th*detg'ē they told him where they got it from}
\[42.8 (wī'h* to come from)
\[t \text{ ma'ss G'īx'sats'ā'nūtx* hovił lē-hō'ksk*la lgo'ulk*la g'atg'ē 90.15}
\[G'īx'sats'ā'nūtx* told where the child of the man was on (lē- on:}
\[hō'ksk* to be with something; lgo'ulk* child; g'at man)

After adjectives used as verbs, and after numerals:
\[nak*la hovił iū'ī long he went 146.11 (long was his going)
\[nak*la hovił lō'det long they walked 126.6
\[wī-tē'sl hovił g'í'tk*tyg'ē he swelled up much 90.12
\[wī-tē'sl hovił ayawā'tk*it he cried much 123.4
\[hūx k'ē'tl hovił hõ'k's Trä'msen T. did one thing more 44.13
\[q'ayim-dēlpl*al hovił nandō'ol lax-ha' he was quite near to where
\[\text{ the hole in the sky was}

Tsimshian:
\[adat t'el-gā'oti wul wō'k*ega nyē'tyget he thought about it that the
\[\text{ darkness continued ZÉ 784.3 (t'el-gā'oti to think; wō'k* to}
\[\text{ continue; nyē'ty darkness)}
\[adat n'axnu* wul la g'īk ha'ts!eksem gō'it!ekst then he heard him
\[\text{ come again (n'axnu* to hear; g'īk again; ha'ts!eksem once more;}
\[\text{ gō'it!ekst to come)}
\[adat n'axnu*det Waxayā'ok wul wi-sā'ldzege ts'ā-wō'bhat then
\[\text{ Waxayā'ok heard the people in the house groan much (wi-}
\[\text{ greatly; sā'ldz to groan; ts'ā- inside; wō'b house)}

§ 59
ada sa-ni'odze ya'ts' esgede wul kse-gwâ'onteg voi-gê'ep!a then the animals saw the great light rising ZE 785.6 (sa- suddenly; ni'odze to see, discover; ya'ts' esg animal; kse- out; gwâ'onteg to touch; kse-gwâ'onteg to rise; voi- great; gê'ep!a light)

adat ma'leseg wula ha'ugze n-ts!a'ptga° then he told what his tribe said ZE 786.8 (mal to tell; ha'u to say; ts!ap tribe)
adat pliâ'rest ne-ts!a'pt gesga wula dez'ksga woi'k-tga° they told the tribe about their brother being dead (pliâ'r to tell; ts!ap tribe; dezak dead; waiłk- brother)
at k!s'etsxan wul kse-gwâ'onteg g'omget and he showed the moon that rose ZE 791.17 (k!s'etsxan to show; g'omget sun, moon)
âm dep dem iâ'oka wula ha'u d'uta good we follow what porcupine says ZE 792.22 (âm good; dep we; dem future; iâ'oka to follow; ha'u to say; d'uta porcupine)

The use of wul is not quite so regular in Tsimshian as in the Nass dialect. We find, for instance,
t n!aanû'° ha'us Waxayâ'ok he heard what Waxayâ'ok said ada g'îk k!s'ë'çëde wul hÎltga° and one more being full

On the other hand, wul is used very commonly with the introductory conjunctions ada, da. In fact, in most prose the greater number of sentences begin with this combination:
ada wul k!'ê'paxa-lemâ'îget then every one was saved ada wulat ya'ulemws Warayaô'kya° then he gave advice to W. ada wul ts!îont then he entered

The two forms wul and wula are apparently used without much discrimination. Both are generally admissible, and I have not succeeded so far in discovering any difference in their meaning.

2. La expresses a past state (Tsimshian: Ît).

sem-gwâ'el hwô'it aq gwâsî guis-halai'teg° he was very poor on having lost his dancing-blanket 38.14 (sem- very; gwâs poor; gwâs to lose; guis-blanket; halai't ceremonial dance)
k!s'î'łô'det al la laxlÎ'xkî'ädet they went out having finished eating 40.9
t g'â'îl wunâ'x° la ax-gê'îbeteg° he saw the food which he had not eaten 41.4 (wunâ'x° food; ax- not; gê'ep to eat something)
a'lg'îxâ Lôgôbola' al la hwîlâ'x° Îwîl d'z'ait Lôgôbola' spoke when he knew that he had lost 20.10 (a'lg'îx to speak; hwîlâ'x° to know; d'z'ait to lose)
bô'dîkî'ädet al la wê'dat they divided upon his having won 21.1
la hîx ku'ka, nîk'tè ... when it was evening again 141.4
la le'okît le-'îulîl axt k'ê'ukîxît al lax-an-la'kî°, after the porcupine had struck the fire with its tail 77.7
Tsimshian:

adat sem-lu-sanâ’lqetga a lat nî’o dudâ’u leplô’p then he was much surprised at it when he saw the ice (on the) stones (sem-very; lu-in; sanâ’lyg surprised; nî’o to see; dâ’u ice; leplô’p stone) lu-â’m gô’ets nà’et gesge lat nî’ostga his mother was glad when she saw him (lu-in; â’m good; gô’d mind; nâ’ mother; nî’o to see) nî’i gan-haldem-g’ô’lt gesge la g’îk ganlâ’ok therefore they arose when it was morning again (nî’i that it is; gan-reason; haldem-up; g’ôl to run [plural]; gesge at; g’îk again; ganlâ’ok morning) adat g’îklsa lat wul’am-swac’nde bal’seget then he felt when the wind had driven him ashore (g’îkls to feel; wul’am-landward; swac’n to blow; bâ’seg wind) 

la g’îk k’e’reldè lu tgi-iâ’o sat when again one day went down (k’e’rel one; tgi-down; iâ’o to go; sa day) 
dzeda’ lu xywa’tksen if you feel cold 
dze lu gwâ’nksen you may have been cooked ada la qa’odisge ha’utgæ when he had finished speaking ada lat sa-gâ’lemga u’ngseget when they had taken off the ashes

3. Lâ’ while (Tsimshian: Lâ’o).

nlk’ët ma’ldêt’gè lâ’ methwL gal-ts’a’p then they told him that the town was full 133.14
la sem-bag’ait-dà’l lôqs, nlk’ë . . when really in the middle was the sun, then . . . 108.15
nîg’ë hux hrîlt la qâ’ôdet they did not finish again when they finished 179.10

Tsimshian:
n’ini’t wul wulâ’i lâ’t wula st’ôp’恩de ndâkstgâ that was how she knew that her husband continued to love her (wulâ’i to know; st’ôp’恩 to love; naks husband)
ada lâ’o wula hî’ôqe wul-qâ’ôsyet then continued to stand the wise ones ZE 792.20 (hî’ôty to stand; wul-qâ’ôg wise)
adu sagait-anid’qasgtga a lâ’ dem wula iâ’o g’â’mgen dz’ı’usdet then they agreed together that the sun should continue to go ZE 791.18 (sagait-together; anid’qasgt to agree; iâ’o to go; g’âmg moon; dz’ı’us daylight)


xpets’a’xl lig’ë ensk’g’ë al dem dê-hrîlt the grizzly was afraid to do it also 56.14 (xpets’a’xl afraid; lig’ë ensk’ grizzly bear) hêl qâ’ôdrel xœl el dem tûks-t’ëses Ts’ak’ the slave thought he would push out Ts’ak. 135.4 (hê to say; qâ’ôd heart; xa’e slave; tûks-out of; t’ës to push)
nîg’i dem hux a’dîk’agqég’ë I may not come again 165.14 dzal am-hâ’ts’ dem g’ë’iptg’ë the stump ate all he was going to eat 55.12 dem k’ë men-iê’en you shall go up 91.2

§ 59
Tsimshian:

ada dem k!ul-man-gó'sen then you will jump up and about ZE 790.15 (k!ul- about; man- up; gó's to jump)
gwo'í dem ha' un this will you say ZE 790.15
da me dem kse-lo'o l si'obet then shove out the bone! (me thou [subj.]; kse- out; lo'o to shove; si'ob bone)
ma'le demt legü'elardet she told she would burn it

§ 60. Use of Subjunctive in the Negative

The negative conjunction nig'i (Tsimshian: alge), and that used in interrogative-negative sentences nè (Tsimshian: al), are followed by the subjunctive or by the connective -l

nig'i it má' enl dem saq-í aät lat 107.1 it did not let go what went across the way of it (má' en to let go; saq- across; í a to go; lat to it)
žlq'b i t nig'i da-a'qul'wdet they do not reach it 139.2
nigín dem dè-gó' ut I will not take it
nēl ad'â dik' seda? are they not coming?
nè mesem hvu'da? didn't you find it? 106.7

Tsimshian:

In the Tsimshian dialect the negative is generally used with the connective -l, as described in § 31; the first person singular following the negative is -i. (See § 51.)
alge n' dem k'línám'âl al hanâ'g I shall not give it to the woman
alge di t!d'o'xldetga'o it is not difficult
a wul alge di t wulâ'i dem dax-yâ'gul anî'o'taqo because he did not know how to reach to the branch (wulâ'i to know; dax-yâ'g to hold; anî'o branch)
alge di hasâ'gai I do not wish (to do so)
alge et nisagå'o'teqa's stsl'd'gya' the beaver did not mind it (nisagå'o'teq to mind; stsl'd beaver)

Negative-interrogative sentences:
al sî'opged di gus'â hanâ'xga'? is not this woman sick?
al me wulâ' idut in-wulâ'gun? don't you know who has done this to you?

§ 61. The Subjunctive after Conjunctions

nık'et g'a'al hvul lèba'yukl gō'wun 103.5 then he saw the gulls fly (g'a'a to see; lèba'yuk to fly [plural]; gō'wun gull)
k'et gō'un hvâ'ıst then he takes a string 217.4
w balk'et lō-d' ep-t eklá'alsaante then he breaks it down in it 217.8 (lō- in; d'ep- down; eklá'alsaan to break)
tse n dem swad'ínt I may cure her 123.7
dat hvu'lâ'gut when he has done this to him 217.6

§§ 60, 61
Tsimshian:
| adat ge'redxataq̓ə then he asked her |
| ada me dem sem wul̓a'i la gwo̱ntgut then ye will know that I |
| have touched |

§ 62. Use of the Indicative

On account of the tendency of the Tsimshian language to express all narrative in the subjunctive mood, indicative forms are quite rare, and occur almost only in statements of self-experienced facts. It is remarkable that the particle na, which expresses the completed past, and which occurs in the Tsimshian dialect only, is always followed by the indicative.

| nan k̓ul-saq̓ap-iāc̓nu I have only walked about without purpose |

Examples of the use of the indicative are the following:
| dem iā'nēx ał awo'dan I shall go (to) near you 196.12 |
| dem gal̓a'qm̓ om we will play 75.6 |
| n̓iln̓e'l id̓dēe I roast that 121.9 |
| lep-g'o'bedas dz̓e'edz̓ e lgo-lep-tgal-mē'nt grandmother ate her |
| own little vulva 121.12 (lep- she herself; g'o'bed to eat something; |
| dz̓ e'edz̓ grandmother; lgo- little; tgal- against; mēn vulva) |

Tsimshian:
| gw̓al̓ge ne wā'lel̓e sem'da'g̓ it the chief's house is burnt |
| ama wā'lt Tom Tom is rich |
| dem g'idi-g̓ o'du nā I shall catch the slave |
| wā̱nt yā̱ngut my grandfather invites thee |

§ 63. The Negative

(a) The negative declarative is expressed by the adverb n̓i'g̓ i (Tsimshian ałge), which evidently contains the stem n̓e (Tsimshian ał) and the suffix indicating absence. The stem without this suffix is used in the negative interrogative (see § 60). The negative adverbs are always followed by the subjunctive.

| n̓i'g̓ i hwil̓a'x̓'l hwil dā'ull stelt he did not know where his companion had gone 15.2 (hwil̓a'x̓'l to know; dā'ull to leave; stelt companion) |

| n̓i'g̓ i t'estešt they were not large 113.9 (See also p. 403.) |

(b) The negative interrogative is expressed by n̓e (Tsimshian: ał).

| n̓e l ał'dā dik'edeta? are they not coming? |
| n̓e l sg̓ 'i me dem ha-men-sā'g̓ ida? have you anything to pull it up with? (sg̓ 'i to lie; me thou; ha- means of; men- up; sā'g̓ to pull) |

§§ 62, 63
Tsimshian:

| 'dl ne- bā'̩di? has he not been running? |
| 'dl ne- wulajidut in- wulā'gum? don’t you know who did this to you? |

(c) The word no is expressed by nē (Tsimshian: a'yən). The form a'yən is also sometimes used in interrogative sentences.

"nē," dē' yal g. ay'tg'ē "no," said the man 87.11

Tsimshian:

"A'yən ne- gan-wul'asiemi, nā'ot?"—"A'yən." Did you not get what you went for, my dear?"—"No." (a'yən not; ne- possessive; gan- reason; wulā to do; -sem ye; nā'ot my dear! [masc.])

(d) hawāl'g (Tsimshian) signifies NOT YET.

a hawāl'g guw dēdū'lsət when not yet anything was alive ZE 782.1

(e) In subordinate clauses the negation is expressed by a.r. (Tsimshian wa-). These prefixes have been described in § 11, no. 137, p. 328. This prefix must be considered to have a nominal character, so that the whole sentence appears as a verbal noun.

(f) g'ilō don’t! (Tsimshian g'ilə').

g'ilō dze sōdem, ana! don’t take the rest out 181.9 (dze weakens the imperative)
g'ilō' me dze sem ma'let don’t tell about it! 181.11

Tsimshian:

| g'ilō' bō'osənt don’t be afraid! |
| g'ilə' me dze gā'ot don’t go there! |

§ 64. The Interrogative

In the Nass dialect the interrogative seems to be formed regularly by the suffix -a, which is attached to the indicative pronominal endings (see § 48). In Tsimshian the most frequent ending is -i, but -ū also occurs. It does not seem unlikely that these endings may be identical with the demonstrative endings -i and -ū, which were discussed in § 56. After interrogative pronouns these endings are not used.

1. Interrogative suffix -a:

nēel ts'len x'al-hā'tgum-q'eqemq al ts'len-hwilba'? did not Labret-on-One-Side enter the house? 191.12 (ts'len to enter; x'al- on one side; hā'tg to stand; q'eqemq labret; ts'len-interior; hwilp house; -a interrogative)
nēel wī-t!e' diplomatic=3 is it great?
nē me sem hwa'da? didn’t you find it? 106.7

§ 64
Tsimshian -t:

| wa, nîʔdzenîʔ do you see? |
| me dzedâʔl senîʔ are you alive? |
| a wu la dzakî wa’niʔ is the deer dead yet? |
| al me naxmîʔdi gu xstângîʔ don’t you hear a noise? |
| ál di ga’usenîʔ have you no hair? |

Tsimshian -u:

| ʔnîʔopgut? is he sick? |
| al me wula’ldut in-wulâʔ gun? dost thou not know who did this to thee? |
| ál me làʔ wula habëb’ldut? didst thou not always keep it? |

2. No interrogative suffix is used after interrogative pronouns.

*agód* what (Tsimshian: *gło*):

*agód* l an-hâ’l qal-ts’ap? what is it that the people say? 138.15
*agóldem an-‘d’k’senî* what are you going to drink? 17.14
*agól hë’tsenî* what is talking (there)? 23.9

Tsimshian:

| gło wula ha’untî what do you say? |

da where (Tsimshian: *nda*):

*ndax huvîl hëtk’l huvîlp* where is the house? 16.6
*ndal demt huvîl dé-wîtktí* where will he have come from? 16.6

Tsimshian:

| nda wula wā’otgentî where do you come from? |

nâ who (Tsimshian: *nâ*):

*nâ t’an-ax-huvîlã’yîn* who does not know thee? 75.11

Tsimshian:

| nâál t in na’kege lguulges Gauö? who is the one to marry the daughter of Gauö? |
| nâódë gu awâ’înî who is the one next to thee? |

§ 65. The Imperative

The imperative of intransitive verbs is ordinarily expressed by the second person of the indicative or subjunctive, while its emphasis may be lessened by the particle *dze*. Very often the personal pronoun is strengthened by the addition of the prefixed subjective pronouns. In many cases the imperative has the future particle, which suggests that the form is not a true imperative but merely a future which serves the purpose of expressing an order.

*den yu’kdenl t’em-lâ’nëc hold to my neck! 75.11
den qalâ’qnöm let us play! (literally, we shall play) 75.6
Weakened by dze:

*dze ama-g'ud'adasen* look well after her 191.15
*me dze k'c' me łö-h'ćetsel* then put in the finger 195.10

Tsimshian:

*dem k'ul-man-gọ'sen* then jump up and about!
*n!ini' dem dzagam-hăt'sengęgę* that one call ashore! (literally, that is the one you will call ashore)
*dem d'an ne-ama-wa'ls negwą'o'den* promise him the wealth of your father

Weakened by dze:

*ada dze vul hav'un "lax-łö'ob"* then say "on stone"

Transitive verbs may form their imperatives in the same way.

tgōnl dem huł'len do this! (literally, you will do this)

Tsimshian:

*me dem lagał-bu-ḏ̱ u put ice on each side!*
*me dem se-wa'dit call him a name!*

More frequently the imperative of transitive verbs is expressed by indefinite connectives, or, when there is no nominal object, by the ending *l* (Tsimshian -l).

*gōul lgō'ulgun* take your child! 205.5
*ḥuți'ën-ḏ̱'lu' qa-tšö'ol ts'ak* put back from the fire some dishes 207.2
*sā'lebel* steam it! 54.8.

Tsimshian:

*wai, di bă'ol* you, on your part, try!
*deg-yah'o'wa an̦i'oset hold on to the branch!*
*t'ën-mu'ol lu'mut accompany my son-in-law to the fire!
*man-sa'ik'a an̦i'ont pull up your foot!*

By far the most frequent method of expressing the imperative is by the periphrastic expression *ām* (It would be) GOOD (if).

*āml dem guxt take it!* 141.6
*āml dem se-ł'gum let us cut wood!* 63.4
*āml dem dē-xsan you gamble also!* 29.1
*ām me dem wō'ol gal-ts'a'p invite the town 206.13*

Tsimshian:

*ām me dem di bă'olt try it too!*
*ā'me x̆̊n me k'a-dü-ba'gu n-dü-na-beba'gan just try my playground too (ām good; -x̆̊n dubitative; me thou; k'a- just; di- on (thy) part; bag to taste; n- possessive; na- place; bag to taste, play)*
*ām dem k'čö̊gant escape!*
*ām dze gōs dep negwą'o'den go to your parents!*

§ 65
The negative imperative is expressed by *g’ul’d*.

*g’ul’d’! nexna’yig’y al ts’em-hwül’p don’t! they might hear you in the house 91.10.

*g’ul’d’ me dzê sem sqa-yi’al’k̆at don’t pass in front of it 107.3

*g’ul’d’l sexgé’mexsemes don’t keep your mouths closed 84.5

§ 66. Subordinating Conjunctions

The use of the temporal particles and of the negative as subordinating conjunctions has been described before (§§ 59 et seq.). It remains to enumerate a few of the other important conjunctions.

1. *ko’ere* then; generally in connection with the demonstrative *n-

*nlk*’ê a’d’ikskapt then he came

*ko’è dòql anná’l qa q then he took the skins of ravens 39.2

*nl dem ko’è me-txë’ldîl smax’ then burn the meat 213.1

2. *da* when.

*da la wòqsl g’ad’tgè when the man is buried 218.4

3. *dze* (*tsë*) weakens statements.

*nlk’ê g’èlaxl sem’d’am’t tse hwiłl withst then the chief asked

where it might come from 183.13

*ñíg’it hwiłlax’s Wig’a’t tse hwił d’ep-a’al’tl not knew Giant where

he came down 15.1

*nlk’ê wòwa’d’ët a tse hwiłl hwił’lèlél then they wondered at

where was the seal 42.6

*óp tse nòb’t, tse mè’t’ak’s ál bò’nt lest he die, if his belly should

be full of water 73.7

The use of *dze* with imperatives has been explained before.

4. *tsèda* (*dze da*) when, if.

*tsèda hasad’xl halda’ug’t demt dza’k̆t sel-g’ad’tt, ko’ê, when a witch desires to kill a fellow-man, then 217.1

*tsèda hu’x hwiłlèé, nlk’ê, when I do it again, then 165.12

*ts’è’nè nát, tsèda nè’en enter, my dear, if it is you! 39.13

5. *óp tsè* else, lest.

*óp tse nòb’dèé else I might die 74.4

*ko’è sem-i’al’laxl lax-t’l lò’óp; *óp tse g’utg’wà’ìlk̆t sàk’ qan-hwil’ 34.9 then the top of the stone was very slippery; lest the olachen might be lost was the reason of his doing so (sem- very; i’al’k*  

slippery; lax-t’ top; lò’óp stone; g’wà’ìlk to be lost; sàk’  

olachen)


*ts’èt hu’x hwiłlá’x’t although he knows it

§ 66
simshian:

1. ada then.
   ada ma'tede dep gua' o then these told
   adat g'ik sqa-ba' oti he assisted him (literally, then he stood by
   him)

2. da when.
   ne la dem gnô'ntge da n dem sô mea'wulget when I shall have
   touched it, then I shall swing the rope (gnônti to touch; sô
   to swing; mea'wulga rope)
   da sl ts!e'lem-ha'pda n!ô'o'xlet, ada . . . when the killer-whales
   rushed in, then . . . (ts!e'lem- into; hap to rush [plural];
   n!ô'orî killer-whale)

3. dzE weakens statements.
   adat gë'redaxte a gd' dze gan ha'ut then they asked why he
   might have said so
   çãp! erwí a n dze twal-wâ'sde lgô'lgidâ o I may remember when
   I may have met my child (çp!ex to remember; twal-wâ' to
   meet; lgô'lg child; -i I, my [see § 51])

4. dzE da when, if.
   n dem wa'lint dze da bô'sen I will carry you if you are afraid
   (wa'li to carry on back; bô' to be afraid)
   dze da lâ ts!i'ôni da n dem sa-ds-ga' nit when I enter, I shall
   fall with it (ts!i'ôn to enter; sa- suddenly; da- with some-
   thing; ga' nit to fall)

5. òp dzE else, lest.
   bô'senut òp dze dzâ'gi I fear (lest) I fall

6. ts!u although.
   ts!u ni'yeda tgi-ô'kenut, da g'ap-a'ga-di-sqa'yikyî although I
   (literally, this one) fell down, he (I) really did not hurt himself
   (myself) (ni'yeda he, this; tgi- down; ôks to drop; -u I; g'ap-
   really; a'ga not; di- on [my] part; sqa'yikyî to be hurt)
   ts!u wagait n'a g'idegane'ô'tsga o even though far to the Tlingit

7. asê while.
   ada asê hiô'ksga li'omitga o then while he began his song

8. amê if (event assumed as not likely to happen)
   amê dzê la me g'alke dze dem lu-da'kxan if you should feel
   that you may drown (g'alks to feel, lu- in; da'kxan to be
   drowned)
   amê dzê la k!ô'o'xgen when you have made your escape

9. yôl if (event expected to happen).
   yôl ne ye'dzen if I hit you

§ 66
§ 67. Preposition

The preposition a is used to express local, temporal, and modal relations. When used for expressing local relations, the particular class is often expressed by the local particles prefixed to the verb and substantive. The preposition always takes the connective suffix -l or -s, as described in §§ 23, 28.

The following examples illustrate the wide application of this preposition:

1. Signifying at:
   baxl lgo-d'k's al awa'debyg-te a little water ran near them 117.3
   (bax to run; lgo- little; ak's water; awa'a proximity)
   iaga-ma'qat al g'-u he put him down at the front of the house
   46.8 (iaga- down; mag to put; g'-u beach in front of house)
   al g'-b'leq outside 121.15

2. Signifying in; generally with the verbal prefix læ- and with the substantival prefix te'em-:
   ló-ma'qsk'nt t'élx' al te'em-ts'ak' the grease ran in (into) the dish
   46.14 (ló- in; magsk'nt to stand [plural]; t'élx' grease; te'em- inside
   of; ts'ak' dish)
   tqa'al-ló-ds'k'nt al hrotlpg' he stayed in the house 64.11 (tqa'al-
   against [i.e., permanently]; ló- in; ds'q to camp; hrotlp house)

3. Signifying on; generally with verbal prefix læ- and substantival
   prefix læ-:
   læ-iaq'nt oq al lax-an'nt st a copper hangs on a branch 138.3 (læ-
   on; iaq'q to hang; an'nt branch)

4. Signifying toward; often with the verbal prefix hagun-:
   hagun-tæ'nt g'at al awa'at a man went toward him 138.14 (hagun-
   toward; tæ'nt to go; g'at man; awa'a proximity)
   iæ't al g'älte'lx' he went into the woods 119.11
   g'a'ask'nt al lax-ha' he looked at the sky 137.6

5. Signifying from:
   wētka'st al awa'as nōxt he came from near his mother 22.12 (wētka-
   to come from; awa'a proximity; nōxt mother)
   k'saxt al hrotlp he went out of the house 166.11

6. Signifying to; used like our dative:
   hrot hrot'ls dep bê'ebê' as nê'en thus did my uncles to thee 157.9
   (hrot to do; dep plural; (n-)-bê'eb uncle; -ê my; nê'en thou)
   g'înä'mt al lgo-tk'ltll'â he gave it to the boy 139.4

7. Signifying with; instrumental:
   la'bél q'aldô'x' al ha-q'ô'lı she scraped the spoon with her fish-
   knife 8.9 (la'b to scrape; q'aldô'x' spoon; ha-q'ô'lı fish-knife)
lē-ia'tset law-ak's al waqtl he struck the water with his tail 75.15
(lē- on; ia'ts to strike; law- surface; ak's water; waqtl beaver's tail)
guł lak'a al lēt qanl dagl he took fire-wood with wedge and
hammer 90.8 (guł to take; lak'a fire-wood; lēt wedge; qan and;
dagl hammer)

8. Signifying on account of:
sīepk'a qā'ōts Wi-g'a't al xdam't sick was Giant's mind on account
of his hunger 69.4
sem-pla'k-sk'at al huwil'g'ê he was very tired on account of what
he had done 62.15

9. Expressing time:
al wō-sa' all day long 138.9 (literally, at great day)
al hað'neg'ê mesë-x'g'ê before daylight 151.6 (at not yet daylight)
al sīnt in summer 20.14

10. Used with various verbs:
lē-metnēth'at al tē'ben they were full of sea-lions 108.8 (lē- on;
metk'a full; tē'ben sea-lion)
metk'a māl al lān the canoe was full of spawn 29.10
ansguq'tgut as negt'ê they made fun of him 143.3
nlk'êt g'ên g'a'tg'ê al hwindö'ö the man fed him with tobacco
90.10 (g'ên to give to eat; g'a't man; hwindö'ö tobacco)
g'ēk'a līd'n al haya'tsk'a he bought elk for coppers 194.11 (g'ēk'a
to buy; līd'n elk; haya'tsk'a copper)
ša-hva'det al X-ama'lgwa'xdel Wā'se they called him Eating-
Scabs-of-Wā'se 41.14 (ša- to make; hwa name; x- to eat;
am'la'ks scab)
g'ātskt'at al hana'q he was tired of the woman 126.1
vai-g'ā'tk'at as neguł'ödet he longed for his father 203.13

The preposition a is used very often with hwīl and dem to express
causal and final subordination, the subordinate clause being thus transformed
into a nominal phrase.

11. al hwīl because (literally, at [its being]):
lawbēts'z x'det . . . al hwīl g'a'adet they were afraid because they
saw it 207.10
al hwīl nīg'idi halait'ls Ts'ak'; nīmēt qant-hwīl'k'sadet'g'ê because
Ts'ak' was no shaman, therefore they did so 123.12 (nīg'ì not;
di on his part; halait' shaman; nīmēt that; qan reason; hwīl
to do)
lō-hwa'ntkl'qo'det al hwīl wētamb'at its heart was annoyed
because of the noise 95.15 (lō- in; hwa'ntlk' annoyed; qo't
heart; wētamb' noise)
lo-hwedntk'et qo'det al hvit xstamk'et he was annoyed on account of the noise 95.15 (lo-hwedntk'et annoyed; qo'ot mind)
aba'q'ask'et al hvit si'-k'a-wi'-yeki'tk'et he was troubled because he cried anew very much 21.12 (aba'q'ask'et to be troubled; si'- anew; k'a- exceedingly; wi'-yeki'tk'et to cry)

12. al dem in order to, that:

tsagam-wot'et al dem deda'leqt he called it ashore to talk with it 38.1 (tsagam- ashore; wot' to call; deda'leqt to talk with)
k'et bokx al dem noom-a'k'est he waited for her to be thirsty 21.7 (bokx to wait; noom- to desire; a'k' to drink)
lo-yak'tk'et al dem yodi'otk'et he returned to eat 55.9
k'si-bax al dem gun-bu'kt he ran out to make move

13. Sometimes the connection expressed by a is so weak that it may be translated by the conjunction AND. Evidently the verb following a is nominalized.
yodi'otk'et al wot'-te'sem yodi'otk'et he ate, and ate much 36.10
d'at al wot'-yeki'tk'et he sat and wept 39.7 (he sat down, weeping)
iaga-i'ax la'k'esi'te i... al la gwo'd'otk'et his wife went down, and he was lost 166.7, 8

Tsimshian:
The variety of forms which the preposition a takes in Tsimshian has been discussed in § 28. Here examples will be given illustrating its application.

1. Signifying AT:

\[ \text{ada} \ k'ia-t'ai'ot \ gesa \ g'ilhaul'li \text{ then he sat at the inland-side for a while} \]
\[ \text{al di nako'g'ad a avoa' nakse ne-wai'g'u? does a person lie near my brother's wife? (al not; di- on his part; nako'k to lie; g'ad a person; avoa' proximity; nakse wife; wai'g' brother) } \]

2. Signifying IN:

\[ \text{demt u'oden a ts'em-la'get he will bake thee in the fire (u'od to bake; ts'em- interior of; lag fire) } \]

3. Signifying ON:

\[ \text{adat li'se-gu'lge la'ge da lax'otgao then he lighted a fire on top of him} (li'se- on; se- to make; gu'lge to light; lag fire; lax'otgao top) \]
\[ \text{me dem ti'ont gesa stu'op'elgo make him sit in the rear of the house} \]

4. Signifying TOWARD:

\[ \text{ada hagul-t'a'ot \ gesa \ avoa' ne-wal'bt then he went slowly toward his house} \]
\[ \text{gun-ta'ot \ gesa \ wul nako'k he went to where he lay} \]
5. Signifying FROM:

wā'ọtget gesge awō' na'kstgo° he came from near his wife
haldem-bā'ọtget Astiwa'ł gesge lar-lō'opga° Astiwa'ł arose from
the stones

6. Signifying TO; used like our dative:

ada vul ha'us negvā'ọt ges nō'ọtga° then his father said to him
adat vula k'!i'ndu'msge da'u gesge lguw'ọtyogta° then he gave ice
to his child (k'!i'ndu'm to give; da'u ice; lguw'ọty child)

7. Signifying WITH, instrumental:

dat vul lu-sqa-ya'de ts'!al gesge ti then she struck him across
the face with the feather (lu- in; sqa- across; yudz to strike;
ts'!al face; ti feather)

dzē'bet al an'o'ntg'e he made with his hands

lalbet al ha-q'ō'ł she scraped with a fish-knife 8.9

8. Signifying ON ACCOUNT OF:

lu-q'ō'qα gō'ots Astiwa'ł gesge ne-txalō'ndet Astiwa'ł was sad
on account of those he had (left) behind (lu- in; q'ōq open,
hollow; gō'd mind; txalō'n behind)

9. Expressing time:

a wi-gā'msem during the whole (great) winter
a na-q'ά'qa in the beginning ZE 78111

10. Used with various verbs:

a vulx se-q'αn-q'ada'nda ga-gā'ọda a gwa'deksem ië'nt because
she refreshed the hearts with cool fog ZE 797.32 (g'αn-dā'ul,
literally, to go over, to refresh; gwa'deks cool; ië'n fog)
hō'līg vō'bet a ts'!aq' full was the house of fat
adat vulx plī'a'ras negvā'ọt gesget g'ilks-nō'ọsge na'kstgo° then
she told her father that she had looked back at her husband
(plī'a' to tell; g'ilks- back; nō' to see)

11. a vulx because:

a vulx la na'gedat n'axnu° han because for a long time she had
heard say (nuq long; n'axnu° to hear; han to say)

axd' vulx wa-dī-gnu-rō'qα because they, on their part, were even
without a little foam (i.e., had nothing) (wa- without; dī- on their part; lgu- little; rō'q foam)

12. a dem in order to, that:

txan't' gā bā'ldle la'msu a dem vula dza'kdit everything tries
my father-in-law to kill me (txan't' all; gā what, something;
bā'ld to try; lams father-in-law; dza'k to kill)
a dem a'ltut in order to bake me
a dem ma'ksge ne-seśi'ọptga° in order to gather his bones

13. a and:

ada vul wa'ndit a bā'okedet then they sat down and lamented

§ 67
TEXTS
NASS DIALECT

Txanë'tkl1 sa² his-dzó'qsl3 klope-tk-'lé'lku⁴. Wi-hë'lt⁴
Every day played camping little children. Many
q'am-k-'ëlů⁵ wi-ga'n⁷ Wi-lö-nô'ól⁸ wi-tša'wut⁹ Wi-d'ë'xl¹⁰
only one great log. Great in hole great inside. Large
wi-ga'n⁷ NL¹¹ hwil¹² g'its'ël-qâ'å'del¹³ k'ope-tk-'élê'lku⁴. Nilne'lu¹⁴
great tree. Then where in went little children. - Then
hw'lpdêtgê¹⁵ wi-qalk'si-nô'ôm¹⁶ gan⁷ NLk-'êt¹⁷ lö-si-me'ldël¹⁸
their house large through hole of tree. Then in made burn they
lak¹ lát¹⁹ NLk-'ê¹⁷ hux txå'xk'det²⁰ wi-hë'łl⁵ ts'ële'mdet.
fire in it. Then again they ate many their traveling provisions.

Hân, ts'ële'ml gul-q'anë'tkul¹¹ k'ope-tk-'élê'lku⁴. LA²² nak'yl²²
Salmon the provisions of all little children. When long
hw'ldet²⁴ al²⁵ txanë'tkwl¹ sa,² NLk-'ê¹⁷ hux tês'ësl ak's
they did so at every day, then when again large was water
LA²² hux lö-dzó'qdet²⁶ al²⁵ wi-tš'em-ga'n²⁷ NLk-'ê¹⁷ hux pta'lik's.
when again in they camped at great in log. Then again the water

1 txan- all (§ 10, no. 90); txanë'tk- independent form; L-connective of numerals (§ 23.6).
2 Same form in singular and plural (§ 41).
3 Me- to pretend (§ 10, no. 79); dzóq to camp; -sl suffix (§ 17, no. 6) required by Me-; L- connective of predicate and subject (§ 23).
4 k'ope- small [plural] (§ 10, no. 113); tk'ëlk- children [plural]; k'ope- only in the plural; lôô- is the singular of small.
5 wi- great (§ 10, no. 73); hèlt many (almost always used with the prefix wi-).
6 q'am- only (§ 10, no. 118); k'ê one flat thing (§ 57); L- connective of numerals.
7 wi- great (§10, no. 78); gan log, tree.
8 wi great; lô-in (verbal prefix [§ 9, no. 29]); nô'd hole; -L predicative connective.
9 ts'ële'-wu the inside; in combination with nouns the prefix ts'ëm- is used to designate the inside (§ 11, no. 152); tô probably possessively its.
10 wi- great; d'ëz large.
11 n- demonstrative (-); L probably connective.
12 Verbal noun, here designating the place where something happens (§ 59).
13 The prefix g'is'ël is not known in other combinations; ëpë (singular), qd'ô (plural), to go; -det 3d person plural (§ 58); L connective.
14 n- demonstrative (-); L- probably connective. This conjunction seems to appear here doubled.
15 hwip house; -dêt their; -g'ê invisible (§ 20).
16 wi- great; qalk-si- through (§ 9, no. 24); nô'd hole; -m adjectival connective.
17 NL- see note 11; kê then; -t transitive subject, 3d person (§ 48).
18 lô-in (§ 9, no. 29); si- to cause (§ 13, no. 164); mët to burn; -det they; -L connects predicate and object.
19 Al 3d person pronoun, oblique case (§ 54).
20 yul'dzkw (singular), tæz'dzkw (plural), to eat (intransitive verb); -det they.
21 A compound the elements of which are not quite clear (compare tran'bëkal all); also qan-heila always (§ 10, no. 120).
22 Particle indicating that one action is past when another sets in; also verbal noun (§ 59).
23 nakl long, temporal and local.
24 hwil to do; -det they.
25 a general preposition (§ 67); -L indefinite connective.
26 lô- In; dzóq to camp; -det they.
27 wi large; ts'ëm- inside of (§ 11, no. 152).

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NLK-'e17 g'ig-a'k'si13 wi-ga'ń. NLK-'e uks-o'lik'skūt.39 Nyg'it30
Then floated the great log. Then out to sea it drifted. Not they

hwil'a X'kL31 k'opp-tk'č'č'lk'.4 Yukl32 gwanem-qăla'qdet33 Al25
knew it the little children. Beginning they were playing at

lo-ts'a'wul54 wi-ga'ń L33 hwaqagit- uk's-dā'ul35 Al25 hwaqagit-gi'ks30
inside of great log when away out it was going at way off shore
to sea

L22 uks-na'k'č't.37 NLK-'e17 k'si-lō'č'č'lk'.35 k'č'al59 Lgō-tk'č'č'lk'.4
when out went one little boy.

Then NLK-'e17 g'at40 hwil L31 hwaqagit- uks-o'lik'skūt20,35 Al25
when he saw where they were way seaward it drifted to

hwaqagit-gi'ks.38 NLK-'e17 k'si-qă'ōdēt.42 k'opp-tk'č'č'lk'.4 NLK-'e17
way off shore. Then out went the little children. Then

sig'a'č'tqēdet.43 qănē-hwilā44 sig'a'č'tqēdet.43 NLK-'e17 k'ul-dā'ul46
they cried; always they cried. Then about went

wi-ga'ń Al25 hwaqagit-lax-sē'eldā.46
the log at way off on the ocean.

NLK-'e hux k'si-lō'č'č'lk'.35 Lgō-hwil-xō'ōsgum47 Lgō-tk'č'č'lk'.4
Then again out was put the little being wise little child.

NLK-'e g'a'al10 hwil52 lēbā'yukl'49 qē'wun.49 NLK-'e ha'ts'k'sem50
Then again where they were gulls. Then again

lō-yā'tlk'Q40 Al ts'a'wul34 wi-ga'ń. K'-ē mālt.53 "Qa'nē-hwilā44
he returned at inside of great log. Then he told it: "Always

lē-hwa'n12 qē'wun59 Al lax-o'em,46 aq-dep-hwilā'gūt15 NLK-'e
on sit gulls at top of us, without we [way of] doing?" Then

22 g'ig-a'k'si to drift.
23 uks- out to sea, from land to sea (§ 8, no. 6); -t transitive, 3d person singular.
24 mā'jī indicative negation; -t transitive subject, 3d person.
25 hwil'x to know; -t (3d person plural ending has been omitted here).
26 yuł appears both as verb and as particle.
27 gwanem-a prefix of doubtful significance.
28 -lō- a verbal prefix, appears here with the noun te'd'wes the inside. It seems that this whole
expression is possessive or verbal, because otherwise the connective would be -m (§ 22).
29 hwaqagit- away (§ 10, no. 71); uks- seaward (§ 8, no. 6); da'ut to leave; perhaps the ending -t would
be better.
30 hwaqagit- is both verbal and nominal prefix; g'iks the region off shore (a noun corresponding to
the verbal prefix uks-).
31 uks- seaward; nakč far; -t perhaps closure of sentence (§ 20).
32 k'si- out (§ 8, no. 8); lō'č'č'lk'.
33 k'-č'l one (numeral for counting human beings [§ 57]; -t connective of numerals (§ 23).
34 g'a'č to see; -t it (object).
35 hwil la present and past participle forming nominal clause (§ 59).
36 k'-č'l out of (§ 8, no. 8); q'd'ot to go (plural); -t they.
37 irregular plural (§ 45); singular wa'g'č'tk'.
38 qănē- always (§ 10, no. 120).
39 k'ul- about; da'ut to leave, to go.
40 hwaqagit- way off (verbal and nominal prefix); lax- surface of (nominal prefix corresponding to
E- on; (§ 11, no. 151; § 9, no. 30) ꜩ-elda ocean.
41 eq'- little; hwil- being (§ 59); o'lik'aws wise; -m adjective connective (§ 22).
42 g'ōdēt'yuks (plural lōbā'yukts') to fly (§ 45).
43 Singular and plural same form (§ 41).
44 Adverb.
45 This verb occurs always with the prefix lō-.
46 lax- on corresponds to the nominal prefix lax- (note 46); d'a (plural luqim) to sit; -t indefinite
connective.
47 lax- surface (corresponds to the verbal prefix lax- on [note 53]); -t top; -m our.
48 aq- without, and also negation of dependent clauses (§ 11, no. 137); dep- plural of transitive
pronoun; hwil'x is a peculiar form; while it is apparently a passive of hwil, it is used as a transitive
verb; -t probably object 3d person.
The introductory i- of the demonstrative is the subject of the transitive verb; HE.

For het-L.

am good; used here as a periphrastic exhortative: IT WOULD BE GOOD IF WE — (§ 65).

dep plural of transitive subject (§ 48).

d'st (plural d'is'd'e's) to strike (§ 42).

daqap nose; plural qa-d'ag (§ 43); -m our.

nk'e (note 17) appears here divided by the future particle dem.

lalot: K'te tqa-gulwala'luki, as'isa't. Le22 sem-bagait-d'al.

.on it. Then against dried their feet. When very middle was the sun, then again went out little really great large. Then he drew.

qewun. Nig'it daaqql'del dem leba'yuqdetg'e. Nel'et took them one little child. Then he in along twisted their.

dagl: L'al lgok-t'el'tk.' Nlk'et lo-hal-tuxtaql tem- took them one little child. Then he in along twisted.

lanixt' gul-gané'l wi-he'dem qewun. Nlk'et ló-d'ep necks all great many gulls. Then he in down.

Put them at where holes great log. Then in good hearts.

The introductory i- of the demonstrative is the subject of the transitive verb; HE.

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lanixt' gul-gané'l wi-he'dem qewun. Nlk'et ló-d'ep necks all great many gulls. Then he in down.

Put them at where holes great log. Then in good hearts.
k'ope=tk'-e'lk'. G-êipdél\(^{58}\) sma’xtg’è\(^{59}\) la\(^{22}\) t’a’k’ðél\(^{60}\) hwî’detg’è\(^{61}\)
the little children. They ate it the meat when they forgot what they did
la\(^{22}\) hwâgait-k’ú’l-da’ul’det\(^{92}\) al hwâgait-lax-sê’l’dā.\(^{46}\)
when way out they went at way out on ocean.
Nig’\(^{20}\) lig’i-tsagam-dë’lpk’udet,\(^{93}\) al lig’i-lax-ts’t’ll’\(^{4}\)
Not anywhere landward short they at some- on edge of water.
where
Nlk’è la hułx k’-éll.\(^{9}\) sa dé-nexna’x’dél\(^{66}\) wi’xtst’önkt’. K’è
Then when again one day also they heard great noise. Then
k’si-lô’l’ôl\(^{97}\) k’ope=tk’-e’lk’. Gwina’dél, an-tgo-lë’l’bîk’isk’u\(^{97}\)
out went the little boys. Behold the whirlpool
hwîl la\(^{98}\) lô-lë-d’ép-yú’k’det.\(^{99}\) Nlk’è a’d’il’k’is’k’l\(^{69}\) hwîl\(^{12}\)
where when then in on down they went. Then came the
sig’a’t’k’udet\(^{3}\) la\(^{22}\) lô-d’ép-hë’tk’u’l\(^{100}\) wi’g’a’ñ al dem\(^{101}\) lôq’k’u’l
their crying when in down stood the great tree to future swallow (them)
an-tgo-lë’l’bîk’isk’u.\(^{97}\)
The whirlpool.
Nlk’è la\(^{22}\) lô-d’ép-hë’tk’u’l,\(^{100}\) dé-uks-ba’xl k’-âll\(^{20}\) g’atg’è.\(^{102}\)
Then when in down it stood, also sea-ward
Q’am-k’èl\(^{103}\) asa’èl\(^{74}\) g’atg’è.\(^{103}\) Nlk’èt g’al’k’u’l\(^{104}\) wi’g’a’ñ al\(^{15}\)
Only one foot the man. Then he speared the log with
cal’s’t.\(^{105}\) K’èt tsagam-dài’mgantg’è,\(^{106}\) de-lë-mâ’tguñ.\(^{107}\) g’atg’è.\(^{102}\)
his harpoon. Then he ashore pulled it: he saved them the man.
Nlk’è bax-lô’l’ôl\(^{108}\) k’ope=tk’-e’lk’u al ts’em-hwîl’l’pl\(^{109}\) g’atg’è.
Then up went the little children to inside of house of the man.
Nlk’è yuk-tx’åq’èn’s\(^{110}\) Q’am-k’èl’em-asa’è.\(^{111}\)
Then began he fed them Only-One-Foot.

\(^{58}\) g’êip to eat something. We should expect here t g’êipdét sma’x.
\(^{59}\) sma’x- venison; -t sî; -t absent.
\(^{60}\) t’a’k’- to forget; -det they; -t connective.
\(^{61}\) hwîl to do; -det they; -t absent.
\(^{62}\) huqapit- way off; k’ut- about; da’dut to go; -det they.
\(^{63}\) lig’i- somewhere, indefinite place (§ 8, no. 20); tsagam- landward (§ 8, no. 9); dënk’ short, near; -det they.
\(^{64}\) lig’i- (see note 93); lax- surface; ts’e’il shore, edge (nominal term corresponding to tsagam).
\(^{65}\) x’t- also (precedes transitive subject); nêxnax’ to hear.
\(^{66}\) wîx’ (plural lô’l’ô) to go (§ 46).
\(^{67}\) an- prefix indicating place (§ 12, no. 157); tgo- around; lë’l’bîk’isk’ to flow (?).
\(^{68}\) hwîl la where in the past.
\(^{69}\) lô- in (namely, inside the whirlpool); ts’e il on (namely, on the surface of the water); d’sp downward; yuk to begin; -det they.
\(^{70}\) lô- in; d’sp- down; hét to place upright; hêt’k’ to be placed upright, to stand (§ 17).
\(^{71}\) at dám to the future-, final sentence (§ 59, 67); i. e., to the future swallowing of the whirlpool.
\(^{72}\) g’at man; -t absent.
\(^{73}\) q’am only: k’èl one flat or round thing.
\(^{74}\) jëlk’ to spear; the preceding t is the subject, the terminal -l’ connects predicate and object.
\(^{75}\) Terminal t either pronoun or close of sentence.
\(^{76}\) tsagam- shoreward; da’d’mag to haul.
\(^{77}\) wîx’ (plural lô’l’ô) to save (§ 45).
\(^{78}\) bax- up along ground (§ 8, no. 1).
\(^{79}\) b’ëm the inside of (nominal prefix).
\(^{80}\) yuk- beginning; tx’dëk’ to eat (plural) (see note 20); -sm causative suffix.
\(^{81}\) See note 103. Here q’am k’èl is used as an attribute, not as a predicate, hence the connective
-\(\text{sm}\) instead of -t.

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—27
Children played camping every day. There were many of them, and there was only one great log. It had a great hole inside. It was a large log. That is the place where the children went in. Then the large tree with the hole in it was their house. They made a fire burn in it, and they also ate [many] traveling-provisions. Salmon was the traveling-provisions of all the children. When they had done so for a long time every day, when the water was great (high) again, they again camped in the great log. The water rose again and the great log floated.' It drifted out to sea. The children did not know it. They were playing inside of the great log while it was going out to sea and when it was far away from the shore. Then one boy went out. He saw that they had drifted seaward and that they were way off shore. Then the children went out. Then they cried. They cried all the time. Then the great log went way out on the ocean.

Then a little wise boy went out. He saw gulls flying about. He returned again into the great log, and he told them, "Gulls are always sitting on top of us. Can we not do anything?" Then one child said the following: "Let us strike our noses. Then they will bleed. Then we will rub (the blood) on the outside of the great log. Then the feet of the gulls will stand on it." They did so. They struck their noses, and blood came out of them. Then they rubbed it on the great log. Then they entered the inside of the great log. Many gulls came and sat on it. Then their feet dried against it. When the sun was right in the middle of the sky, the one who was really a little large went out again. Then the gulls flew. They did not succeed in flying. Then one boy took them. Then he twisted off the necks of all the many gulls. Then he put them down into the hole of the great log. Then the children were glad. They ate the meat and forgot what was happening, that they were going way out on the ocean.

They were not anywhere near shore or the edge of the water. Then one day they heard a great noise. The boys went out. Behold! there was a whirlpool in which they were going down. Then they began to cry when the great log stood downward in it, about to be swallowed by the whirlpool.

While it was standing downward in it, a man ran seaward. The man had one foot. Then he speared the great log with his harpoon. He pulled it ashore. The man saved them. Then the children went up into the house of the man. Then Only-One-Foot began to feed them.
Tsimshian Dialect

Adá’oqam¹ A’taga² (Story of Porcupine)

Nini’sge³ la⁴ ksü’otga⁵ a⁶ la⁶ wa’ngsa⁷ txanli’se⁸ ya’tsle’esges⁹ ga na-ga-tse’em-tsa’u’ptga.¹⁰ That it was when fall, at when were sitting all animals in their towns.

ges⁵ ga na di tsa’pt¹’¹⁷ A⁶ dza¹⁸ wi-ga’msemga.¹⁹ Then being on his part sitting great grizzly bear in his also town at when great winter. Then always touched the rain, then also in it dripped the town of wi-medi’ok⁴⁰g⁴¹ da²⁴ g’ik⁴⁴ lu-la’wa’l⁵⁵ na-tse’em-tsa’u’pt⁴⁰ga⁵⁰ the great grizzly bear. Then again in it was wet his fur. Then very in annoyed his heart at too long rain.

¹ ada’oq story: -sm connection (§ 22).
² a’uta porcupine; -paz⁵⁶ absent (§ 20).
³ mif’ that (§ 56); -g⁵⁷ (§ 25).
⁴ na when (§ 59).
⁵ ksü’ fail; -paz⁵⁶ absent (§ 20).
⁶ a preposition (§ 67).
⁷ t’dj⁵⁶ plural was to sit (§ 46); -g⁵⁷ (§ 24).
⁸ tuz’ all (contains the particle too- entirely); -g⁵⁷ (§ 24).
⁹ From yuts to kill many; ya’te’sek the killing (§ 17, no. 2); the terminal -g⁵⁶ stands here for apa in.

¹⁰ na- separable possession (§ 55); pa- distributive plural, the towns of the various kinds of animals; t’sem inside (§ 11, no. 192); tsa’ab town; -t his; -paz⁵⁶ absence.
¹¹ da conjunction (§ 66, no. 2).
¹² § 59.
¹³ of on (his) part (§ 15, no. 167).
¹⁴ t’dj to sit; -g⁵⁷ (§ 25).
¹⁵ wi- great (§ 10, no. 73); medi’ok grizzly bear.
¹⁶ a preposition (§ 67); absent conjunctive form (§ 28).
¹⁷ na- separable possession; wi on his part (cf. note 13); tsa’ab town.
¹⁸ dza weakened statement, when it may have been (§ 66, no. 3).
¹⁹ wi- great (§ 10, no. 73); ga’mesem winter; -paz⁵⁶ absence.
²⁰ Conjunction (§ 66, no. 1).
²¹ garti- all (§ 10, no. 120).
²² gwo’o only to touch (i.e., here, fell); -g⁵⁶ connection (§§ 24, 25).
²³ wedes rain.
²⁴ gr’ik again (§ 15, no. 169).
²⁵ lu- in (§ 2, no. 29); lu’wot to drip; no connective after i (§ 29).
²⁶ lu’gak to be wet (fur, skin).
²⁷ na- separable possession; ti fur, hair of body; -t his; -paz⁵⁶ absence.
²⁸ a’esam very (§ 15, no. 178).
²⁹ lu- in (§ 9, no. 29), relating to ged⁵⁶ mind; bخد annoyed.
³⁰ ged⁵⁶ mind.
³¹ apa across (§ 9, no. 86); nag long; here apparently a verbal subordinate construction: at across long being the rain.
³² wedes rain; the -t is a difficult directive ending, which is used very frequently, and for which no adequate explanation has been given.

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Nini' gan-kse-tla'ot gesga ne-txia'gasga n-tsla'ptga, at
That reason out he sat at the mouth of his town, at the
nig'i-lep-ga gesga kdi'ontga. Ada a'si detla'ot gesga, seeing
behind the porcupine toward stood at his proximity.

Then while sitting at gwa'sga, gakstana ga a'utaga gun-he'ot'get gesga awa'otga. They
that, behold who the porcupine toward stood at his proximity.

A'si ti sga-lia'ot gesga n-leksa'gasga n-tsla'psge wi-
When he across went at the doorway of the town of the
medi'okga ada wul ha'usga wi-medi'okga, "Tsli'na ga g'i'ot
great grizzly bear, then being said the great grizzly bear, "Enter here.

Me dem kia-xdi'oyut. Nini' gan da' wula
my friend! You shall a little eat with me." That it was reason then when

tsi'ntsga a'ut gesga awa'osga wi-medi'okga. Ada' wula
wi-se-la'ksesga wi-medi'okga. Adat sa-ga'osga igu-a'utaga.
entered the porcupine at the proximity of the great grizzly bear. Then being

great made fire the great grizzly bear. Then he suddenly took the little porcupine.

Adat dekda'klega ga-sesi'otga dii ga-an'ot'ga. Adat
Then he tied his feet and his hands. Then he

hal'g'er't gesga dz'o'gasga la'k'tga. Adat wul gwa'lk'ensga along side laid it at the edge of the fire. Then

he burnt hakla'osga igu-a'utaga, Nli' ada' wul ha'usga wi-medi'ok asga the
of the back of the little porcupine. He then said the great grizzly to the bear

---

33 ni: probably demonstrative (§ 56)
34 gan: reason; following sa/a, it means therefore; iski: out, generally directive, but here indicating the position outside: ti'de to sit: ti he.
35 nis: separable possession; tse: direction; ag: mouth.
36 a: preposition (§ 67) with subjective (subjunctive) particle attached (§ 49).
37 ni: to see; after to the connective is missing (§ 29).
38 ligu: somewhere, this or that (§ 8, no. 20); lsep: self (§ 10, no. 129); gdo: something, what; ligu-gi: anything; ligu-lep-ga: everything.
39 kudan: the place around (a nominal expression). When used in the possessive, it is considered as inseparable possession (§ 55).
40 ad: while (§ 66, no. 7), here followed by the progressive form.
41 d's'ti'a: progressive form of ti'de to sit (§ 37).
42 gwa: this; gwa'aga that (§ 56).
43 an: an interjection, probably gaksta: behold: ti he; na: who.
44 a'ula porcupine: ga: connective (§ 25).
45 gun: toward (§ 10, no. 114); hedi: to stand: ti he.
46 axed proximity (a noun which corresponds to the particle gun- [see notes 39, 45]).
47 t subject of intransitive verb, here emphatic.
48 gpa: across (§ 9, no. 106); ti'de to go: ti he.
49 n: separable pronoun; lexed'g: doorway.
50 ha'ni to say.
51 k:ion (plural, la'mdzex) to enter by (imperative [§ 65]).
52 gi: fed here.
53 n: separable possession; si'lep'ensg: friend: ti my (in address [§ 51]).
54 me thou (subjective [§ 49]); dem future (§ 59); ku': a little while (§ 10, no. 107); zdi'to eat with some one: ni: me: ti (see note 32).
55 wi: great (§ 10, no. 73); as: to make (§ 13, no. 164).
56 t: subjective pronoun; sa: suddenly; gdo to take.
57 lgu: little (§ 10, no. 135).
58 dekli to lie (with plural object dekda'ki).
59 a: (plural, passi'x: [§ 43]).
60 di: and; i: connective (§ 30).
61 an'ot' hand; ga-an'ot' hands (§ 43).
62 hal: along (§ 9, no. 50); agar to lie.
63 dzop edge (noun corresponds to the particle hal- [see note 62]).
64 lal: fire (cf. note 32).
65 gwal to burn; gwa'lk'na to cause to burn (§ 17, no. 1).
66 hak'ini: back; has no prefix na: because, as a part of the body, the possession is inseparable.
When it was fall, all the animals were sitting in their towns. A great Grizzly Bear, on his part, was also sitting in his town in mid-winter. Rain was always falling, and it also dripped into the house of the great Grizzly Bear. His fur was wet. Then he was much annoyed because it was raining too long, therefore he sat at the entrance of his house and looked around to see everything. While he was sitting there, behold! Porcupine came near him. When he passed the doorway of the house of the great Grizzly Bear, the great Grizzly Bear said, "Enter, friend! You shall eat with me for a little while." Therefore the Porcupine entered near the great Grizzly Bear. The great Grizzly Bear made a great fire. He suddenly took the little Porcupine. He tied his feet and his hands. Then he laid him near the edge of the fire. Then the back of the little Porcupine was burnt. Then the great Grizzly Bear said to the little Porcupine when

[Translation]

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[Blind text]
the fur on his back was burnt, "Duu, duu!" said the great Grizzly Bear. "I will do it," said the Porcupine. "Chief, untie my bands, then I will do what you say." However, the great Grizzly Bear did not mind what the little Porcupine said to him, because he was very strong. He is the strongest of all the animals, therefore he did not listen to what the poor little Porcupine said to him. He was very proud. Then he kicked him again into the fireplace.
KWAKIUTL

BY

FRANZ BOAS
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KWAKIUTL

By FRANZ BOAS

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Wakashan stock embraces the languages spoken by a number of tribes inhabiting the coast of British Columbia and extending southward to Cape Flattery in the state of Washington. Two principal groups may be distinguished—the Nootka and the Kwakiutl. The former is spoken on the west coast of Vancouver island and at Cape Flattery, the latter on Vancouver island and on the coast of the mainland of British Columbia from the northern end of the Gulf of Georgia northward to the deep inlets just south of Skeena river. The outlying islands north of Milbank sound are occupied by a branch of the Tsimshian, while the coasts of Bentinck Arm are inhabited by the Bellacoola, a tribe speaking a Salish language. The neighbors of the Wakashan tribes are the Tsimshian to the north, Athapascan tribes to the northeast, Salish tribes to the southeast and south, and the Quileute at Cape Flattery. Among all these languages, only the Salish and the Quileute exhibit some morphological similarities to the Kwakiutl.

The Kwakiutl language may be divided into three principal sub-languages or main dialects—the northern, or the dialect of the tribes of Gardner inlet and Douglas channel; the central, or the dialect of the tribes of Milbank sound and Rivers inlet; and the southern, which is spoken by all the tribes south and southeast of Rivers inlet. Each of these main dialects is subdivided into sub-dialects which differ somewhat in phonetics, form, and vocabulary. Their number can not be determined exactly, since almost every village has its own peculiarities. They may, however, be grouped in a number of divisions. Only the divisions of the southern dialect are known.
There are four of these. The most northern is spoken in the villages of the extreme northern end of Vancouver island and of Smith inlet; the second, in the region from Hardy bay to Nimkish river, including the islands which form the eastern coast of Queen Charlotte sound; the third is spoken in the neighborhood of Knight inlet; and the last, in Bute inlet and the region of Valdez island.

The second of these dialects, which is spoken by the Kwakiutl tribe of Vancouver island, forms the subject of the following discussion. The proper name of the tribe is Kwā'g'uł; the name of its language, Kwā'k'wala. A treatise on the grammar of this language, by Rev. Alfred J. Hall,1 was published in 1889; but the author has not succeeded in elucidating its structural peculiarities. I have published a brief sketch of the grammar in the Reports of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, appointed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science,2 and another in the American Anthropologist.3 Texts in the language, collected by me, were published by the United States National Museum,4 and other series of texts, also collected by me with the assistance of Mr. George Hunt, will be found in the publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.5 A series taken down without the assistance of Mr. Hunt from the lips of various informants will be found in the Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology.6 References in the following sketch refer to volume III of the Publications of the Jesup Expedition, if not stated otherwise; v and x refer to the respective volumes of the same series; U.S.N.M. to the paper in the Annual Report of the United States National Museum for 1895; CS to the Kwakiutl Tales in the Columbia University Series. The first Arabic number of each reference indicates the page of the volume, the second the line on the page.

3 N. s., ii, 708–721.
4 Annual Report for 1895, 311–737, particularly 665–731.
6 Kwakiutl Tales, by Franz Boas. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. II.

§ 1
PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. Sounds

The phonetic system of the Kwakiutl is very rich. It abounds in sounds of the k series and of the l series. The system of consonants includes velars, palatals, anterior palatals, alveolars, and labials. The palatal series (English k) seems to occur only in combination with u articulations, or as labio-palatal. The anterior palatals may, however, also be explained as a k series with i position of the mouth; so that the two classes of palatals and anterior palatals may be considered as modifications of the same series. The anterior palatals have a markedly affricative character. In most of these groups we find a sonant, surd, fortis, and spirant. The sonant is harder than the corresponding English sound. The surd is pronounced with a full breath, while the fortis is a surd with increased stress and suddenness of articulation, and accompanying closure of the glottis. The sonant is so strong that it is very easily mistaken for a surd, and even more easily for a weakly pronounced fortis, since in many combinations the laryngeal intonation which characterizes the sonant appears like the glottal stop which always accompanies the fortis. Besides the groups mentioned before, we have a series of lateral linguals or l sounds, the glottal stop, and h, y, and w.

This system may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sonant</th>
<th>Surd</th>
<th>Fortis</th>
<th>Spirant</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g!</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>g(w)</td>
<td>k(w)</td>
<td>k!(w)</td>
<td>x*(w)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior palatal</td>
<td>g'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k':</td>
<td>x'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t!</td>
<td>s(y)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricative</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ts!</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>p!</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>ù</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l!</td>
<td>l, l</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Glottal stop, ε

h, y, w

The vowels are quite variable. The indistinct ε is very frequent. The two pairs i e and o u probably represent each a single intermediate sound. The whole series of vowels may be represented as follows:

\[ i \hat{e} \hat{i} \hat{e} \hat{a} \hat{a} \hat{a} \hat{a} \hat{a} \hat{u} \]

§ 2
By certain grammatical processes, consonants may be weakened hardened, or aspirated. These changes take place in accordance with the phonetic table given before. The hardened surd becomes a fortis, and the weakened fortis or surd becomes a sonant. The hardened and softened sonants strengthen their glottal element to an \( e \). Examples of these changes will be given in §4. By aspiration the series of \( k \) sounds and of \( l \) sounds are transformed into their corresponding spirants, while in the dental and labial series aspiration does not occur. The hardening and weakening of the spirants reveals a number of unexpected relations of sounds. We find—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spirants</th>
<th>Hardened</th>
<th>Weakened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( x )</td>
<td>( x^e )</td>
<td>( x )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( x(w) )</td>
<td>( 'w )</td>
<td>( w )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( z' )</td>
<td>( 'n )</td>
<td>( 'n )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( s )</td>
<td>( ts! )</td>
<td>( y ) or ( dz )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( l )</td>
<td>( l_1 )</td>
<td>( l )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar relations of consonants appear in cases of reduplication. Thus we have—

\( e'qa \) reduplicated \( e's'eqa \) (\( q \) and \( s \))
\( q!u'lyak* \) reduplicated \( q!ulsq!u'lyak* \) (\( s \) and \( y \))

The change of \( z' \) into \( n \) suggests that the \( n \) may belong rather to the anterior palatal series than to the alveolar series.

The nasals, \( l \), \( y \), and \( w \), when weakened, become sonant by being preceded by the glottal stop. \( y \) and \( w \) are clearly related to \( i \) and \( u \).

§ 3. Sound Groupings

The Kwakiutl language does not admit clusters of consonants at the beginning of words. Extensive clusters of consonants are rare; and even combinations of two consonants are restricted in number, their sequence being governed by rules of euphony. On the whole, a stop (i.e., a sonant, surd, or fortis) can not be followed by another consonant. This is carried through rigidly in the case of the palatais and laterals, while combinations of consonants in which the first is an alveolar or bilabial stop do occur. \( p \) followed by consonants is not rare; \( t \) followed by consonants is by far less frequent. The corresponding sonants followed by a consonant do not appear as often, because the intonation of the vocal cords tends to increase in strength, and an \( e \) is introduced which separates the sounds.

§ 3
Besides combinations with precedent palatal stops, a few others are rigidly avoided. These are $l-s$, $l-n$, $l-k^u$, $l-g^u$, $l-x^u$, $s-g^u$, $s-k^u$. Combinations of $t$ sounds followed by $s$ do not occur, because they unite and form an affricative sound; $h$ occurs only at the beginning of words (except in the imitation of the language of a monster), and does not enter into consonant clusters. $y$ and $w$ are strongly vocalic, and are always followed by vowels, although they may be preceded by consonants. $w$ following a $k$ sound is assimilated by it, so that the $k$ sound is pronounced with $u$ position of the lips, as a labio-palatal.

Clusters of three or more consonants follow the same rules as combination of two consonants, so that clusters are possible as long as any two adjoining consonants tolerate each other. We find, for instance, $xsd$, $xst$, $x^ust$, $x^udg$, $nx$, $nx^q$, $nx^r$, $ns$, $nl$, $nlb$, $mx$, $mx^s$, $mx^d$, $ms$, $mlt$, $mlb$, $lx$, $lx^t$, $lx^d$, $lx^l$, $lsd$; and of clusters of four consonants, $xsdx$, $mx^st$, $nx^st$.

§ 4. Euphonic Laws

There are a considerable number of rules of euphony which govern the sequence of sounds. These become active when two phonetic elements come into contact by composition or by syntactic co-ordination. They are partly ante-active (i.e., working forward) or progressive, partly retroactive or regressive, partly reciprocal. The ante-active processes include laws of assimilation and of consonant elision; the retroactive processes consist in the hardening and softening of consonants; the reciprocal influence manifests itself in contraction and consonant assimilation. Since the rules of consonant combination (§ 3) relate partly to the initial, partly to the terminal consonant of the combination, these changes are apparently partly ante-active, partly retroactive; but since they are founded on the mutual influence of adjoining sounds, they are better treated under the head of reciprocal changes.

1) Ante-active Changes

The $u$ vowels do not admit of a following anterior palatal, which is changed into a palatal with following $w$, or, as we may say, $k$ sounds with $i$ tinge become $k$ sounds with $u$ tinge when following a $u$ vowel; or $k$ sounds following $u$ vowels are labialized. Posterior palatals, when following a $u$ vowel, also assume a $u$ tinge.

§ 4
Instances of these changes are the following:

- (lä'wayu-g'ila)  là'wayugwila to make a salmon-weir 26.39
- (sö'-g'anem)  sö'quanem you perhaps 146.28
- (lä'wayu-g'a)  là'wayugwa this salmon-weir
- (ō'-g'iw-ět)  ō'gwivē forehead 19.5
- (ō'-g'ig'a)  ō'gugē inside
- ('mā'qės [āyaha] sō'-k'as)  'mā'qės(āyaha)sō'kwas really thrown into my belly 478.1
- (ō'-k'āx-ět)  ō'kwāxēt knee 154.11
- (ō'-k'!kn-ět)  ō'kw!nēt body 61.13
- (ō'-k'!ilg-ět)  ō'kw!lugē front of body
- (bō'-x'itid)  bō'xwid to leave

Changes of velars following a u vowel:

- ('mā'xulayu-ga)  'mā'xulayugwa Potlatch-Present-Woman 142.1
- (ts!ō-g-ět)  ts!ō'gwē given away among other things
- (yō-xa)  yō'xwa to say "yō" X 176.19

When the vowel following the k after a u vowel is an ē, the timbre of the weak vowel tends towards the u.

When a u vowel is followed by a consonant cluster the first sound of which is a k sound (according to § 3 these can be only x, xʷ, or x), the x' changes to x", while the others remain unaffected.

- (yū'-x'sā)  yū'x'sā it is entirely this 102.18
- (ō-x'siu-ēt)  ō'x'siūēt mouth of river

On the other hand:

- (ō-xlā-ti)  ō'xlāt head part
- (bō-xlē)  bō'xlē to leave a miserable person

The u tinge of k sounds and the very short u do not seem to modify the following anterior palatal g, at least not according to the usage of the older generation.

- (yōkʷ-g'a:l)  yō'k!ug'al (not yō'k!ugwa'l) noise of wind
- (megʷ-g'it-x'tid)  megug'it!éd to put things on the body 199.11

Examples of change of the anterior palatal to the medial labio-palatal kw are, however, not absent.

- (dā'doqʷ-k'ina-la)  dā'doxkwinala to see accidentally

§ 4
I have recorded as equally admissible—
\[g\cdot o\cdot x\cdot g\cdot \text{in} \text{ and } g\cdot o\cdot x\cdot g\cdot \text{gun} \text{ my visible house here}
\[g\cdot o\cdot x\cdot g\cdot a\cdot \text{en} \text{ and } g\cdot o\cdot x\cdot g\cdot w\cdot \text{uen} \text{ my invisible house here}

While the rule just described is founded entirely on the phonetic influence of the stem element upon its suffix, we have also a class of phonetic changes which are due to etymological causes, and can not be brought entirely under phonetic rules.

When a word ending in a consonant is followed by a suffix beginning with another consonant, there is a strong tendency to elision of the initial consonant of the suffix, although the combination may be admissible according to the general phonetic laws. Thus the compound of the stem \(q\acute{a}s\)- \text{to walk}, and the suffix \(-x\cdot \ddot{u}d\) \text{to begin}, would result in the phonetically admissible combination \(q\acute{a}'s\cdot x\cdot \ddot{u}d\), which we find in a word like \('w\acute{a}lax\acute{a}\acute{x}e' \text{ lynx}. \) Nevertheless, the resulting form is \(q\acute{a}'s\cdot \ddot{u}d\). The elision of the initial sound of the suffix is therefore not entirely due to phonetic causes, and must be treated in detail in a discussion of the suffixes. It is quite likely that the suffixes in question may be compounds of two suffixes, the first of the combination being dropped. The question will be discussed more fully in § 18 (p. 449).

Another ante-active change which is not entirely due to phonetic causes is the transformation of \(\ddot{a}\) into \(\ddot{u}\) after \(n\) and vowels, which occurs in a few suffixes: for instance—
\[
\begin{align*}
 t\acute{\ddot{e}}'p\cdot \ddot{a} & \text{ to step off} & l\acute{\ddot{a}}'\ddot{u}\ddot{a} & \text{ to be off (the right line)} \\
 s\acute{\ddot{o}}\acute{\ddot{p}}\cdot \ddot{a}'\ddot{a} & \text{ to chop off} & d\acute{\ddot{a}}\acute{\ddot{w}}\ddot{a} & \text{ to fail to hold} \\
 k\cdot a\cdot t\cdot \ddot{a}'\ddot{a} & \text{ long thing on water} & h\acute{\ddot{a}}\cdot \ddot{u}\ddot{a} & \text{ hollow thing on water} \\
 m\acute{\ddot{e}}\cdot \ddot{a}'\ddot{a} & \text{ canoe drifts on water} & g\cdot \ddot{v}'\cdot \ddot{u}\ddot{a} & \text{ to be on water}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) Retroactive Changes

The changes just mentioned are best explained as an effect of the stem upon the suffix. We find, however, also others, indicating an action of the suffix upon the stem. These consist in a hardening or weakening of the terminal consonant of the stem, and can not be explained by phonetic causes, but must be founded on etymological processes.

The following examples illustrate these processes which were mentioned before in § 2. In the first column the stems are given, the terminal sounds of which are modified by the addition of suffixes. In the second column hardened forms are given, in the third weakened.

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—28

§ 4
forms. In order to make the changes more readily recognizable, the suffixes are separated from the stems by means of hyphens.

(a) Theme ends in surd or fortis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Hardened</th>
<th>Weakened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ēp- to pinch</td>
<td>ē'p!-īd to begin to pinch</td>
<td>ē'ba-ayu dice 112.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qap- to upset</td>
<td>qap!-ā'lod to upset on rock 179.27</td>
<td>qab-ē's upset on the beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaā'p! cradle</td>
<td>53.42</td>
<td>xāb'ek* cradled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wat- to lead</td>
<td>ya't!-āla rattle sound 229.27</td>
<td>wā'd-ek* led 109.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āt!- sinew</td>
<td></td>
<td>ad-ē'g'i back sinew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēk'- to lie on back</td>
<td>256.38</td>
<td>tē'g'-īl to lie on back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ēlak'- to club</td>
<td>k'ēlak'!-ēnē* club-</td>
<td>Le'mga'yu wedge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lem'- to wedge</td>
<td>lem'!exōd to wedge neck, i. e., foot of tree</td>
<td>gēg'ad having a wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qeq'- wife</td>
<td>qā'qak'ta to try to get a wife</td>
<td>begw-i's man on beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēk'- man</td>
<td>bek'-u's man in woods</td>
<td>tegu-nā'kula to come in sight being expected X 186.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēk'- to expect</td>
<td></td>
<td>xu'ngwad having a child CS 170.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xunk'- child</td>
<td></td>
<td>'nemō'gwis one person on beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nemō'k' one person</td>
<td>'nemō'k'us one person on ground CS 212.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elq'- to put out tongue</td>
<td>elq'w-ēnoz' a person who removes cinders from eye with tongue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yāq'- to lie dead</td>
<td></td>
<td>yā'gw-is lying dead on beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunq- deep</td>
<td></td>
<td>wu'ng-il deep floor 187.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ěiml- to adze</td>
<td>k'ěi'ml'-āla noise of adzing, U.S.N.M. 677.19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ulā'l- to hide</td>
<td></td>
<td>q'ulā' l-nā'kula to go along hiding 262.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) Theme ends in sonant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Hardened</th>
<th>Weakened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dzā'wad Knight</td>
<td>Dzā'wade-ënoxu</td>
<td>mē'x'baāku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inlet</td>
<td>people of Knight inlet</td>
<td>burnt at end 247.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qēg'a'd having a wife</td>
<td>qēg'a'de-ënë state of having a wife</td>
<td>qā's'ida-as walking place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nā'x'íd day comes</td>
<td>'nā'x·'ida-ënoxu a condition in which day is coming regularly 393.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mē'x'ba to burn at end</td>
<td>mē'x'baāku burnt at end 247.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qā's'id to walk</td>
<td>mē'x'baāku burnt at end 247.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mē'x'ba to burn at end</td>
<td>mē'x'baāku burnt at end 247.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mē'x'ba to burn at end</td>
<td>mē'x'baāku burnt at end 247.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Theme ends in spirant, continued lateral, or nasal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Hardened</th>
<th>Weakened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dēnx- to sing</td>
<td>dā'dēnx-ë to try to sing</td>
<td>mā'w-ayu means of giving potlatch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lax- to stand</td>
<td>tā'w-a to stand on rock</td>
<td>sē'w-ayu paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qamx- down of bird</td>
<td>qā'qamw-ë to try to put on down of bird</td>
<td>mën-a'ts!ë striking receptacle (drum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'max- potlatch</td>
<td>'mā'w-ayu means of giving potlatch</td>
<td>sē'w-ayu paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēx- to paddle</td>
<td>sē'w-ënoxu paddler</td>
<td>sē'w-ayu paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mix- to strike with fist</td>
<td>mā'man-ë trying to strike</td>
<td>mën-a'ts!ë striking receptacle (drum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ës not</td>
<td>k'ëts!ëtë not being 10.9</td>
<td>p'ëy-ayu means of flattening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'ës- to flatten</td>
<td>p'ëy-ayu means of flattening</td>
<td>mën-a'ts!ë striking receptacle (drum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gās- to walk</td>
<td></td>
<td>qā'y-anem obtained by walking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ōs- to cut</td>
<td>tsōl-ë to cut</td>
<td>tō'dz-atō to cut ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsōl- black</td>
<td>tsōl-ëtë with black cheek</td>
<td>sē'w-ayu paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'īl- afraid</td>
<td>k'īl-ëm fear</td>
<td>sē'w-ayu paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'īl- to walk on four feet</td>
<td>gā'g'īl-ë to try to walk on four feet</td>
<td>sē'w-ayu paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mēl- white</td>
<td>'mēlbo white</td>
<td>sē'w-ayu paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ham- to eat</td>
<td>ha'm-āyu eating instrument (fork)</td>
<td>sē'w-ayu paddle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 4
Stems ending in $s$ and $z$ present peculiar forms when the accent falls upon the semivocalic $y$ and $w$, into which these sounds are transformed. The $y$ becomes $i$, the $w$ becomes $o$. Thus we have from—

$x\text{-}is$- to disappear  
$q\text{-}els$- to sink under water  
$t\text{-}ems$- to measure  
$s\text{-}e\text{-}x$- to paddle  
$y\text{-}x$- to dance

In some cases the preceding vowel, if accented, is contracted with the $y$ which has originated from $s$.

$q\text{-}as$- to walk  
$q\text{-}n\text{-}akula$ to walk along  
$q\text{-}n\text{-}o\text{-}dz\text{-}e$ to walk alongside of

The use of $dz$ and $y$ in place of $s$ does not seem to follow any definite rules. Thus we find—

$le\text{-}ndz\text{-}em$ (la-$ns$-$em$) means of taking under water $X$ 62.10  
$q\text{-}a\text{-}dz\text{-}as$ place of walking (considered not as goods as $q\text{-}a\text{-}yas$)  
$q\text{-}w\text{-}a\text{-}x\text{-}sta$ (qwa-$s$-$x\text{-}sta$) to bring mouth near to one $III$ 71.33  
$\text{wa\text{-}layas}$ ($\text{wa\text{-}las\text{-}as}$) size $X$ 161.25  
$m\text{-}en\text{-}y\text{-}em$ ($m\text{-}ens$-$em$) measuring instrument  
$h\text{-}d\text{-}e\text{-}x\text{-}sta\text{-}x\text{-}id$ (ha-$s$-$x\text{-}sta$-$x\text{-}id$) to begin to make noise $III$ 161.22  
$h\text{-}ne\text{-}d\text{-}zas$ (han-$\text{e\text{-}s}$-$as$) canoe lying on beach $X$ 161.17

A purely phonetic change belonging to this class is the palatalization of $ku$ and $x$ preceding an $o$ or $u$. $q\text{-}ak$- slave becomes $q\text{-}a\text{-}k\text{-}o$;  
$m\text{-}ek$- a round thing being in a position becomes $m\text{-}ek\text{-}d\text{-}la$ round thing on water (island); $p\text{x}$- to float becomes $p\text{x}\text{-}d\text{-}la$ to float on water.

(3) Reciprocal Changes

These are partly purely phonetic, partly etymological. Contact of consonants results in their adaptation to admissible combinations. Therefore terminal $k$ and $z$ surds are changed before initial consonants of suffixes into their spirants. This change is also made when, in a sequence of two words which stand in close syntactic relation,
the former ends in a k or l surd, and the latter begins with a consonant. On the other hand, s following a l becomes ts; s following a t forms with it ts; and s and a preceding s are transformed into ts. In some cases these changes persist even after the elision of the first consonant of the suffix, in accordance with § 4 (1). From hanl- to shoot, and -x-̣d to begin, we have ha’ṇd. This phenomenon will be more fully discussed in § 18 (p. 449). In a number of instances t before an affirmative changes to l.

Surd k stops changed into spirants:

‘nēk’ to say

nā’‘nak’u to return

wēq’- to shove a long thing

mōk’- to tie

nē’‘x’dems time of saying

nē’̣x’ he will say III 33.13

nā’’na’̣x’z he will return home

III 33.26

wē’̣x’stend to shove into water

mō’̣x’bāla to tie to end

89.15

l changed into l:

ylp’l’gend to tie to a pole III 158.32

āls’l’nd to tear through (a string)

kwē’xalaxwā will dance this

III 447.4

s following l changed to ts:

(k!wē’l-sō)

(k!wē’ltsō) feasted III 32.32

(q!ōx-ts!ō-èl-sa)

q!ō’xts!ewitsa to dress in III

303.26

(lēgwī’l-sa g’ōk’u)

lēgwī’ltsa g’ōk’ the fire of the

house

s following d or t forms ts:

(lā’gwilbend-sēs)

lā’gwilsentsēs to push nose

with his III 349.20

(lē’temd-sō)

lē’temtsō cover is taken off

from face III 109.23

s following another s forms with it ts:

(axā’s-sēn)

axā’tsen place of my III 32.6

(qā’-sē’stāla)

qā’tsē’stāla to walk around III

23.13

The sounds y and w, when interconsonant, change to ē and ơ:

(men’-k’u [from ments-])

menë’k’u measured

(t!em’-dzō [from t!ems-])

t!emē’dzō to beat time on

something flat
(p'ëy-ku [from p'es-])

(p'ëkku one to whom potlatch is given III 163.40)

(qemw-ku [from qemxu-])

(qemxuku covered with down III 153.35)

(xe-x-ku [from xe-x-])

(xokku split IV 246.39)

On the other hand, ē and ō preceding a vowel become y and w.

(ē-aq-e')

(awakē crotch)

(ēx-wēs and his)

(ēxe'se'do K. K. was told)

(xē'ya's his thing that has been split)

(lā'sanđē' seaside)

(lā'sand'ya's its seaside)

The ending ē', when preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel, changes to a'y.

(nāqē' mind)

(nāqa'ya's his mind)

(ge'gamē' chief)

(ge'gama'ya's his chief)

The diphthong ay, when preceding a consonant, becomes ā.

(ayōl desired)

(ā'xula to desire)

(gay-nā'kula [from qās-])

(gātnā'kula to walk along)

Another class of reciprocal changes affect the vowels. It seems that there are no purely phonetic rules which restrict the sequence of vowels, but contractions occur which depend upon the etymological value of the suffix. Thus the suffix -a (p. 533), when following a terminal a, is contracted with it into ā, õ'ma-a that chieftainess becoming õ'mā; with terminal o it is contracted into ō, lā'wayo-a that salmon river becoming lā'wayo. On the other hand, we have, in the case of other suffixes, q'ā'xaaqōs your coming, in which two adjoining a's are not contracted.

Similar contractions occur in a number of suffixes:

(tsā'–anem)

(tsānem obtained by drawing water)

(lā'vā-āmas)

(lavā'mas to cause to be off from a line)

(tsā'–ayu)

(tsā'yu instrument for drawing water)

(tsā'–anem)

(tsānem obtained by giving)

(lā'ayō-ap')

(lā'yāp' to exchange)

(lēzā'–ālis'em)

(lēzā'lis'em to die of coughing)

The consonants m and l have a similar effect upon vowels:

(dē'gēm–ayu)

(dē'gēmyu means of wiping face)

(tlēm–ayu)

(tlē'myu thread, i. e., means of sewing)
GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES (§§ 5-8)

§ 5. Enumeration of Grammatical Processes

Grammatical categories and syntactic relations are expressed by means of three processes. These are—

1. Composition.
2. Changes in the phonetic character of the stem.
3. Position.

§ 6. Composition

Kwakiutl possesses a large number of stems which occur seldom without word-forming affixes. The latter are numerous, and they are always attached to the ends of stems or of derivatives of stems. The number of stems exceeds by far the number of suffixes. The meaning of many of these suffixes can not be determined, and in their phonetic values they appear subordinate to the stems with which they firmly coalesce.

Two processes bring about the coalescence between stem and suffix: (1) Phonetic contact phenomena and (2) contact phenomena due to the individual character of the stem and of the suffix (see § 4).

The former of these processes is founded entirely on phonetic laws, and includes the transformation in the suffix of a k sound into the corresponding sound with u timber, after terminal u or o sound of the stem or preceding suffix; the change of a kⁿ and xⁿ preceding an o or u into k¹ and x¹; modification of the terminal consonant of the stem or preceding suffix, and of the initial consonant of the suffix, which form inadmissible combinations; and contraction.

The second group of processes can not be explained by phonetic laws, but depends upon the individuality of the suffix and of the stem or preceding suffix. The phenomena involved are contractions of the terminal stem and initial suffix vowels, although the combination of vowels may be quite admissible; elision of consonants; introduction of connective consonants; and retroactive changes which affect the terminal consonant of the stem. In one case, at least, the reason for the introduction of a connective consonant may be traced with a high degree of probability to the retention of the terminal sound of a suffix when combined with other suffixes, while the same sound has been lost when the same suffix closes the word (see p. 532).

The modifications which affect the terminal consonant of the stem belong almost exclusively to a group of suffixes which usually follow §§ 5, 6
the stem itself, and do not readily admit any preceding suffixes. Most of these either harden or weaken the terminal consonant of the stem, although there is also a considerable number of suffixes of this class which do not produce any changes other than those entailed by purely phonetic laws. In a few cases the changes produced by the suffix are very irregular. It is probable that no verbal or nominal stem ever appears without a suffix of this class. Therefore the terminal sound of a stem can not be determined unless it occurs with a suffix which produces no change.

§ 7. Changes in the Phonetic Character of the Stem

Setting aside the secondary changes produced by the action of phonetic laws and by the mutual effect of stem and suffix, we find that reduplication and change of vowel are used to express grammatical concepts. In the verb we find complete duplication of the stem, with assimilation of the terminal consonant of the first repeated syllable with the following consonant; for instance, lōqʷ- to FISH HALIBUT, lōxʷuqva to FISH NOW AND AGAIN. True reduplication is, on the whole, restricted to the initial consonant. The vowel of the reduplicated syllable does not always depend upon the stem-vowel, but differs according to the function of reduplication. Vowel-changes in the stem are rare, and consist generally of a lengthening of the stem-vowel. In many cases they may be explained as modified reduplication.

§ 8. Position

The position of words in the sentence is determined by syntactic particles. The parts of the sentence are held together firmly, and their position is definitely determined by their coalescence with syntactic elements which indicate the relations of subject, object, instrument, and possession. By this means the whole sentence is knit together so firmly that a separation into words is quite arbitrary. The firmness of this word-complex is due largely to the complete phonetic coalescence of the syntactic particle with the preceding word, and to its function as determining the syntactic value of the following word. It is of course impossible to determine whether this is an original trait of the language, or whether it is due to a phonetic decadence of the syntactic elements, similar to the one that may be observed in French in the combinations between verb and pronoun.

§§ 7, 8
IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES
(§§ 9-17)

§ 9. Character of Stems

Although the formal distinction of noun and verb is quite sharp, the great freedom with which nouns may be transformed into verbs, and verbs into nouns, makes a classification difficult. All stems seem to be neutral, neither noun nor verb; and their nominal or verbal character seems to depend solely upon the suffix with which they are used, although some suffixes are also neutral. I am led to this impression chiefly by the indiscriminate use of suffixes with stems that occur as nouns, as well as with others that occur as verbs. A separation of suffixes of nouns and those of verbs can be carried through only when the sense of the suffix requires its composition with either a verb or a noun, and even in these cases compositions with the opposite class occur which are sometimes difficult to understand. The neutral character of the stem may also be the reason why many suffixes are attached to the stem freed of all word-forming elements. Examples of the indiscriminate use of suffixes with stems that we should be inclined to class as either nominal or verbal are—

\[ \text{be\text{ks}u's man of the woods (from be\text{g} man, -s in woods)} \]
\[ \text{tl\text{i}k'-ies to lie on back on ground (from tl\text{i}k'- to lie on back, and the same suffix as before)} \]
\[ \text{tl\text{e}s\text{em}x't\text{a}na stone handed (from tl\text{e}s- stone, -\text{em} plural, -x't\text{a}na hand)} \]
\[ \text{ax\text{ts}l\text{an\text{a}la to hold in hand (from ax- to do, and the same suffix as before)} } \]

It is difficult to understand the combination of a suffix like -\text{o}l to obtain with stems some of which we consider as verbal, while others appear to us as nominal stems. We find q\text{i\text{ak}u'- slave), and also l\text{o}l to obtain (from la, a general auxiliary verb, originally designating motion). Lack of discrimination between the nominal and verbal function of words is also brought out by compounds like be\text{gw\text{a}'n\text{em}x'-id to become a man (from be\text{gw\text{a}'n\text{em} man, -x'-id, inchoative), and mix'-id to begin to strike (from mix- to strike and the inchoative suffix).

A number of suffixes may also be used indiscriminately with nominal and verbal function; for instance, from -\text{na\text{w}u} sometimes,

§ 9
we have lā'naxwa he goes sometimes and x'iya'snapxwa place where something disappears from time to time (from x'is- to disappear, -ās place of). For these reasons a strict classification into nominal and verbal suffixes does not seem admissible.

§ 10. Nominal Suffixes

Nevertheless many suffixes have assumed distinctly the function of giving to a stem a nominal or a verbal character. We find, for instance, many nouns ending in -a and -ē', others ending in -em, animate beings ending in -ānem, and terms of relationship ending in -mp. Besides these, there are a great many which express place and time of an action or process, various forms of the nomen actoris, the results and causes of actions and processes, possession, instrumentality, material, etc.; in short, a wide range of verbal nouns. They retain, however, their neutral value. This is best expressed by the fact that most of these verbal nouns retain their syntactic relation to the direct and indirect object. The Kwakiutl does not say "the seeing-place of the canoe," but "the place-of-seeing the canoe."

Among purely verbal suffixes, there are a number which express actions affecting nouns, which for this reason are always (or at least generally) suffixed to nouns, as, "to make," "to take care of," "to sound;" verbs expressing sense impressions, as "to smell of," "to taste like;" and words like "to die of." With these groups may be classed a number of suffixes which change the subject of the sentence, like the passives and causatives.

§ 11. Local and Modal Suffixes

Most important among the suffixes which are both verbal and nominal is the extensive group of local terms. These embrace a great variety of ideas expressed by our prepositions and by many local adverbs, and contain also a long series of more special local ideas (like "in the house," "into the house," "on the ground," "on the beach," "on rocks," "in the fire," "in water") and an exhaustive series of terms designating locally parts of the body (for instance, "on the hand," "on the chest," "on the thigh," "in the body"). A second group classify nouns according to form, and set off human beings as a distinct category. A third class of suffixes indicate time-relations, such as past, present, and future. With these may be classed the suffixes which indicate the modality of a process as §§ 10, 11
beginning, gradual, continued, repeated, uncertain, simulated, etc. Many of these suffixes express the subjective relation of the mind of the speaker to the event. This is also true of the demonstrative suffixes indicating position in relation to the speaker, and visibility or invisibility. These, however, must be classed with the syntactic particles which will be found treated on pages 527 et seq. To the suffixes expressing subjective relation belong those expressing the source of subjective knowledge—as by hearsay, or by a dream. Quite numerous are the suffixes expressing ideas like "much," "little," "admirably," "miserably," "surprisingly." I am under the impression that all these have primarily a subjective coloring and a high emotional value. Thus, the ending -dē large is used in such a manner that it conveys the impression of overwhelming size, or the subjective impression of size, while the word wā'las expresses size without the emotional element; -xōl indicates the entirely unexpected occurrence of an event and the surprise excited by it. The latter example shows that the subjective character of these suffixes may also be used to express the relations of a sentence to the preceding sentence. In a sense, -xōl is a disjunctive suffix. As a matter of fact, these suffixes are used extensively to express the psychological relation of a sentence to the preceding sentence. They indicate connection as well as contrast, and thus take the place of our conjunctions.

§ 12. Classes of Words

The classification of suffixes here given shows that a division of words into verbs and nouns has taken place, both being fairly clearly distinguished by suffixes. We find, however, that syntactically the distinction is not carried through rigidly; nouns being treated with great ease as verbs, and verbs as nouns. It must be added here that the forms of the pronouns as attached to the noun and as attached to the verb are distinct. Since the psychological relation of sentences is included in the process of suffix formation, conjunctions are absent. For this reason, and on account of the verbal character of most adverbs, there remain only few classes of words—nouns, verbs, and particles.

There is no clear classification of nouns into groups, although the grammatical treatment of nouns designating human beings and of those designating other objects is somewhat different, particularly in the treatment of the plural. The noun-forming suffixes, mentioned
in the beginning of § 10, also indicate the occurrence of certain classes of ideas. The principle of classification, however, remains obscure. In syntactic construction a classification of nouns according to form—such as long, round, flat—is carried through in some cases, and runs parallel with a differentiation of verbs of position and motion for objects of different form.

§ 13. Plurality

The idea of plurality is not clearly developed. Reduplication of a noun expresses rather the occurrence of an object here and there, or of different kinds of a particular object, than plurality. It is therefore rather a distributive than a true plural. It seems that this form is gradually assuming a purely plural significance. In many cases in which it is thus applied in my texts, the older generation criticises its use as inaccurate. Only in the case of human beings is reduplication applied both as a plural and a distributive. In the pronoun the idea of plurality is not developed. The combination of speaker and others must not be considered as a plurality; but the two possible combinations—of the speaker and others, including the person addressed, and of the speaker and others, excluding the person addressed—are distinguished as two separate forms, both of which seem to be derived from the form denoting the speaker (first person singular). The plurality of persons addressed and of persons spoken of is indicated by the addition of a suffix which probably originally meant "people." This, however, is not applied unless the sense requires an emphasis of the idea of plurality. It does not occur with inanimate nouns.

In the verb, the idea of plurality is naturally closely associated with that of distribution; and for this reason we find, also in Kwa-kiutl, the idea of plurality fairly frequently expressed by a kind of reduplication similar to that used for expressing the distributive of nouns. This form is applied regularly in the Bella Bella dialect, which has no means of expressing pronominal plurality.

Related to the reduplicated nominal plural is also the reduplicated verbal stem which conveys purely the idea of distribution, of an action done now and then.

§ 14. Reduplication for Expressing Unreality

Reduplication is also used to express the diminutive of nouns, the idea of a playful performance of an activity, and the endeavor to perform an action. It would seem that in all these forms we have the §§ 13, 14
fundamental idea of an approach to a certain concept without its realization. In all these cases the reduplication is combined with the use of suffixes which differentiate between diminution, imitation, and endeavor.

§ 15. Pronominal Ideas

In the pronoun the three persons of speaker, person addressed, and person spoken of are each represented by formal elements. It was stated before that the inclusive and exclusive form of the first person plural are distinguished, and that both are probably derived from the first person singular. This means that these two forms are not conceived as plurals. It was also stated that the second and third persons have no pronominal plural.

The demonstrative is developed in strict correspondence with the personal pronoun; position near the speaker, near the person addressed, and near the person spoken of being distinguished. These locations are subdivided into two groups, according to visibility and invisibility. The rigidity with which location in relation to the speaker is expressed, both in nouns and in verbs, is one of the fundamental features of the language. The distinction of proper nouns and common nouns, and that of definiteness and indefiniteness—similar to that expressed by our articles—is expressed by a differentiation of form of these demonstrative elements.

The possessive pronoun has forms which are different from those of the verbal pronouns, and by their use verb and noun may be clearly distinguished.

§ 16. Syntactic Relations

The fundamental syntactic categories are predicate, subject, object, possession (which is closely related to instrumentality), and finality (which is closely related to causality and conditionality). In other words, the syntactic cases, nominative, accusative, genitive (possessive or instrumentalis), finalis (causalis), may be distinguished, while all local relations are expressed in other ways (see § 11). Verbal subordination is expressed by means of forms which are closely allied to these nominal cases. Verbal co-ordination is expressed by verbal suffixes, and thus does not belong to the group of syntactic phenomena.

§ 17. Character of Sentence

The contents of the Kwakiutl sentence are characterized primarily by an exuberant development of localization. This is brought about §§ 15–17
partly by the use of local suffixes which define the exact place where an action is performed, without regard to the speaker; partly by the expression of location in relation to the speaker. Thus the sentence "My friend is sick" would require in Kwakiutl local definition, such as "My visible friend near me is sick in the house here." Furthermore, the psychological relation of the sentence to the state of mind of the speaker—or to the contents of preceding sentences—is expressed with great care. The chief formal characterization of the sentence is the close connection of its parts, which is due to the fewness of syntactic forms by means of which all possible relations are expressed, and to the subordination of the noun under the verb by means of particles which coalesce phonetically with the preceding word, while they determine the function of the following word.

DESCRIPTION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 18-69)

Formation of Words (§§ 18-48)

Composition (§§ 18-39)

§ 18. SUFFIXES

Compounds are formed by the use of suffixes. There is no proof that the numerous suffixes were originally independent words. I have found only one case in which an independent word appears also as a suffix. This is -q'es to eat (p. 501), which occurs independently as q'es a' to eat meat 21.9. We may also suspect that the suffix -p'a to taste, and the stem p'laq- to taste, are related. It seems hardly justifiable to infer from these two cases that all suffixes must have originated from independent words; since the independence of these two stems may be a recent one, or their subordination may have been made according to analogous forms. It is perhaps also not fortuitous that the suffix forms for the idea "to eat" are exceedingly irregular.

The Kwakiutl language has very few particles, or words unable to be modified by composition with other elements. The suffixed elements coalesce quite firmly with the theme to which they are attached. Pronominal and syntactic suffixes must be distinguished from those forming denoting and predicating ideas, that, by themselves, are not sentences. Among the latter class we find a considerable number that may be designated as terminal or complete, in so far as they round off the theme into a complete word

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without any appreciable addition to its significance. Many of these are of rare occurrence. Almost all of them, except -a and -la, are denominative in character. We find for instance:

from the stem dza'\textsuperscript{w}-
\textit{hanx}'\textsuperscript{a}
\textit{gwäx-}
\textit{met-}
\textit{leq-}
\textit{tslëx-}
\textit{t!eql}'\textsuperscript{a}
dza'\textsuperscript{wu}'n silver salmon
\textit{ha'\textsuperscript{n}o}'n humpback salmon
\textit{gwä'\textsuperscript{x}nis} dog salmon
\textit{mëlëk}' sockeye salmon
\textit{mëstlā'\textsuperscript{n}e}' large clam (\textit{Saxidomus})
\textit{leql}'\textit{estl}'\textsuperscript{a}n kelp
\textit{tslëx'i'nas} elderberry
\textit{t!eql}'\textsuperscript{sö}'s cinquefoil

The composition of these stems with various suffixes enables us to isolate them from their completive endings. It is not improbable that in some cases by analogy forms may have developed which are not true stems, but fragmentary phonetic groups derived secondarily from longer words. The stems are almost throughout monosyllabic, as will be shown on page 550. When, for instance, the word \textit{gë'\textsuperscript{w}as} deer is treated as though it were a compound of the stem \textit{gë'\textsuperscript{w}-} to hang and the suffix -as place, it is barely possible that this does not represent its true origin. The treatment of a few English loan-words makes it plausible that this process may have taken place. On the other hand, a number of polysyllabic Kwakiutl words are never reduced to monosyllabic elements in composition. As an example may be given the word \textit{mëg\textsuperscript{w}at} seal, which never loses any of its sounds. This process shows clearly that what has often been termed "apocope," or, if occurring initially, "decapitation," is merely due to a substitution of one affix for another one.

Most suffixes in Kwakiutl add a new idea to the word to which they are added, and these are generally attached to the theme. At the same time, phonetic modifications occur, either in the theme alone, or in the suffix alone, or in both. Examples of such compounds are the following:

\textit{bek}'\textsuperscript{a}- man
\textit{tap-} to peg
\textit{xuls-} to long
\textit{mël-} sockeye salmon
\textit{bā'k!\textsuperscript{um}} genuine man, Indian
(see no. 111)
\textit{taps}'\textsuperscript{m} pegging utensil, peg
(see no. 173)
\textit{xu\textsuperscript{w}lyāl\textsuperscript{i}sem} to die of longing
382.27 (see no. 152)
\textit{mëlmā'\textsuperscript{n}ō} head of sockeye salmon

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When a significant suffix is added to a word provided with a significant suffix, the latter loses its formal, complective element, if it has one, and the new suffix is attached to the theme of the first suffix. For instance:

\( t!ek^u \) to move, \(-ax-\) down (no. 19), \(-g'alil\) in house (no. 46), \( t!ekwā'zalil\) to take down in house

\( hēl-\) right, \(-k'!ōt\) opposite (no. 12), \(-aq-\) crotch (no. 71), \(-ē\) noun (no. 161), \( hēl'k'ōdagē\) right side in crotch, i. e., right anal fin

\( xunk^u\) child, \(-ād\) having (no. 170); \(-xē\) id to begin (no. 90).

\( xu'ngwadez\) to begin to have a child

\( lāq^u\) red, copper; \(-ē\) st- around (no. 6), \(-g'alil\) in house (no. 46), \(-k^u\) passive participle, \( lā'qwē'stalēk^u\) made to be copper all around in the house

\( 'mēl\) white, \(-xō\) hair of body (no. 76), \(-gēml\) mask (no. 54a).

\( 'mēlēzēqēml\) white body-hair mask, i. e., mountain-goat mask

Other suffixes are added to words which retain their formal, complective elements. Examples are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Completive suffix</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qālēk'k\u- slave</td>
<td>-ō</td>
<td>-bidō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q\u wās- to cry</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-būla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sās- children</td>
<td>-em</td>
<td>-nuk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In still other cases the usage is not absolutely fixed:

\( han\)l- to shoot, \(-bēs\) fond of, \( ha'nlēbēs\) fond of shooting

\( ē'n\)āx- to work, \(-ala\) complective suffix, \(-bēs\) fond of, \( ē'azalābēs\) fond of work

or with slight differentiation of meaning:

\( bek^u\) man, \(-ānēm\) complective suffix, \(-k'ēlā\) noise

\( bek\u wā'lā\) man's voice

\( bēgwā'nēm\)ēlā voice of a man

For convenience sake those suffixes that are attached to the stem without its formal, complective endings may be called stem-suffixes: the others which are attached to the stem with its formal endings, word-suffixes. As indicated before, the line of demarcation between these two classes is not rigidly drawn. An examination of the list of word-suffixes shows that they include largely adverbial and conjunctival ideas possessing a strong subjective element, and implying a judgment or valuation of the idea expressed in the word to which the suffix is attached.
While the word-suffixes modify the terminal sound of the stem and undergo changes of their own initial sounds in accordance with the rules of sound grouping, the stem-suffixes exert a more far-reaching effect upon the stem to which they are affixed. On the whole, these changes are quite regular and consist, on the one hand, in the transformation of surds into fortes, and the other in the transformation of surds and fortes into sonants, and other parallel changes described in § 4. I have called the former group hardening suffixes, because the intensity of articulation of the terminal sound is increased, and accordingly the acoustic effect of the sound is harder; while I designate the second group as weakening suffixes, because the intensity of articulation is decidedly decreased by their action. A third group of suffixes is indifferent and causes or suffers no changes except those occasioned by the laws of sound grouping. A fourth group loses initial sounds when the stem to which they are suffixed terminates in certain sounds. These are mostly indifferent, but a few are hardening or weakening suffixes.

The only sounds thus affected are anterior palatals ($g'$, $k'$, $k'!$, $x'$), the sonant velar ($g$), $x$, and $s$. The loss of the initial palatal or velar never occurs after vowels, $m$, $n$, and $l$. It occurs regularly after labial, dental, palatal, velar, and lateral surd stops ($p$, $t$, $k'$, $k''$, $q$, $q''$, $l$), and after $s$. The number of cases in which suffixes of this class appear attached to a sonant or fortis stop (except in cases in which terminal sounds are strengthened or weakened) are so few in number that I am not sure whether the initial sound is dropped in all cases. There are a few examples that suggest a certain variability of usage:

\[ \text{dzé'dzónogotāla and dzé'dzónogotāla Dzō'noq!was on top 118.29} \]
\[ \text{msqug'i't'éli'd to rub on 199.11} \]

Suffixes with initial $g'$, $x'$, and $g$ lose these sounds also after the spirant palatals and velars ($x'$, $x''$, $x$, $x''$), while initial $k'$! is generally retained in these cases:

\[ \text{sepē'lx'!āla-g'ilē ringing noise on water 152.34 (nos. 144, 42)} \]
\[ \text{ax-k'!ā'la to ask 7.5 (no. 144)} \]
\[ \text{ts!'ex-k'!i'liq-end-āla to drop in lap 258.2 (nos. 70, 2, 91)} \]

This rule, however, is not rigid. We find, for instance, $g\text{xu}-ōt-stā'-līl left hand side of door X 76.6 (nos. 12, 59, 46) where the initial sound of -k'!ōt drops out; and $\text{ņe}x-k'!ōt straight down, where it is retained

\[ 44877—\text{Bull. 40, pt 1—10—29} \]

\[ § 18 \]
Possibly this difference is due to the fact that the x in the last-named form is changed by contact from the terminal g of 'neq- straight.

Suffixes with initial -k' lose this sound under the same conditions that govern the elision of g', x', and g. An exception is—

\[ qe'lx\text{kwô índ} \] to lift by the top (\[ qe\ldq^{n-k'}\text{-e-nd} \], nos. 38, 2)

Terminal l of the stem has the effect of eliding all initials. Only one exception has been found:

\[ hêl\text{-k'}!ôt \] right side 81.2

It is interesting to note that the suffix -gi\text{i}u, which belongs to this class, behaves differently according to its meaning. It signifies forehead, front. Whenever it appears with the specialized meaning bow of canoe, it is entirely unchangeable, even after an o vowel, when, according to the general phonetic rules, it should be expected to assume the form -g\text{w}i\text{ui} (see no. 57).

Among these suffixes the following weaken the terminal consonant:

-xt\text{ã} head
-xt\text{l}a seaward
-x'sa away from

Strengthening is:

-k'!\text{l}ala noise

The suffix -x\text{t}i\text{id} (nos. 87 and 90), and the inchoatives in -gal-, -g'il-, -g'ae- (no. 197), lose the initial x', g'a, or g' after all consonants except m, n, l, and after sonants. At the same time terminal p and t are transformed into the fortess p'l and t'l, and all k and l stops are transformed into their spirants, while s and l remain unchanged.

The suffix -s\text{qem} round surface (no. 85), which is undoubtedly related to -\text{qem face}, follows the same rules as suffixes in q, but it always retains its s: We find, instead of

\[ më'x\text{-sqem} \quad \text{më'x\text{s}em to sleep on a round object} \]
\[ ma't\text{-sqem} \quad \text{ma't\text{l}se'm two round objects} \]

The suffix -\text{e\text{t}sta around} has the form -s\text{e\text{t}sta after vowels, m, n, l, and behaves, therefore, in a manner opposite to that of suffixes in g', x', and g.}

The suffix -\text{sqwap fire} loses its initial s after stems ending in s, except when affixed to the stem t\text{l\text{e}s- stone}, in which case both s's are lost, and we find the form t\text{l\text{e}'qwap stones on fire.}

The suffix -sx\text{'a tooth} seems to lose its initial s after stems ending in s and in k sounds. The number of available examples, however, is not sufficient to state definitely the mode of its treatment.

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One phonetic characteristic of the suffixes remains to be mentioned. It is the insertion of l and the transformation of s and t into l. It is difficult to give satisfactory rules for the use of the l. Apparently in one of its uses it is related to the inchoative -g'ul-, which has been referred to before (p. 450), and it is sometimes weakening, sometimes indifferent. Thus we find from the stem qās- to walk, qādzeltū'sela to begin to walk down river, and the theoretical form qāsatū'sela to be walking down river. Here the l weakens the terminal s of qās, while in sē'xultū'sela to begin to paddle down river (from sēx"- to paddle) the terminal x" is not changed. This l appears with particular frequency after the suffix -o, which has a privative significance, as in -wult'a out of an enclosed place; -wultā out of a canoe; -wultōs down out of; -wultisō out of (no. 37). In the suffix -stōs eye, opening, the l is substituted for s, perhaps on account of the cumbersome form that would result, -ltstōs. The terminal t of the suffix -k'-ōt opposite (no. 12) changes regularly to l before ts!

hēlk'-ōlsī'āna instead of hēlk'-ōt-tsī'āna right hand

It would seem that the l before ts! is sometimes a glide, at least I can not offer a satisfactory explanation of its occurrence:
ō- something, -ig'- back, -x-tsī'ān- hand, -ē' noun, form awī-g-altī'sānē' back of hand
dā to take, -ba end, tsī'ān hand, -d inchoative, form dā'bal-tsī'ānend to lead by the hand
'neg- middle, -tsī'ō in, -la verbal ending, form 'negelts'ā'la to be in the middle

Similar phonetic groupings occur, however, without the l:
'wāb water, -tsī'ō in, 'wā'btetsī'ō water in something

Following is a list of suffixes grouped according to their mode of attachment and effect upon the stem:

**WORD-SUFFIXES**

**Adverbial**

- emek" I told you so! - bōla to pretend
- eng'a it seemed in a dream - 'm indicating close connection in thought between two sentences
- āna perhaps - 'm-wis and so
- azaa also - mā at once
- ē l astonishing! - l'a but
- wist'a very - naxwa from time to time
- pl en times

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-ënṣ*t oh, if!  
-nō* too much  
-so* passive  
-dēz* indeed  
-g'anem perhaps  
-k'as indeed  
-k'as*ō beautiful, beautifully  
-k'inal miserably  
-q'āmas for the reason that  
-q'anāk* quite unexpectedly  
-qālam to no purpose  
-x' exhortative  
-xent evidently

**Adjectival**

-ō small  
-bidō* small (singular)  
-menēx small (plural)  
-dē large  
-ga female, woman

**Miscellaneous**

-ōstq'ā to use so and so often  
-sdana to die of—  
-xa to say—  
-lāl to dance like  
-ts'es (-dēz*) piece of

**STEM-SUFFIXES**

**Indifferent Suffixes**

-ēm nominal suffix  
-elg*ts doing for others  
-a verbal and nominal suffix  
-a*wil across  
-ap* neck  
-ap* each other  
-āmas to cause  
-atus down river  
-ānem class of animate beings  
-anō instrument, passive  
-asēdē meat  
-yag'a returning  
-aqa past  
-āxa down  
-agō extreme  
-āla continued position  
-ēyāla to go to look for

-ēm's near by  
-ēso* rest  
-i'īlās about  
-ō meeting  
-ō out of  
-āla on water  
-āla each other  
-ōmas class of animals  
-ōt, (-wut) fellow  
-ūsta up river  
-ūstēs up from the beach  
-ōk* person  
-ōlem nominal suffix  
-ōs to obtain  
-ōlēsla continued motion  
-bēta into, in  
-ōba end

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-p'la taste
-ľaľa smell
-ľaľtő with eyes
-ľes expert, fond of
-ľeq tree
-ľol (Newetee dialect) into, in
-ľano head
-ľis useless part
-ľut refuse
-ľp relationship
-ľe time of
-ľnak direction
-ľnd inchoative
-ľnts/es down to beach
-ľnx edge
-ľaqo penis
-ľsta water
-ľsl/e with hands
-ľslaq long
-ľsl ō in
-ľslaqwa to speak
-ľka to happen
-ľkina accidentally
-ľqes to swallow
-ľqeqe meat
-ľqale to feel
-ľxa flat
-ľxal top of head
-ľxlō top of tree, hair on body
-ľla verbal and nominal suffix

Hardening Suffixes

-ľm genuine
-ľmya cheek
-ľs expert
-ľs on rock
-ľto to endeavor
-ľqa among
-ľmas class of animals
-ľně abstract noun
-ľnoxn nomen actoris
-ľes body (?)
-ľeq in body
-ľxed to desire
-ľōs cheek
-ľbō chest
-ľs on ground
-ľgare to begin to make noise
-ľxō neck
-ľxds hind end
-ľxta bottom end

Weakening Suffixes

-ľm instrument
-ľm diminutive
-ľn nominal suffix
-ľnx season
-ľlkw doing regularly
-ľlitsus down river
-ľyu instrument
-ľbo under
-ľmala along river
-ľd having
-ľbo ear
-ľnxm obtained by—
-ľanō rope
-ľs place
-ľtslē receptacle
-ľq crotch
-ľlas material (?)
-nō side
-nōs side
-nulem temples
-nulg'a groins
-nsa under water
-ndzem throat
-dō flat

-kʷ passive participle
-xes in canoe
-x'āsā away
-xēg'a front of house
-exsta mouth
-l passive of verbs expressing sense perceptions

SUFFIXES LOSING THEIR INITIAL CONSONANTS

Losing initial g-:
-g'iu forehead
-g'it body
-g'ila to make
-g'ustā up

Losing initial k-:
-k'ā, -k'auē between
-k'ē top of a square object

Losing initial k'-:
-k'ë in body
-k'ēlala noise
-k'ēlōt opposite

Losing initial x-:
-xētid to begin
-xētē past
-xēpēg'a thigh
-xēdem place
-xēdxʷ pronominal plural
-xēdē transition from present to past
-xēst across

Losing initial g'a-:
All inchoatives in -g'al-, such as—
-g'alil in house
-g'alēx in canoe

Losing initial g:
-ğem fare
-ğemī mask

Losing initial x:
-xtla seaward
-xtō through
-xtē head

Losing or modifying initial s:
-sēsta around
-stōsta eye
-sēkʷ person

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Although the use of these suffixes follows the rules laid down here with a fair degree of regularity, there are quite a number of exceptional compositions. A few examples will suffice here:

- stem *g*eg'- *g*ex'e'm wife
- stem *gw*og'- *gw*oy't'm whale
- stem *g*inl- *g*in'a'nem child
- stem *xunk*- *xunô'k' child
- stem *x*is- *x̄â'x̄a'ya trying to disappear
(s weakened to y, instead
of being strengthened to ts!)

- stem *p*is- to flatten
  *plâp!a'ya trying to flatten
  (same as last)

§ 19. CLASSES OF SUFFIXES

I have tried to classify the primary suffixes according to the ideas expressed. Classes of this kind are of course somewhat arbitrary, and their demarcations are uncertain. The general classification of suffixes which I have adopted is as follows:

I. Terminal completive suffixes (§ 20, nos. 1–2).

II. Primary suffixes (§§ 21–37, nos. 3–195).

1. Suffixes denoting space limitations (§§ 21–24, nos. 3–85).
   a. General space limitations (§ 21, nos. 3–37).
   b. Special space limitations (§ 22, nos. 38–52).
   c. Parts of body as space limitations (§ 23, nos. 53–81).
   d. Limitations of form (§ 24, nos. 82–85).

   b. Suffixes with prevailing temporal character (§ 26, nos. 90–97).

3. Suffixes denoting subjective judgments or attitudes relating to the idea expressed (§§ 27–32, nos. 98–135).
   a. Suffixes denoting connection with previously expressed ideas (§ 27, nos. 98–104).
   e. Suffixes denoting modality (§ 31, nos. 130–131).
   f. Suffixes denoting the source of information whence knowledge of the idea expressed is obtained (§ 32, nos. 132–135).
(4) Suffixes denoting special activities (§§ 33–34, nos. 136–155).
   (a) Activities of persons in general (§ 33, nos. 135–143).
   (b) Activities performed with special organs of the body (§ 34, nos. 144–155).

(5) Suffixes which change the subject or object of a verb (§ 35, nos. 156–166).


(7) Adverbial suffix (§ 37, no. 195).

III. Subsidiary suffixes (§ 38, nos. 196–197).

In the following list the influence of the suffix upon the stem is indicated by abbreviations. STEM-s. and WORD-s. indicate whether the suffix is added to the stem or to the full word. IND. signifies that the suffix is indifferent and has no influence upon the stem except as required by phonetic laws. H indicates that the terminal consonant of the stem is hardened; W, that it is softened.

§ 20. TERMINAL COMPLETIVE SUFFIXES (NOS. 1–2)

1. -a [STEM-s., IND.]. This suffix is of indefinite significance. It is the most common word-closing suffix of verbs, and is very often used with substantives. Generally it disappears when the stem takes one of the primary suffixes, and it is also often dropped before syntactic suffixes. It is even dropped in the vocatives of nouns. In both verbs and substantives it follows very often the suffix -l- (no. 91), which seems to have primarily a verbal continuative character.

   (a) Verbal:
   
   *mix-  
   *qx-a' to strike
   
   *qās-  
   *qā'sa to walk
   
   with -l-:
   
   *ts!ex-  
   *ts!ex'il'a to be sick

   (b) Nominal:
   
   *leq"-  
   *leqwa' five
   
   -ga female, as in Hā'la'mā'laga mouse woman 11.12 (but Hā'la'mālāq O mouse woman!)

   with -l-:
   
   'nā-light  
   *nā'la day, world
   
   paxa- shaman  
   paxa'la shaman

2. -d [STEM-s.]. The first impression of the suffix -d is that it transforms intransitive verbs into transitive ones.

   q'i'oxts!o' to have on  
   q'i'oxts!o'd to put on

   lā'ba to go to the end  
   lā'bd to reach the end.
A closer examination shows that both forms occur in transitive as well as in intransitive verbs.

-\(d\) intransitive:

\[n'ex\bar{\o}'x\text{zdend} \text{to begin to be near} \ 107.17\]
\[li\bar{\o}'q\bar{\text{ wazd}} \text{to hand down a copper} \ 84.3\]

without -\(d\), transitive:

\[q'\bar{\o}'x\bar{s}l\bar{\text{ idla}} \text{to have on} \ 98.27\]
\[n'e'x\bar{s}dla \text{to pull through} \ 76.1\]
\[d\bar{\o}'dseba \text{to hold at end} \ 254.36\]

On the whole, it seems that the suffix -\(d\) expresses the motions connected with the beginning of an action; and, since transitive verbs express much more frequently a passing act than a long-continued activity, it seems natural that the suffix should appear frequently with transitive verbs.

Generally the suffix -\(d\) is suffixed to a primary suffix. When it follows a terminal \(m\), it is simply added; when the primary suffix ends with a short vowel, the vowel is dropped and the terminal -\(d\) takes the form -\(nd\). After primary suffixes ending in -\(\ddot{o}\) or -\(d\), and after -\(axa\) down (no. 19), it amalgamates with the terminal vowel and becomes -\(\ddot{\ddot{a}}d\).

(a) -\(\ddot{d}\):

\[q'\text{en\bar{e}'pemd} \text{to cover face} \ 299.21 \text{ (from} -\text{gem face; see no. 54)}\]

(b) -\(nd\):

\[d\bar{\o}'k'\text{oxlend} \text{to rub hind end} \ 96.21 \text{ (from} -\text{xl- hind end; see no. 15)}\]
\[t'l\bar{\o}'t\bar{\text{e}}\text{stend} \text{to cut around} \ 138.18 \text{ (from} -\text{est- around; see no. 6)}\]
\[t's\bar{e}x\bar{\text{bxn}d} \text{to throw in} \ 365.16 \text{ (from} -\text{bet- into; see no. 28)}\]
\[d\bar{\text{a}}'\text{bend} \text{to take end} \ 15.7 \text{ (from} -\text{b- end; see no. 31)}\]

(c) -\(\ddot{\ddot{a}}d\):

\[n'e'x\bar{s}d\bar{\ddot{a}} \text{to pull through} \ 53.17 \text{ (from} -\text{xsd through; see no. 3)}\]
\[li\bar{\text{a'saqd}} \text{to put farthest seaward} \text{ (from} -\text{ago extreme; see no. 13)}\]
\[n\text{sgo'\ddot{e}yd} \text{to move in middle} \ 141.7 \text{ (from} -\text{g}y\ddot{e} \text{middle; see no. 16)}\]
\[n'e'xust\ddot{d} \text{to pull up} \ 184.37 \text{ (from} -\text{ustd up; see no. 20)}\]
\[q'\bar{\o}'x\text{xtld} \text{to put on clothes} \ 15.10 \text{ (from} -\text{tsd in; see no. 27)}\]
\[\bar{\text{lu'yabd}} \text{to push under} \ 80.13 \text{ (from} -\text{abd under; see no. 29)}\]
\[l\bar{\text{a}'}\text{xtd} \text{to reach top} \ 196.34 \text{ (from} -\text{xta on top; see no. 30)}\]
\[q'\text{lx'\ddot{o}d} \text{to take off} \ 16.10 \text{ (from} -\ddot{o}- \text{ off; see no. 37)}\]
3. -xədə THROUGH [STEM-s., IND.] loses the initial x;
   la to go         ləxədə to go through
   k'uməx- to burn k'uməx'lsədə to burn through
   qəs- to walk    qə'tsədə to walk through
   p'əx- to fly    p'əstədə to fly through 165.22
   səxʷ- to paddle sə'xʷsədə to paddle through
   nəx- to pull    nə'xəsədə to pull through 75.40
   tə'selqʷ- hot   tə'selqumxəsədə'la hot all through
                  V 366.12
                  kəwəxədə hole 72.39

4. -xʷəsַ CROSS [STEM-s., IND.] loses the initial xʷ;
   'wil- entirely       'wi'wεx'əsַ cut up entirely X 155.32
   g'ax to come        g'ə'xəsə to come ashore 371.37
   sakʷ- to carve meat səsə'xʷəsַ end to carve across to
                        pieces 31.40
   səp- to chop         sə'pəsַ end to chop across
   lem't- to split      ləm'təmxʷəsַ end to split
                        across, plural (see no. 196),
                        158.30

5. -bələ(λu) ABOUT [STEM-s., IND.].
   dəqʷ- to see         də'dəxəq'wɨləla to look about
                        459.33
   q'hwəs- to squeeze   q'hwə'q'į'iləla to squeeze all over
                        40.7
   pəxʷ- to drift       pə'xʷ'q'į'iləla to drift about
                        459.33
   ədz- wrong           Aq'dzɨ'q'ąg'ələs ריונ alleging all over
                        the world (a name) 165.5

6. -ə'st(a) AND -sə'bst(a) AROUND [STEM-s., IND.].
   (a) After vowels, m, and n; -ə'st(a):
   o- something         awə'stə circumference 85.9
   k'wa to sit           k'wa'wə'stəla to sit about
   gəlq- to swim         gəlqə'məsətəla to swim around,
                        plural (see no. 196), 153.22
   mə'p'ən four times    mə'p'ənəsətə four times
                        around 13.9
   lenə'stə to forget    lenə'stə to forget 25.3

§ 21
(b) After $k$ and $l$ sounds, $s$, $p$; -sê'st(a):

qâś- to walk
mix'- to strike
dex"- to jump
k'îml- to adze
x'ilp- to twist

qâ'tse'stâla to walk around
mix'se'stâla to strike around
dex"se'stâla to jump around
k'î'mîlsê'stâla to adze around
x'ilpsê'stâla to spin around

7. -(E)q(a) among [STEM-s., h].

sêx"- to paddle
yaq"- to distribute
ô- something
x'ilp- to turn

siô'qva to paddle among
yâ'q'uga to distribute among
ä't'wâq' the place between, inside X 87.34
baxô't'eqila pitchy inside V

nâq- mind
mek"- a round thing is somewhere

daq'agê song leader V 433.36
mâ'k'ugê to be among X 29.21

gî- to be somewhere

gr'ge'la to be among X 81.35

There are apparently a few cases in which this suffix weakens the stem. I found the two forms qâ'tse'qga and qâ'qga to walk among, derived from qâs- to walk.

It is also used to express the superlative:

gr'î'lu!- long

gr'î'lu!agâ long among (i.e., the longest)

7a. -gamê. This suffix may belong here, although its use as a word-suffix and the indifferent action upon the last consonant make its relations doubtful.

gr'î'gamê head chief (= chief among others)

xwâ'k'unagamê excellent canoe (= canoe among others)

'nô'last!egamê the eldest one X 3.32

8. -k'â, -k'au between [STEM-s., ind.] loses initial $k$ after $s$ and $k$ and $l$ sounds. The original form may be kw'â (see § 4).

k'îml- to adze
qens- to adze
k'wex- to devise

k'îmlâ'la to adze between V 347.19
qensâ'la to adze between V 363.10
k'wê'k'waxâ'wê inventor 222.35

§ 21
lā'x̂- to stand

*Iā'lewaawayaa's place of standing repeatedly between on ground 140.35
(lā'lex̂, -au, -ś [no. 44]; -as place [no. 182])

Hamā'lač'awi² 111.29
bēkʷu- man

*bēkʷawi² man between 121.39

9. *aq(a) PAST [STEM-s., IND.] often with a reduplication. It would seem that in these cases there is sometimes a weakening of the terminal consonant.

la to go

g'al- first

llāš- seaward

gwa- down river, north

'ınā'la south

xwēl- back

In the following examples the terminal consonant is weakened:

gwāś- to turn to

ēl- again

10. -x̂(a) AWAY FROM [STEM-s., w].

p'el- to fly

qās- to walk

hān- hollow object is somewhere

māx̂ts- to be ashamed

'wīl̈- entire

sēx̂- to paddle

pā'x̂ too to fly off

geq̈dēx̂sa to walk off (from fire) V 441.40

hānx̂send to take (kettle) off

māx̂dēx̂sa to go away for shame 316.32

'wīl̈x̂sa it is entirely away

sti'x̂send to paddle away 472.21

After x the initial x̂ seems to be lost:

ax- to do

a xsāńō it is taken off

10a. -yag'a RETURNING [STEM-s., IND.].

lā'yag'a to go back X 186.18

hō'xyag'a they go back X 190.12

lā’'yag elil to re-enter house 386.11

11. -ēm's NEAR BY [STEM-s., IND.]. Possibly the terminal -s does not belong to the suffix, but signifies ON THE GROUND (no. 44).

*wun- to hide

k'wa to sit

lāx̂- to stand

*wunē'm's to hide near by

k'wēm's to sit near by

lāxwe'm's to stand watching

§ 21
12. -k'łot opposite [stem-s., ind.]. After s the initial k' disappears.

la to go lak'łotend to go to the opposite side 271.8
aps- side apsot the other side 96.28
qweš- far qwešot the far opposite side
gwā- down river gwā'k'łot the opposite side down river 130.22
hēl- right hand hēl'č'ōdnēgwil the right hand corner in the house 81.2
(see nos. 18, 46)

Before the affractive ts, t changes to l.

hēl'č'ōnts'āna the right hand 15.11 (see no. 67)

While q before this suffix changes to x in 'ne'xk'łot (from 'neq-) right opposite, the k' drops out in gemxot left side (from gemx-)

13. -aqō extreme [stem-s., ind.].

ēk'- above ēk'łaqō farthest above X 179.32
lās- seaward lās'sagōd to put farthest seaward
gwā- north gwā'gawē' extreme north end 218.9

14. -xed behind, hind end, tail end [stem-s., h].

leq- to slap leq'ļexd to slap behind
ts!ek'- short ts!ek'ļu'xsd a short person
q!ak'- notch q!ak'xsdē to have a notch for a tail 279.18
ēk'-a up ēk'ļaxsdāla to have hind end up V 325.8
ō- something ēxsdē' hind end V 490.28
nūn wolf nūn'xsdē' wolf tail 279.13

15. -xl(a) behind, bottom, stern [stem-s., h].

'wā'las large 'wā'latx'lxla (canoe) with large stern
ō- something őxlē' stern of canoe 127.23
hän- to shoot hanl'ļxldend to shoot stern of canoe
qwāl- to groan qwā'ļ'lxlā'la to groan afterwards X 5.11
16. -ō'yō MIDDLE [STEM-s., W].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mōkʷ to tie</td>
<td>mō'qwo'yō to tie in middle</td>
<td>370.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo to go</td>
<td>lō'yō to go to the middle</td>
<td>U.S.N.M. 670.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō- something</td>
<td>ō'yō the middle</td>
<td>273.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷt̪pʷ to clasp</td>
<td>kʷt̪bo'yōd to clasp in the middle, to embrace X</td>
<td>177.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g̃ōkʷ house</td>
<td>g̃ō'kwō'yō middle of house</td>
<td>248.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da to hold</td>
<td>dā'yīwē to hold in middle V</td>
<td>325.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. -nō SIDE. The form of this suffix is variable. On the one hand, we have the word-suffix -nō, from which are formed ʔlanā' \* LANDSIDE 20.1, nā'lanā' \* SEASIDE 272.3; and, on the other hand, we have -nō as stem-suffix, weakening the terminal consonant. From this form we have—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ax- to do</td>
<td>axnō'līs to place by the side</td>
<td>177.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāxʷ to stand</td>
<td>lā'nōlīs to stand by the side</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!ex- trail, door</td>
<td>t!e'nōnē' side door X</td>
<td>171.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have also -nus, sometimes indifferent, sometimes weakening the terminal consonant.

It weakens the terminal sound in the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hēl- right side</td>
<td>hēl'!ōd'enutsē' right side</td>
<td>175.14 (see no. 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qās- to walk</td>
<td>qā'dzenō'dzendāla to walk alongside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qā'nō'dzendāla to walk alongside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēzʷ- to paddle</td>
<td>sī'wonudzē' paddling alongside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāxʷ- to stand</td>
<td>lā'wunōdzēlīl to stand alongside in house</td>
<td>31.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is indifferent in the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da to take</td>
<td>dā'banusela to take alongside</td>
<td>152.5 (see no. 31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzel'u to run</td>
<td>dzel'luunu'dzē' running alongside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ending -nulem (no. 54b) suggests a third form, -nul.

§ 21
18. -nēgu corner [stem-s., ind. (w.?)].

ō- something  
ḥēl- right side  
apš- one side  
han- hollow object is somewhere

ō'neqwil corner in house 56.15  
ḥēlk'!oaneqwil right-hand corner in house 81.2 (see nos. 12, 46)  
apšāneqwil one corner of mind 260.40  
haneqwil (kettle) stands in corner of house X 125.29

19. -āx(a) down [stem-s., ind.].

la to go  
wāa river  
p'el- to fly  
lōx- to roll  
dzex'- to run  
la to go

lā'xa to go down 165.29  
wā'xela river runs down 36.39  
p'elā'xa to fly down X 155.21  
lōxumā'xa to roll down, plural 19.12 (see no. 136)  
dzex'xwaxa to run down 196.39  
lā'xalil to go down in house 187.22 (see no. 46)

With -ayu (no. 174) it forms -axō'yu.

ts!eq- to throw  

ts!eqā'xo'yu to be thrown X 87.28

With the inchoative (no. 2) it forms -axōd.

ax- to do  
wul- in vain  
lēl- to invite in  
lāq'- red, copper

axā'xōd to take down 48.24  
wulā'xōd to bring down in vain U.S.N.M. 727.10  
lēlaxōd to call down 185.36  
lāq'quawōd to hand down a copper, i.e., to sell a copper 84.3

20. -grustā up [stem-s., ind.] loses g' after s, and k and l sounds.

qa- morning, early  
k'wā to sit

qāg'ustā' to rise early 61.5  
k'wā'g'ustālim to sit up in house 50.17 (see no. 46)

'ne'mp!en once

Q!'mrg'ustāls wealth coming up on ground (name) 377.1 (no. 44)

qd'- to see  
dex'- to jump  
nēx- to pull  
gās- to walk  
p'el- to fly

dōq'ustāla to look up X 167.37  
dex'ō'stā to jump up X 179.17  
nē'xustōd to pull up 184.37  
gā'sustāla to walk up  
p'elō'stā to fly up

§ 21
21. -ntsës DOWN TO BEACH [STEM-s., IND.].

la to go
qäs- to walk
zël- to invite in, to call
jë'gwala supernatural

lëntsës to go to beach 80.21
qä's'entsës to walk to beach
zë'lentsësësla to call down to beach 80.17
jë'legwałentsësla the supernatural ones coming down to the beach 159.18

22. -usdës UP FROM BEACH [STEM-s., IND.].

qäs to walk
la to go
zëp- to grasp in talons
ôzl- to carry on back

qä's'usdës to walk up from beach
lë'usdës to go up from beach 211.15
zë'p'usdës to grasp and carry up the beach X 155.21
ô'xâl'sësla to carry on back up the beach X 162.15

22a. -xt'la OUT TO SEA [STEM-s., w]. Loses initial x.

gs'lyst'la to swim out to sea X 144.27
dö'qut'ala to look out to sea X 117.26
kwadzet'ô'd to kick out to sea X 111.1

23. -atüs and -eltils DOWN RIVER, DOWN INLET [STEM-s., -atüs IND., -eltils IND. and w].

yâl- to blow
gëlq- to swim
qamt- down of birds
gäs- to walk
lä to go
sëx- to paddle

yä'latü'sësla to blow down the inlet 274.5
gëlqatü'sësla to swim down river
qa'mwratösëla down coming down river 154.30
qä'dzelltü'sëla to walk down river
Lâ'tösëlag'ilts going down river (westward) through the world (name) X 84.39
së'wultü'sëla and së'xültü'sëla to paddle down river

24. -usta UP RIVER [STEM-s., IND.].

höq- to go [PLURAL]

'seq- straight
gäs- to walk
sëx- to paddle

hö'z'usta to walk up river 62.31
'seq'usta' to continue up river 70.23
qä's'ustëla to walk up river
së'z'ustëla to paddle up river
25. -a'wil across [stem-s., ind.].

'mō- to load

'galq- to swim

'mā'-wil a canoe carrying load across 131.23

galqa'wil'ela swimming across 148.18

26. -ns(a) under water [stem-s., w].

ēt- again
e'densə again under water 143.19

'neg- straight

'nega'nsela straight under water V 477.30

k'twa to sit

k'u'nsa to sit in water 64.22

wun- to hide (†)

wu'n'səd to sink 143.32 (see no. 90)

27. -tslō in [stem-s., ind.].

mā- fish

māts'lō fish inside (i.e., in trap) 184.18

'mel- white

'mel'ts'lō white inside

ax- to do

axts'l'dla to put into 114.36

axts'l'd to put into 175.27

ts'lix- sick

ts'lix'ts'l'dla sick inside, headache

matl two

mat'l'ts'l'da two inside, i.e., two in a canoe 147.15

qālx- to dress

qālx'xts'l'd to dress in, to put on garment 98.1

gi- to be somewhere

gi'ts'l'was place of going in (see no. 182)

la to go

la'tts'xlil to come out of room in house 194.31 (see nos. 27, 46)

'wil- entirely

'wil'ts'l (strength) gives out entirely 141.2 (see no. 37)

28. -bEt(a) into hole [stem-s., ind.].

dēx'- to jump
dēx'bēta' to jump into 99.1

la to go

lā'bēdas place of going into (hole) 9.10 (see no. 182)

Ł'enx- to shove

İ'enæbstånd to shove in X 224.17

28a. -põL into hole, in hole (Newettee dialect) [stem-s., ind.].

kul- to lie

kulpõ'xil to lie down in a room in the house X 207.22 (see no. 46)

ō- something

ō'põlil room in house X 207.23

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§ 21
29. -alō UNDER [STEM-s., W.]
   lās- to push
   ō- something
   g'īgamē chief
   gēlq- to grasp
   lā'yabōd to push under 80.13
   ašvā'ba'ē lower side 80.13
   ašvā'boš thīgh (see no. 14)
   g'ī'gabāē chief under others
   ge'lgabāṣcī'ya to grasp the
   under side of the bow of the
   canoe 127.28 (see no. 62)

30. -xtā ON TOP OF A LONG STANDING OBJECT [STEM-s., W.] seems to
   lose x after all consonants, but may retain it after m, n, l.
   ō- something
   k'wā to sit
   k'us- to sit, plural
   ēp- to pinch
   ē'mas float
   ʻmek̂- round thing is somewhere
   ʻmēgutōd round thing begins
   to be on top X 121.11
   k'udzxtāya to sit on top
   X 224.32
   ē'madzxtāla top float V 389.8

31. -b(u) END OF A LONG HORIZONTAL OBJECT [STEM-s., IND.].
   dōq̂- to see
   Llās- sea
   Llēx- sea-lion
   ganā'yu lasso
   dā to take
   ḥa'nl- to shoot
   ēdz- wrong
   ḥēl- right
   x'īq- to burn
   la to go
   dō'x̄ba to see point 91.32
   Llā's-balā extending out to sea
   162.42
   Llā's-balā to walk on beach
   Llē'Llēx-balā sea-lions at ends
   X 71.6
   ganā'yubalā lasso at end 37.13
   dā'bend to take hold of end
   15.7
   hanha'nlbend to shoot at each
   end 153.3
   ēdzxēbal-'tūd to turn the wrong
   way 227.25
   ḥēl-bal-'tūdā̂mas to cause to
   turn the right way 227.28
   (see no. 158)
   x'īx-balag'īlē to burn at end on
   ground 251.29 (see nos.
   197, 44)
   tā'labendalā to go from end to
   end 196.35
32. \(-x\cdot L(a)\) on top of a rounded object [stem-s., ind.] loses \(x\) after \(p, s, k,\) and \(z\) sounds.

This ending has assumed two specific meanings:

(a) On the flames of the fire:

\[\text{ax-} \text{ to do} \quad \text{axlā'la to put on fire} \quad \text{axlē'nd to put on fire} \quad \text{ti'eqwap stone in fire} \quad \text{ti'eqwapelend to put stones on fire 20.8} \quad \text{han- a hollow object is some-} \quad \text{ha'nx'āla hollow object on where fire (= kettle)}\]

(b) Named. The meaning in this case is that the name is on top of the object, in the same way as the Mexicans and the Plains Indians, in their picture-writing, attach the name to the head of the person.

Dā'ben'ek'la named Dā'ben ele 22.6
Q!a'mtalal'la named Q!a'mtalal 100.1.
a'ngwax'ias? what is your name? 388.3

33. \((-E)næx edge of a flat or long object [stem-s., ind.].

\[\text{da to take} \quad \text{de'nxend to take by the edge 10.14} \quad \text{ō- something}\quad \text{awu'nxē edge} \quad \text{qās- to walk} \quad \text{qā'senxendāla to walk along an edge} \quad \text{temk- to chop, bite out} \quad \text{te'mknuxend to bite out the edge 197.21} \quad \text{k'ē'lenx knife 270.21} \quad \text{ama'tenxē youngest child 45.34}\]

34. \(-nt edge of a round object [stem-s., ind.].

\[\text{qās- to walk} \quad \text{qā'dznusentāla to walk along}\]

35. \(-dzō on a flat object [stem-s., w].

\[\text{ō- something} \quad \text{ōdzō'ē surface} \quad \text{lēx- to beat time with baton} \quad \text{lēxzdōd to beat time on a flat thing 230.30} \quad \text{alē'z- to hunt sea-mammals} \quad \text{Alē'udzëvē hunter on the flat thing (i.e., in the sky = Orion)} \quad \text{t!ep- to step} \quad \text{t!ēbedzdōd to step on a flat thing X 101.18} \quad \text{dōq- to see} \quad \text{do'gudzdōd to see a flat thing X 226.12}\]

§ 21
** On a Round Object (see no. 85)**

36. -gřeg'α inside of a hollow object [stem-s., w.] loses initial gř.

- something
- yellowish
- to wash

36a. -nulg'α hollow side (compound of -nő and -g'α, nos. 17, 36).

- something
- groins

37. -ő off, away from. This suffix does not seem to occur by itself, but is always combined with a following primary suffix. Nevertheless, on account of its significance, I have included it in the primary suffixes. In its simplest form it occurs with the completive terminal -d. It seems to have a secondary form -wul [stem-s., ind.] which may be formed from the inchoative -g'îł- (see no. 197) and -ő. It is not impossible that this suffix -ő may be identical with -wâ, -ő (no. 124). This is suggested by such forms as tř'epâ to step off (from tř'ep- to step), but the identity of these suffixes is not certain.

(a) With the completive terminal -d:

- to do
- to put around
- blood
- to cut
- to peel

(b) With other primary suffixes:

- to do
- to go
- all
- to go
- to take off
- to go out (see nos. 44, 197)
- all out of water 21.8 (see no. 39)
- to go out of water 356.6
- to take out X 155.39 (see no. 39)
"mō" to load  "moltsiâ'la" to unload 55.33 (see nos. 27, 91)

"la" to go  "lōtisâ'lii" to go out of room 194.31 (see nos. 27, 46)

"ax-" to do  "ax-wultsî ô'd" to take out (see no. 27)

"la" to go  "lā'wiôd" to take off from forehead 22.2 (see no. 57)

"gâx" to come  "gâ'xwûqâ" to come out of inside of something 415.31

"qîô" to well up  "qî'ô'wêqâ" to well up out of a hole

han- a hollow thing is han'ô'gâl's (box) coming out of somewhere ground X 35.31 (see no. 44)

(c) The following are evidently compounds of the suffix -ô or -wûl, but the second elements do not seem to be free.

-wûl'tâ out of an enclosed place:

"wîl-" all  "wîl'tôltîa" all out of the woods 42.34

dex-" to jump  dex-wultsîâ'lii to jump out of room in house 97.29

xe'laq- backward  xe' laxwult's to turn back out of 62.27

-wûl'tâ out of canoe:

"wîl-" all  "wîl'tôltîa" all out of canoe 217.20

"mō-" to load  "môltî'lasô" to be unloaded 217.13

môlîôd to unload X 103.26

-wûl'tôs down out of:

dex-" to jump  dexultô's to jump down out of 279.15

§ 22. Special Space Limitations (Nos. 38-52)

38. -k-ê top of a box [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial k-.

k!wâ to sit  k!wâ'k-ê'ee* seat on top X 155.23

wê- not  we'k-ê'ee* not full

lep- to spread  lepeyl'ndaala to spread over top (see nos. 2, 91)

nâs- to cover  nâ'seý'înd to cover top

"nemâ'd-ê'id" to be level  "nemâ'd-k-ê'ee* level on top

gelq-" to lift  ges'lekwoñd to lift top of box

§ 22
39. -st(a) WATER [WORD-S. and STEM-S., IND.].

(a) Word-suffix:

q'ula' life
wuda' cold
gā'la first

q'ula'sta water of life
wuda'sta cold water 141.17
gā'la'sta first in the water 62.13

(b) Stem-suffix:

ax- to do
dex- to jump
k'ōx- lukewarm
gē long time

la to go

ax- to do

tēq- to drop
qap- to upset

axsta'nd to put into water 21.5
dex'sta' to jump into water 34.28
k'ōx'sta lukewarm water 54.1
gē'stala long in water X 155.38 (see no. 91)
la'stala to go out of water 356.6
(see no. 37)
la'stati'd to begin to go into water 36.25 (see no. 90)
la'staas's place of going into water 34.3 (see no. 182)
axsta'nē being put into water X 155.36

tēx'sta to fall into water 100.10
qapsta'nd to pour into water CS 216.7

40. -squap FIRE [STEM-S., IND.].

qē- many

With tīēs- stone, this suffix forms tī'quap stone in fire. With other stems ending in s, one of the s sounds is dropped, which would suggest a form -quap.

ō'mas large (Newetttee dialect)

'wālas great

ō'masquā'pslag'ilis great fire in world (see no. 45)

'wolasaquapēlis great fire on beach (poetry; see no. 45)

41. -wāla, -āla STATIONARY ON WATER.

(a) After n and vowels -wāla:

han- hollow object is somewhere
k'wā to sit
lā(z)- to stand

hanwā'la canoe adrift on water 127.6
k'wā'wāla to sit on water 143.41
lā'wāla to stand on water 143.41

gī- to be

gē long time

gī'wāla to be on water X 87.37

gē'wāla long time on water X 181.3

§ 22
(b) After p, t, and anterior and posterior k sounds -åla:

k-ât- long object is somewhere  
  k-atå’la long object adrift

yaq*- dead body is somewhere  
  yâ’qåla dead body adrift

mex- hollow things are somewhere  
  mexå’la canoes adrift on water

Medial k(w) sounds are transformed by this ending into the corresponding anterior sounds (see p. 436).

*mek*- round thing is somewhere  
  mek-å’la island, i.e., round thing on water

pex*- to float  
  pexå’la to drift

The inchoative form of this suffix is formed with -g’ål- (no. 197) and is -g’âltåla.

k!wå to sit  
  k!wå’g’âltåla to sit on water

k-åd- long thing is somewhere  
  k-å’déltåla to put long thing on water

42. -LÅ MOVING ON WATER [STEM-s., w]. Inchoative form -g’ålå (see no. 197) loses initial g’i.

hanl- to shoot  
  ha’nålå to shoot on water

dôq*- to see  
  dô’qålå’yåla to see moving on water

dzåk’lå’la noise of splitting  
  dzåk’lå’lag’ålå noise of splitting begins to be on water

sepe’lxk’lå’la ringing noise of metal  
  sepe’lxk’lå’lag’ålå ringing noise begins to be on water

låx*- to stand  
  låxawå to begin to stand on water

143.11

43. -u ON ROCKS [STEM-s., u]. Inchoative form -g’åtåla, -g’ìla (see no. 197) loses initial g’u and g’i.

yaq*- dead body is somewhere  
  yâ’qwa to lie dead on rock 154.12

ò- something  
  ò’néqwa corner on rock (see no. 18) 168.33

ò- something, -ënak*- direction  
  awi’nåkwa rocky place 148.30

k!woa to sit  
  k!woa to sit on rock 102.31

låx*- to stand  
  lå’wa to stand on rock 148.30

gap- upside down  
  gap’å’låd to pour out on rock 179.8

§ 22
44. -s ON GROUND, OUTSIDE OF HOUSE [STEM-s., h]. Inchoative form -g'æls, -g'îls loses initial g' a and g'.

leq*- fire

k'wa to sit

k'wâs to be seated on ground

k'wâ'dzas place of being seated on ground  X 173.22

X 173.31 (see no. 182)

ge long time

tau*- to stand

lâts to stand on ground; tree

37.20

yaq*- to lie dead

yâ'q'udzas place of lying dead on ground 61.8 (see no. 182)

bek*- man

bek'u's woodman

k'wa to sit

k'wâ'g'æls to sit down on ground  X 173.19

X 4.5

wâ'tls to lead on ground

mâ to crawl, swim

mâ'g'îls to move on ground 60.37

gun- to try

gung'îls to try on ground 160.22

dâ- to take

dâ'deg'îlsid to pick up from ground X 6.18

la to go

lâ'wels to go out 19.8 (see no. 37)

wî'la all

wî'lawels all outside 26.32

(see no. 37)

45. -s, -ls BOTTOM OF WATER [STEM-s., w]. Generally this suffix is used to designate the beach, but it means as well the bottom of the sea, which is always covered by water. If the latter is to be clearly distinguished from the beach, the suffix -ns UNDER WATER (no. 26) is added, with which it forms -ndsës UNDER WATER ON THE BOTTOM. Inchoative form- g'atîls loses initial g'.

k'us- to sit [PLURAL]

k'udzës to sit on the beach 102.18

döq*- to see

dö'zegwës to see the bottom 34.4
ëk—good
han—hollow vessel is some-
where
qap—upside down
k!wa to sit

L!ä’s—seaward
qap—upside down

Here may also belong the very common suffix of names -gilis sign-
ifying in the world:
‘nemö’k* one person
ö’masquap great fire

46. -il in house, on the floor of the house[stem-s., w]. Inchoa-
tive form -gilil, -gilil loses initial g.

leq*—fire
han—hollow vessel is some-
where
lax*—to stand
gä—early, -g’ustâ up
kul—to lie, plural

yaq*—to lie dead
ax—to do
lep—to spread
t!èk*—to lie on back

The very numerous forms in - lil are evidently to a great extent
derived from continuative forms in -la.

k!wadzâ’la to sit on flat thing
gewxöstâ’la left side of door
lep—to spread

klebegwi’ka spread out on
floor V 430.22 (klebek* spread out, see no. 172)
47. -ēL INTO HOUSE [STEM-s., W].
   hōqʷ- to go pl.  hō'qwil to enter pl. 21.1
   dəxʷ- to jump  dəxwil' to jump into house
   g'āx to come  gā'xeləla to be in the act of
     coming in 91.15
   ax- to do  axeləla to put into 48.27

47a. -ēL'sEla SHOREWARD (STEM-s., W.). This is evidently com-
     posed of -ēL (no. 47); -ēs (no. 45); -la (no. 91)
     dā'bēləsela to tow ashore

48. -xs IN CANOE [STEM-s., W]. Inchoative form -g'alexs loses
     initial g'a.
   hōqʷ- to go [pl.]  hō'guxs to go aboard 224.9
   ō- something  ōxs inside of canoe
   da to take  dāxs to take aboard 96.32
   kʷl′ip- to hold with tongs  kʷl′ebe′xela to put aboard
     with tongs V 366.3
     ʻmō- to load  ʻmōxela to load 78.38
     kʷl′wā to sit  kʷl′wāgʻalexs to sit down in
     canoe 121.26
     ʻwil- all, entire  ʻwilgʻalexs all is in canoe V
     485.2
     gap- upside down  qep!l′exs to pour into canoe
     V 473.15
     aps- other side  aps′xelə other side of canoe
     V 361.22

49. -xLō ON TOP OF TREE [STEM-s., IND.] (compare no. 76).
   han- a hollow thing is some-
     where  ha'nz=xlō to put a box on top
     of a tree 278.31
   gʻē- to be somewhere  gʻēxlō it is on a tree

50. -x·siū MOUTH OF RIVER [STEM-s., IND.] loses initial x·.
   ō- something  ōx′siwē mouth of river 29.3
   wun- deep  wun′x=siū deep at mouth of
     river

51. -gʻág- SIDE, BANK OF RIVER [STEM-s., IND.]; loses initial g·.
   makʻ- next  māk′gʻágē next to bank of
     river 180.23
   kʷwa to sit  kʷwāgʻagend to sit on bank
     of river 30.6
     kʷwāgʻağels to sit down on
     ground by a river 64.29

§ 22
\(\) - something
\(\) o'kwâge\(\) side of canoe 79.14
shore of lake 143.7
sêx\(\) - to paddle
sê'sëxwâge\(\) paddles at sides 214.40
qëx\(\) - to hang
qëxwâ'gêdâla to be suspended by the side of V 479.10

52. -xse\(g\) - outside front of house [stem-s., w].
k'âl- to paint
k'âl'dëxse\(g\)'ila painting on house-front 186.27
ô- something
ô'xse\(g\) outside front of house, 272.4
lëx- to beat time
lëxexse\(g\)'ind to beat front boards of house 247.5

\(\) 23. Parts of Body as Space Limitations (Nos. 53-81)

53. -xla on head [stem-s., h or w].
ô- something
ô'xla head of clam 134.10
nës- to pull
nët'sëxla'labend to pull by the head X 171.30
'mël- white
'më'lëxla'la having white' feather on head X 114.12
le\(k\)- to throw
le'xla's to throw at head outside X 116.20
nël- to show
në'xla'x'îd to begin to show head 143.10

54. -gem face. This suffix is probably related to -sgem round thing (no. 85). After p, s, t, l, l, and k sounds, -em; after l, n, m, and fortes, -gem.

'mël- white
'smël'gem white face
ëk'- upward, high
ëk'ëgy'malâ'mas to cause face to be turned up (see nos. 92, 158)
q'wâx hemlock
q'wâx'amë hemlock on face (around head) 18.10
hap- hair
haps'm hairy face
l'ël'gemx'îd to push from face 173.36
az- to be
axamâ'la to have on face . 271.24

Sometimes with the significance in front of:
lëx\(\) - to stand
lëx'umë standing in front of

It occurs also as word-suffix:

älane'm wolf
älane'mgem with a wolf face,

\(\) 23
54 a. -gEmi mask [stem-s., as no. 54, or word-s.].
   (a) stem-s.:
   kunx̂- thunder-bird  
   'mEl- white  
   ku'nxumti thunder-bird mask  
   'mElge'mi mountain-goat mask  
   16.1  
   98.12

   (b) word-s.:
   'mEl- white  
   'mElx̂ogemt mountain-goat mask  
   96.23

54 b. -nulem temples (= sides of face; compound of -n̄o side [no. 
   17] and -gem face [no. 54]).
   õ- something  
   ma'̄ two  
   ho'lk̂lot right side  
   õ'nulememt temples  
   ma'̄m̄ogunul̄emal̄ two  
   persons on each side 217.29  
   (see nos. 82, 91)
   hælk̂'ödenul̄ememt right side  
   of house-front (see no. 12)
   186.32

55. -Em'ya cheek [stem-s., h].
   l'aq̷- red  
   'nax̷- to cover with blanket  
   l'aq̷u'm̷ya red-cheeked  
   'nâ'̄unȳa to cover cheek with
   blanket

56. -ös cheek [stem-s., h].
   l'aq̷- red  
   l'ā'g̷ös red-cheeked

57. -g'iu, -g'iyu forehead [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial g'.
   õ- something  
   wò'dzò broad  
   g̷ès- to shine  
   ēk̷- good  
   õ'g̷uwiwë forehead 19.5  
   wò'dzòg̷uwiwù with broad forehead  
   (see § 4.1)
   q̷è'siu shining forehead  
   ēk̷'iù pretty

Before vocalic suffixes the terminal u becomes w.
   k'at- a long thing is somewhere  
   lās- to stick  
   hō'x̂hōk̷ a fabulous bird  
   'yix̷- to dance  
   x̂is- to show teeth  
   q̷elx̷- wrinkled  
   k'atewë house beam 118.29  
   (long thing on forehead)
   lā'siwë what sticks on forehead 19.11
   hō'x̂hōkw̷iwë hō'x̂hōk̷ head  
   mask 110.16
   'yix̷'iw̷ dancing-forehead  
   x̂ist'w̷è wolf head mask (teeth  
   showing thing on forehead)
   q̷elx̷èwë wrinkles on forehead

§ 23
beku"- man  bekwi'walu to have man on forehead 167.27
ax- to do, to be  axe'walu to have on forehead 19.6
qums- ochre  gu'msiwak" forehead painted red (see no. 172)
yul- to tie  yileyod' to tie on forehead
lā to go  lä'wōd to take off from forehead 22.2 (see no. 37)

This prefix is often used to designate the bow of the canoe. In this case the g' never changes after o to gw.

ō- something  d'giwē bow of canoe 127.42
iax"- to stand  iā'x"giwē standing in bow of canoe 127.9
xwid- to stick out  xw'ideg'walu to stick out at bow 143.26

Sometimes -g'iu is used with the significance ahead, in front, in the same way as -ēg'- (no. 69) is used to express behind.
sā'yuapalgiwala to send ahead 149.22 (probably containing the inchoative -g'il- no. 197)
ale'xulgiw to paddle ahead 470.17

We have -g'iu also as word-suffix in gā'lagiwe' leader 8.6.

58. -atō ear [stem-s., w].
g'il- long  g'ildatō long-eared
gemōz'datā' left ear 105.7
hēl- to hire  hē'latā to lend ear 217.37
wāx- both sides  wā'zōdatā' on each ear 223.2
qwas- to turn towards  qwā'saatā'ala to turn ear to 81.43

59. -stō eye, door; more general, round opening like an eye [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial t's.

(a) eye:
dā to wipe  dā'stō'd to wipe eye
kwēs- to spit  kwē'stōd to spit into eye 95.30
'naq- middle  "nā'qō'stāe' middle between eyes 168.13
dzex'- to rub  dzēdēx'tō'xwid to rub eyes

(b) door:
ax- to do  axstō'd to open door 15.6
ō- something  ō'stā'lıl door of house 20.9

§ 23
vāx̂- both sides
mix̂- to strike
(c) ROUND PLACE:
leq̂- to miss
leq̂- to miss
(d) TRAIL. It would seem that in this case the form -ltō, which
weakens the terminal stem consonant, is also used.
*naq̂- middle
*nəxtā'ět̂ middle of trail X
8.32
*nəptā'ō to keep on trail 19.9
leq̂-qultōd to miss a trail
60. -ilb(a) NOSE, POINT [STEM-s., W; from -b(a) POINT (no. 31)].
ōt̂- to perforate
ō- something
gwax̂- raven
lāq̂- to push
ōdīl'bdend to perforate nose
āwīl'bd̂ point of land 682.1
gwā'witōb̂ raven nose 129.41
lāq̂-gultōd to shove to nose
349.20
This suffix occurs also as word-suffix.
qwe'sa far
qwe'sa'ałbēdẑ really far from
nose 349.19 (see no. 119)
*nēxwa near
*nēxwa'ība near nose 349.21
61. -exst(a) MOUTH, OUTWARD OPENING [STEM-s., W].
*mēk̂- round object is some-
where
t̂lōq̂- gap, narrow opening
ō- something
hā'm̂- to eat
meguxstāl's round entrance
on beach 153.29 (see no. 45)
t̂l̂q̂-guxstā with small mouth
āwaxstā'ět̂ mouth of inlet 155.26,
of bottle V 486.3
hā' manifold xstā to eat at the
side of some one 117.23 (see
no. 17)
qēt̂- to spread
qēxstā'ět̂ sticks for spreading
(mouth) of tree 99.3
gwā'yast to turn mouth to
71.33
*maltā'ē to recognize
*maltē'xst to recognize voice
250.9
gax̂- early
qā'xstāla breakfast X 167.6
gēĝ'xst woman's voice
62. -sx̂-ă TOOTH [STEM-s., IND.]; loses initial s.
ō'xľē'h hind end
ō'xľasx'ă lower jaw 166.6
a'vābō'ē lower side
a'vābō'sx̂-ō'ē lower side of bow
of canoe 127.20
§ 23
63. -xõ NECK [stem-s., h].

- red
- something
- to put around
- to squeeze
- to hold around
- to chop

63 a. -îL/xõ IN MOUTH [stem-s., w; compound of -êL (no. 47) and -xõ (no. 63)].

- water
- right
- to wash
- to spear
- canoe
- to throw

64. -ndzEm THROAT [stem-s., w; perhaps related to -ns- (no. 26)].

- speck

65. -āpl when followed by accent -ip! NECK [stem-s., ind.]

- something
- to be
- to jump
- to be somewhere

Also with the meaning following, behind, like -êg- (no. 69).

- to stand
- hollow thing is somewhere

Also, see following on water (see no. 42) § 23
66. -x•siá’p! arm above elbow. Evidently a compound of the preceding suffix; loses initial x.

- something
'wëk’- to carry on shoulder

67. -x•tslän(a) hand [stem-s., ind.] loses initial x.

t!ës- stone
ax- to do
lemë- dry
pex’- to scorch

After short vowels this suffix has the form -täslänæ, with preceding t it also forms -täslänæ.

dâ’ba to hold end
hë’lk’löt right side

68. -bö chest [stem-s., h].

q!äp- to hit

69. -ëg’(ë) back [stem-s., w]. The terminal vowel of this suffix may be -a. It appears very often, however, as -ë without any apparent grammatical reason.

at- sinew
ë- something
mix’- to strike
L!äs- seaward

g’tl- to walk on four feet

la to go
ë-, plural ëw- something

§ 23
With ending -ě it appears in—

'wun- to hide

'wuně'g'ě to hide behind 120.7

ts!ēlk-' feather
ts!ēlk-ig'ila feathers on back

It is often used to signify BEHIND, as in the examples given before.

It is also used in a temporal sense, AFTERWARDS.

hēl- right

hēlęg'ind to serve a second course at a meal 156.18
(i. e., right afterwards)

l!ōp- to roast

l!ō'bēg'ā to roast afterwards

nāq- to drink

nāqēg'ila to drink afterwards 41.25

Peculiar idiomatic uses of this suffix are—

'nēq- straight

'nēq'g'ět midnight 85.27 (i. e.,
straight behind)

(naq- ɬ)

nā'naqēg'ě to obey 26.13

70. -k!lēg(a) FRONT OF BODY [STEM-s., IND.].

ō- something

ō'k!wulq'ě front of body

g'ī- to be somewhere

g'ē'k!lęgend to put in lap

V 478.25

ts!ęq- to drop

ts!ęxk- 'k!lęgendāla to drop in

lap 258.2

71. -aŋ CROTCH [STEM-s., W].

ō- something

awā'qē crotch of a tree, hollow
in foot of a tree

awā'gōzīā small of back V

490.32 (see no. 15)

ts!ōp- to tuck in

ts!ō'baq'ě something tucked

into crotch X 175.6

g'ī'g'ā tooth

g'ī'g'aqāla teeth in crotch 96.17

ts!ęd'āq woman (i. e., split in

crotch ?)

72. -saqō PENIS [STEM-s., IND.].

mōk- to tie

mō'x*egewak* with tied penis

(see no. 172) 138.11

73. -x'pěg(r)(a) THIGH (compounded of -x'p!ē and -g a inside [no.36]).

qix- to put around

qix'p!ē'g'ind to put around

thigh 89.37

74. -kāx'ē KNEE [STEM-s., IND.].

ō- something

ōkwā'x'ět knee 87.12

mēm- scab

mēnk'ō'x'ět with scabby knees

154.11

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§ 23
75. -x'sin, -x'sidz(ē) Foot [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial x.
   ō- something
   ben- under
   ḥē that
   ēp- to pinch

   ō'x'sidzē foot of mountain 19.12
   bē'nx'sidzē under foot 118.30
   hēx'sidzenda right down to
   foot 19.12
   qā'x'sidzē to lead 24.4, 50.10
   ēp'sidzenda to pinch foot 96.3

76. -xlō Hair on body [stem-s., w] (compare no. 49).
   lūaq'-red
   'mel-.white
   lūaq'gulō red-haired
   'melxlō mountain-goat (i.e.,
   white-haired) 7.3

77. -q'eqē Meat [stem-s.: probably from -q and -ga among (no. 7)].
   'mel-.white (see 'melxlō under
   no. 76)
   'mel'meq'eqē mountain-
   goat meat
   wiyoq'ugē the inside V 490.13

78. -ēn in body [stem-s., w].
   gūlt'-long
   'mek'-round thing is
   ts'il'-sick
   gūldēs long-breathed
   'meqwi's stomach (i.e., round
   thing in body)
   ts'ili'sela (ts'il'ila-is-la).
   ts'il'ts'enē's sick in body

78a. -k'len is probably a secondary form of the last, which loses
   its initial k', and hardens the terminal stem-consonant.
   'nem one
   'nemk'len one down in belly
   (= swallowed)
   pēn'lēs stout belly 50.15

   Here belongs probably also a form -k'lenaēs.

   ō'k'waēdēzē branch side of tree V 344.15
   lā'k'laēdzēn to enter the body 77.20

79. -g'it Body [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial g'.
   ō- something
   qup- to sprinkle
   xōs- to sprinkle
   ēk- good
   ēk' to hang
   dzēk'- to rub

   ō'gwīzē body 202.24 V 366.13
   qupē'tlēd to sprinkle over body
   112.19 (see no. 90)
   xōsit to sprinkle body 105.38
   ēk'ēsla well grown (tree) V
   496.6
   tēk'ēdayu to be hung to
   body U.S.N.M. 667.7
   dzēk'ēt to rub body 199.20
In a few cases -g'it appears as word-suffix.

*nā'la day  
196.4 (see no. 159)

tī'sem stone  
Tī'semg'it Stone-Body 200.9

In one case the ending -g'it appears with its g preserved after a q.

*mēg' to put on [PLURAL OBJECT]  
*mēqg'īt to put on body

80. -k'ìn BODY, CONSISTING OF (relating to the surface of the body)  
[STEM-s., IND., also WORD-s.]; loses initial k'!, replaced by ē.

(a) STEM-s.:

ō- something  
ō'k'winē surface of body

*mēl- white  
*mēlk'ìn with white body

lēmēq' yew tree  
lē'meq'ēk'ìn made of yew V 408.1

lēmēx- dry  
lēmlēmxunx'ēl to get dry V 483.6

x'ēx- to burn  
x'ēxēnāla being like fire V 196.35

ēnē'ēx cedar withe  
ēnē'ēxēn cedar-withe rope 170.8

Sometimes used to express LOG.

k'wā to sit  
k'wāk'īnīl to sit on log in house 272.29 (see no. 46)

*ēk'īndāla to put on log  
272.33 (see nos. 2, 91)

*nēx'- to cover with blanket  
nēx'ūnd to put on blanket 65.1

(b) WORD-s.:

lēaq'- red  
lēaq'ēvkaq'ēn copper body (i.e., entirely copper) 80.12

ā'la real  
ā'laq'ēn able-bodied 208.39

81. -ēq IN MIND [STEM-s., H, often with reduplication].

ō- something  
ā'wēqē inside of body

ēk' good  
ēk'ēq'ela to feel good 123.12  
(see no. 91)

ēk'ēq'īl to begin to feel glad  
34.30 (see no. 90)

wā'neq revengeful

lēf'- dead  
lēf'laēq'ela to long (i.e., to feel dead) 63.14

lēf'laēx'ēd to yield (i.e., to begin to feel dead)

§ 23
82. -ökʷ and -sökʷ HUMAN BEINGS [STEM-s., with doubtful influence upon stem].

ma'tl two
ëk': good
g'in- how many?
hô'lal a few
qlè- many

ma'lö'kʷ two persons 48.21
ë'x'sökʷ handsome 48.29
g'inö'kʷ how many persons?
hô'lalö'kʷ a few persons
qlèyökʷ many persons

83. -xsa(a) FLAT [STEM-s., IND.].

'nem one

'nem one (day) 18.2

84. -tslaq LONG [STEM-s., IND.].

'nem one

'nem mtslaq one (horn) 17.9

85. -sqem ROUND SURFACE [STEM-s., IND., and WORD-s]; loses s and q.

(a) STEM-s.: 

'nem one

'nem msqem one round thing 8.1

'melsgem white-surfaced 61.26

k'iwä to sit

k'iwäsgem to sit on round thing

qlenep- to wrap up

qlenepemd to cover face 299.21

Here belong also—

li'â's- seaward

li'sqemâla to face seaward 61.16

la to go

li'sqem to go facing (i. e., to follow) 8.9

(b) WORD-s.: blanket.

metsa' mink

q'wâx hemlock

alâ'g'ım dressed skin

mâ'tsasgem mink blanket

q'wâxsem house of hemlock branches 45.24

alâ'g'ımsgem dressed skin blanket X 57.3
85a. -den finger-width [word-s., ind.].
    *ne’mdenxesdā one finger-width thick V 491.6 (see no. 3)
    yaēyū’durxdenilulāla everywhere about three finger-widths (see
    no. 5)

85b. -xva’s day.
    hé’lop!enxva’s the right number of days 355.26

This class of suffixes does not fit in the present place particularly
well, since nos. 82–84 are used almost exclusively with numerals,
indicating the class of objects. My reason for placing these suffixes
at the present place is that suffixes denoting space limitations may be
used in the same way as this class. We have, for instance, with
-tsū (no. 27), *ne’mtsū& one inside; and with -ūla stationary on
water (no. 41), a1.śbā’la seven in a canoe afloat. Since, further-
more, -ok‘ human beings is used with a number of intransitive
verbs, and since -sgem is in its application quite analogous to all the
other local suffixes, it seemed best to keep the whole series together.
On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that there is a distinct
contrast between -dzū on a flat thing (no. 35) and -xsā a flat
thing; the former indicating the place of an action, while the latter
is used only as a classifier of nouns. Furthermore, the few suffixes
given here are in a wider sense classifiers than the local suffixes. This
is indicated by combinations like *ne’mxsatsū& one flat thing
inside (-xsā a flat thing, -tsū inside); and *ne’msgemsū& one
drop, literally “one round thing in round thing” (-sgem round, -stū
round opening [no. 59]).

Temporal Suffixes (Nos. 86–97) (§§ 25–26)

§ 25. Purely Temporal Suffixes (Nos. 86–89)

86. -ul remote past [stem-s., ind., and word-s.]. This suffix has
the form -ul after words ending in a, m, n, l, x"; after p, t, s,
k, x, it assumes the form -wul. At the same time terminal k" is
aspirated as before a consonant. After ėt it has the form -yul.

*neqā’p!enklmōl the dead *neqā’p!enkfm 283.9
Yā’xlenul the dead Yā’xlen 285.11
lōl he went long ago (from la to go)
*ma’xōl the dead ‘mā’xwa 470.36
qē- long time
ōmp father
lēns- one day remote
dās thy father

gres‘l long ago 12.4
ō’mpvul dead father 113.16
le‘ns‘ul yesterday 31.6
ā’swul thy dead father 142.16

§§ 24, 25
hayō't'wul former rival
'temō'xwul past friend 271.23
g'ā'zwul'en I came long ago 142.19 (g'āx to come; -en I)
ō't'magase'ma't'yul the dead ō't'magase'mē't 142.17

In a few cases this suffix modifies the terminal sound of the stem.
dā'g'i'nōlwul DEAD FELLOW-WIFE 142.18, which contains the
suffix -ōt (no. 167, p. 506) changes its terminal t to l (see also
p. 451)
wa'yul OLD DOG, from wa't'slē DOG, is treated as though the stem
were was- and the terminal s were weakened.

87. -x's'id RECENT PAST [STEM-s., IND.]. The initial x' drops out after
p, t, s, l, and l and k sounds; p and t are at the same time
strengthened; l and k stops are aspirated.

ax- to be
la to go

88. -L FUTURE [WORD-s.].
xwā'k'luna canoe
lē'gad having a name

89. -x'dē TRANSITION FROM PRESENT TO PAST, OR RATHER FROM EXIST-
ence to non-existence [STEM-s., IND., AND WORD-s.]; loses the
initial x'.
g'il first
wā'ldem word
x'isā'la to have disappeared
yā'q'udžā's place of lying dead
k'wil to feast in house

\[\text{g'ylx'dē what had been first 8.11}
\text{wā'ldemx'dē what he had said 25.4}
\text{x'isā'lxax'dē the one who had disappeared and was no
more 85.32}
\text{yā'q'udžā'sdē place where he
had lain dead 61.8 (see nos.
44, 182)}
\text{k'wil'dē those who had been
feasted, but ceased to feast
22.4}

§ 26. Suffixes with Prevailing Temporal Character (Nos. 90-97)

90. -x's'id inchoative. The initial x' is dropped after p, t, s, l, and
l and k sounds except the fortes; p and t are at the same
time strengthened; \( l \) and \( k \) stops are aspirated. This suffix is evidently compounded with the terminal completive -d (no. 2). It can not be used with all other suffixes, many of which have a different way of forming inchoatives (see no. 197). It can also not be used with all stem-verbs.

It was stated before (no. 2) that verbs with primary suffixes ending in -a generally form an inchoative in -nd. Nevertheless cases occur in which the full suffix -x-tid is used. We have—

\[ lə'xstax\text{-}t\text{id} \text{ to begin to go into water 36.25} \]
\[ gwə'xtux\text{-}wid \text{ to begin to have a direction on top (= to steer)} \]
\[ ˈdə'zebax\text{-}t\text{id} \text{ to begin to turn the wrong way} \]
\[ k'\text{-}!tptə\text{-}lax\text{-}t\text{id} \text{ to begin to hold (in tongs) inside 192.38} \]
\[ k'\text{-}la'stə\text{-}lax\text{-}t\text{id} \text{ to begin to place into water 95.8} \]

Examples of the use of the inchoative with simple stems are the following:

- \( qə'\text{-}l \text{ to walk on four feet} \quad g\text{-}lə'lx\text{-}t\text{id} \)
- \( lən\text{-} to forget \quad le'nx\text{-}t\text{id} \)
- \( k'\text{-}uml \text{ to burn} \quad k\text{-}u'ml\text{-}t\text{id} \)
- \( wun\text{-} to drill \quad wu'\text{-}nx\text{-}t\text{id} \)
- \( 'wun\text{-} to hide \quad 'wun'\text{-}nx\text{-}t\text{id} \)
- \( xək'\text{-}l \text{ to stay} \quad xək'\text{-}lx\text{-}t\text{id} \)
- \( l'ep\text{-} to climb (a pole) \quad l'ep'\text{-}l\text{id} \)
- \( 'ləp\text{-} to dig \quad 'lə'p\text{-}l\text{id} \)
- \( xəs'\text{-}t\text{id to sprinkle body (see no. 79)} \quad xəs'\text{-}t\text{id} \)
- \( qəs\text{-} to walk \quad qə'\text{-}s\text{id} \)
- \( p\text{-}es\text{-} to flatten \quad p\text{-}es'\text{-}t\text{id} \)
- \( neł\text{-} to tell \quad neł\text{-}t\text{id} \)
- \( g\text{-}lə'lx\text{-}l \text{ to steal} \quad g\text{-}lə'lx\text{-}l\text{id} \)
- \( k'\text{-}l\text{-}məl \text{ to adze} \quad k'\text{-}l\text{-}ml\text{id} \)
- \( k'\text{-}əl \text{ to fish with net} \quad k'\text{-}əl\text{id} \)
- \( də'k'\text{-}k \text{ to dig clams} \quad də'k'\text{-}x\text{-}t\text{id} \)
- \( də'k\text{-}k \text{ to troll} \quad də'k\text{-}x\text{-}wid \)
- \( dəq\text{-}k \text{ to see} \quad dəq\text{-}x\text{-}wid \)
- \( nəq\text{-} to drink \quad nəq\text{-}x\text{id} \)
- \( awu'\text{-}lq \text{ to want more} \quad awu'\text{-}x\text{id} \)
- \( yə'\text{-}wix\text{-} to act \quad yə'\text{-}wix\text{-}t\text{id} \)
- \( təz\text{-} to turn bow of canoe \quad təz\text{-}t\text{id} \)
- \( qəm\text{-}k \text{ to put on down} \quad qəm\text{-}x\text{-}wid \)
- \( məx\text{-} p.otatch \quad məx\text{-}x\text{-}wid \)
- \( dənx\text{-} to sing \quad dənx\text{-}x\text{id} \)

§ 26
It appears from the rules and examples here given that the inchoatives of stems in \( k' \) and \( x' \), \( k' \) and \( x' \), \( q' \) and \( x' \), \( q' \) and \( x' \), \( l' \) and \( l' \) can not be distinguished. The number of stems ending in a fortis is very small, but all those that I have found take the ending \(-x'tid\) preceded by a release of the vocal cords. I have no examples of stems ending in a sonant and taking the ending \(-x'tid\).

A few cases are apparently irregular, presumably on account of secondary changes in the stem.

\[ (\text{lax}'-\text{)} \text{ to stand} \quad \text{tā'}x'\text{wid} \]
\[ (\text{tōx}'-\text{)} \text{ to go forward} \quad \text{tō}x'\text{wid} \]

Both these stems are often treated as though they ended in \(-ō\), not in \(-x'\), but the relationship of these two sounds has been pointed out before.

91. \(-l(α)\) continuative. In stems ending in a long vowel, it is added to the terminal vowel. With stems ending in a consonant, it is generally connected by an obscure \( e \), but also by a long \( ā \).

Terminal \( p \) and \( t \) sounds, including nasals in suffixes and stems, seem to require long \( ā \), while \( s \) occurs both with \( e \) and \( ā \). In stems ending in a \( k \) sound with \( u \) or \( i \) tinge, it is added to the vocalized tinge. In all suffixes that may take a terminal \(-a\) (no. 1), it is added to this \(-a\).

\[ \text{wul} \text{- to hear} \quad \text{wulēla to hear 11.10} \]
\[ \text{laē' l to enter} \quad \text{laē' lela to be engaged in entering 24.2} \]
\[ yā' lōd to tie} \quad \text{yā' lodāla to be engaged in tying 28.33} \]

This suffix is evidently contained in the suffixes \(-nākula\) (no. 94), \(-k' lāla\) (no. 144), \(-i'lāla\) (no. 5), \(-g'aalēla\) (no. 96), \(-ōlēla\) (no. 93), \(-g'ila\) (no. 136).

Examples of its use after various classes of sounds are the following:

After long vowels—

\[ \text{pālā to be hungry 7.4} \quad \text{mō'alā to thank 21.2} \]
\[ \text{hamgrōlā to feed 7.6} \quad \text{ālā real 9.5} \]
\[ 'wī'lā entirely 10.8 \quad \text{asxōlā to ask 7.5} \]

After stems ending in a \( k \) sound with \( u \) or \( i \) tinge—

\[ g'ōkula to live 7.1 \quad \text{tsōlārīlā sick 32.27} \]
\[ 'nā'qula light 11.2 \quad \text{pōlēxula to feel} \]

§ 26
After consonants of $k$ and $l$ series—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wułe'la} & \text{ to hear } 11.10 \\
\text{wu'nqela} & \text{ deep } 11.1 \\
\text{xe'nqela} & \text{ very } 7.3
\end{align*}
\]

\[k'tłe'la' \text{ to be afraid } 10.2\]

\[\text{ xe’nqela} \text{ to sing } 13.2\]

After consonants of $p$ and $t$ series—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{axā’pā'la} & \text{ to be on neck } 19.6 \\
\text{hē’lō’māla} & \text{ to be on time } 15.10 \\
\text{qex’imā’la} & \text{ to be on head-ring } 18.4
\end{align*}
\]

\[hō’lsmāla \text{ to obtain easily } 7.3 \\
a’xōdāla \text{ to handle-32.41} \\
\text{dā’la} \text{ to hold } 14.9 \\
\text{lenā’la} \text{ to forget } 23.13\]

After $s$—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mē’sela} & \text{ to have a smell } \\
\text{lē’stali’sela} & \text{ to go around on beach }
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{qwe’sala} \text{ far } 26.43\]

After suffixes that may take terminal $a$—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sā’gumbala} \text{ (name of a place) } & \text{7.1 (no. 31)} \\
\text{ts!è’slāla} \text{ tongs } & \text{21.3 (no. 32)} \\
\text{qanā’yobala} \text{ having lasso at end } & \text{37.13 (no. 31)} \\
\text{gē’slāla} \text{ long in water } & \text{X 155.38 (no. 39)}
\end{align*}
\]

92. -āla continuative [STEM-s., IND.]. This differs from the preceding in that it indicates the continued position implied in an act, not the continued activity itself.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{x’ōs- to rest} & \text{ x’ōsāla to be in the position of rest } 274.7 \\
\text{‘wun- to hide} & \text{ ‘wunā’la to be in hiding } 161.2 \\
\text{g’ıl- to move on four legs} & \text{ g’ılā’la to be on four legs } \\
\text{‘nex- near} & \text{ ‘nexwā’la to be near } 36.10 \\
\text{da to take} & \text{ dā’la to hold } 16.5 \\
\text{bek- man} & \text{ bekwā’la character of a person }
\end{align*}
\]

With stems ending in ē, ē, and ī it is contracted to -āla:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gē long} & \text{ gā’la } 129.14 \\
\text{hē that} & \text{ ḥā’la being that } 14:3
\end{align*}
\]

93. -ōl(Elā) CONTINUED MOTION [STEM-s., IND.].

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ē’k’! above} & \text{ ē’k’lō’lēla to continue to go up } 126.40 \\
\text{‘nāla south} & \text{ ‘nā’lō’lēla going south, down river } 125.7 \\
\text{gwās- direction} & \text{ gwā’sō’lēla to approach } 9.9
\end{align*}
\]

§ 26
94. -náku(la) GRADUAL MOTION, ONE AFTER ANOTHER [STEM-s., w].

ték-' to hang  tē'gu'ná'kula to hang one after another
penl- stout  pe'nle'ná'kula to grow stout 49.15
qās- to walk  qā'ná'kula to walk along 115.3

95. -náxw(a) SOMETIMES [WORD-s.].

la to go  lā'náxwa to go sometimes 11.3
xi'd's place of disappearance  xi'd'snáxwa place where he disappears sometimes 28.8

96. -gr'alela, after k and l sounds -'alela, SUDDENLY. Used often with verbs denoting sense-impressions (see p. 514).

dōq-' to see  dōx'alela to discover 19.10
plaq- to taste  p'elx'alela to learn by taste 31.5
qīl- to know  q'īd'alela to learn 135.4
g'āx to come  g'ūx'alela to come suddenly 33.41

The following is apparently irregular:

wul- to hear  wulā'x'alela to learn by hearing 35.23

The following probably belong here also:

ax- to do  ax'ale'lod to take out suddenly 38.13
kwēx- to strike  kwēz'ale'lod to strike suddenly 99.3
lās- to push  lās'ale'lod to push in suddenly 19.5

97. -tā' TO DO AT THE SAME TIME WHILE DOING SOMETHING ELSE, WHILE IN MOTION [STEM-s., IND.].

dāl- to laugh  dā'ltā'ya laughing at the same time 284.5
denx- to sing  d'enxetā'ya singing while walking 355.15
'yix-' to dance  'yixutā'ya dancing as she came 435.20

With terminal -ē (see § 49, p. 530) this suffix has the form -te'we:

'nē'g'ite'we he says while— 285.6
hā'malā'g'itā'we to eat walking 134.2
yā'q'entlalaxte'we to speak while— 374.9

§ 26
The elements -g'i- and -x- preceding this suffix in the last two
instances are not clear as to their origin.

Suffixes Denoting Subjective Judgments or Attitudes Relating to the
Ideas Expressed (Nos. 98-133) (§§ 27-32)

§ 27. Suffixes Denoting Connection with Previously Expressed Ideas
(Nos. 98-104)

98. -xaₘ ALSO, ON THE OTHER HAND [WORD-s.].
   dā'x'iمخdaxaa he also took 8.13
   d'entxaas and only you on your part 397.3 (-em no. 103; -l no. 88; -s thou)
   Lo'gwa³alaen I on my part have supernatural power 399.3
   (-en I)

99. -xaₜStill, ENTIRELY [WORD-s.].
   lā'siwatazzaₘ it still stuck on his forehead 24.5
   dā'lazzaₘ still holding on 14.11
   L!el/la'gezdₘ entirely cedar-bark 86.24

99a. -qiₘala PERFECTLY, COMPLETELY [STEM-s., IND.].
   'nā'qiₘala it is full day 441.13
   nō'iqiₘala entirely uneasy

100. -lagič IN THE MEAN TIME [WORD-s.]
   sek'ālagič to spear in the mean time CS 44.25

101. -tₘa BUT [WORD-s.]
   'nē'x'latₘa but he said, it is said, 100.22

102. -la BUT [WORD-s.]
   lā'la but he went 14.10

The difference between -ₘa and -tₘa is difficult to define. On the
whole, the latter expresses an entirely unexpected event in
itself improbable; the former implies that the event, although
not necessary, might have been expected.

gap!e'dedǝ xwák!una laₘmē'sₘa hē'ldik'ama the canoe capsized
but he came out well

gap!e'dedǝ xwák!una laₘmē'sₘa hē'ldik'ama the canoe capsized
and against all expectation he came out well (gap!e'd to cap-
size; -eda prenominal subj. [p. 530]; xwák!una canoe; la to do,
go, happen; -mēs no. 104; hē'ldik'ama to come out right)
lₘmē'sₘa wu³ekwa' it has antlers (although they do not belong
to it) (wu³ek'm antlers; -kₘ passive participle, no. 172)
103. ～m indicates that the subject has been referred to or thought of before.

gá*zem he came
lax*m'laë gwäl then, it is said, he finished (what has been men-
tioned before) 141.34
lë'xæm daa'x*s K. and it was only carried by K.: 403.28
yu*tmen—this (what has been mentioned before) is my—211.20

104. ～mës [word-s.]; compounded of -m-wis and so, indicating that a certain event is the effect of a preceding event.

hëx*idaem'lä'wis and so, it is said, it began to be (passim) (hëx*id it begins to be, -la it is said, -em-wis)
g*'gëamë*emxæa'wisëm and so I, on my part, am also a chief

This suffix evidently contains -m (no. 103); the intimate con-
nection between the expressed idea and the preceding idea being first indicated by -m, and their causal relation being indicated by -wis. In a few cases, when following -äna per-
haps (no. 106), it occurs without -m.

§ 28. Suffixes Denoting Degrees of Certainty (Nos. 105-107)

105. -lax POTENTIALITY, used in all uncertain conditional sentences
[word-s.].

a'mëlalax it might spoil 131.17
yu'ilkwalaxôl you might be hurt 29.35

106. -äna  PERHAPS [word-s.].

'ëmädzâ'na'wis what, indeed, may it be? (see no. 119) 11.12
lâ'g*iÎëlaxå'na'wis (what) may he perhaps be doing on the
ground? 95.20 (-g*iIs on ground [no. 44]; -lax [no. 105]; -wis
[no. 104])

107. -granEm  PERHAPS [word-s.].

sô'gwanem you perhaps 146.28

§ 29. Suffixes Denoting Judgments Regarding Size, Intensity, and Quality (Nos. 108-126)

108. -k*as REALLY [word-s.]. In the dialects of northern Van-
couver Island, particularly in that of Koskimo, this suffix is
used throughout, and has lost its significance entirely.

gâ*la13.4l13.4a*as really a long time 7.4
ns'nwalak!wiñëk'asôs your real supernatural quality 479.11 (see
no. 171)
gâ*zk*asôdëm really I came 478.4 (see no. 89; -sn I)

§§ 28, 29
108 a. -k'as'tō FINE AND BEAUTIFUL, used particularly in poetry
[WORD-s.].

lō'gwalak-as'tō a really fine magic treasure 111.1, 478.9

109. -ōl UGLY, AWKWARD [STEM-s., W].

wā'yā'rl a big ugly dog

'wē'i'lōhwislē where is the past, ugly, miserable thing? (wē-
where, -ul past [no. 86], -ōl ugly, -wē's [no. 104], -lē miserable
[no. 115]) 99.31

lā'k'adzō'rl that really bad one X 207.16 (see no. 108)

110. -dzē LARGE [WORD-s.].

lā'q'wadsē large copper 84.16

q!ā'sadzēk-as a great number of sea-otters (-k'as no. 108)
g'ō'x'dzē large house 483.27

110a. -Em diminutive [STEM-s., W] always used with reduplication
(see § 45, p. 526).

negē' mountain nā'nag'im small mountain
tsī'dā'q woman tsī'ā'ts!'edag'em girl
g'ōk' house g'ā'g'ogum little house
g'ānit-child g'ā'g'initem little child

In sā'yobem LITTLE ADZE (from sōp- TO ADZE) the initial s is
weakened (see § 43.6).

111. -Em GENUINE, REAL [STEM-s. and WORD-s., H, lengthens vowel
of stem].
bā'k'um genuine man, Indian
bā'gwem'em full-grown man
Kwā'k'um real Kwakiutl
wī'wāp'em fresh water V 365.33

112. -bidō SMALL [SINGULAR, WORD-s.]; see no. 113.

qā'k'ōbidō a little slave 99.31

sē'zwabidō to paddle a little
qs'wilbabidō little hooked nose 271.29

begvō't'bīdō ugly, little man (see no. 109)

Very common are the compounds—
amā'bidō small one 18.10, 38.14

'negwā'labidō quite near 19.13, 107.20

With verbs this suffix, as well as the following, signify rather
that a small person, or small persons, are the subject of the
verb, than that the act is done to a slight extent, although the
latter is often implied.

ē'plēbidō the little one pinched, he pinched a little CS 12.13

§ 29
113. -mEněx* SMALL [plural, word-s.]. Possibly this is etymologically related to the preceding, since m and n are the nasals belonging to b and d; and a similar relation of stops and nasals may be observed in the northern dialects of the Kwakiutl, where we have, for instance, -iděx* corresponding to -ěnox* (no. 162).

'tně'ne'mgěsměněx* the little 'në'mqěs 135.34

114. -ō SMALL [word-s.].

gř'xelelaō little ones entering U.S.N.M. 670.14

115. -xLē MISERABLE, PITIFUL, TOO BAD THAT, loses the initial z after s.

mě'xaxlayin too bad that I was asleep!
lá'xLē unfortunately X 162.39

116. -x'Lā VERY [word-s.].

ts!e'lwax'lä it is very warm
q'e'msq!emts!ex'lä very lazy 45.9

117. -wǐstöa VERY (perhaps a compound of -wǐs [no. 104] and -tä [no. 101] but so).

ts!ō'ltoístöa very black

118. -mā AT ONCE, WITHOUT HESITATION [word-s.]. Used in the most southern Kwakiutl dialect, the Lō'kwilda'x*, with great frequency. In this dialect the suffix has lost its significance entirely.

gř'xmā he came at once

119. -džā EMPHATIC [word-s.].

gě'ldžā come, do! 13.3 (like German "komm doch!")
'მā'džā what anyway? 11.12
yū'džāṃ[e]nt evidently this is it (see nos. 103, 135)
k'ēdžāem not at all X 3.29 (see no. 103)

120. -k'inal NICELY [word-s.].

dě'nxalak'inal singing nicely

121. -x'wa(la) CARELESSLY [word-s.].

'tně'k'ax'sala to speak carelessly

122. -k'ina ACCIDENTALLY [stem-s., with reduplication].

dā'doxkwinala to see accidentally
wā'walk'ínē obtained by luck CS 42.8
Lō'mak'inalalē will be by chance very much CS 36.7

§ 29
123. -qālā'm(a) to no purpose [word-s.]
qā'na'kulaqālā'ma walking along without object
bē'beguvānsmqālā'm common men V 441.15

124. -wā, -ā in a wrong manner, to fail, to make a mistake, off [stem-s.]. This suffix may be identical with no. 37.
After n and vowels, -wā; after p, t, and anterior and posterior k sounds, -ā (compare no. 41).
lā'wā to go off from road V 491.24
dā'wā to fail to hold V 478.21
tē'pā to step off
sōpā'la to chop off V 345.18
tēlō'la to have the bait off V 479.9
kē'zā'layu to be scraped off V 487.12

125. -bōl(a) to pretend to [word-s.]
q!wā'sabōla to pretend to cry 155.34
tse'xq!abō'la to pretend to feel sick 278.26 (see no. 148)
ha'māpbōla to pretend to eat 257.23
wē'labōla to pretend to pinch 260.33

This suffix occurs also with nouns:
ha'mē'bōlax'dē past pretended food (what had been made to look like food). 260.36

126. -x'st! as usual; -x'st!aankw apparently, seemingly, it seems like.
lā'mx'st!as you do as usual U.S.N.M. 670.7
ladzō'lisux'st'aā'x'maē apparently reaching up to the sky 238.5
lā'x'st!aakw it seems to be 50.25

§ 30. Suffixes Denoting Emotional States (Nos. 127-129)

127. -q'anāk'w quite unexpectedly [word-s.]
lā'q'anākwākē kē'ēlax'īdēq he struck her, although you would not expect it of him

128. -ēL astonishing! [word-s.]
sō'ēq it is you! 149.12, U.S.N.M. 725.11
ē'dēdēlak' behold not this! 198.37 (ēs- not; -dzā no. 119; -ak' this [see p. 530])

129. -xoL astonishing! o wonder! [word-s.]
kē'é'sxōq oh, wonder! not 17.7
hē'maxqōl o, wonder! it was he 138.43
ēalē'nx'maxōq behold! wolves X 57.15

§ 30
§ 31. Suffix Denoting the Optative (Nos. 130-131)

130. -æ'sâ' oh, if! [WORD-s.]
   g’âxæ'sâ'le oh, if (he) would come!

131. -x‘ likely he would! exhortative (see § 66, p. 549).

§ 32. Suffixes Denoting the Source of Information (Nos. 132-135)

132. -t(a) it is said [WORD-s.]
   xe’ñlela’l very much, it is said 7.3
   k’te’slat’la but not, it is said 8.10 (see no. 101)
   lâ’tlaâ then, it it is said, he—(passim)

133. -Enska as I told you before [WORD-s.]
   g’â’xeEnska he has come—as you ought to know, since I told you
   before

134. -Enga in a dream [WORD-s.]
   laé’ng’a in a dream it was seen that he went X 173.40

135. -xEnt evidently (as is shown by evidence) [WORD-s.]
   k’te’â’saaxent evidently nothing 73.18
   k’te’sxent evidently not 148.15

Suffixes Denoting Special Activities (Nos. 136-155) (§§ 33-34)

§ 33. Activities of Persons in General (Nos. 136-143)

136. -gîla to make [WORD-s. and STEM-s., IND.]; loses initial g’.
   lı’t’naq’gîla to make oil 37.5
   mı’masîla to hurt 29.28
   lā’wayugwîla to make a salmon-weir 26.39
   leqwe’â’la to make a fire 98.8
   qwê’g’îla to so (to make a certain kind of thing) 15.12
   sê’xwîla to make a paddle V 496.2

This suffix occurs also with neutral stems as an indifferent stem-
suffix.

   bek’- man
   bekwê’â’la to make a man 103.20

   lök’- strong
   lökwe’â’la to make strong 104.7

This suffix in its passive form -g’î’lak’ is used very often to form
names of men, in the sense BORN TO BE—

   Gu’ntê’lak’ born (literally, made) to be heavy
   Neg’â’isîlak’ born to be mountain on open prairie
   Hi’’masîlak’ born to be a chief
   l’a’qwas’emg’îlak’ born to be copper-faced

§§ 31-33
Peculiar is the mythical name of the mink *lë'selag*šila, which retains the glottal stop of the passive forms, although it lacks the passive suffix -k*w* (no. 172), with which it would mean BORN TO BE THE SUN.

137. -x*šila to take care of [stem-s. also word-s. Used with reduplication]; loses initial x*:

- ts*šeq- winter-dance
- n*q- mind
- b*šk*- man (?)
- g*iq- chief
- panâ*yu hook

*ts*šeq to take care of winter dance 16.12
*n*q to resolve 184.2
*b*šk*šila to use 36.7
*g*iq*šila to treat like a chief 360.42
*pâ*panayux*šilats*šilil*é* receptacle (i. e., canoe) for fishing with hooks V 484.14 (see no. 184)

138. -lal to be occupied with [word-s., generally with reduplication or lengthened vowel].

- mâ salmon
- â'mâ* chieftainess
- wi* cedar
- pes- to give a potlatch

*mâ to be occupied with salmon (i. e., to dance the salmon dance) 84.5
*â'mâlal* chieftainess dance 84.8
*wi* cedar dance
*pâ'salal* potlatch dance

139. -ëxzst to desire [stem-s., h].

- n*q- to drink
- ax- to do

*n*q*ëxzst to desire to drink
*ax*ëxzst to desire to do 17.3

140. -ðL to obtain [stem-s., ind.].

- q*ë- many
- lâ to go
- q*ák*- slave
- wi- nothing
- g*y- to be

*q*ëyol* to obtain many 139.36
*l*L to obtain 59.34
*q*âk*ótnem obtained by getting a slave 136.25 (see § 4, p. 436, no. 179)
*wi* not to obtain 459.34
*g*yol*as place where one obtains something 26.22 (see no. 182)
*megwat* seal
*qwót*yö* the thing referred to

*mêgwat*ol* to obtain seals
*qwót*yol*as place where one obtains the thing referred to 45.31 (see no. 182)
141. -a to endeavor [stem-s., h, always with reduplication with a vowel] (see § 46).

dōq- to see
dā'dōq'wa to endeavor to see
x'is- to disappear
xâ'xâ'ya to try to disappear
nâ'qâ to meet
nâ'naqa'wa to try to meet
yî'x- to dance
yâ'ya'wa to try to dance
dō'xwaselu to discover
dâ'dōxwaseluwa to try to discover

tsâ to draw water
tsâ'tsâ'ya to try to draw water
nâ'nêts'ayu hook for pulling up red cod V 332, 18 (see no. 174)

This suffix is used very often with nouns.

ts!elk- feather
ts!â'ts!elk'la to try to get feathers 157.3

sâs- spring salmon
sâ'ya'tsâ to catch spring salmon

gî'x- steelhead salmon
gâ'gîwa to try to catch steelhead salmon

xunk- child
xwâ'xünk'wa to try to get a child

xwâk- canoe
xwâ'xwâk'wa to try to get a canoe

It also occurs quite frequently with other suffixes.

lôl to obtain (see no. 140)
lâl'ôlu to try to obtain 73.21

lae' to enter (see no. 47)
lâ'lael'la to try to enter

lâ'wel to go out (see no. 37)
lâ'lawel'tsâ to try to go out

'wilôl to obtain all (see no. 140)
'wâ'wilôlu to try to get all

142. -yâła to go to look for [stem-s., ind., always with reduplication with a vowel] (see § 46).

tis- stone

xwak- canoe
xwâ'xwaku'yâla to go to look for a canoe

142a. -mâla to go [stem-s., ind.].

qîte'mâla many walking 16.2
waq'xumâla to go in company with several 44.19
Hâ'lamâlagâ right going woman (mythical name of mouse) 11.12 (see no. 192)

142b. -sâla deserted [stem-s., ind.],

kwastâla to sit deserted CS 40.4

§ 33
142c. -qō to meet [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial q, used with reduplication or lengthening of stem vowel.

la to go
q'íl first
k'iq- to strike together
q'il- alive
*yak* - bad

lx'iqō to meet
q'ig'ílqō meeting the first time (i.e., newly married couple)
k'āqō canoes meet
q'ūlqō to meet alive 193.29
*yāk'āmas to vanish 131.24
(see no. 158)

143. -ōstlqā to use, only with numeral adverbs.

*nē'mplēnōstlqā to use once.
q'ē'pēnōstlqā to use many times
ma'lpēnōstlqā it happened twice 470.41

§ 34. Activities Performed with Special Organs of the Body (Nos. 144-155)

144. -k'āla continued noise, continued action with the voice [stem-s., h]. After t, ts, k stops, l, l, -āla, with hardened terminal consonant; after s, generally *āla.

da to hold
dēnx- to sing
sepelk- noise of metal
ax- to do
tēk*- to joke
lēl- to call
ō'dezq- wrong
sāl- love song
ō'ēmis curious
q'īnl- child

dda'k'āla to ask for something 18.9
dēnxk'āla noise of singing 11.10
sepelk'ālag'ile ringing noise on water 152.34
axk'āla to ask 7.5
tēkwāla to joke 24.6
lēlāla to invite 23.2
ō'dezq'āla to say something wrong X 101.30
sālāla to sing love song X 8.36
ō'ēmislāla curious sound 196.20
q'īnlāla noise of child

In a few cases -k'āla appears as word suffix.

begwā' nem man
āla really

begwā' nemk'āla noise of a man 148.26
ālā to speak really X 5.24

Irregular is—
yā'qantlāla to speak (see yā'q'eg'āt to begin to speak, no. 145)
144 a. -ala to persuade to. I doubt very much if this suffix belongs
with the preceding, since its rules of attachment are quite dif-
ferent. It is always used with reduplication.
g'tin- to add to a price
g'iq't'ın'vala to ask for a
higher price
mēxz- to sleep
hamē'xala to persuade to sleep
145. -garɬ, -gəɬ Beginning of a noise, to begin with the
voice [generally stem-s., h.]. No rule can be given for the use
of the two forms of this suffix. The second form loses initial -k.
kwē'gəɬ to begin to cry kwē 49.33
mix-' to strike
dzəl'x- to run
mx'ngəɬ sound of striking
dzəl'gwaɬ it sounds like run-
ing
hē that
hē'k'kəɬ it sounds thus
443.33
gwē thus
gwē'k'kəɬ it sounds thus
174.26, 202.26
yō'gwuk'kəɬ it sounds like rain
yō'kugəɬ it sounds like wind
yō'dzaq'ugəɬ it begins to sound
like speaking again X 231.9
wul- to ask
wul'sgəɬ to question X 5.16
(xwā- to croak?)
xwā'k'kəɬ to croak 174.29
yā'q'egəɬ to begin to speak
12.3
146. -xa to say [stem-s., ind.].
mā'lexa to say mā'le 34.27
yē'xa to say yē 35.40
pəxə' to utter sound of paxala (shaman) 100.10
yō'xwa to say yō X 176.19
małe'xəla to continue to say mā'le X 226.22
147. -dzaq'wa to speak [stem-s., ind.].
et- again
mō'płen four times
'wil- all
'nax- all
148. -qəɬa to feel [stem-s., ind.].
pōs- hungry
ōdz- wrong
pō'sq'əɬa to feel hungry 36.38
pō'sq'əx'td 54.8
ō'dzaq'ala to feel wrong 30.34
§ 34
149. -q'Es to eat [stem-s., ind.]. This suffix seems to be very irregular.

-\(i'lq'Es\) to eat first 193.4

149a. -g' to eat [word-s., ind.; also stem-s.], always used with reduplicated stem.

-\(g'w\)as deer
-\(L!a'z\) black bear
-\(\ddot{a}\)lan\(\acute{e}'m\) wolf
-\(\ddot{l}q\) hemlock sap
-\(q'a'mdzek\) salmon berry
-\(g'\ddot{a}'w\ddot{e}g\ddot{a}nem\) clam
-\(mese'q\) sea egg
-\(k'\ddot{l}\ddot{a}'w\)as dried halibut
-\(xo'z\) mussel
-\(bisk'\ddot{t}\) biscuit

See also § 43, p. 525.

150. -p\(\ddot{a}\) to taste [stem-s., ind.].

-\(\ddot{e}'x\ddot{p}\)\(\ddot{a}\) good taste

150a. -p\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{a}\) to smell [stem-s., ind.].

-\(\ddot{e}'x\ddot{p}\)\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{a}\) good smell
-\(Q\ddot{a}'n\ddot{e}x\ddot{p}\)\(\ddot{a}\)la it smells of Q\(\ddot{a}'neq\)\(\ddot{e}'lak\) 95.21

151. -(a)k\(\ddot{a}\) to happen [stem-s., ind.].

-\(\ddot{o}'d\)zak\(\ddot{a}\) it happens wrongly (\(=\) to die).
-\(q\ddot{a}\) to find
-\(q\ddot{a}'k\ddot{a}\) to happen to find 348.13

152. -\(\ddot{a}\)lis\(\ddot{e}\)m to die of [stem-s., w].

-\(q'w\ddot{a}s\) to cry
-\(xuls\) to long
-\("m\ddot{e}\ddot{k}\) round thing is somewhere
-\(q\ddot{w}a'y\ddot{a}lis\ddot{e}\)m to die of crying 367.35
-\(xu'y\ddot{a}lis\ddot{e}\)m to die of longing 382.27
-\("meq\ddot{w}a\ddot{o}'lis\ddot{e}\)m to choke to death V 428.20

153. -\(sd\)ana to die of [word-s.].

-\(p\ddot{o}'sd\)ana to die of hunger 21.6
-\("n\ddot{a}'las\ddot{d}ana\) to die of the weather (i. e., by drowning) 251.42

154. -ts\(\ddot{e}\) with hands.

-\(wits\ddot{e}g'\)\(\ddot{u}\)st\(\ddot{a}\) not able to climb up with hands (\(w\ddot{i}-\) not, \(g'\)\(\ddot{u}\)st\(\ddot{a}-\) up [see no. 20]).
155. -pāltō WITH EYES.

hēp{lā}ltō to look at once 63.8
awelp{lā}ltō to discover 154.16
g't{lā}ltō to see first X 197.2

§ 35. Suffixes which Change the Subject or Object of a Verb (Nos. 156-160)

156. -ap(α) EACH OTHER [STEM-S., IND.], with reduplication or lengthening of vowel.

qās- to walk
kwēx- to strike
sēx- to paddle
k!wēla feast

qāqasaplā to race walking
kwākwēxaplā to strike each other 292.6
sāsēxaplā to race paddling
k!wāk!wēlasaplā to vie giving feasts 397.16

In the following cases the vowel is lengthened into ā:

wul- to ask
tek- to throw
mkl- to strike
nep- to throw
(tō-) to attack
sek- to spear

wālaplā to ask each other 162.6
tākaplā to throw each other 215.10
mākaplā to strike each other
nāpalā to throw each other X 6.23
tāvaplā to meet fighting 288.10
sākāla to spear each other.

Long vowels remain unchanged:

wī'n- to make war
lē'nem- to quarrel
lā'xula to love

wīnaplā to make war upon each other 270.4
lēnemaplā to quarrel together 121.13
lāxulaplā to love each other
lāxulaploṭ beloved friend 267.37 (see no. 167)

157. -ā(la) EACH OTHER, TOGETHER [STEM-S., IND.], with reduplication or change of vowel; original meaning probably JOINTLY.

'nemō'k' friend
q'wās- to cry

'nāmuk'ala friends to each other 147.20 (see p. 436).
q'wā'q'usāla to cry together 157.8

After vowels it takes the form -sāla.

tslā'ya sister

tslātslāyasāla sisters to each other 47.42

§ 35
Frequently it appears combined with ga among (no. 7).

|hō’lēla to listen | hā’wolelaqālā to listen to each other 26.10
|xā to split | xöxyqālā broken to pieces among itself 27.7

158. -āmas to cause [word-s.].

a’mēlā’mas to cause to be spoiled 13.4
le’lā’mas to cause to die 39.1
q’ulā’x’idā’mas to cause to come to life 48.14 (see no. 90)
gē’was’idā’mas to cause to become a deer (see no. 90)
ē’k’igemālā’mas to cause face to be turned up 144.20 (see nos. 54, 92)
lāwū’mas to cause to be off 441.32 (see no. 37)
wi’lōlīlā’mas to cause all to come out of woods 40.17 (see no. 37c)

159. -sō Passive [word-s.]. A comparison between the use of -sō and -ayu (no. 174) for expressing the passive shows that the former expresses the idea to be the object of an action, the latter to be the means of performing an action. This is brought out clearly by the forms gā’siitsō to be pursued (literally, to be the object of going) and gā’s idi’ayu to be carried along (literally, to be the means of going).

mēl- to tease | mē’lasō to be teased 28.37
wul- to ask | wulā’sō to be asked 100.23
’nēk- to say | ’nē’xsō to be told 100.19
li’pa to roast | li’pasō to be roasted 37.27
az’e’d to take | az’e’tsō to be taken 43.16
q’alā’mīlēd to sing | q’ala’mīlēsō it was sung
pl’elxelax’idā’mas to cause to become fog (see nos. 91, 90, 158) | pl’elxelax’idā’matsō to be transformed into fog (s-s becomes ts) CS 2.18
k’wēl feast (see no. 46) | k’wē’ltsō to be feasted 32.32 (s after l becomes ts)

With following -ē, this suffix becomes -sk’we (see § 4, p. 438).

160. -l, passive of words denoting sense experiences and emotions [stem s., w].

dōq- to see | dō’gul to be seen 8.10
dō’xwala to discover by seeing | dō’xwala’l to be discovered 41.34
q’lā- to know | q’lā’el known 136.23
pl’êx- to feel | pl’êxul and pl’ayō’l to be felt
ê’xul- to desire | ê’xul and êyō’l to be desired

§ 35
"meld"- to remember
"me'lgul" to be remembered
"val"- to wish
"val'agsl" to be wished 17.7
"li'es"- to hate
"le'dzėt" to be hated

Here belongs also—

"qlaya'la" to talk (from "qle" "qla'yol" to be spoken of much)

§ 36. Nominal Suffixes (Nos. 161-194b)

161. -e'[word-s.]. This suffix serves to form substantives of neutral stems and suffixes. It occurs generally with a demonstrative a or e (see § 56), and then takes the forms -a'ya and -a'ẽ.

"xže" to split
"xže" what has been split 27.13
"axa'ẽ" work 28.1, 79.18
"k'la'ẽ" to paint
"k'la'te" painting 50.2
"o'xže" stern of canoe 79.9
"o'xže" to paint
"o'xže" what sticks on fore-
head 22.11

A number of nouns are also found which occur only with e', but which are not known as neutral stems, except in composition.

"ll'a'ẽ" black bear
"ndqe" mind
"le'we" mat

Here belongs the ending of abstract nouns in -e'nẽ (see no. 171).

"ll'e'la'ẽ'ne" the calling 17.2

162. -e'nox" a person who does an, action professionally
[stem-s., H].

"sak"- to carve meat
"sak'we'nox" meat-carver 32.1
"al'e'x"- to hunt in canoe
"al'e'vinox" sea hunter V 496.2
"sē'x"- to paddle
"sē'xi'_laeno" paddle maker V 496.4
"tswi'x'a" to hunt goats
"tswi'x'ninox" goat hunter 7.4
"ma'x"- to give potlatch
"ma'we'nox" potlatch giver 144.3

This suffix is also used to designate tribal names, and place-names derived from these.

"Awī'g'a" country in back (?) "Awī'k' lënox" (Rivers inlet)
"Gwa'dzė" north "Gwa'ts'lënox"
"ma what?" "ma'ẽnox" of what tribe?

The tribal name "Gā'sɡ'imux" contains a similar suffix, although no reason can be given for the change from n in -e'nox" to m in -imux". A similar change occurs in the ending -mp (no. 168).
162a. (-édEXn) The suffix corresponding to the Kwakiutl -énox in the Bella Bella dialect is -édx, which may be of the same origin, the t and n being related sounds.

He'staédx 429.33
A'wi'lédx 431.26
Nólówídx 436.30

163. -bís FOND OF, DEVOTED TO [STEM-s., IND.; and WORD-s.].

(a) STEM-s.:
- nág- to drink
- wáx- to smoke

(b) WORD-s.:
- 'axala to work
- 'x'pla to sweet
- 'axalábís fond of work
- 'x'plaábís fond of sweets

164. -Es CAPABLE OF, used particularly with words denoting sense impressions [STEM-s., II, generally used with reduplication].

- dóq- to see
  - do'deg'ús with good power of seeing

- més- to smell
  - mès'mts'ës with good power of smelling

- lëlk- to lie
  - lëlk'ús liar

Irregular seem to be—

- hó'laq'ús with good power of hearing X 57.20 (from hó'lëla to listen)
- dó'xi'sëseer (from dóq- to see)

165. -Elk- DOING REPEATEDLY [STEM-s., W].

- nág- to drink
  - ná'glek- drunkard (= one who drinks often and much)

- ha'm- to eat
  - ha'elm'k- eater
  - a'yl'lk- attendant of chief

166. -Elgr'-is ONE WHO DOES AN ACT FOR OTHERS [STEM-s., IND.; and WORD-s.].

- sëx- to paddle
  - së'xulg'-is one who paddles for others

- dá'dóq'wálala to watch
  - dá'dog'wál'ly'ís watchman 228.12

- xó's- to sprinkle
  - xó'selg'-ís sprinkler X 4.8

- lā'lawayúx'síla to take care of salmon-weir
  - lā'lawayúx'síle'ly'ís watchman of salmon-weir CS 6.10

- xék- to sweep
  - xé'kulg'ísé'ml sweeper mask 389.25

§ 36
167. -ōt fellow [word-s., and stem-s., ind.].

(a) Word-s.:

- g'ōkula to live in house
- yā'q'ant'lāla to speak
- a'mālāla to play together
- īā'xwalap'ī to love each other

(b) Stem-s.:

- bexʷ- man
- gēxʷ- chief
- kul- to lie down

- bexʷwōt fellow-man 113.12
- gēxʷut fellow chief
- hayōt rival 248.12
- kulō't person with whom one lies down X 5.16

168. -mp relationship [stem-s.].

- gag- grandfather
- ab- mother
- (wo-) father
- p'alxwu- husband’s sister, brother’s wife
- neg- parent-in-law, child-in-law

- gagxmlp 134.2
- abxmlp 35.76
- ōmp 22.6
- p'elxwump
- negxmlp

Here belongs also g'īnp wife’s sister. It may be that the m is here assimilated by an n of the stem. A change between m and n has been mentioned in the suffix -ēnoxʷ, which assumes in one case the form -imuxʷ (see no. 162). The stem for father appears in the possessive second person without this suffix.

169. -nukʷ having [stem-s., ind.; word-s.].

- sā'sem children
- ax- to do
- wāldem word
- dó'xʷa'xel to be seen

- sā'semnukʷ having children 45.7
- axnukʷ possessor 103.12
- wā'ltemnukʷ to have word, i.e., to talk to 46.30
- dó'xʷa'xelnukʷ one who has seen things 41.34

170. -ad having [stem-s., w].

- law- husband
- lēq- name
- k'le'd- chief’s daughter
- xu'nakʷ- child

- lā'wad having a husband 48.37
- lēqad having a name 19.1
- k'le'dad to have a chief’s daughter 133.6
- xu'ngvadexʷid to become possessed of a child

§ 36
ab- mother  
$qā’yas$ place of walking  

$abā’yad$ having a mother 25.16  
$qā’yadead$ having a walking place (i.e., words of a song)  

X 6.12

This suffix has a secondary form in -id which seems to be more nominal in character than the form -ad. It is used in forms of address.

$qī’ak’u$- slave  
$qī’aq’wīd$ slave-owner! (i.e., O master!)

‘wa’s- dog  
‘wa’dzīd dog-owner! (i.e., O master! [who has me for a dog])

The same form is used in names.

$ha’t’msa$ to eat  
$Ha’mdzīd$ food-owner

171. -ēn(ē), suffix forming abstract nouns [stem-s., H, word-s].

Never used without possessive pronouns.

$k’ī’lak’a$ to club  
$k’ī’le’lak’!ēnē$ the clubbing

$k’ī’le’s$ not  
$k’ī’le’s!ēnē$ 10.9, 262.15

‘ēxela to work  
‘ēxelaēnē 83.3

$aων’nagwis$ country  
$aων’nagwis!ēnē$ a kind of country 258.23

$beqwā’nem$ man  
$beqwā’ne’mēnē$ manhood 131.35

172. -ku passive past participle [stem-s., w].

$Lī’óp$ to roast  
$Lī’ó’bēk’u$ roasted 155.22

$qī’lōl’$- to steal  
$qī’lō’lēk’u$ stolen

$leqwī’l$ fire in house  
$leqwī’lk’u$ fire made in house 187.25

$wā’t$- to lead  
$wa’dēk’u$ led 109.7

$q’el’s$ to put under water  
$q’el’sē’k’u$ sinker V 488.9

‘mēns- to measure  
‘mēnē’k’u measured V 477.1

$qamō’ku$- to put on down  
$qamō’k’u$ covered with down 153.35

173. -Em instrument [stem-s., w].

$k’i’il$- to fish with net  
$k’i’lēm$ net

$ṭap$- to peg  
$ṭapē’m$ peg 79.13

‘mā’yu’l$- to be born  
‘mā’yu’lem what is born 77.18

$q’eml$- to sing  
$q’em’ādēm$ song 15.6

174. -ayu instrument [stem-s., w].

‘lāp$- to dig  
‘lā’boyu digging-stick

$dèq’u$- to drive, to punch  
$dè’gwayu$ pile-driver 100.9

§ 36
This suffix is also used to express a passive. The difference between this and -sō (no. 159) is, that -sō is the passive of verbs that have a direct object, while -ayu is the passive of verbs that are accompanied by an instrumental.

qā'sid to begin to walk qā'sidayu he was a means of walking (i.e., he was taken away)

dsnx- to sing ds'nxidayu it was sung 13.14

175. -anō INSTRUMENT [STEM-s., IND]. This suffix is used with a few words only, and is not freely movable.

wusē'g'a to put on belt wusē'g'anō belt
ha'nx'lend to put on fire ha'nx'lanō kettle
lā'stanō to be put into water

It seems that suffixes in -nd (see no. 2) may take this form; but they take also the forms in -ayu; for instance,

axlē'ndayu to be put on 43.14

176. -g'it REASON OF [WORD-s.]; loses initial g'.

lā'g'il reason of going 14.3
g'ā'zēl reason of coming 16.7

177. -qālamas REASON [WORD-s.].

nō'gwaglamas I am the reason of U.S.N.M. 669.9
laqlā'maāqōs you were the reason of X 229.3

178. -Len CAUSE OF [STEM-s., IND].

yāq*- to distribute yā'xlen property (what induces one to distribute)
tsi'e'lwala to be famous tsī'elwazelen fame (what causes one to be famous)
yā'laqwa to sing sacred song yā'laqlaxlen sacred song X 69.30 (what induces one to sing sacred song)

179. -ānEm OBTAINED BY [STEM-s., W, and WORD-s., W].

hanl- to shoot ha'nānem obtained by shooting 138.25
qālk'ōl to obtain a slave qāk'olānem obtained by obtaining a slave 136.25 (see no. 140)
le'l- to invite le'lānem guest (obtained by inviting) 163.9
sen- to pla-
senānem obtained by planning 278.75

§ 36
179a. -inēt obtained by [stem-s., w].

*dō'kʷ* to troll

*K'ēxʷ* to scrape

*dō'gwinēt* obtained by trolling

*K'ēxinēt* Obtained-by-scrapping

X 179.9

180. -ns arriving unexpectedly [stem-s., w, and lengthens vowel of stem].

*bekʷ* man

*bā'guns* visitor

*k'ɪ'ɛxʷ* to escape

*k'ɪ'ɛwuns* obtained by escaping, runaway slave

X 197.5

181. -mūt refuse [stem-s., ind., with reduplication] (see § 43).

*g'ōkʷ* house

*g'ō'g'axʷmūt* remains of a house

146.8

*sōp* to hew

*sō'yapmut* chips (with weakened initial s)

132. -ās place of [stem-s., w].

*sēxʷ* to paddle

*sē'was* place where one paddles

129.32

*lā'bēta* to go in

*lā'bedas* place where one goes

in 8.12

*l'ōp* cormorant

*gā'yas* walking place

11.3

*gā'yasnaqwax* place where he would walk

38.39 (see no. 95)

*lā'wayugwila* to make a weir

*lā'wayugwilas* place of making a weir

27.24

*yā'x̱iqḻwa* to lie dead on rock

*yā'x̱iqḻwaas* place of lying dead on rock

40.12

183. -dems place where something is done habitually [word-s., ind.].

*kwē'las* feasting-place

*kwē'lasdens* place where feasts are held habitually

183a. -enakʷ country lying in a certain direction [ind.].

*qwē's* far

*qnāla* south

*gwa* down river

*qwē'senakʷ* far side

*qnālenak* south side

X 144.7

*gwa'nakʷ* country down river

X 3.11

ō- something

*awī'negwis* country

142.4 (see no. 45)
184. -ats!ë receptacle [STEM-s., W].

nāq- to drink
win- to go to war
k!we'las feasting place
lēl- to inviting
tsl!eq- winter dance

nā'gats!ë cup, bucket 20.10
wi'nats!ë war canoe 129.25
k!we'ladzats!ë, k!we'layats!ë feast house
lē'le'lats!ë inviting receptacle, i.e., feast house
tsl!ā'gats!ë dance house 11.13

185. -x'dem time of [STEM-s., IND., and WORD-s.]. The initial r is dropped after s, k, and l sounds.

gā'sdem time of walking 146.41
yīrwā'x'dem time of dancing 72.27 (also yī'x'dem)
begwā'nxemx'ideggdemōl time long ago of becoming a man CS 8.4 (see nos. 90, 86)

186. -Enx season. The rule of attachment is not clear. There may be a secondary form -x'enx.

mō'x'unx four years 18.3
hē'enx summer 194.20

In a few cases the suffix seems to weaken the terminal consonant.
mā's what mā'yenx what season X 166.2

187. -alas material [STEM-s., W].

sēx- to paddle sē'walas material for paddles (sē'zwālas V 496.5)

188. -ts!Es or -dzEs (?) piece of [WORD-s.].

xwā'k!unats!es piece of a canoe
begwā'nxmdzes pieces of a man 32.42

188a. -ēso' remains of [STEM-s., IND.].

xā'qēso' remains of bones 94.21
alā'kwisō' blood from a wound U.S.N.M. 669.13
k'ā'pēso' pieces cut out with shears

189. -mis useless part [STEM-s., IND.].

dēnā's cedar-bark dēnā'ismis useless part belonging to cedar-bark (i.e., cedar-tree [yellow cedar])

tsēlāx- hail tse'lmis hail-stones 121.24

190. -p!eq stick, tree [STEM-s., IND.; also WORD-s.].

'maq- to give a potlatch 'ma'q!p!eq potlatch pole
yīl- to tie yī'l!p!eqendā'la to tie to a stick 158.32

Here belongs also

yē'q!ent!eq speaker's staff (from yā'q!entāla to speak) 186.39

§ 36
190a. -aanā rope, line [stem-s., w].
  sek'- to harpoon                seg'a'anā harpoon line V
                                      493.19
  q'ela'- to put under water      q'ela'za'anā anchor line V
                                      487.33
  māk'- near to                   mā'g'aa'nā a line next to—V
                                      493.26

190b. -manō head [stem-s., ind.].
  dze'x'- silver salmon          dze'x'ma'nō head of silver salmon
                                      93.12
  mel'- to twist                  mā'le'qamanō halibut head
  xu'λq'- rough                   xu'λqumanō head of dogfish
                                      93.13

191. -andē meat of [stem s., ind.].
  bek'- man                       bā'kwasdē flesh of a man 32.1
  sās'- spring salmon             sā'sasdē meat of spring salmon
                                      225.32

192. -g(a) woman [word-s.].
  teqwa'ga brain woman 48.23
  Hā'lamalaga right going woman 11.12 (see no. 142a)
  k'ixela'ga crow 47.30

This suffix occurs in combination with -ayu means of (no. 174)
  very often in names of women.

'mā'xulayqwa woman being means of giving potlatch 38.15

A secondary form, -gas, belongs at present to the Bella Bella dia-
  lect, but occurs in a few proper names and in a few terms of
  relationship in the Kwakiutl dialect.

'ns'me'mgas sister 48.31

193. -Em, a frequent nominal suffix of unknown significance
  [stem-s., in some cases w.].
  tīs'- stone                     tī's'em
  teq'- name                      teq'em
  sās'- spring salmon             sā's'em
  sās'- children of one person    sā's'em
  k'īl'- tongue                   k'īl'e'm

193a. -nEm, an irregular nominal suffix, probably related to 193.
  geg'- wife                      gen'k'em
  gīs'- many                      gī'k'em

193b. -ānEm, irregular, apparently designating animate beings.
  bek'- man                       beqwa'ne'm
  gīnl'- child                    gī'nā'ne'm
  grā'wēq'- clam                  grā'wēqā'ne'm

§ 36
193c. -telen, nominal suffix.

*ts!ex’qiä’ to feel sick
*mäe’g- to call
*le’- dead
*el- fast, tight

194. -ömas, -ëmas. This suffix is used to designate classes of animals, but occurs also in a few other words.

*gle’ to walk on four feet
*p!le’ to fly
*ma- to swim
*(ts!ë’sayasdë clam-meat)
*lök— strong

*el- new
*ha’— to eat

194a. -en, a nominal suffix [stem-s., w].

*llëx- sea lion
*dëxa’- silver salmon
*hænë- humpback salmon

194b. -ëna nominal suffix [stem-s., w].

*gwaë- raven

§ 37. ADVERBIAL SUFFIX

195. -p/En times [word-s.]. I place this suffix with some reluctance in a group by itself, since it seems to form almost the only adverb that exists in the language. Perhaps it would be better to consider it a classifier of numerals (§ 24).

*möp/tn four times 12.5
*ne’mp/nx’stö one time (span) across 72.39
*mö’p/enësta four times around 13.9
*hë’lop/tnxwa’s the right number of days 355.26

§ 38. SUBSIDIARY SUFFIXES (NOS. 196-197)

196. -Em-. The plural of all suffixes denoting space limitations seems to be formed by the subsidiary suffix -em, which precedes the primary suffix.

-xë through
-x’s across
-ësta around

k!wa’ë hole
le’ml- to split
ge’lq- to swim

k!wa’ëxumxes holes 100.29
lemlemx’sënd to split cedar-trees 158.30
që’lqämë’stala to swim about [plural] 153.22.

§§ 37, 38.
-axa down lōx- to roll lō’xumāxa they roll down 19.12
-ts!öd into ts!em- to point ts!eme’mtsköd to point into several things 46.37
-a on rock g’il- to walk on g’il’e’mg’ilala to walk on rocks [PLURAL] 42.4
-s on ground yā’qʷu- to lie dead yā’qumg’aelslaying dead on ground [PLURAL] 32.12
-xs in canoe nēx- to pull nē’zemxela to pull several into canoe 208.18
-x’sis foot tlep- to step tle’pemxedzendo to step on feet 184.35

In purely distributive expressions reduplicated forms are used.

197. -g’il- MOTION, used in combination with a number of primary suffixes denoting space limitations of rest. To these they seem to add the idea of motion. Like other suffixes beginning with g’, this suffix loses its initial g’. It seems to be indifferent. The following suffix modifies the terminal l of the suffix; and two forms appear, -g’il- and -g’ael-, which are not clearly distinct. The accent seems to change the vowel into ā.

With -dla STATIONARY ON WATER (no. 41):

k’wād’wāla to be seated on water (from k’wā to sit) k’wāg’il’tala to sit down on water
‘mek’ā’la round thing on water (from ‘mek’- a round thing is somewhere)

With -lē’ MOVING ON WATER (no. 42):

lā’xwalē’ to move about ha’ng’aelē’ canoe comes to be standing on water 130.10
dzek’lā’lāg’ilē’ sound of splitting comes to be on water 152.19

With -a ON ROCK (no. 43):

k’waa’ to be seated on rock ax’ālōd to put down on rock 102.31
mē’x’a to be asleep on rock mē’x’ala’ to go to sleep on rock

g’il’e’mg’ilala to walk on rock [PLURAL] 22.10

ta’dseg’ālōd to put on rock 153.28

With -s ON GROUND (no. 44):

gē’s being a long time on ground 37.14
gē’g’ilś to move a long time on ground 30.21
k’wā’s to be seated on ground k’wāg’aelś to sit down on ground 37.3

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—33 § 38
With -ēs on beach (no. 45):

ha'né's canoe is on beach 102.34 ha'ng'atlis canoe comes to be on beach 101.40

With -il in house (no. 46):

ktwai'îl to be seated in house 173.20
ktwā'g'ālil to sit down in house 24.5
ya'qumg'ālil to fall dead in house [plural] X 110.34

With -x̂s in canoe (no. 48):

hō'gax̄s they have gone aboard 224.9
hō'x̄walezs they start to go aboard 84.37

With -qa among (no. 7):

dā'g'ilgala to carry among them 240.6
le'g'ilgala to kill among them X 14.21

With -x̂l(a) behind (no. 15):

dā'g'tl̄x̄ala to take secretly 99.18
gō'kulxl̄ās house following behind; i. e., house obtained in marriage 220.41

The explanation of these forms is not beyond all doubt. While in most cases the distinction of motion and position is quite clear, there are other cases in which the form in -g'îl- is not applied, although motion seems to be clearly implied. We have laxs to go aboard 147.38; dāx̂s to take aboard 114.25, while the two examples of hō'gax̄s and hō'x̄walezs 22.9 and 84.37, bring out the distinction with the same suffix.

The same element is evidently combined in -g'aaleta (no. 96) which may thus be a compound of -g'îl and a suffix -le(la).

On the whole, -g'îl seems to serve as a kind of inchoative, and the suffixes which take this suffix do not often take -x̂sid (no. 90), or the inchoative completive -d. Still we have ax̄a'îlts!öd to put into 178.8.

§ 39. Alphabetical List of Suffixes

The following list of suffixes is arranged alphabetically, the letters following by groups the order here given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>x̄</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>d̂, ts, ts!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a, á, ē, e, ē, i, ṭ, y</td>
<td>ḡ, k̄, k̄'!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d, ò, o, u, w</td>
<td>ḡu, k̄u, k̄'u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b, p, p!, m</td>
<td>ḡ, q̄, q̄!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d̄, t, t!, n</td>
<td>x̄', x̄u, x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>l̄, l̄, l̄, l̄</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 39
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-em genuine 111
-em instrument 173
-em diminutive 110a
-em nominal 193
-em- plural of locative suffixes 196
-em²ya cheek 55
-emsk* as I told you 133
-em'ë mask 54a
-en nominal 194a
-en (for -k'/in) body 80
-eng'a in a dream 134
-(*)enx season 186
-es capable of 164
-exsta mouth 61
-elka one who is in the habit of 165
-elg'is one who does for others 166
-eltus down river 23
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-a on rock 43
-a tentative 141
-aanō rope 190a
-a*ya nominal 161
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-ap! each other 156
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-ip! (for -ap!) each other 156
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-id (for -x*tid) recent past 87
-id having 170
-it (for -k'it) body 79
-edex* people 162a
-in nominal 194b
-enë* abstract noun 171
-enak* direction 183a
-inët obtained by 179a
-enox* skillful in, people 162
-es in body 78
-es beach, open place 45
-esō* remains of 188a
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-ëq in mind 81
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-ilà (for -g'ilà) to make 136
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-il in house 46
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-ō small 114
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-wuqā out of a hole 37b
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-wults!ōd out of 37b
-wulta! out of an enclosure 37c
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-wultōs down out of 37c
-wā (also -ā) in a wrong manner, off 124
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-ō*yo middle 16
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-ōd to begin 2, 37a
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-ōt fellow 167
-ōs cheek 56
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-ōstq!a to use (so and so often) 143
-ōkʷ (also -sōkʷ) person 82
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-p!ęn times 195
-ba point 31
-p!a to taste 150
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-bidō* small, singular 112
-bis fond of, devoted to 163
-p!ęg’a (for -x’p!ęg’a) thigh 73
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-t!a but 101
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-dē (for -x’dē) transition from present to past 89
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’nākula gradual motion, one after another 94
-nauxu sometimes 95
-nē*š oh, if! 130
-nēqʷ corner 18
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-nulg’a groins 36a
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-ns arriving unexpectedly 180
-nsu under water 26
-ndzem throat 64
-nts′es down to beach 21
-nx edge of a flat thing 33
-s on ground 44
-s′ (for -x′s′) across the middle 4
-sem round surface 85
-saqo penis 72
-siāp! (for -x′siāp!) shoulder 66
-siū (for -x′siū) mouth of river 50
-sē′sta (also -sē′sta) around 6
-sis (for -x′sis) foot 75
-siša (for -x′siša) to take care of 137
-sā (for -xsā) through 1
-sō′ passive 159
-sōk′u (also -ōk′u) person 82
-sāla (also -āla) each other 157
-s′āla deserted 142b
-s′sta water 39
-sdana to die of 153
-s′stō eye, round of 59
-sqem round surface 85
-squap five 40
-sx′ē tooth 62
-ts′ē with hands 154
-dx′es, -ts′es piece of 188
-ts′āna (for -x′ts′āna) hand 67
-ts′aq long 84
-dzax′wa to speak 147
-dzē large 110
-dzō indeed 119
-dzō on a flat thing 35
-tx′ō in 27
-g′ to eat 149a
-k′ē top of a square object 38
-g′a (for g′t′ga) inside of a hollow object 36
-(a)k′a to happen 151
-g′aalela suddenly 96
-k′!aēs inside of body 78a
-k′au between 8
-g′anem perhaps 107
-k′as really 108
-k′as′ō′ beautiful 108a
-k′iāla continued noise 144
-g′ašal in house 46
-g′aš to begin to make a noise 145
-g′iu forehead 57
-g′it body 79
-k′i′n body 80
-k′i′na accidentally 122
-k′i′nal nicely 120
-g′t′ga′ inside of a hollow object 36
-k′i′t′ga′t′ noise 145
-k′i′ēs in body 78a
-g′a′ga′ side of 51
-k′i′x′ē knee 74
-g′iša to make 136
-k′iša front of body 70
-g′išx′t′ala following secretly 197
-g′išt motion 197
-g′iš reason 176
-g′išt′ala stationary on surface of water 41
-k′āla between 8
-k′i′ōt opposite 12
-g′ustā up 20
-k′u passive participle 172
-gem face 54, round 85
-gsmi mask 54a
-q′es to eat 149
-q′eg′ē meat 77
-q′a, -q′a among 7
-q′a woman 192
-q′a to feel 148
-q′amas reason 171
-q′amē′ among others, excellent 7a
-q′anak′u quite unexpectedly 127
-gas woman 192
-qāla entirely 99a
-qāla*ma to no purpose 123
-kwō (for -k'ē) top of square object 38
-qō to meet 142c
-qwap (for -squap) fire 40
-qāla among themselves 157
-x* exhortative 131 (see § 66)
-xent evidently 135
-xa to say 146
-x'ā (for -sx'ā) tooth 62
-x*id to begin 90
-x*itd recent past 87
-xaa also 98
-xō neck 63
-xwa*s days (number of) 85b
-xōl, oh, wonder! 129
-x'pēg'a thigh 73
-x'lem time of 185
-x'da* pronominal plural (see § 68)
-x'la out to sea 22a
-x'dē transition from present to past 89
-xlā on top of a standing object 30
-x's across the middle 4
-xs in canoe 48
-x'sa away from 10
-xsa flat object 83
-x'sala carelessly 121
-x'sū still, entirely 99
-x'siāp! shoulder 66
-x'siū mouth of river 50
-x'sis foot 75
-xēg'a in front of house 52
-x'siļa to take care of 137
-xšē through 3
-xšē behind, tail-end 14
-x'st! as usual 126
-x'st!aak* seemingly 126
-x'tšāna hand 67
-x'la, -xld top of a round object, on head 32, 53
-x'tā bottom, stern 15
-x'ld very 116
-x'le miserable, pitiful, too bad that 115
-x'ld top of tree, hair of body 49, 76
-xa verbal and nominal, continuous 91
-xla(a) it is said 132
-xag'iat in the mean time 100
-x'ax uncertainty, in conditional and potential sentences 105
-xal to be occupied with 138
-x passive of verbs denoting sense impressions and emotions 160
-x future 88
-xen cause of 178
-xa (for -x'la) top of a round object 32
-xa but 102
-xē (for -x'le) miserable 115
-xē moving on water 42

Modification of Stems (§§ 40-46)

§ 40. METHODS

Stems are modified by the phonetic influences of suffixes, by reduplication and change of vowels. The first of these phenomena was noted in § 18.

Reduplication and change of vowel indicate principally (1) an iterative, (2) distributive plurality, and (3) unreality. The manner
of reduplication differs according to the function it performs, but great irregularities are found in some of the reduplicated forms.

§ 41. ITERATIVE

Duplication of the whole stem is used to express the idea of occasional repetition of an action. The accent tends to be thrown back to the first syllable.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mē'za to sleep} & \quad \text{mē'xmē'za to sleep now and then} \\
\text{ha'nla to shoot} & \quad \text{ha'nlanla to shoot now and then} \\
\text{dze'lxwa to run} & \quad \text{dze'lxw'dze'lxwa to run now and then}
\end{align*}
\]

Stems ending in vowels, and probably those ending in \(m\), \(n\), \(l\), take in this form a suffix \(-k\) which is included in the duplication and becomes \(x\) before consonants.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tsō to draw water} & \quad \text{tsē'x'tsē'k\:'a to draw water now and then} \\
\text{.la to go} & \quad \text{lā'x'lak\:'a} \\
\text{tō to attack} & \quad \text{tō'x'tōkwa} \\
\text{tsō to give} & \quad \text{tsō'x'tsōkwa} \\
\text{zō to split} & \quad \text{zō'x'zōkwa} \\
\text{nō to aim} & \quad \text{nō'x'nōkwa} \\
\text{tē'nō to pole} & \quad \text{tē'nx'tē'nukwa} \\
\text{q'wō to stand spread out [PLURAL]} & \quad \text{q'wō'x'q'wō'k\:'a (=umbrella)} \\
\text{ha'm- to eat} & \quad \text{ha'mx'hamk\:'a} \\
\text{k!umēl- to burn} & \quad \text{k!umēlx'k!umēlk\:'a}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 42. DISTRIBUTIVE PLURALITY

Distributive plurality is expressed by reduplication of the first few sounds of the word, the form of reduplication showing great variations, according to the phonetic character of the word. In some cases modifications of the vowel take the place of reduplication; but it would seem that most of these cases are due to secondary modification, perhaps to phonetic decay, of reduplicated forms. Probably in all forms of these reduplicated plurals there remains a hiatus between the reduplicated syllable and the stem.

(1) Reduplication of the first consonant with \(e\) vowel is used when the accent of the reduplicated word remains on the word itself, and does not move back to the reduplicated syllable. To this class §§ 41, 42
belong all words with monosyllabic stem and short vowel terminating in a single consonant.

\begin{align*}
nā'qē & \text{ mind} \quad \text{nēnā'qē} \quad 152.31 \\
ḥā'nal!em & \text{ arrow} \quad \text{ḥēhā'nal!em} \quad 139.12 \quad \text{(compare} \\
\text{ḥa'nlēnox}) \quad \text{§ 41.3) } \\
\text{anten!egemē} & \text{ last!egemē} \quad \text{176.14} \quad \text{(compare} \\
\text{ṭō'la}) \quad \text{§ 41.2) } \\
\text{ṭām} & \text{ post} \quad \text{ṭēṭā'm} \quad 186.24 \\
q!ō'lats!e & \text{ kettle} \quad \text{q!ēq!ō'lats!e} \quad 20.10 \\
ālē & \text{ recent} \quad \text{ēlē} \quad 43.36 \\
xatsɛ'm & \text{ box} \quad \text{xēatsɛ'm} \\
le'la & \text{ dead} \quad \text{le'le'a} \quad 157.21 \\
\text{ntenō'k} & \text{ friend} \quad \text{ntenēno'k}u \\
q!ula & \text{ alive} \quad \text{q!wēq!ula} \quad 158.37 \\
gō'ku & \text{ house} \quad \text{g!i'gō'ku} \\
\end{align*}

(2) Reduplication of the first consonant followed by the first vowel, and shortening of the vowel of the first syllable of the unreduplicated word, takes place when the accent is thrown back to the first syllable, and the first vowel is long.

\begin{align*}
xwā'k!una & \text{ canoe} \quad \text{xwā'xwak!una} \quad 222.21 \\
q!ā'k!ă & \text{ slave} \quad \text{q!ā'q!ek!ă} \quad 209.43 \\
ts!ā'ya & \text{ younger brother} \quad \text{ts!ā'ts!ā'ya} \quad 47.2 \\
\text{ntenō'la} & \text{ elder brother} \quad \text{ntenēno'la} \quad 174.20 \quad \text{(compare} \\
\text{ntenō'last!egemē} \quad \text{§ 41.1) } \\
pō'sdana & \text{ to die of hunger} \quad \text{pō'pesdana} \quad 177.12 \\
\end{align*}

(3) Reduplication of the first syllable takes place when the accent is thrown back to the first syllable, when the first vowel is at the same time short, and when the first syllable of the stem has an m, n, or l following its vowel and as the first sound of a consonantic cluster.

\begin{align*}
xu'mdē & \text{ otter} \quad \text{xu'mxumdē} \\
sems & \text{ mouth} \quad \text{se'nsems} \\
q!ɛ'mdēm & \text{ song} \quad \text{q!̆m!ɛ'mdēm} \quad 194.37 \\
ḥa'nlēnox & \text{ archer} \quad \text{ḥa'nhanlēnox} \quad 155.37 \quad \text{(compare} \\
\text{ḥa'nal!em} \quad \text{§ 41.1) } \\
ex'kula & \text{ bloody} \quad \text{ex'kula} \quad 46.38 \\
g'ınā!nēm & \text{ child (stem g'īnl-)} \quad \text{g'ūng!ınā!nēm} \quad 134.4 \\
\end{align*}

(4) A number of irregular forms are related to the last group. These contain words both with long and short initial vowel. They are characterized by the insertion of a consonant at the close of the reduplicated syllable, which may sometimes be explained as the terminal consonant of the stem modified by contact phenomenon, but 

§ 42
which is often due to other causes. There is a marked tendency to introduce \( s \).

(a) With \( s \):

\[
\begin{align*}
g'w'lyak^u & \quad \text{grown up} \quad q'ulsq'w'lyak^u \quad \text{stem probably} \quad q'uls- \quad 145.18 \\
g't'ot'a & \quad \text{long} \quad g't'sglt'a \quad 150.38 \\
\ddot{e}q & \quad \text{witchcraft} \quad \ddot{e}q \ddot{e}q \quad \ddot{e}q \ddot{e}q \\
k'!\ddot{e}l'del & \quad \text{princess} \quad k'!\ddot{e}l'sk'!\ddot{e}d\ddot{e}l \quad 230.3 \\
l'\ddot{e}lx & \quad \text{large round opening} \quad l'\ddot{e}lx\ddot{a} \quad 199.28 \\
\ddot{e}k & \quad \text{good} \quad \ddot{e}k \ddot{e}k \quad 151.16 \\
\ddot{e}sk^u & \quad \text{thick} \quad \ddot{e}sk \ddot{e}sk \quad 27.15 \\
d\ddot{a}'la & \quad \text{to laugh} \quad d\ddot{a}'s\ddot{a}d\ddot{a}la \quad 244.25 \\
l'\dddot{e}l'\ddot{e}nx^u & \quad \text{ghost} \quad l'\dddot{e}l\dddot{e}nx\ddot{a} \quad \text{(also} \quad l'\dddot{e}l'\ddot{e}nx^u) \\
\ddot{a}x^u & \quad \text{to stand} \quad \ddot{a}x \ddot{a}x \ddot{a}la \quad \text{legs} \quad 43.36
\end{align*}
\]

(b) With \( l \):

\[
\begin{align*}
g'\ddot{o}'l'kul\ddot{e}t & \quad \text{tribe} \quad g'\ddot{o}'l'g'okul\ddot{e}t \quad 135.43 \\
'\ddot{e}m & \quad \text{one} \quad '\ddot{e}m'\ddot{n}em \quad l'\ddot{e}m \quad 324.22 \\
x\ddot{a}q & \quad \text{bone} \quad x\ddot{a}'l\ddot{a}xq \quad 324.22 \\
deg'eq & \quad \text{grave} \quad d\ddot{e}g'\ddot{e}g\ddot{a}' \quad 323.27
\end{align*}
\]

(5) Words beginning with \( m, n, l, \), except those the first syllable of which closes with a consonant of the same group, which have their accent on the initial or on the reduplicated syllable, reduplicate by repeating the initial consonant and the following vowel, while the first vowel of the stem is elided and the initial consonant voiced. At the same time \( l \) in the weakened syllable is transformed into \( sl \).

\[
\begin{align*}
m\ddot{a}'x\ddot{e}nx^u & \quad \text{killer-whale} \quad ma\ddot{e}'mx\ddot{e}nx^u \\
m\ddot{e}'g\ddot{w}at & \quad \text{seal} \quad m\ddot{e}'l\ddot{e}m\ddot{g}\ddot{w}at \\
'mak'\ddot{a}'l\ddot{a} & \quad \text{island} \quad 'ma\ddot{e}'m'k'\ddot{a}l\ddot{a} \\
ne'g\ddot{e}' & \quad \text{mountain} \quad na\ddot{e}'ne'g\ddot{e}' \\
'\ddot{e}nx\ddot{u}n\ddot{e}' & \quad \text{blanket} \quad 'na\ddot{e}'nx\ddot{u}n\ddot{e}' \\
L\ddot{e}'g\ddot{d}l\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}^u (\text{name of a tribe}) & \quad L\ddot{e}'g\ddot{d}l\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}^u (\text{the clans of} \quad \text{the} \quad L\ddot{e}'g\ddot{d}l\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}^u) \\
\ddot{e}l\ddot{e}t & \quad \text{old woman} \quad \ddot{e}l\ddot{e}l\ddot{e}t\ddot{a} \quad \ddot{a}n\ddot{e}'
\end{align*}
\]

(6) A number of words reduplicate the first consonant with short vowel, but no definite rule can be given for the application of this mode of reduplication.

\[
\begin{align*}
d\ddot{a}'la & \quad \text{to laugh} \quad d\ddot{e}d\ddot{a}'l\ddot{e}l\ddot{a}l \quad 231.23 \quad \text{(see 4 a)} \\
dzets'\ddot{e}'nd & \quad \text{to tear across} \quad d\ddot{e}d\ddot{e}dzets'\ddot{e}'nd \quad 240.3 \\
d\ddot{a} & \quad \text{to hold} \quad d\ddot{e}d\ddot{a}'x\ddot{a}' \quad 243.40 \\
sakw\ddot{a}' & \quad \text{to carve meat} \quad s\ddot{e}s\ddot{a}\ddot{a}' \ddot{e}'nd \quad 23.9
\end{align*}
\]

§ 42
(7) The vowel a when initial, or when preceded by h or y, shows many peculiarities. When accented in the distributive plural, it takes the form aē.

hap- hair
‘yā‘yats‘ē canoe
‘yixu‘ml mask

haē‘pōma skins, animals
‘yayē‘yats‘ē 136.5
‘yayē‘xumūl 226.7

Here may be grouped also forms like—
alk‘ attendant
a‘mlāla to play

a‘yīlk‘u 136.15
a‘xē‘mlāla 134.24

In the same way ē accented becomes a‘ya:

hē‘la youth

ha‘yā‘l‘a 151.3

A transformation of initial a into ē takes place in—

abs‘mp mother

ēbs‘mp 151.14

The same, combined with change of a into ē, is found in—

a‘yasō‘ hand

ēē‘yasō‘ 175.25

Initial ō and wa take sometimes the forms aō; viz, waō.

wa‘ts‘ē dog

waō‘tsē

Among those forms in which reduplication gradually assumes the character of change of vowel, may be classed—

wōldem word

wōldem

tsi‘dā‘q woman

tsi‘dāq (but in the dialect of northern Vancouver island, regularly tsi‘ets‘sā‘q)

tsi‘ets‘sā‘q girl

tsīl‘ets‘sā‘qem 48.21

Quite irregular, perhaps derived from a stem wo-, is—

ōmp father

wō‘mp father’s generation

§ 43. SUFFIXES REQUIRING REDUPLICATION OF THE STEM

A number of suffixes are used either regularly or frequently with reduplicated forms of the stem or with stems expanded in other ways. The general and underlying idea seems to be that of extent in time or in space by repetition. In these cases reduplication is generally by repetition of the first consonant with ā vowel; but in many cases the short stem vowel is expanded into ā or into other long vowels.

§ 43
Suffixes treated in this manner are, for instance—
-ąp/ each other (§ 35, no. 156)
-ą(ła) each other (§ 35, no. 157)
-ąla becoming more and more
-aqa motion in a certain direction
-xśila to occupy one’s self with something
-ött/ fellow
-ën/ genuine
-alal/ always acting like
-k’ina accidental result of an action
-ng/ obtained unexpectedly
-deqa only by the performance of an action
-k’awé/ among; probably meaning one among a number of objects, with emphasis of the relation to other surrounding objects.

(1) Stems with long vowel are reduplicated—
śeśwa to paddle
śāśexwa to paddle, racing against each other.

qśwā’sa to cry
qśwāqśwālala to cry together 157.8

tsśaśa younger sister
tsśātsśaśyālala sisters together 55.13

nō’mas old
nānōmasālala getting old

qśé- much
qśāqśāla getting more

Lśā’sa seaward
Lśāśāasaqā to carry seaward

ēt- again
aśđāqā to return

Lśō’p- to roast
Lśā’lśōpsila to take care of roasting

nāśqē mind
nānāqēśśila to make up mind 184.2

ō’ma chieftain
aśō’malatś to dance the chieftainess dance

qśśa to walk
qśqśkśinaśla to find accidentally by walking

Lśś- to stand
Lśśśśeqāśqā only by walking

Here belongs also—
śyśa’ fast
śāśyśxāś to speed, racing against each other

(2) Stems with short vowel transform it into ā.

mśxā’ to strike
māśxāś to strike each other

wula’ to ask
wāślaś to ask each other 162.6

‘nemōk’ friend
‘nāmōkśśla friends 147.20

sēk’-a’ to spear
sāśśāla to spear each other

‘nēq- straight
‘nāśqawé right among

‘mēk- round thing is somewhere
‘māśk’awé round thing among

§ 43
Here belongs also—
ho’léla to listen
hā’wa’lélagála to listen to each other 26.11

(3) There are, however, also reduplicated forms with short reduplicated syllable.

’dág’- to wail, to cry
’le’lgwalála to cry together 244.36
la to go
’le’lgála to go to each other (= to quarrel)

(4) Irregular reduplication or vowel modifications are not rare.

yā’q’entálala to speak
yē’q’entálala to speak together
wā’laa sweetheart
wō’ťála sweetheart
ts’ē’qawinter dance
ts’ē’xts’ēxsíla to use winter dance 16.12
g’ōk’s house
g’ō’g’ak’awē’ a house in middle of other things
g’ū’lt’al a long
g’ū’lg’atawē’ a long thing in middle of other things

(5) Forms without reduplication occur also.

’le’ñemap! to quarrel together 121.13
ha’ñlap!a to shoot each other
ē’k’agwē’ good among others

(6) A peculiar form of reduplication is found with the suffix -mut refuse (§ 36, no. 181). It expresses evidently the multiplicity of pieces left over. It would seem that we have here a reduplication with lengthened stem-vowel, or with ĕ and with softened initial consonant of the stem.

so’pa to chop
so’yapmut chips (y for softened s)
sekwa’ to carve meat
sē’yaxʷmūt what is left over from carving (y for softened s)
k’ā’xva to chip
k’ā’g’axmūt chips
xwâ’la to cut salmon
xwâ’xulmūt what is left over from cutting salmon

(7) The suffix -égala in the mind (§ 23, no. 81) generally takes reduplication with ĕ vowel, which is quite analogous to the form of reduplication treated in § 42.1.

la to go
le’laégala to think of going
‘nē’k’ to say
‘nē’nk’!égala to speak in one’s mind (i.e., to think) 18.6

There are cases, however, in which this suffix appears without reduplication.

ēk’-égala to feel good 123.12

§ 43
(S) The idea to eat may be expressed by verbs denoting to chew, to break, to swallow, etc., with nominal object; by the suffixes "-g'es" and "-g" (see § 34, nos. 149, 149a) or by reduplication. The last method is most frequently used with words with monosyllabic stem. This form of reduplication differs from those previously described in that the first syllable retains the stem form almost unmodified, except by contact phenomena, while the second syllable has always an a vowel, accented and long, when the stem vowel is short, unaccented and short when the stem vowel is long. Stems ending in a consonantic cluster have also the second syllable unaccented. The syllable loses at the same time all those consonants of the terminal cluster that precede the last one.

(a) Monosyllabic stems with single terminal consonant and short vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>To eat—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t'eq-</td>
<td>t'eq'a dried berries</td>
<td>t'extlā'q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēk-</td>
<td>bēgwā'nem man</td>
<td>bēx*bā'k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'eq-</td>
<td>t'ex'sō's cinquefoil</td>
<td>t'ex'tā'q'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leq-</td>
<td>leq'este'n seaweed</td>
<td>lexlā'q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lek-</td>
<td>lex'se'm clover</td>
<td>lex lā'k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>met-</td>
<td>metā'nē large clam</td>
<td>metmā't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xet-</td>
<td>xet'e'm (a plant)</td>
<td>xetxā't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pet-</td>
<td>pet'a medicine</td>
<td>petpā't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>next-</td>
<td>nexusk'ı'n (a plant)</td>
<td>nex'nā'x'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mel-</td>
<td>melē'k' steelhead salmon</td>
<td>melmā'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-</td>
<td>alē'la dentalia</td>
<td>altāl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Monosyllabic stems with single terminal consonant and long vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>To eat—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lās-</td>
<td>lā's small mussel</td>
<td>lā's'les</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sās-</td>
<td>sā'tsem springsalmon</td>
<td>sā'sses (not sā'tses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsī'ax-</td>
<td>tsī'ave' beaver</td>
<td>tsī'ax't'es ex '</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qwād-</td>
<td>qwā'dem huckleberry</td>
<td>qwā'dqud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lī'ez-</td>
<td>lī'ez'en sea-lion</td>
<td>lī'ez xl'ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsī'ex-</td>
<td>tsī'ex'inas elderberry</td>
<td>tsī'ex'xt'ax'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tī'ēs-</td>
<td>tī'ēsem stone</td>
<td>tī'ēst'as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qwēg-</td>
<td>qwē'yi'm whale</td>
<td>qwē'qwak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qlōs-</td>
<td>qlō'sena (a berry)</td>
<td>qlō'sqlas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nō'x-</td>
<td>'nō'pə'wa (a berry)</td>
<td>'nō'x'nax'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōl-</td>
<td>lōlē'vēnoz' ghost</td>
<td>lōl'illal to eat a corpse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōl-</td>
<td>lōlu'wul'ę elk</td>
<td>lō'illal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 43
The concept that a word approaches the idea conveyed by its stem without really being that idea, is often expressed by reduplication. Two principal forms may be distinguished: (1) the diminutive, and (2) the tentative.

§ 45. The Diminutive

The diminutive is formed by the suffix -em, which softens the terminal consonant (§ 29, no. 110a); and by reduplication with a vowel. Generally the stem is reduplicated, but in cases of ambiguity the whole word may be reduplicated.

- g'o'kə house
- g'āg'ogum little house
- lōe tree
- lâ'lodzem
- gwēg'- whale
- gwâ'gwēg'im
- sē'kə- paddle
- sâ'sewum
- g'inn- child
- g'ā'g'innem
- bēkə- man
- bā'bagum boy

Irregular is sō'bayu ADZE; sā'yōděm, which softens its initial s to y (see § 42).

The whole word is reduplicated, and takes the suffix -em, in—

- mē'gwat seal
- mā'mēg'awem
- k'-ōlōt purpose
- k'ā'k'-ōlō'd'em
- ts'ēdâ'q woman
- ts'ē'ts'ēdâq'em
- gē'was deer
- gâ'g'awadzem

The same forms with added a are used to express the idea of to PLAY WITH.

- sâ'sewuma to play paddling
- hâ'na'lema to play shooting

§§ 44, 45
§ 46. The Tentative

The tentative is formed by the suffix -a, which hardens the terminal consonant of the stem (§ 33, no. 141); and by reduplication with a vowel. These forms are used both with nouns and verbs. With nouns they signify to try to get.

\[xun\text{ö}k\text{u} \text{child}\]
\[xwā'\text{xunkl}wa \text{to endeavor to get a child}\]
\[gwēg'\text{-whale}\]
\[gwāgwek'la \text{to endeavor to get a whale}\]
\[gek'\text{-wife}\]
\[gā'gek'la \text{to woo}\]
\[laēl to enter\]
\[laēlal a \text{to endeavor to enter}\]
\[dō'kwa to troll}\]
\[dā'dōk'la \text{to endeavor to troll}\]

The forms in -yāla to go to look for (§ 33, no. 142) are similar in form to the preceding.

\[t!ēs- \text{stone}\]
\[t!āł'ēsk'yāla \text{to go to look for stones}\]
\[g'ōk\text{-house}\]
\[g'āl'g'ōk'yu\text{yāla to go to look for houses}\]
\[hanl- \text{to shoot}\]
\[hā'nhanl'yu\text{yāla to go to look for a gun}\]

Syntactic Relations (§§ 47-69)

§ 47. Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns

In the Kwakiutl sentence, predicate, subject, object, instrument, cause, and purpose are distinguished. Since pronominal representatives of all nouns that form part of the sentence are used for expressing their syntactic relations, the discussion of the syntactic structure of the sentence is essentially a discussion of the pronoun.

The following pronouns are distinguished:

- Speaker . . . . . . . . . . . 1st person.
- Speaker and person or persons addressed . Inclusive.
- Speaker and person or persons spoken of . Exclusive.
- Person addressed . . . . . . 2d person.
- Person spoken of . . . . . . 3d person.

The strong tendency of the Kwakiutl language to strict localization appears very clearly in the development of the third person, which is almost always combined with the demonstrative pronoun. Three positions are distinguished—that near the speaker, that near the person addressed, and that near the person spoken of; and each of these

§§ 46, 47
is subdivided into two forms, according to visibility and invisibility. Therefore we must add to the five forms given before the following forms of the third person:

- Demonstrative of 1st person, visible.
- Demonstrative of 1st person, invisible.
- Demonstrative of 2d person, visible.
- Demonstrative of 2d person, invisible.
- Demonstrative of 3d person, visible.
- Demonstrative of 3d person, invisible.

On the whole, the syntactic functions of the pronominal elements which are added to the verb—as subject, object, instrumental, final, causal—are determined by certain syntactic elements that precede them. The subject has no specific character; the object has -q, the instrumental -s-. The finalis is always characterized by q, the causal by qa-. The two last-named forms are evidently closely related. The objective character -q is found only in the third person and in its demonstrative development; and the instrumental is also regularly developed only in the third person. Subject, object, and instrumental coalesce with the verb to a unit, and appear in the order here given. For instance: he strikes him with it is expressed by the combination strike—he—him—with—it, where the short dash indicates that the equivalent in Kwakiutl is a single element, while the long dash indicates phonetic coalescence.

When nouns with or without possessive pronouns are introduced in the sentence, they are placed after the syntactic and pronominal elements which indicate their functions. In these cases the phonetic coalescence of the syntactic and pronominal elements with the preceding part of the verbal expression persists, but the pronouns are phonetically separated from the following nouns. We find, for instance, the sentence the man struck the boy with the stick expressed by struck—he—the man—him—the boy—with—it—the stick. The separation between the pronoun and the following noun is justified only by the phonetic character of the sentence. In reality the whole seems to form one verbal expression. The pronoun and the following noun can not be separated by any other words. The pronoun may, however, close the sentence, and thus perform the function of a nominal demonstrative. In a few cases it may be separated from the verbal expression; namely, when a number of subjects, objects, or instruments are enumerated.

§ 47
We may revert here once more to the lack of differentiation of verb and noun. In sentences like the one just described there is a perfect freedom in regard to the selection of subject and predicate. Instead of saying *came—he—the man*, the Kwakiutl may say as well *it was—the man—it—the coming* (257.20). The words *to come* and *man* may be used equally as nouns and as verbs, and by syntactic means either may be made subject or predicate.

Whenever the pronoun is followed by a noun or when used as a nominal demonstrative, its form is modified. When the noun contains a possessive pronoun, this pronoun is also incorporated in the modified pronominal form. We may therefore distinguish between purely pronominal and prenominal forms. It must be borne in mind that both are verbal in so far as they determine the function of the complements of the verb, and also because they are firmly united with the verb. The prenominal forms belong, of course, exclusively to the third person, and have demonstrative significance. While in the pronominal forms visibility and invisibility are distinguished, this division is not made in the prenominal forms. In the possessive prenominal forms the second and third persons are not clearly differentiated.

The demonstrative idea expressed in these verbal forms is supplemented by a parallel postnominal form, which is suffixed to the noun following the prenominal pronoun. These postnominal forms are closely related to the pronouns and prenominal forms, but show a certain amount of differentiation in the demonstrative of the second and third persons.

§ 48. **Table of Pronouns**

We may summarize these statements in the following tables:

**I. VERBAL SUFFIXES**

| 1st person | -en(l) | -en(l) |
| Inclusive   | -ens   | -ens   |
| Exclusive   | -enuyupu' | -enuyupu' |
| 2d person   | -es    | -es    |
| 3d person   | -q     | -q     |

§ 48
§ 49. Compound Pronouns

From these fundamental series originate a great number of forms by composition and further modification. The pronominal demonstrative forms occur as subject, object, and instrumental, and are formed, on the whole, by adding the demonstrative suffix to the personal endings. In the objective series a number of secondary changes have taken place.

II (a). PRONOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative of—</th>
<th>Verbal</th>
<th>Postpositional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pronominal</td>
<td>Pronominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person, visible</td>
<td>-k'</td>
<td>-k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person, invisible</td>
<td>-q'a</td>
<td>-q'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person, visible</td>
<td>-6x</td>
<td>-6x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person, invisible</td>
<td>-6'x</td>
<td>-6'x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person, visible</td>
<td>-q</td>
<td>-q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person, invisible</td>
<td>-x</td>
<td>-x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The demonstrative pronominal forms show an analogous development. In this case we find, furthermore, a double form, a vocalic, characterized by a terminal -a, and another one which is used preceding proper names, indefinite nouns, and possessive forms of the third person when the possessor is a person different from the subject of the sentence. For brevity’s sake we will call this form the consonant.

II (b). PRONOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative of—</th>
<th>Subjective.</th>
<th>Objective.</th>
<th>Instrumental.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>-q'ada</td>
<td>-q'a</td>
<td>-q'ada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>-6xada</td>
<td>-6x</td>
<td>-6xada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>-xada</td>
<td>-x</td>
<td>-xada</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 49
In the Dză'wadeénox dialect, the forms -xwa and -sa do not seem to occur; and in place of -xa and -sa, we find -xèda and -sèda, which are analogous to -èda of the subjective. In the Koskimo and Newettee dialects, -xa and -sa are replaced by -xè and -sè.

The possessive suffixes are also formed from the fundamental series of forms.

III. POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

III (a). First Person, Inclusive, Exclusive, Second Person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative of—</th>
<th>Prenominal.</th>
<th>Postnominal.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st person,</td>
<td>With the endings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inclusive,</td>
<td>of the pronominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>exclusive.</td>
<td>instrumental of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person, visible .</td>
<td>-g'ín, -g'inz,</td>
<td>various persons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person, invisible .</td>
<td>-g'íts'én,</td>
<td>-xà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person, visible .</td>
<td>-g'íts'én,</td>
<td>-qà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person, invisible .</td>
<td>-g'ítèn'íts'én,</td>
<td>-qà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person, visible .</td>
<td>-yìts', -yìts',</td>
<td>-qà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person, invisible .</td>
<td>-yìts', -yìts',</td>
<td>-qà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three forms for the second person for the demonstrative of the second person seem to be used indiscriminately.

In place of the double use of prenominal and postnominal possessive forms, the prenominal or postnominal demonstrative possessives alone are also in use for the first person, inclusive, and exclusive.

III (b). Third Person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative of—</th>
<th>Possessor subject of sentence.</th>
<th>Possessor not subject of sentence.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person, visible .</td>
<td>-g'ás</td>
<td>-k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person, invisible .</td>
<td>-g'ás</td>
<td>-k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person, visible .</td>
<td>-sá</td>
<td>-q'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person, invisible .</td>
<td>-sá</td>
<td>-q'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person, visible .</td>
<td>-sá</td>
<td>-q'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person, invisible .</td>
<td>-sá</td>
<td>-q'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noticed that in the third person, when the possessor and the subject of the sentence are the same person, the instrumental -s is added to the prenominal element, leaving the postnominal demonstrative to be added to the noun. When the possessor and the subject of the sentence are different persons, the instrumental -s is added to
the postnominal suffix, leaving the prenominal elements identical with the prenominal demonstratives.

The possessive prenominal forms for the objective and instrumental are formed from the forms given here in the same manner as the prenominal demonstratives from the corresponding table (II, § 48).

§ 50. Irregular Pronominal Forms

These endings give rise to all the syntactic forms expressing the relations of subject, object, instrumental (viz, genitive), and predicate. Evidently the history of the development of these forms is a long one. This is indicated by the irregularities described in § 49, and by others which appear as soon as these endings enter into combinations. The most important irregularities are as follows:

PRONOMINAL AND PRENOMINAL SUFFIXES

1. The first person, when followed by the objective or instrumental, takes the form -\textit{enl}. This probably represents an older form of the first person. It is the ordinary form of the first person in the Koskimo dialect, where we find, for instance, \textit{g'\text{"a}'zenl} I came. It will be noted (Table I, § 48) that the objective forms of the first person, and those of the inclusive and exclusive, have been lost. They persist in the Hê'ldzaqu dialect of Milbank sound, where we find for these forms -\textit{enla}, corresponding to the -\textit{enl} of the Koskimo. Examples of the form -\textit{enl} will be found below, under 2.

2. The first person, the inclusive, and exclusive, when followed by the objective or instrumental of the third person, take a connective -\textit{a}--; so that we find the forms -\textit{enlaq} I—\textit{him}, -\textit{ensaq} \textit{we}[incl.] —\textit{him}, -\textit{enutwaq} \textit{we}[excl.] —\textit{him}; and -\textit{enlas} I—with \textit{him}, -\textit{ensas} \textit{we}[incl.] —with \textit{him}, -\textit{enutwas} \textit{we}[excl.] —with \textit{him}.

\textit{h\text{"a}'maswut\text{"e}ts\text{"o}x'\text{"e}nlas} I was asked to eat with him 480.10
(\textit{ha'm-} to eat; -\textit{s}-[?]; -\textit{ot} companion; -\textit{\text{"e}}[?]; -\textit{s\text{"o}}\text{"e} passive; -\textit{x\text{"e}} transition from present to past).
\textit{d\text{"o}'qu\text{"a}m\text{"e}nlanaxwa Gw\text{"e}telaq} and so I saw the Northerners 473.27 (\textit{d\text{"o}'qu\text{"a} to see; -\text{"e}m\text{"e} and so; -\text{"e}n\text{"a}w object. 2d pers. dem.; Gw\text{"e}te\text{"a}l northern tribes; -\text{"e}2d pers. dem.})
\textit{\text{"e}n\text{"e}k\text{"e}nlanaxa \text{"e}n\text{"e}'m\text{"e}s\text{"e}} I said to the \text{"e}n\text{"e}'m\text{"e}s 473.26 (\text{"e}n\text{"e}k\text{"e} to say)
\textit{lawel'gam\text{"e}n\text{"a}senlanas la\text{"a}'l\text{"a}l\text{"o}n\text{"a}x\text{"a}} I am the prince of the ghosts
X 131, note 3 (\textit{lawel'gam\text{"e}e} prince; -\text{"e}k\text{"e} real; la\text{"a}'l\text{"a}l\text{"o}n\text{"a}x\text{"a} ghosts)
\textit{b\text{"o}'l\text{"a}x\text{"e}d'\text{"a}x'\text{"o}n\text{"a}l\text{"a}s la\text{"e}'s\text{"e}l\text{"a}g\text{"i}'\text{"a}l\text{"a} I am the musk-bag of mink
CS 158.22 (b\text{"o}'l musk-bag; -\text{"e}x\text{"e}d hind end; -\text{"e}\text{"e} nominal; la\text{"e}'s\text{"e}l\text{"a} sun; -\text{"g}'\text{"i}la to make)

§ 50
3. The second person takes a connective -ē- before the objective and instrumental of the third person; so that we have -sēq thou—him, and -sēs thou—with him. With the instrumental of the first person, inclusive, and exclusive, the second person forms -sētsen, -sētsens, -sētsenuz'. Examples of this kind are very rare in our texts.

4. When a nominal subject is followed by an objective or instrumental, or when a nominal object is followed by an instrumental, it takes a connective -a- analogous to that following the first person (see under 2).

dō'xʷwač'le Dzā'wadalačxa e'lkwa Dzā'wadalačs saw the blood 99.7 (dōqʷ- to see; -a'lela see no. 96, p. 490; elkʷ blood)
kwē'si'dē Q'a'nēqelakwosa l'aq'ut Q'a'nēqelakʷ spit out the elder bark 99.5 (kwē's- to spit; (x')'id to begin; l'ā?qʷ- red)
"nē'x'ō'læ Q'a'mtalaš Q'a'nēqelak" it is said, Q'a'mtalaš was told by Q'a'nēqelak 100.19
ts!ek'á'lælač'æs lā'wunemas wāldemas she reported to her husband (with) the word 135.28
gwē'x'īt'dēda begwā'nemax Lā'qulay'qwa the man woke Lā'qulay'qwa 251.4 (gwēx'it'd to wake; begwā'nem man)

5. Verbs which have the future suffix -l (no. 88, p. 486) generally form the subjective by the suffix -a, which takes the place of -ēda. Evidently the process of contraction by which the objective -xα and the instrumental -sa have developed from the older -xēda and -sēda has affected in this case also the subjective. The second person future, when the verb has a pronominal ending, is generally -lōl instead of -lōs, which is used only as a possessive form.

g'ā'xα g'í'ng'ínānemē the children will come X 17.8
la'mōx q'āq'efutō'xwid'la ts!ō'ts!ō'max the barnacles shall show their heads X 97.40
la'ms ba'nex'ēxēlōl you shall be the lowest X 91.5.

POSTNOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE AND POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

6. Nouns ending in -a, -ē, -ā, and -d, when followed by the connective -a- (rule 4), by the postnominal -a of the third person invisible, by -ax, -aq!, and -qʷ of the second person invisible, and by -qʷ of the second person visible (Tables II, III, §§ 48, 49), take the endings -ā, -āx, -āq!, -āq!-, -āq-, in place of -a, -ē, -ā, -d, followed by the ordinary endings. In nouns ending in -a, the forms -a'ya, -a'yan, -a'yax,
-a'tyaq!, -a'tyaq!", a'tyaq, are sometimes found instead of the forms in -a'. The forms in -a'ya- seem to be preferred in the case of many proper names.

'né'x'laē Qwē'smōlidze'mqūq said Qwē'smōlidze'mga to him 116.1
nē'laa'stwē l'a'quadząs wā'dēmas l'a'qwađē was told of his word 116.21
lā'laē dō'x'wal'le Lā'qulaθqwaθxga g'o'kwē then, it is said, Lā'qu-
ləyąwəga saw a house 251.8
'né'x'laē Ha'mdzidáxēs o'mpē it is said Ha'mdzid said to his father 55.19

7. Nouns ending in -ē take, in the cases enumerated under rule 6, the endings -a'tya, -a'yaθ, -a'yaq!, -a'yaq!", a'yaq".

g'i'g'anəma'yasa Bz'ixula the chiefs of the Bella Coola 223.33
(g'i'game' chief)

8. Nouns ending in -ō take, in the cases enumerated under rule 6, the endings -ō, -ēx, -ēq!, -ēq!", -ēq".

laθ'ma qō't'ē 'yā'ytas!ōs K!wō'actionáza qō'g'ikwē K!wā'action-
sąnō's canoe was full of heads 153.33 (-la but; qō't'a full;
'yā'ytas!e canoe; qō'g'ik head cut off)

9. Nouns ending in -a and -ō, when followed by the demonstrative second person visible, take the ending -x instead of -ēx.

laθ'mx'den lē'stali'selə lā'xens 'nā'lax I have been around this
our world 12.7 (-em and; -x'd past; -en I; la to go; -ēsta
around; -la continuative; -is world; -la continuative; lā to go
[here prepositional]; -xens our; 'nā'la world)
we'g'a 'we'x'tidxwa 'mē'me'lxlōx go on, carry these mountain
goats 41.5 (we'g'a go on!; 'we'x'tid to carry; 'mē'lxlōx moun-
tain goat)
Lē'wō'xda halā'yux and this death-bringer 50.36 (łō't and; halā'yu
death-bringer, means of killing)

10. Nouns ending in -a do not take the postnominal -ē of the third
person (see § 56).

11. Łō and never takes the form in -ēda, except in the Dzā-
wadeēnox" dialect, but forms Lē'wa even before common nouns
(see § 49, II).

Lē'wa a'yī'lkwasa g'i'gamē' and the attendants of the chief
159.22
Lē'wa lā'k'endē Lē'lā'sqem and one hundred bear-skin blankets
223.37
Lē'wa 'nā'twa ts!ē'ls!ek'wa and all the birds 295.2

§ 50
12. The -s third person possessive, when followed by an objective or instrumental, takes a terminal -e.

\[ t!s'm'yåsåbe\text{"es} xwå'k!\text{una} \text{his means of sewing his canoe (see p. 555, note 62)} \]

\[ lålæ dålæ k!\text{wey}'\text{måsåxə} \text{wå'laså} \text{g!lådaså} \text{then his crew took the large box 226.39 (dålæ to take, carry; k!wey}'\text{m crew; wålas large; g!lådas box)} \]

13. The objective -g and instrumentalis -s, when followed by the temporal subordinating elements, are followed by -ẽ. Examples will be found in §64 (p. 547).

§ 51. Sentences with Pronominal Subjects and Objects

In sentences with a single verb and with pronominal subject, object, and instrumental, the pronominal suffixes are attached to the verb in the order subject, object, instrument.

1. Intransitive sentences:

\[ lål'då\text{la}\text{en} \text{indeed I shall go 146.7 (la to go; -då\text{a indeed [no. 119]); -l future [no. 88]; -en I)} \]

\[ lål'måns we do 179.35 (la to go; -m [no. 103]; -ensch [incl.]) \]

\[ gå'gak'\text{'anu\text{"x}}\text{we are trying to marry 225.43 (gåk'- wife [reduction with a vowel and hardened terminal, tentative]; -nu\text{"x} [excl.])} \]

\[ hèm'\text{enala}e\text{måles thou wilt always 182.41 (hèm'\text{enala always; -m [no. 103]; -l future [no. 88]; -es thou)} \]

\[ hòqawels they go out 179.17 (hòq- to go [PLURAL]; -wels out of house [nos. 37, 44]) \]

\[ gå'\text{xy}'\text{a he [near 1st person invis.] comes} \]

\[ lål'måsz gōså this [near 2d person vis.] will be thine 228.42 (la to go; -m [no. 103]; -ōz [dem. 2d person vis.]; gōs thine; -l future [no. 88]) \]

\[ gå'\text{z}x\text{måså this [near 2d person invis.] comes 370.24 (gåx to come; -m [no. 103]; -ōz [dem. 2d person invis.])} \]

\[ hë\text{t}måeq that is it 60.6 (hë that; -m [no. 103]; -ēq [dem. 3d person vis.]) \]

2. Transitive sentences with a single verb and with pronominal object:

\[ gå'gak'\text{'inlålå I try to marry thee 97.4 (gåk'- wife [tentative § 46]); enlålå I — thee [§ 50.1])} \]

\[ l!\text{elå}'\text{wåt\text{"yinlaaq I forgot it 102.15 (§ 50.2)} \]

\[ wulå'\text{nsaq we [incl.] ask him (§ 50.2)} \]

\[ wulå'\text{nu\text{"z}wålå we [excl.] ask thee} \]

§ 51
In place of the object of the first person, inclusive, and exclusive, which are not in use in Kwakiutl, periphrastic expressions are used (see § 61).

3. Transitive sentences with a single verb and with pronominal instrumental:

lā'wadenlasik' I have him for my husband 97.20 (lāw- husband; -ad having [no. 170]; -enlas I — of him (§ 50. 2); -k' [dem. 1st person vis.])

ā'yadenlos I have you for my father (ās- father; -ad having[no. 170]; -enlōs I of you [§ 50. 1])

lā'xulanux'sētSen thou lovemest (lā'xula love; -nuk having[no. 169]; -sētsen thou — of me [§ 50. 3])

4. Transitive sentences with a single verb and pronominal object and instrumental. These are rare, since periphrastic expressions are preferred (see § 61).

mix'inzlōlas I strike thee with it (see § 50. 1)

§ 52. Sentences Containing Co-ordinate Verbs

When the verb is accompanied by a co-ordinate verb and in a few related cases the more general verb, which precedes the special verb, takes the personal endings of the intransitive verb; and when the special verb is transitive, the latter retains its objective or instrumental endings, which are suffixed to the stem.

Gā'ZXemun'xv Lē'tlōlōl we came to invite thee 66.17 (gāx to come; -m [no. 103]; -enun'xv [excl.]; Lē'tlōla to invite; -ōl thee)

lā'laxe'ns xwē'xītsek' should we shake with it 57.40 (la to go; - lax uncertainty [§ 28, no. 105]; -ens we, xwē'xid to begin to shake; -sek' with this)

lā'les nā'nax'mēleq thou wilt answer him 264.28 (la to go; - l future [no. 88]; -es thou; nā'nax'mēz to answer; - l future [no. 88]; - q him)

xe'nlēlen mix'āq I strike him too much (xe'nlēla very, too much; -en I; mix'ä to strike; -q him)

Gā'zxëms 'wī'tlāela you have all come in 131.22 (gāx to come; -m [no. 103]; -s you; 'wī'tla all; -ēl into house [§ 22, no. 47])

k'īlēsən hamlxi'də I did not eat 258.17 (k'īlēs not; -en I; hamlx'i'd to begin to eat)

Also—

Gen g'i'wā'lōl that I may help thee (gen that I; g'i'wā'la to help; -ōl thee)

Gen lā'wade'sik' that I marry this one (S 72.11)

§ 52
§ 53. Sentences with Nominal Subject and Object

When the sentence has a nominal subject, object, or instrumental, these are placed following the prenominal forms which take the place of the pronominal forms. The noun itself takes the required post-nominal demonstrative ending.

1. Intransitive sentence with nominal subject.

"nēx'laē Tš!ē'ts!ē'xag'ēnē Tš!ē'ts!ē'xag'ēn said, it is said 31.9 ("nēk• to say; -"la it is said [§ 32, no. 132]; -ē [subj. dem. 3d person consonantic])

\quad gā'x'laēda ma'lō'kwē two persons came, it is said 261.33 (gā'x to come; -"la it is said [§ 32, no. 132]; -ēb [subj. dem. 3d person vocalic])

\quad lā'ũō'da 'nax'ⁿx'una'ēx these blankets will go (= be given) 213.11 (la to go; -"m future [no. 88]; -ō'da [subj. dem. 2d person voc.]; 'nēx'ⁿx' [blanket; -ēx [postnom. dem. 2d person vis.])

\quad gā'x'mōx Wulā'se'wēx Wulā'sō' has come 161.27 (gā'x to come; -"m [no. 103]; -ōx [subj. dem. 2d person cons.]; -ēx [postnom. dem. 2d person vis.])

\quad hēk•!alag'ada x'sē'dalax'dag'a these who have disappeared make a noise 85.31 (hē that; -k•!alax to sound [§ 34, no. 144]; -g'ada [subj. dem. 1st person voc.]; x'sē- to disappear; -āla continuative [§ 26, no. 92]; -x'dē past [§ 25, no. 89]; -g'a [postnom. dem. 1st person inv.is.])

2. Transitive sentences with nominal subject and pronominal object or instrumental.

\quad nā'nx'ma'ē Xā'nāts!ēm'g'i'lakwaq Xā'nāts!ēm'g'i'lak" replied to him 131.7 (nā'nx'mē' to reply; -ē, [subj. dem. 3d person cons.] -g [obj. 3d person, § 50.4])

\quad bā'wē Qlā'nēq'ēlakwās Qlā'nēq'ēlak" left him 169.28 (bō to leave; -ē [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; -s instr., § 50.4)

\quad k•!il'ēdēda bē'begwanēmas the men became afraid of him 127.21 (k•!il- to be afraid; -x'it [inchoative, no. 90]; -ēb [subj. dem. 3d person voc.]; begwā' nem man; -s [instr., § 50.4])

3. Transitive sentences with pronominal subject and nominal object or instrumental.

\quad dā'x'tid'enlaxa lexap'ē I took the basket (da to take; -x'it [inchoative, no. 90]; -nlaq I—it [§ 50.2]; -xa [obj. dem. 3d person voc.]; lexap'ē basket)

\quad nēx'xe'wunlása begwā' nem I was told by the man ("nēk• to say; -sō [passive, § 35, no. 159]; -nlas I—by it [§ 50.2]; -sa [instr. 3d person voc.]; begwā' nem man)

\quad mix'tidēza begwā' nem he struck the man (mix'• to strike; -x'it [inchoative, § 26, no. 90]; -ē [§ 56]; -xa [prenom. obj.])

§ 53
4. Transitive sentences with nominal subject, object, and instrument.

\[\text{xu'ungwadē Q!ə'xwaq!anākwas O'\text{mag'-}i\text{līsē-} Q!ə'\text{xwaq!anak}}\] had O'\text{mag'-}i\text{līs for her child 133.11 (xunku'- child; -ad having [no. 170])}. -ē [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; -as [instr., § 50.4].

\[\text{yō'ęsēda le'łqwala} \text{le'yaza gwō'xnisē the tribes ate the dog-salmon with spoons 133.34 (yō'ṣa to eat with spoons; le'łqwala} \text{le' tribe; gwō'xnis dog-salmon).}

\[\text{kwēx'ıdēda bęgwā' nemaza q!ā'sūsa t!e'lwagayō the man struck the sea-otter with the club (kwēx- to strike; -x'ıd [inchoative, § 26, no. 90]; bęgwā' nem man; q!ā'sa sea-otter; t!e'lwaga to club; -ayō instrument [no. 174])}

§ 54. Sentences Containing Co-ordinate Verbs and Nominal Subject or Object

When there are two co-ordinate verbs, the former takes the prenominal or nominal subject, while the latter takes the nominal object and instrumental.

\[\text{lā'leq K!wąqxsāno wule'la} \text{nemō'gwisē then, it is said, K!wąqxsāno questioned nemō'gwis 153.39 (la to go; -la it is said; -ē [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; wule'la to question).}

\[\text{lā'len ax'ędlex t!e'sema I shall go and get a stone (la to go; -l future [no. 88]; -en I; ax'ęd to take; -l future [no. 88]; -x [cons. obj.]; t!e'sem stone; -a [indef., see § 59.2]).}

\[\text{lā'leq q!a'mseđa mā'k-ilǎq than the one next to her was lazy 54.24}

§ 55. Sentences Containing Possessive Elements

When the nominal subject, object, or instrumental contains possessive elements, these are expressed by means of prenominal and postnominal endings, which take the place of the simple demonstrative elements.

\[\text{lā'ly'ın k!ę's'ęx'dek} \text{this my crest will go 209.31 (la to go; -l future [no. 88]; -g'ın [prenom. subj., dem. 1st person, § 49]; k!ę's'ęx crest; -x'd past [no. 89]; -k! [postnominal dem. 1st person vis.])}

\[\text{wule'la} \text{es abe'mpē he questioned his mother 141.37 (wule'la to question; -xēs [pronom. obj., dem. 3d person subj. and possessor identical, § 49, III]; abe'mp mother; -ē [see § 49, III]).}

\[\text{lā'was'ıdē nā'qą'yas his mind became wild 142.38 (lā'was'ıd to become wild; -ē [dem. 3d person indef.]; nā'qą' mind; -as [nominal subj., dem. 3d person, subj. and possessor not the same person, § 49, III]).}

§§ 54, 55
qe’lsaxen g’ó’kwē he painted my house (qe’ls- to paint; -xen [prenom. obj., § 49]; g’ókʷ house; -ē [see § 56])
yā’x.sa’mēs nā’qey’ōs your mind is bad 71.35 (yā’x.sa’m bad; -ēs [prenom. subj., § 49]; nā’qē’ mind; -ōs [postnom. possess. 2d person, dem., § 49])

The following examples illustrate possessive forms:

1st person, dem. 1st person, visible:

lae’ms a’xlexg’in ĺē’gemx’dik’ take my past name! 125.31
lō’gun g’ó’kulotg’in and my tribe 451.28

1st person, dem. 1st person, invisible:

‘mā’stā’nawisēg’in tek’!ē’g’ae’nį? what may be the matter with my belly? 172.20

1st person, dem. 2d person, visible:

wē’g’a do’qwałaxwa g’ó’kwāqen look at this my house! 409.38
lā’xen gén’maqen to my wife 410.33
lā’xen a’wi’’nagwisēx to my country 259.30

1st person, dem. 3d person, visible:

k’!ē’sen wū’lxen wā’ldemē I did not obtain my wish 454.3

1st person, dem. 3d person, invisible:

lā’xen g’ā’g’imāx’daen to my past loans 452.1
lā’xen g’ō’kwā to my house 409.12
qwā’qwałayagen qe’we’maqen my wife’s way of going 300.33

Exclusive, dem. 1st person, visible:

hā’mek’a’ya’lagmąła’xsg’anu’xʷ g’i’gamék’ the food-obtaining mask of our chief 35.38

Exclusive, dem. 2d person, visible:

alē’watuląxsenu’xʷ g’i’gama’ëx the hunting canoe of our chief U.S.N.M. 665.12

Exclusive, dem. 2d person, invisible:

nā’qay’ąxse a’b’lāx the heart of our elder brother 325.11

Exclusive, dem. 3d person, visible:

lā’san’ay’asenu’xʷ g’ō’kwē outside of our house 120.31

Exclusive, dem. 3d person, invisible:

lā’xenu’xʷ nō’sa a’wi’’nagwisa to our country 259.41

Inclusive, dem. 1st person, visible:

dō’qwałg’ada wā’g’ins look at our river 147.37
lə’emk: ‘wi’’lāg’ins nə’nə’mō’kwigā’i now all our friends are in the house 459.16

§ 55
Inclusive, dem. 2d person, visible:
\[ yicens g'į'gama'tex \] of our chief 453.11

Inclusive, dem. 2d person, invisible:
\[ hą'g'a', axk'į'łaxens g'į'kulułtax \] go and ask our tribe 310.8

Inclusive, dem. 3d person, visible:
\[ wą'ldemasons 'nemō'kwè the word of our friend 461.40 \]

Inclusive, dem. 3d person, invisible:
\[ lą'xens a'wį'nagwisaens to our country 261.12 \]
\[ k'į'telag'asens wį'wömpdăens this salmon of our ancestors 451.40 \]

2d person, dem. 1st person, visible:
\[ lą'xg'as qens'mg'ōs to your wife 234.22 \]

2d person, dem. 2d person, visible:
\[ ląxs qo'gumatsyaqōs to your face 306.20 \]
\[ lą'xōs a'wį'nagwisaqōs to your country 259.39 \]

2d person, dem. 2d person, invisible:
\[ qo'gak'į'ñıxaxs k'į'delag'ōs I will woo your princess 119.22 \]

2d person, dem. 3d person, visible:
\[ ę'x'mis wą'ldemōs good is your word 259.35 \]

2d person, dem. 3d person, invisible:
\[ dą'qwalaxs axę'xedsesδ'taọs see what is desired by you 409.29 \]
\[ lą'xēs xunō'x'laọs to your future child 51.36 \]

3d person, dem. 2d person, visible; possessor subject of sentence:
\[ -dą'x'wixdōs xunō'kwex (let her) see her child 134.16 \]
\[ -lą'xōs yą'yats'ēx in his canoe 230.18 \]

3d person, dem. 3d person, visible; possessor subject of sentence:
\[ dędą'x'sąxēs lek'į'wisē they held their bows 243.40 \]

3d person, dem. 2d person, visible; possessor different from subject of sentence:
\[ lą'x'mę'sen qęg'ą'desōξda k'į'dęłaxs and so I have married his princess 193.35 \]
\[ (~męs and so; qęg'ą'd to have for wife; k'į'dęł princess) \]

3d person, dem. 3d person, visible; possessor different from subject of sentence:
\[ -ą'xex yą'nems he took his game 294.27 \]
\[ -łą'xumaxa ląx o'x'wixdōy appeas they rolled down to its base 19.12 \]
§ 56. Irregular Forms

While this system of forms is quite clear, there remain a number of irregularities in the third person which somewhat obscure its syntactical functions. This is particularly true of the forms without ending. It is difficult to decide whether they are true verbs. Similar difficulties arise in regard to the postnominal forms in -a, without ending, and in -ē (see § 48, II).

The postnominal -ē is used particularly with nouns terminating sentences. It is used with nouns in subjective, objective, and instrumental construction, and signifies a special emphasis laid on the noun, or the contrast between that particular thing and others; for instance, *mixʷəl'dexəs xunó'kwē* HE STRUCK HIS CHILD, because it is not expected that a man would strike his child. Examples from the texts are:

lə'laē yə'laqula'ē Wā'xwīdē then Wā'xwid sang his sacred song
CS 90.6

—aəkʷələqəxəs 'nə'nemó'kwē he called his friends 43.5

g'ə'xlaēda hō'x'hōkwhē the hō'x'hōku came 109.39

—qā'nidē Nē'nengasē Grizzly-Bear-Woman went X 21.28

This suffix is postnominal, not verbal, as is proved by the analogous forms of the second person demonstrative:

g'ə'x'mōx Wulā'sōxwēx Wulā'sōx came 161.27

It does not indicate absence or presence, but is merely an emphatic demonstrative.

In other cases the verbal demonstrative of the third person -ē is used in a similar position. On account of the weakness of the terminal glottal stops, it is difficult to distinguish this ending from -ē. Still, the analogous forms of the second person demonstrative prove its verbal character.

yū'nmēs la bəkəlu'sōx this is the woodman 258.27

It seems, that when there are two forms, and the first takes a verbal demonstrative or a possessive, the terminal word is generally a noun.

yū'nmōs wā'ldəmēx this is your word

When the sentence is opened by a verbal expression without demonstrative ending, the second term is a verb.

yū'nmēs yə'laqʷwidayusēyōx this is his secret song

It is doubtful, in this case, whether the first word is a noun or a verb, and whether the second word should be considered a separate sentence.

§ 56
§ 57. Irregular Forms (continued)

The same is true in all cases where the verb stands immediately before its object or instrument. In these cases, when it has no demonstrative, the objective -x and -s are suffixed to it.

la mix-t'dxa bégwā'ñem he struck the man
k'-lē'sōx mix-t'd g'ā'zen this one did not strike me
lōz tē' gade es T!e'semg'itē this one had the name T!e'semg'itē 225.18

The construction is similar to that in sentences in which nouns occur accompanied by qualifying terms.

mix-t'dēda wā'lasē bégwā'ñemza g'īnā'ñem this large man struck the child (literally, this tall one struck, man the child). If the noun stands by itself, the -a preceding the object (§ 50.4) is retained.

mix-t'dēda bégwā'ñemaza g'īnāñem

Temporal suffixes are treated in the same manner.

xū'mtelsēda wā'lasēdē g'ō'xe'sa bégwā'ñem the large house of the man was burnt on the ground (xumt- to burn; -els on ground [§ 22, no. 44]; -(x')dē past; g'ōk' house); (but xū'mtelē g'ō'xe'dāsa bégwā'ñem the house of the man was burnt on the ground [see § 50.6])

There is still another case in which a similar absence of demonstrative elements is observed. The verb may be separated from the rest of the sentence, and its place may be taken by auxiliary verbs or by verbalized nominal ideas. Then it is placed at the end of the sentence, and has either no ending, or, better, the ending -a.

la'em qā's'idē then he went
la'mōx qā's'idē then he went
lē'da bégwā'ñem qā's'idē then the man went

In this position the verb can not take the ending -ē, although it may be made a noun by the appropriate prenominal demonstrative.

bégwā'ñemēda qā's'idē the man went

§ 58. Remarks on Irregular Forms

It is impossible to give a satisfactory explanation for all the peculiar usages of these endings, although the rules for their use can be stated quite definitely. The endings -ēda and -x, which in Kwā'g'ut invariably have the function of determining subject and object, may have originally performed different functions. This is suggested by the following forms: The Dzā'wadeēnoxu forms -sēda and -xēda (see § 49), and the analogous forms -xg'ada, -xōxda, -sg'ada, -sōxda, of the §§ 57, 58
show that the endings -g'a, -ôx, -ë, and -da are not necessarily subjective. There are also indications that originally -da was not exclusively pronominal as we find it now. This is indicated particularly in its use with the independent demonstrative g'a, yû, hê, and the interrogative wî when. These often take the ending -da either by itself or in connection with possessive pronouns: g'a'da, yû'da, hê'da, wî'dë; and hê'den g'ôkû that is my house (see § 55). On the other hand, -x is used to introduce appositions and temporal determinations (see § 61). In the form yîxa it may take the place of the subject, a construction which is used frequently in the dialect of Newettée: g'ôxë, yîxa begwâ'ñem he came, that man. In the Awî'kîñoxa dialect of Rivers inlet it is suffixed in the same manner to the subject as well as to the object.

lâ'ëlë yà'x-tidëla g'o'kula'yaqai the people felt bad (g'o'kula tribe; xai' those)

On the other hand, it does not seem probable that this dialect should have retained older forms, since it shows considerable phonetic decay in other directions.

§ 59. Vocalic and Consonantic Prenominal Forms

It was mentioned in § 49 that the pronominal demonstrative occurs in two forms, as vocalic and consonantic. The latter is used in three cases:

1. Before proper names.

lâ'laë yàq'leg'atë Tslâqamaë'ë then Tslâqamë spoke 193.26
a'yi'lkwaas T!ë'semg'ëë the attendants of T!ë'semg'lit 222.30

2. When a noun is used (a) in a general sense, or (b) when the existence of an object is doubtful.

(a): hê'em wàldëms begwâ'ñem that is the word of mankind

g'o'kwàs g'i'q'igama'ya a house fit for chiefs

la'mëna wulàxy'a begwâ'ñemkë I ask the men in present existence

(b):

a'lâso'wë la'sasa ts!ë'dâq mussels are searched for by the women

sek'a'lenlax g vô'yì'mlaxa I shall harpoon a whale, if there is one (-lax uncertainty [§ 28, no. 105]).

On the other hand, we have la'mëna sek'a'xa g vô'yì'm i harpooned a whale, because the whale, after having been harpooned, is definite.
In these cases we find generally the suffix -a for the third person demonstrative invisible, because the object is necessarily conceived in this position.

3. When the noun is followed by the possessive -s of the third person.

\( g'āzē lāx g'ō'kwasen 'nemō'kwē \) he came to the house of my friend

**§ 60. Objective and Instrumental**

The use of the objective and instrumental with different verbs shows great irregularities. On the whole, the objective is used only when the action directly affects the object; while in other cases, where a direction toward an object is expressed, periphrastic forms are used. Whenever an action can be interpreted as performed with an instrument, the instrumental is used, for which the Kwā'gul has a great predilection. In many cases, however, both instrumental and objective may be used, according to the point of view taken. We find, for instance, the following instrumentals:

\( (lə'men) lēg'eləs tī'ez'tla lāq \) I name it “door” 9.14 (lēq- name; -s [instr.]; tī'ez'tla door; lāq going to it)

\( lē'gadəs Dā'bendē having the name of Dā'bend 15.8 \)

\( wē'g'a qwā's 'tsesg'ūxēlaōs \) mention your reason for coming 16.10 (wē'g'a go on; qwā's 'id to mention; -sēs your [instr.]; g'āx to come; -g'ūl reason [no. 176, p. 508]; -ōs your)

\( sā'bentsōx \) he overdoes this 18.1

\( 'yā'lagas g'īnā'nem \) he sent the child

\( lē tsīlōs \) then he gave it 18.11

\( lāz'ēm tī'eqap'lentsə tī'semē \) he put on the fire the stones 20.8

\( wē'g'a, dēnx̌itsen q'ē'māsma \) go on! sing (with) my song 451.25

All passives are constructed with the instrumentalis.

\( qā'stidayusa ald'ēlēnoxə \) he was walked away with by the wolves

**§ 61. Periphrastic Forms**

Whenever the activity does not influence the object directly, but is rather directed toward the object, periphrastic forms, which may be termed “the locative,” are used. These are formed with the verbs \( lə \) to go, and \( g'āx \) to come, the former being used for the second and third persons; the latter, for the first person, inclusive, and exclusive, these verbs being treated as transitive verbs with objects.

\( lā'ē lā'bēta lāq \) then he went in to it (bēta into [no. 28, p. 465])

\( lē'staltí'sela lā'xēns 'nā'lax \) he went around our world 12.7

**§§ 60, 61**
These periphrastic forms take the place of the object of the first person inclusive and exclusive (p. 536). They are also preferred whenever the verb has both pronominal object and instrumental. Then the periphrastic form generally takes the place of the object. The verbal character of these forms appears with great clearness when the verb is la to go, since in this case the verb is directly composed with the object, and thus replaces the locative, with which it is identical. The objective form is also used for all determinations of time.

he gwé'g'ilaxa qä'genula he did so every night 249.24 (he that; gwé'g'ilaxa to do so; -xa[obj.]; qa'nuil night)

§ 62. Causality

Causality is expressed by the element qa, which is treated as though it were a verbal stem that might be translated by to be the cause of. This stem does not lose its terminal a. It takes pronominal, prenominal, and possessive forms, just like other verbs.

â'lael le'ng'aa qa'es tâ'la it is said, he longed really the cause is his (= on account of his) sweetheart 23.12 (â'la really; -la quotative; le'ng'aa to long; tâ'la sweetheart)

(la=men) le'ng'aa qa'es I long on account of you 25.1

qa'es wâ'ldsmôs on account of your words 285.42

lax'mlae 'yâ'xsemè na'd'qas K!wêk!waxâ't'wa'é qa'es 'nemô'l-wê then the mind of K!wêk!waxâ't'wa'é was bad on account of his friend 291.34 (la auxiliary verb; -em and; -la it is said; 'yâ'xsem bad; na'd'qas mind; 'nemô'la friend)

qaq'in wâ'ldemik' on account of this my future word 115.31

qaqaxda möls!aqêx on account of these four sticks 139.22.

§ 63. Finality

Closely related to the causalis is the expression for finality. This form seems to occur only in nominal construction analogous to the third person demonstrative of the possessive causalis, from which it differs in the same way as the forms for visibility differ from those for invisibility. The set of forms is—

1st person . . . . . qen—a
Inclusive . . . . . qens—a
Exclusive . . . . . qenuxa—a
2d person . . . . . qa's—aös
3d person . . . . . qa—as (possessor different from subject)

3d person . . . . . qa's—a (possessor and subject the same)
It corresponds to a verbal stem q with the possessive forms for absence.

\( k\cdot v\cdot w\cdot \text{nememlaq} \ q\ e\ n \ \text{gen} \ e\ n\ e\ '\text{ma} \) I bought her to be my wife

This finalis is very frequently used with verbs, which, however, take certain suffixes. Most often they take the ending -ē, which seems to nominalize the verbal term. When, however, the verb has another pronominal suffix, as in the second person or with the object of the second person, it takes the suffix -a before the pronominal suffix. In the first person, exclusive, and inclusive, the pronoun may be repeated suffixed to the verb. In this case the idea of finality is often so weak that it is hardly more than a connective.

\( w\cdot d\cdot z\cdot d\cdot e\ \text{ntsös} \ q\ e\ n \ p\ u\ x\ e\ 'd\ e\ \) go on that I may taste 37.32 (wā go on; -dzā emphatic [no. 119, p. 494]; p\ u\ x\ e\ 'd\ to taste)

\( q\ e\ n \ 'n\ e\ k\ 'e\ and I say so 453.24 \)

\( \text{yālagemel} \ q\ e\ n \ g\ 'a\ 'z\ e\ I have been sent by Woodpecker to come 302.24 (\text{yālaqa to send}; -em instrument [no. 173]; -nlas I by him; \text{Guldem woodpecker}; gāx to come)

\( w\ e\ 'g\ a\ , \ldots \ q\ e\ n \ d\ o\ 'q\ w\ a\ 'l\ e\ x\ g\ l\ a\ p\ a\ l\ a\ 's\ e\ n\ e\ n\ e\ m\ o\ 'k\ w\ e\ x\ go\ on\ , \ldots \) that we may see the hitting of our friends 296.31 (dō’qwāla to be looking; qlap- to hit; -sens of our; ‘nemol* friend; -ēx postnominal dem. 2d pers.)

\ldots \ q\ a\ s \ l\ a\ 'v\ o\ s \ a\ x\ e\ 'd\ that you go and take 465.34

\ldots \ q\ a\ s \ t\ a\ p\ 'l\ 'd\ a\ y\ o\ s \ that you eat (break the shells) 284.22

\ldots \ q\ e\ n \ l\ e\ 'x\ e\ 'a\ l\ e\ x\ e\ s \ x\ u\ n\ o\ 'k\ w\ e\ x \ that I advise our child 290.13

\ldots \ q\ e\ n \ e\ k\ 'a\ w\ e\ s\ q\ a\ d\ a \ 'n\ e\ x\ 'u\ n\ e\ k\ ' \ and I stake this blanket 292.3

\( w\ e\ 'g\ a \ l\ l\ o\ 'p\ 'l\ e\ s\ q\ a\ s \ h\ a\ m\ x\ 't\ i\ d\ o\ s\ q\ a\ s \) go on, roast this and eat this 38.7 (llopt- to roast; hamx* ti'd to eat)

\( l\ l\ o\ l\ a\ l\ x\ e\ s \ g\ 'o\ k\ u\ l\ o\ t\ o\ q\ a \ g\ 'a\ x\ e\ s \ he called his tribe to come 23.2

a\ x\ e\ 'd\ x\ e\ s \ q\ l\ o\ l\ a\ t\ s\ l\ e\ q\ a\ s \ g\ 'a\ x\ e\ he took his kettle and came 20.8

If the verb has the first form of the third person, and takes an object or instrumentalis, the final -s is followed by an -ē.

\( q\ a \ d\ e\ 'n\ x\ e\ 'd\ e\ s\ e\ s\ a \ g\ 'a\ g\ a\ k\ 'a\ k\ 'a\ 'l\ e\ t\ a\ y\ u \ q\ e\ 's\ m\ d\ e\ m\ a \) that they sing the wooing songs 82.3 (d\ e\ 'n\ x\ id\ to sing; gak- wife [no. 141, p. 498]; -k* lala noise [no. 144, p. 499]; -ayu instrument [no. 174, p. 507]; q*e m d e m song)

Verbs with object of the second person take the ending -aōs, corresponding to -aōs in verbs with second person subject.

Monosyllabic verbs in -a take -ā in place of -ē, and -ayōs or aōs in place of -aaōs.

In the future the -ē precedes the future suffix, and the endings are the same as usual, -ēl, -ēlōs, -ēlēs.

§ 63
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qen do'xwalelaol that I may see 263.26
qaa's la'os na't'nakwa and go home 450.20
qen la' e't'ted that I go again 240.37
qaa'ste' lös that you may go in the future 260.19

§ 64. Causal and Temporal Subordination

Causal and temporal subordination are expressed by forms related to the foregoing. They must also be considered nominal in their character. Here the relation between personal and demonstrative pronoun is very close, the noun which expresses the subordination always appearing with the possessive pronoun of the proper person combined with the demonstrative pronoun of the same person. Subordination is expressed by the suffix -x, which takes possessive endings combined with the proper demonstrative elements. This -x may be related to the objective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal Subordination</th>
<th>Causal Subordination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person . . . . . .</td>
<td>-xg'ín—èk' . . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive . . . . . .</td>
<td>-xg'íns—èk' . . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive . . . . . .</td>
<td>-xg'ínw'x—èk' . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person . . . . . .</td>
<td>-xs—aaqös . . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person . . . . . .</td>
<td>-xs—aè . . . . . .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In place of the suffixed temporal forms, we find also yl'xg'in, etc.

qä' lëzxs 'nèk'aa'qös indeed, when you said 16.11
dzä'qwaxs la'è it was evening when he— 30.4
qaxg'in álëx'dek' le'ng'aa for I really long 25.1
qaxs 'nèk'aa'qös for you said 16.13

When the verb is transitive, the subject is combined with the subordinating -x, while the object remains connected with the verb. The subject may, however, be repeated in the verb in the same way as in the possessive (§ 49).

qaxg'in wule'la'mèg'in laq for I heard it 16.1 (wule'la to hear)
lo'zgun ts'ewig'asa 'wuts'ëxz lös and that I gave you this dog 39.9 (lo and; ts'ë to give; 'wuts' dog)

The ending -x undergoes the same changes as those enumerated in § 50.4, 6.

Whenever these endings follow an objective or instrumental, they take a connective -ë.

llå'ëxs la'ë 24.1 (llå's his sweetheart)
do'xwalelaqëxs wu'nxelaëda xupla' he saw that the hole was deep 11.1

§ 64
It is worth remarking that in these cases there is no differentiation in the third person when the subject of principal and subordinate clauses differ and when they are identical.

la'em k·lēs q'á'lele Mā'xulayuqwa'kxaxa lë'ma'el lē'le K'wā'kwaxsānāxu halā'yuvvé then Mā'xulayuqwa did not know that K'wā'kwaxsānā had obtained the death-bringer 144.39 (k·le not; q'á'le to know; lē'l to obtain; halā'yuv means of death; k·lē'slat'a qū'la qā'sażx la'el lā'g'aa he did not walk long when he arrived 27.2 (qū'la long; qā'saż to walk; lā'g'aa to arrive)

The same forms also occur without the subordinating suffix -x. In these cases the possessive element is suffixed to the postnominal demonstrative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2d person</th>
<th>3d person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ēgr'in</td>
<td>-aqōs</td>
<td>-as</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

k·lē'sadgōs q'āxnaqavawā 'nā'la you do not come in the daytime (k·lē not; q'āx to come; -naqav from time to time [§ 26, no. 95]; 'nā'la day)
lā'atase la'qulayuqwa yā'qlega'tla then, it is said, Crying-Woman spoke 261.43

§ 65. Conditional

The conditional is formed from the same stem qa as the causal. It takes the ending ē. In this case the first person takes the same form nL which has been discussed in § 50.1. The principal verb may also take the suffix ē, and is often accompanied by the suffix -laz (§ 28, no. 105), which expresses uncertainty.

Following are the conditional forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>Inclusive</th>
<th>Exclusive</th>
<th>2d person</th>
<th>3d person, demonstrative, 1st person</th>
<th>3d person, demonstrative, 2d person</th>
<th>3d person, demonstrative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qa'no</td>
<td>qa'nō</td>
<td>qa'nu'xō</td>
<td>qa'sō</td>
<td>qa'xō</td>
<td>qa'xō</td>
<td>qa'gō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

qa'sō hamx·'idxa hamq·'ialayuL lōl if you eat the food that is given to you. 258.33 (hamx·'id to eat, hamq·'ial to give food, -ayu passive [§ 36, no. 174], lōl to you)

qa'sō k·lē'slax ha'mā'plazōl if you should not eat 262.11 (k·lē not, -lax uncertainty, ha'mā'p to eat, -lax uncertainty, ēl you [§ 50.5])
§ 66. Imperative and Exhortative

The imperative of inchoative verbs is generally formed with the suffix *g-a; that of continuative verbs, with *-la.

dá'salga dive! 461.23

The defective forms *gē'la come! hā'g-a go! belong here. We find also the double form *gēlag'a come!

Often the imperative is introduced by a form derived from the interjection we go on! which takes the imperative ending *-g-a or (in the future) *-g'il. In other cases the we takes pronominal endings. In constructions with we'g-a, the intransitive verb takes the ending *-x.

we'g-a 'nā'xumālax go on, cover your face! 185.35
we'g-il la gwā'la'la'le ex keep ready! 242.28
wē'entsōs q'en wulā'ōl let me ask you (=you [exhortative] that I ask you) 145.22

Sometimes hā'g-a and gē'la are used in the same manner as we'g-a.

hā'g-a xwā'nal'īd ex go and get ready! 114.28

Exhortatives are formed with the suffix *-x:

we'x'ins wi'nax K. let us make war on K. 301.25
we'g'ax'ī lā'k!wēmasēs nā'qa'yōs strengthen your mind 13.8
gwā'lax'ī hē'x'idaem o'q'usēs nā'qa'yōsaq don't believe your own mind at once 269.3

Negative imperatives are always introduced by gwā'la don't! which is derived from gwā to cease.

gwā'la 'nēk- don't say so! 144.35

It is quite likely that the forms in *-g-a are related to the demonstrative endings, and that the imperative is less a modal form than an expression of the immediate nearness of action.

In many cases the imperative idea is expressed by the future, either alone or introduced by we'g-a and gwā'la. The transitive imperative seems to be expressed always by the future.

The ending *-nō forms a peculiar emphatic imperative:

gwā'nō don't! 462.18 yā'LLānō take care!

Probably this suffix has the meaning ENTIRELY, ALTOGETHER, and is used as an imperative only secondarily. At least, the forms lō'quånō, gō'x'nō, were translated to me YOU SEE, COME! implying that the opposite ideas of not seeing, not coming, are entirely excluded.

§ 66
§ 67. Interrogative

When interrogative pronouns—ang*-who, *ma*-what, *wi*-when, g'-in- how many—are contained in interrogative sentences, the ordinary verbal forms are used. When these are not interrogative pronouns, the verb takes the suffix -a.

*mā'sas bəgwā'nem? what kind of a man are you? 147.24
*mā'sös lā'ga'la'taaqös? what is standing behind you? 37.21
*a'ngwax'las? what is on you (= is your name)? 67.31
*wī'den *wa'tslā? where is my dog? 44.24
*wīdāl's g'ī't'ā'idē? where do you come from? 123.26
 gayt'usel'aa'maa'nāt did I stay under water long? 34.19 (ga- long; -ns under water [§ 21, no. 26]; -la [contin.]; -m [connect., § 27, no. 103]; -a [interrog.]; en I; -a [interrog.])
k-le'sas yā'nema? have you no game? 45.27 (k'-le's none; -as thou; yā'nem game; -a absent; a [interrog.])
plep'lā'sasa are you blind? 95.26

In interrogative sentences the voice sinks at the end of the sentence.

§ 68. Plural

When the sense requires clear expression of the pronominal plural, the suffix -x'da'tu is used, which is treated like other suffixes beginning with x', and loses this sound after consonants.

This suffix must not be considered a pronominal ending. It is attached to interjections as well as to verbs.

t'ya'x'da'tu (address of several people) 219.17
lā'x'da'tu'laē they went, it is said 266.27

§ 69. Adverbs

From what has been said before, is appears that there are very few adverbs only in Kwakiutl. A great number of adverbial ideas are expressed by suffixes, while others are verbs. To this class belong, for instance:

ēs, k'-lēs not
ā- really
hāl- quickly

The only independent adverbs that do not take verbal forms, so far as they are known to me, are sā'q almost, and the numeral adverbs formed with the suffix -p'ēn.

§§ 67–69
§ 70. VOCABULARY

Most of the Kwakiutl stems are monosyllabic, and consist either of a consonant, vowel, and consonant; or of a vowel preceded or followed by a consonant. Only a few stems consist of a short vowel followed by two consonants. Apparently there are some bisyllabic stems; for instance—

\[ alə'xʷ- \text{ to hunt sea-mammals} \quad \text{ā'lä to search} \]
\[ məxə'lq- \text{ to boil} \quad \text{g'-ilō'ł- to steal} \]
\[ k'-iłələk- \text{ to strike} \]

Owing to the great number of nominal suffixes, most nouns are derived from verbs, so that the number of primarily denominative stems is small. Examples of nominal stems derived from verbs or neutral stems have been given in § 36. A few others may be given here.

\[ łō's \text{ tree (= standing on ground)} \quad \text{mena'tsʰəč} \text{ drum (= striking receptacle)} \]
\[ latə'ml \text{ hat (= hanging face-cover)} \quad \text{mək'u'la} \text{ moon (= round thing being)} \]
\[ qō's \text{ pond (= water in it on ground)} \quad \text{wō'lasə'xʷ} \text{ lynx (= big toothed)} \]
\[ xu'lqwis \text{ shark (= rough body)} \quad \text{du'wayu} \text{ salmon weir (= means of standing)} \]

Furthermore, many local suffixes form nouns by being attached to the nominal stem ə- SOMETHING, and a few related stems. We find, for instance, ə'bə̱zə chest, ə'xʷə̱dzəкладыва foot of mountain, ə'nə̱wə̱qə̱ CORNER. Before vowels, the stem ə- becomes aʷ-; for instance, in aʷə̱wə̱zədə mouth of a vessel.

A number of nouns are found, however, which are neither descriptive nor immediately reducible to the series of local suffixes. Among parts of the body we find some that do not occur as suffixes.

\[ e'ldz- \text{ flesh} \quad \text{yōm- thumb} \]
\[ elkʷ- \text{ blood} \quad \text{k'-ił- third finger} \]
\[ hap- \text{ hair of body} \quad \text{sələ'- fourth finger} \]
\[ sə̱xə̱'y- \text{ hair of head} \quad \text{aen- eyebrows} \]
\[ xaq bone \quad \text{zawə̱qə skul} \]
\[ lə̱'bə̱'- \text{ skin} \quad \text{na̱'xʷ vulva} \]
\[ k'-ił- \text{ tongue} \quad \text{tsə̱xə̱'y- intestines} \]
Other names of parts of the body occur in two forms—as independent words and as suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>w'ôms</td>
<td>-xlâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>sêms</td>
<td>-xâta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>p'esp'ë'yô'</td>
<td>-atô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>gâbalô'xôlê</td>
<td>-êsto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>face</td>
<td>gô'gumê</td>
<td>-gëm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>w'ë'ndëas</td>
<td>-ilba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>q'ë'g'a</td>
<td>-sx'â</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belly</td>
<td>tek'ë'</td>
<td>-ës</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>a'ysô'</td>
<td>-x'isânâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>g'o'gôb'yd</td>
<td>-x'esês</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few other nouns which appear among the suffixes also exist as independent nominal stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>leq'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>a'wap-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one side</td>
<td>ap-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The classification of verbs according to form of object is well developed. Since there are but few classificatory endings, and since their use is primarily restricted to numerals, we find many different stems used for this purpose.

A list of stems will be found in my book "Kwakiutl Texts" (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. iii).

§ 70
G·ō'kula'laes Tsle'1qwal0lela2 la'xa3 ē'k·lē4 a'wi'nagwisa5
Lived it is said Heat at the above world.

G·ā'x'em'laes Tsle'1qwal0lela3 le'wis7 sā'semē8 yīx9 Sē'paxaēs10
Came referred to Heat and his children, that Shining-down it is said

Lō11 Yā'qentema'ya xa12 ts'edā'q lō13 G·ō'xden le'wa13 ā'le14
and First-Speaker the woman and G·ō'xden and the last
xunō'xu-se15 Dā'qoqwanagēsela16 K·le'sla17 g·ā'xē18 gēne'mas19
child his Seeing-from-Corner-to-Corner. Not it is said came wife of
Tsle'1qwal0lela, yīx9 Lē'selaga20 qa hē'qentēmas21 qā'samasē22
Heat, that Sun-Woman for that one being she go-making she

Lē'selaga23 Lē'sela. Hē'qlatla24 neqā'xa25 Ōmanis
Sun-Woman the sun. That it is said, straight-down Omanis however,

yīx9 Tsle'1qwal0lela le'wis7 sā'sem. Hē'x·idaem'la'wis58
that Heat and his children. That began referred to it is said

1 g·ō'k: HOUSE; -a'se with the special meaning INHABITANT (§ 26, no. 91); -i is said, with demonstrative -ē; -i le' (§ 32, no. 132).
2 ts'edē'q: HOT; -ás (§ 26, no. 91); -dē'la (§ 26, no. 93).
3 ā to go; -as nominal vocalic objective (§§ 49, 59); the whole word serves as the vocalic locative (§ 61).
4 ō; -k: HIGH, ABOVE; -ā 3rd person demonstrative (§§ 48, 56, 57).
5 -is REACH (§ 22, no. 45). This word is derived from the stem 6 SOMETHING, and the suffix -ānak (no. 183 e). The terminal -a indicates that it is one of many countries (§ 59).
6 gō, zē come, ām nomina (§ 27, no. 103); -lē (note 1).
7 lō, and, with possessive 3rd person, thing possessed belonging to subject (§§ 49, III b, 55).
8 sā' set children plural (singular tōmok, stem tōnak); -ē dem. (§ 55).
9 yīs that, consonantal form preceding proper name (§ 59), objective form for apposition (§ 58).
10 āpē, -SHINE, RAY; -ās down (§ 21, no. 19); -ē on reach (§ 22, no. 45).
11 lō and, consonantal before proper name (§ 59).
12 yālēn to talk; -ēm face (§ 23, no. 54); -ēm nominal suffix (§ 36, no. 161). This takes the form -ēm before objective -ē (§ 50.8); -ē objective form introducing apposition, vocalic form before common noun.
13 le'wē and, vocalic form before common noun (§ 50.11).
14 dē recent; -ē demonstrative (note 4).
15 tōmok, stem tōnak; child (see note 8); -ē his, placed after the noun, since the subject of the sentence le'wēs dē tōmok'ēs is dē, while the possessor is Heat (see § 49, III b); -ēe nominal indefinite before proper nouns (§§ 49, 59).
16 dōqwa to see; dō'dōqwa to endeavor to see. The rest of the name is not quite clear.
17 sē is not; -a'se (see 1). This is a verbal form.
18 gō come; there is no -ēm here, because this is a new idea that is introduced into the tale; -ē consonantal, pronominal (§§ 49, 59).
19 tōmok, stem pag- wife; -ēm (§ 36, no. 193 e); -ē ind. possessive before proper name (§ 59).
20 Lē'sela; Heat; Lē'sela sun; -ē woman (§ 36, no. 192).
21 āq on account of; ād that one; -ēm abstract noun, quality of; -ēm (§ 27, no. 105); -ē possessive third person.
22 gō to walk; -ēmā to cause (§ 35, no. 158); -ē cons. demonstrative (§§ 49, 59).
23 -ēa definite object (§ 49).
24 ād that; -ē is it said (§ 32, no. 132); -a however (§ 27, no. 101).
25 hē straight (i.e., to come straight down); hē is here subject; -ēa indicates the apposition explaining the ād that.
26 hē that; -ē'q that connective (§ 26, no. 90); -ēm connective (§ 27, no. 103); after the inchoative this suffix requires always a connective -ēa; -ē (see note 1); -ēm-wis and so (§ 27, no. 104).
G-e'xden la\* q'a's'id\* la'xa\* Wák'-lēgēsla.\* Lā'la\* then it is said
G-e'xden went walk-began la to the Bent-Bay its name.

dō'x'wa1ela1axa\* neq'a'tslaq\* xwák'lu1a3 xwe'x\* laq\*. Lā'la\* then it is said
he discovered the ten long canoes hollow things on beach
xwák'lu1a3 at it. Then it is said

\*'w'um'wig'a\* 36 la'x'\* la'e\* 37 xwák'lu1a3 at landward of the
he hid back of them, then referred to said and so he went

Lā'la\* 30 G-e'xden dēx'wutl'ālis\* laq\*. Lā'la\* 30 yā'q'leg'a\*lēdā\* 42
Then it is said jumped out of woods to them. Then it is said
G-e'xden speak began the

'nemō'kwē\* 43 begwā'numē.\* "f'mā'sōs\* 45 yā'lag'īlisēx,\* 46 G-e'xden!"
one person man: "What your work moving on
Begwā'numē: "G-e'xden!"

"nē'x'sōla3\* G-e'xden. Lā'la\* 30 nā'nx'ma'ya: 48 "Lā'logwasdē'fīn\* 49
was told it is jumped out of woods
G-e'xden then it is said
"I am trying to get a magical treasure"

lōl\* 50 G-e'xdenaxa\* wulē\* 51 G-e'xden the
Then it is said asked the
begwā'numē: \* man:
"\*\*mā'nōxwas?\* 54 Lā'la\* 30 nā'nx'ma'eda\* 55 begwā'numāq.\* 56
man to him:

"What tribe are you?"

Then it is said replied the

\* 'ma\* went, signifies here a new action: then.
\* qā\* to walk; -q'a'id inchoative (§ 26, no. 90).
\* wē'dk\* bent; -ēp. side (§ 22, no. 51); -ēp on beach (§ 22, no. 45); -ēp on (-named) (§ 21, no. 23 b).
\* la (see note 27); -la (see note 1).
\* dōq\* to see; -āla to accomplish (§ 26, no. 90); -ā vocalic pronominal object (see note 23).
\* dēq. ten (-straight); -dēq long object (§ 24, no. 84); -e demonstrative (see note 4).
\* Stem: wōk\*.
\* nē\* hollow things are somewhere [plural to hān]; -ēp on beach (§ 22, no. 45).
\* Locative (see note 3); -q object 3d person (§ 49).
\* wē'wō\* to hide; w for -ō off (§ 21, no. 37). -ēp bark (§ 23, no. 69); the reason for the introduction of w before -ēp is not clear; -q object 3d person (§ 49).
\* la (see note 27); -ēm-āka and so (§ 27, no. 104); -ə (see note 1). Here lā is used as the verb to oo.
\* lā consonant form of locative (see note 3) before a form with genitive ending (§ 59).
\* lā-landward; -q nominal ending (§ 36, no. 181); -ēq vocalic genitive (§ 49).
\* Reduplication for plural (§ 41).
\* dēx\* to jump; -ōla out of woods (§ 21, no. 37, c); -ōla on beach (§ 22, no. 45; § 37, no. 197).
\* pōq'\* to talk; -pōtl\* to begin to make noise (§ 34, no. 145); this combination seems irregular: ēq vocalic subjective (§ 49).
\* tēm one; -ōk person; -ē demonstrative.
\* Stem: bēkx\* man; -tēm (§ 36, no. 193, b); -n (see note 5).
\* tēdwa what; -ōd thy (pronominal possessive).
\* yą\* to be occupied [cf. yą'p'atsə canoe (= receptacle) for occupation]; gā'la to be in a state of occupation; -ū11 moving on beach (§ 22, no. 45; § 37, no. 197); -ēx postnominal demonstrative 2d person (§ 48, 11).
\* tēk\* to say; -ō'q passive (§ 35, no. 150); -lēq (see note 1).
\* Stem perhaps nąq\* to imitate.
\* ēq\* something magical, precious; la'q'ōk\* tos to endeavor to get something precious (§ 40); the softening suffix -āq does not known from any other combination; -sə, 1, subject.
\* Locative, 2d person object (§ 48, 1; § 61).
\* wēl\* to question; -ēq pronominal before proper name.
\* -ą11, the first -ą connects the subject with the pronominal object -ą11 (§ 50.4).
\* Stem: bēkx\* man (see note 44), -e demonstrative.
\* -nā what; -ōk' here, tribe (§ 36, no. 162); -nā 2d person.
\* See note 48; -nā definite pronominal (§ 49).
\* See note 44; -ęq pronominal object, 3d person (§ 50.4).
"Max'eñoxunux. Hô'x'widôx alé'watslaxsenu'x. G'igama'êx. "We are killer-whales. It split this this hunting canoe of our chief here."

Lâ'laë 30 wu'l'sa'wë 61 G'ë'x'den lâx 28 tle'm'yâsëxës xâ'k'runâx 43
Then it is was asked G'ë'x'den about his material for his canoe when it said sewing hó'x'widâx 44.

Lâ'laë 30 nê'lasa 65 dewë'x 46. "Há'g'a 67 axë'jëx 66
Then it is he told of the cedar-withes. "Go get the dewë'xa," 66 nê'x'sô'laë 70 G'ë'x'den. Lâ'laë 30 qa's'ida 71 K'ë's'latla 72
Then it is said that he gave (with) to the cedar-withes. was told to G'ë'x'den. Then it is started. Not it is said, however,

gâ'la'x 73 gâ'x'æ 74 dâ'la'x 75 dewë'x 76 qa's 77 tle'we'gës 78 lâ'x 3
when he came the cedar withes that he gave (with) to the begwâ'nem. Lâ'la'ë 79 begwâ'nem sa'itslalax 80 dewë'x. 66

Then it is said the man tried to break to the cedar withes.

"Má'ë 81 xa'ñelagä'la'sik 82 te'lqwa?" 83 Lâ'laë 79 begwâ'nem
"What is the reason of this weak?" Then it is said the man

Yâ'laqsa 84 nemo'k'we 48 begwâ'nem qa 31 le'g axë'jëx 68 se'Ibësa. 45
sent (with) the one person that he go take the twisted-on-

beach.

57 wâks'- TO PURSUE SECRETLY; -enom nomen actoris (§ 36, no. 162); mâ'ë'chom KILLER-WHALE; -enom exclusive.
58 hôrs'- TO SPLIT; -i'd ichoostive, -ix demonstrative 2d person.
59 aëy'- TO HUNT SEA-MAMMALS; -aës' RECEPTACLE (§ 36, no. 184); aë'watsë HUNTING-CANOE; -ix postnominal demonstrative 2d person; -aë'wës' prenominal possessive exclusive.
60 i'-CHIEF; -ipamë- CHIEF, perhaps chief among others (§ 21, no. 76); -ix postnominal demonstrative 2d person.
61 wâl'- TO QUESTION; -i'ë passive (§ 35, no. 159); -i'ëwë prenominal indefinite.
62 lë'äm- TO SEW WOOD WITH CEDAR-WITHES; tle'äm'yâs (for tle'm'yâs SEWING- INSTRUMENT [§ 4]; -i'ë; - (§ 50.12); -ix prenominal possessive 3d person.
63 See note 33; -ix (§ 64).
64 See note 58; -ë (§ 64).
65 më- TO TELL; -ë (instrumental, § 60) ABOUT.
66 dewë' Cedar-WITHES, CEDAR-TWIGS.
67 Id occurs only in imperative forms; -ë imperitive ending (§ 66).
68 ax'- TO DO, TO TAKE; -i'ë ichoostive (§ 26, no. 90); -ix prenominal consosonic object.
69 -a invisible and indefinite (§ 59.2).
70 mëk'- TO SAY; -ë passive (§ 35, no. 159); -më (see note 1).
71 gë'- TO WALK; -i'ë ichoostive (§ 26, no. 90); -ë terminal (§ 57).
72 See 17; -ë, HOWEVER (§ 27, no. 101).
73 i'-ë LONG; gë'la from gë and -ës (§ 26, no. 92); -ës (§ 64).
74 See note 64.
75 mëa TO TAKE; -ë (§ 26, no. 91); -ix prenominal vocavile object.
76 See note 60; here without indefinite -ë, because he carries the material, so that it is now definite.
77 § 63, subject of the subordinate clause agrees with the principal clause, therefore -ë after the ga.
78 më/ë TO GIVE; -ë after ga; -ë instrumental.
79 See note 30; -ës vocavile prenominal subject.
80 ax'- to break, to crack; -ës across; -ë to endeavor with reduplication and hardened consonant (see p. 456; -ës vocavile prenominal object.
81 Ste WHAT; -ë possessive; -ë demonstrative.
82 më'a'- VERY; -ë (§ 26, no. 91); -ë më reason (§ 36, no. 178); -ë interrogative; -ë possessive; -k postnominal demonstrative 1st person.
83 jë-pë- WEAK.
84 më'la'- TO SEND, always with instrumentals.
85 kë-pë- TO TWIST; -ë ON BEACH (§ 22, no. 45).
La'laeda 78 begwâ' nem dze'lxwida. 86 K'leslatla 73 ga'laus 73 g'axe' 74
Then it was the man began to run. Not it is said, long when he came,
dâ' laxa 75 selbês. 85 La'laeda begwâ' nem t'le'mx'idxa 87 xwâ'k'lu:na. 88
said the twisted-on-
Lâ'laæ 90 dż'i'x'semtsa 88 gwelek'ë 88 la'xës 90 tle'ma'xë. 91 Loom's 91
Then he said the he rubbed on its
gum on the face with the sewing. Then
Lâ'laæ 90 g'igamayasa 94 m'ax'ënoxu, 97 yix 9 He'li'lalag'ilis. 96
It was finished. Then it is the chief of the killer-whales, that Moving-all-over-the-
world.
hâ'em 95 h'egems 97 g'igamayasa 94 m'a'mx'ënoxu 97 'La'mox 99
that was the name the chief of the killer-whales: "It here
lâ'len 100 xue'balax 101 m'â'stö 102 la'xox 103 G'e'xden qa 104 ekhlasoxa 105
will go harpoon to this G'e'xden that he spear with
la'le 106 h'é'mis 107 lé'legems 108 Me'nloselas 109 ë'o 111 Me'nmen-
whale; that (and the names of Place-of-getting-
wa'liqas, 110 le'wishes 7 g'ox'laös 111 m'a'axterlaxaös 112 g'ox'laös 111
Satiated, and (your) house (your) killer-whale on front will be (your)
Là'le 113 m'a'axterlaxaös 114 ló'quilhaös 115 h'é'mis 107 hala'yu 116 lóë 11
will be your future dish in that and killing
and qula'sta 117 Lëwa 118 xue'lix'e 119 xudâ'yu 110 qas's sex'x'a'laös 71
life water and the quartz-
toothed knife for your butcher-knife."

The subject changes, hence the -a follows the verb.

Ârâl 2d person visible.

-ëm-wis (§ 28, no. 104).

xu'ül'qê 2d person visible, consonantive (§§ 48, 59).

The subject changes, hence the -ë follows the verb.

âx-to speak; -aë continuous; -ax with this, 2d person visible (§§ 48, 59); -aë object.

â-ë 2d person, prenominal possessive.

â'qul' dish; â-in house; â-âs (see note 111).

âha-to kill (Hâ'xarma'qu dialect); âyam instrument.

âqua life; âxâ water (§ 22, no. 39).

See note 13.

âx-to cut blubber; âyam instrument.

âk-h to carve; âx-ë tooth; -ë future; -âs thy, postnominal; 

Heat lived in the upper world. Heat came with his children,—Shining-Down and First-Speaker, a woman, and G·ê’xden, and his youngest child, Seen-from-Corner-to-Corner. The wife of Heat, Sun-Woman, did not come, for she is the one who makes the sun go. Heat and his children came straight down to Ô’manis. At once G·ê’xden went to Bent Bay. There he discovered ten canoes on the beach. He hid behind them landward from the canoes. Then G·ê’xden jumped out of the woods. Then one person spoke. "What are you doing on the beach, G·ê’xden?" Thus G·ê’xden was told. Then he replied, "I am trying to get a magical treasure from you." Then G·ê’xden asked the man, "To what tribe do you belong?" The man answered him, "We are Killer-Whales. The hunting-canoë of our chief is split." Then G·ê’xden was asked what he used to sew his canoe with when it was broken. He mentioned cedar-withes. "Go and get cedar-withes!" G·ê’xden was told. He started, and it was not long before he came, carrying cedar-withes, which he gave to the man. Then the man tore to pieces the cedar-withes. "Why are they so weak?" Then the man sent a person to go and get "twisted on beach." The man ran away; and it was not long before he came, carrying "twisted on beach." Then the man sewed the canoe. He rubbed the outside of his sewing with gum. Then it was finished. Then the chief of the Killer-Whales, Moving-All-Over-the-World,—that was the name of the chief of the Killer-Whales,—(said), "This, my quartz-pointed harpoon, will go to G·ê’xden; and the names Place-of-getting-Satiated and Feeling-Satiated, and your house with a killer-whale (painting) on the front, will be your house; and your dish will be a killer-whale dish; and the death-bringer and the water of life and the quartz-edged knife, which is to be your butcher-knife (shall be yours)." Then the Killer-Whale started. G·ê’xden came and returned to his house. Then he speared whales and sea-otters. Therefore he became a chief.
CHINOOK

BY

FRANZ BOAS
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The Chinookan stock embraces a number of closely related dialects which were spoken along both banks of Columbia river from the Cascades to the sea, and some distance up the Willamette valley. The Chinook were neighbors of tribes belonging to many linguistic stocks. In Shoalwater bay and on the lower course of Columbia river, along its northern bank as far as the Cascade range, they came into contact with tribes of the coast division of the Salishan family. On the upper course of Willapa river they were contiguous to a small Athapaskan tribe; farther to the east they were surrounded by Sahaptin tribes; in the Willamette valley they bordered on the Molala and Kalapuya. On the southern bank of Columbia river, opposite Cowlitz river, lived another Athapaskan tribe whose neighbors they were; while south of the mouth of Columbia river they bordered on the Tillamuk, an isolated branch of the Coast Salish.

The language was spoken in two principal dialects, Upper Chinook and Lower Chinook. The former was spoken on the upper course of Columbia river, as far west as Gray's Harbor on the north bank and a little above Astoria on the south bank of the river. It was subdivided into a number of slightly different dialects. The principal representatives are Kathlamet and Clackamas which were spoken on the lower course of the Columbia river and in the Willamette valley, and Wasco and Wishram which were spoken in the region of The Dalles. The Lower Chinook includes the Clatsop dialect on the south bank of the river (from Astoria downward) and the Chinook proper of the north bank from Grays harbor down, and on Shoalwater bay. The last-named dialect is discussed here.

The name Chinook (T'sl'n'w'k) is the one by which the tribe was known to their northern neighbors, the Chehalis.
The grammar of the Chinook language has been discussed by Horatio Hale,¹ Friederich Müller,² Franz Boas,³ John R. Swanton,⁴ and Edward Sapir.⁵

Unless otherwise stated, references in the following sketch refer to page and line in Franz Boas, Chinook Texts.

**PHONETICS (§§ 2-13)**

§ 2. Vowels.

The phonetic system of Chinook is characterized by a superabundance of consonants and consonant-clusters combined with great variability of vowels. Since practically all our information on the Lower Chinook has been derived from one single individual, the last survivor capable of giving intelligent information, there remain many uncertainties in regard to the system of sounds. My informant was in the habit of changing the position of the lips very slightly only. There was, particularly, no strong forward movement of the lips in the vowel u and the semivowel w. This tendency has been observed in many Indian languages and was probably characteristic of all Chinook speakers. For this reason the u and o sounds are very slightly differentiated. Obscure vowels are frequent and seem to be related to all long and short vowels.

The system of vowels and semivowels may be written as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diphthong</th>
<th>Semi-vowel</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Semi-vowel</th>
<th>Diphthong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ŭ</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>å</td>
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<td>au</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ē)</td>
<td>(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ē)</td>
<td>(i)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the o and u sounds are indistinct, owing to the similarity of lip-positions, the e and i sounds seemingly alternate in accordance with the character of the adjoining sounds. They assume a decided i tinge by contact with a following a, or when following an anterior palatal. There is no strong retraction of the lips, but a considerable

---

¹ Wilkes Expedition, Ethnography and Philology, 562–564. See also Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, II, xxiii-clxxxviii; Hale’s Indians of Northwest America and Vocabularies of North America; with an Introduction by Albert Gallatin.

§ 2
linguо-palatal constriction. In the short vowel the i character is rather accentuated. In the long vowel the e character predominates, unless contact and contrast phenomena emphasize the i character. \( \delta \) seems to occur only with \( k \) sounds and is probably due to an assimilation of short a. \( \ddot{a} \) is rare and seems to occur only in onomatopoetic words. \( \ddot{e} \) and \( \ddot{a} \) are also of peculiar character. \( \ddot{a} \) seems to be always either a rhetorical broadening of \( \ddot{e} \) (as in \( \ddot{a} \)’ka for \( \ddot{e} \)’ka), or an onomatopoetic element which is frequent as terminal sound in interjections. The a series is related to the o and u series in so far as a may be transformed into o or u, while e and i can never be thus transformed. We will designate the o and u sounds as u-series and the e and i sounds as i-series. The only diphthongs that occur are au and ai. Doubled vowels, unless separated by a consonant, glottal stop, do not seem to occur. Short i and u when preceding vowels have always consonant values.

§ 3. Consonants

The consonants consist of labials, dentals, and a very full series of palatals. There are also a number of \( l \) sounds. I did not succeed, however, in distinguishing these satisfactorily. There is also much confusion regarding surds and sonants, not only because the sonant has greater stress than our sonant, but also on account of the occurrence of a labial sound with semiclosure of the nose and weak lip-closure, which is therefore intermediate between \( b \), \( m \), and \( w \), with prevalent \( m \) character. Between vowels the sound approaches a \( b \). The occurrence of \( d \) is also doubtful. Each stop occurs as fortis and surd.

The series of consonants may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sonant</th>
<th>Surd</th>
<th>Fortis</th>
<th>Spirant</th>
<th>Seminusal</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
<th>Semi-vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>( ^{e} )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>( (g,l) )</td>
<td>( q )</td>
<td>( q! )</td>
<td>( x )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal (Anterior palatal)</td>
<td>( g )</td>
<td>( k )</td>
<td>( k! )</td>
<td>( \chi )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>( (d,l) )</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( t! )</td>
<td>( s, , c )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( (l) )</td>
<td>( (y) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dento-alveolar affricative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>( t,s, , t,c )</td>
<td>( t,s! , , t,c! )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>( p )</td>
<td>( p! )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>( m )</td>
<td>( m )</td>
<td>(( w) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>( \eta )</td>
<td>( \ell )</td>
<td>( \ell! )</td>
<td>( \ell, , l )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The alveolar s, c, and the affricative ts, tc, are pronounced with open teeth. The two m's are not distinguished, since the former occurs only before vowels. It is doubtful if they represent two really distinct sounds.

The glottal stop and the velar surd are closely related, the former often taking the place of the latter. An omission of a q after a stop transforms the latter into a fortis. I have placed l and n in the same line, on account of their frequent alternation. Since the glottal stop, velars, palatals, and anterior palatals have certain peculiarities in common, we will designate them as k sounds. The consonants of the anterior palatal series have a decided affricative character, which is least prominent in the fortis. The medial palatal k and the velar q appear also as affricatives. In these cases the continued sound appears so long, that I have written them as kx and qx.

The language admits of extensive consonant clusters, and I have not been able to discover any sequence of consonants that is inadmissible except that clusters consisting of a stop followed by m and n seem to be avoided.

§ 4. Phonetic Laws

Nevertheless we find complex phonetic laws. These may be classed in nine groups:

1. Effects of accent.
2. Laws of vocalic harmony.
3. Laws of consonant assimilation.
4. Vocalization of consonants.
5. Vowel changes.
7. Dieresis.
8. Contraction.
9. Weakening and strengthening of consonants.

Only the first two of these laws are purely phonetic, while the others are restricted to certain grammatical forms. Groups 2–5 are changes due to contact phenomena.

Effects of Accent (§§ 5, 6)

The accent affects the character of the vowel upon which it falls and modifies consonants in so far as certain consonants or consonant clusters are not tolerated when they precede the accent. On the whole, these changes are confined to the Lower Chinook, but they occur also in part in the western dialects of the Upper Chinook.

§ 4
§ 5. Vocalic Changes

1. Vocalic changes consist in the introduction of an e in an accented consonantal cluster which consists of a combination of stems. The e is inserted after the accented consonantal stem. The same change occurs in Kathlamet, while it is absent in Wishram.

\[
\begin{align*}
& a-\text{tce}'-l-a-x \text{ he made it (a- aorist; tce- he; l- it; } -a \text{ directive; } -x \\
& a-\text{ge}'-l-a-x \text{ she made it (a- aorist; ge- she; l- it; } -a \text{ directive; } -x \\
&t\text{e}'-k\text{emôn} \text{ ashes (t- plural gender)}
\end{align*}
\]

2a. Accented short u, when followed by m, n, or l which are followed by vowels, becomes uā'.

\[
\begin{align*}
& iā'\text{gunat} \text{ his salmon} \quad & i\text{guā'nat} \text{ salmon} \\
& t\text{qulip}x\text{unā'yu} \text{ youths} \quad & i\text{qulip}x \text{ youth}
\end{align*}
\]

2b. Accented e and short a, when followed by m, n, or l which are followed by vowels, become ā. The short vowels i and u, when followed by vowels, have consonantal values and affect preceding e and a in the same manner.

\[
\begin{align*}
& i\text{cā'yim} \text{ grizzly-bear} \quad & i\text{cā'y}\text{muc} \text{ grizzly-bears} \\
& x\text{ā'penic giving herself in pay-} \quad & p\text{ā'nic to give in payment to} \\
& \text{ment to shaman} \quad & \text{shaman} \\
& a\text{qtā'witz} \text{ he gives them to} \quad & \text{them 249.13}
\end{align*}
\]

Accented i followed by an a or u vowel becomes āy.

\[
\begin{align*}
& atciā'x \text{ he is accustomed to make him} \\
& m\text{lopiā'lx} \text{ you will gather it} \quad & a\text{giupā'ya}l\text{x} \text{ she gathered him}
\end{align*}
\]

Here belong also the terminal changes of ē in plural forms:

\[
\begin{align*}
& i\text{c}k\text{!alē} \text{ clam basket} \quad & l\text{ck!alē'yuk}s \text{ clam baskets} \\
& î\text{c}ueē'\text{ frog} \quad & î\text{c}ueē'yuk\text{s} \text{ frogs}
\end{align*}
\]

Compare with this the following cases, where n and l belong to consonantal clusters:

\[
\begin{align*}
& nē\text{ze}'lōkō \text{ he awoke} \\
& mē'nx'i \text{ a little while}
\end{align*}
\]

In one case e accented changes to ā before x:

\[
\begin{align*}
& l\text{lā'lex} \text{ bird} \quad & t\text{lalā'xuke} \text{ birds}
\end{align*}
\]

All these changes given under 2 are confined to Lower Chinook. They do not occur in Kathlamet and Wishram.

§ 5
§ 6. Consonantic Changes

Consonantic changes due to accent are as follows:

(1) A k following the accented syllable tends to become the affricative ɬx.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kā’ts̱nk middle} & \quad \text{ō’kẕōts̱nk middle daughter} \\
\text{ig̱’lxṯc̱ukṯk flint} & \quad \text{oy̱’kx̱ilxṯc̱ukṯk his flint arrow-point}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) When the vowel following the cluster ɬx is accented, the z is dropped.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ē’ḻx̱am town} & \quad \text{ił̱ē’ country} \\
\text{aći’ō’ḻx̱am he said to him} & \quad \text{tioḻā’ma he will say to him} \\
\text{uḵō’ḻx̱ul mouse} & \quad \text{ukoḻō’ḻuks mice}
\end{align*}
\]

(3) In words in which a q follows the accented syllable it changes to ‘ when the accent shifts to a syllable following the q. When the q follows the surds p and t, these are changed to the corresponding forties:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ḻā’qauw̱w̱ḻg̱t its blood} & \quad \text{ḻē’w̱ḻg̱t blood} \\
\text{ē’q̱e̱ḻ creek} & \quad \text{ṯē’ḻema creeks} \\
\text{uq̱ā’q̱a̱ḻe̱pṯc̱ḵix̱ his fire} & \quad \text{ō’q̱e̱ḻe̱pṯc̱ḵix̱ fire} \\
\text{ḻā’q̱a̱na its beavers} & \quad \text{ē’ē’na beaver}
\end{align*}
\]

This change takes place also when the accent remains on the syllable preceding the q, when the vowel following the q is short.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ō’q̱ō̱ḻ fish-weir} & \quad \text{ōy̱ā’q̱aḻ his fish-weir}
\end{align*}
\]

These changes mark a phonetic differentiation of Upper and Lower Chinook. In Upper Chinook the q is preserved almost throughout; while in Lower Chinook it tends to be replaced by the glottal stop ‘,—when following p and t by the corresponding fortis,—whenever the accents stand after q, or when it is followed by a short syllable, or when it is terminal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kathlamet</th>
<th>Chinook</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wā’yaq</td>
<td>ń’ya‘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liā’paq̱a</td>
<td>liā’pa‘a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išemelq</td>
<td>ńšō’mel‘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēq̱e̱paq̱te</td>
<td>ńśē’paq̱te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiā’qoıṯ</td>
<td>tiā’w̱it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tgu’ḻe</td>
<td>tńł̱ḻ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The process of modification is, however, incomplete, since we find a number of Chinook words that retain the q.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ńq̱ṯq head} & \quad \text{ai’aq quick} \\
\text{ńc̱e̱ḻq̱e̱ḻq̱ porcupine} & \quad \text{ńṯcuq water}
\end{align*}
\]
Here may also be mentioned the loss of terminal *x* and *x’*, which is characteristic of Upper Chinook, in many Lower Chinook forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kathlamet</th>
<th>Chinook</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>imō’lekumax</em></td>
<td><em>imō’lekuma</em></td>
<td>elks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tqā’lemax</em></td>
<td><em>t!ā’lema</em></td>
<td>creeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mā’lnix’</em></td>
<td><em>mā’lnē</em></td>
<td>seaward</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other characteristic changes are from Upper Chinook *t* to Lower Chinook *s*, as in—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kathlamet</th>
<th>Chinook</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tqā’totinikc</em></td>
<td><em>tqā’sosinikc</em></td>
<td>boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anix’enemō’txēm</em></td>
<td><em>anix’enemō’sxĕm</em></td>
<td>I fooled him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and from Upper Chinook *s* to Lower Chinook *tct*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kathlamet</th>
<th>Chinook</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ē’mas</em></td>
<td><em>ē’matct</em></td>
<td>shame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anō’suwulxt</em></td>
<td><em>anō’tctuwulxt</em></td>
<td>I went up on the water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 7. Laws of Vocalic Harmony

When a *u* vowel precedes a *k* sound, and the *k* sound is either followed by a vowel or is a prefix, it must be followed by a vowel of the *u*–series. The following special cases may be distinguished:

1. An obscure vowel following the *k* sound is transformed into short *u*.
   
   ō’pₗ.iike bow  \( \rightarrow \) ōgu’pₗ.iikē my bow (with prefix -g- my [§ 18])

2. *a* following a *k* sound is transformed into *o* or *u*.
   
   ik!ā’ckc boy  \( \rightarrow \) ōk!ō’ckc girl
   ikanī’m canoe \( \rightarrow \) ōkunī’m canoes

3. An *e* sound following a *k* sound requires a *u* before the *e* sound.
   
   alqē’pxatē alder country  \( \rightarrow \) oguē’pxatē’ alder-bark tree
   lqē’gil a woman  \( \rightarrow \) ō’e’gil the woman

4. If the *k* sound is a prefix, it is considered as a phonetic unit and an *o* is inserted following the *k* sound, even if it is followed by a consonant.
   
   nā’x.xxa she begins to burn  \( \rightarrow \) nō’xōlzxa they begin to burn
   ē’ktcxam he sang  \( \rightarrow \) ō’kōtcxam they sang

The following examples show that the rule does not hold good in consonant clusters that form a stem.

\*atcō’ktcktamit he roasts her  \( \rightarrow \) ōqct louse
(stem -ktckt)

§ 7
§ 8. Consonantic Assimilation

It is doubtful whether there is a single case of consonantic assimilation that is purely phonetic, not dependent on the grammatical value of the consonants involved. For instance, the assimilation of \( l \) by preceding and following \( n \), observed in \( nō'pōnem \) \textit{it gets dark} (from \( őpōl \) \textit{night}), finds no strict analogies in other similar sound groups. An assimilation of \( l \) by preceding \( n \) is found whenever the \( l \) is a frequentative suffix (§ 31).

\[ \text{aksō'pena he jumps} \quad \text{aksō'penan he jumps about} \]

(instead of \( \text{aksō'penal} \))

What is apparently an assimilation of \( l \) by preceding \( n \) is also found in cases of insertion which occur with the suffix -\( L \) (see § 31.8).

§ 9. Vocalization of Consonants

1. \( l \) and \( n \) show a peculiar behavior when occurring in the prefixes -\( gel-, xel-, \) and -\( el; \) or the corresponding -\( gen- \) and -\( xen \) (§ 25). Whenever these prefixes are preceded by \( o \), the \( l \) and \( n \) become \( ė \), so that the prefixes assume the forms -\( (o)goē-, \( (o)xoē-, \) -\( (o)xōē. \)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{agīgē'lxēm she called him} & \quad \text{nōgoēxē'ma I shall call them} \\
\text{axenō'tēn he helped sing} & \quad \text{nōzoēxō'tēn they helped sing}
\end{align*} \]

In other cases the combinations \( kul \) and \( kōl \) are admissible, as in

\[ \text{ōkō'lxul mouse} \quad \text{ōkulā'm surf} \]

2. The intransitive \( t \) of the third person plural (§ 21) becomes \( c \) before all \( k \) sounds, and also before adverbia l \( l \) and \( n \) (§ 25).

§ 10. Vowel Changes

The verbal prefix -\( ē- \) (§ 26), when accented and preceding a \( k \) sound or a \( w \), becomes \( a. \)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{aniō'cgam I took him} & \quad \text{aniā'wa I killed him}
\end{align*} \]

This change does not take place in Upper Chinook.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{igiō'waq (Kathlamet), agiā'wa (Chinook) she killed him}
\end{align*} \]

Unaccented \( o \) does not change in this position.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ā'nozigk I steal her} & \quad \text{ayōwā'x'it he is pursued 261.1}
\end{align*} \]

§ 11. Metathesis

Metathesis seems to be confined to cases in which two suffixes are thoroughly amalgamated; for instance, -\( ako \) and -\( L \) combined form -\( alukL \) (§ 30).

§§ 8–11
§ 12. Dieresis and Contraction

1. Dieresis is confined to the formation of a few verbal plurals, in which the vowel is expanded by insertion of the syllable -yu. Presumably the expansion is related to the dieresis of accented i (see § 5). It seems, however, quite possible that this is really a suffix -yu indicating the distributive. (See § 38.6.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-x'o†</td>
<td>-x'o*yut to bathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-xélatck</td>
<td>-xéläyutck to rise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. A short a, when preceding or following ā and ā, is contracted with these vowels, which remain unchanged. In the same way i is contracted with a following ī or ī.

ōc she is (instead of a-ōc)              ē'lāxam country (instead of i-ē'lāxam)
atciungōmit he causes him to run (instead of atciungō'-amit)

§ 13. Weakening and Strengthening of Consonants

A modification of significance is brought about by a modification of consonants.¹ This phenomenon was discovered by Dr. Edward Sapir in Upper Chinook, but it occurred undoubtedly also in Lower Chinook. The relation of consonants in Upper Chinook is as follows:

- b, p hardened become p!  
- d, t hardened become t!  
- g, k hardened become k!  
- q, q hardened become k!

p, p! softened become b  
t, t! softened become d  
k, k! softened become g  
q, q! softened become g

Similar relations are found between the sibilants:

- tc! hardened becomes ts!  
- tc hardened becomes ts  
- c hardened becomes s, ts  
- ts hardened becomes ts!

s softened becomes c  
-ts softened becomes tc  
-ts! softened becomes tc!

The hardened x becomes x. (Cf. § 53.)

§ 14. GRAMMATICATL PROCESSES

According to their grammatical forms, Chinook words may be grouped in two large classes—syntactic words and particles. While the former, except in exclamations, always contain pronominal and other elements that define their function in the sentence, the latter occur as independent and isolated words. The elements of the syn-

¹ See Edward Sapir, L. c., 537.
tactic words are often phonetically weak, and consist sometimes of single consonants, of consonant clusters, of single vowels, or of weak monosyllables. In combination these may form polysyllabic words. The particles are necessarily of such phonetic character that they can stand by themselves. For these reasons, both classes of words appear as fixed phonetic and formal units, so that in Chinook there can be no doubt as to the limits of words.

The grammatical processes applied with these two classes of words differ. Some of the particles may be duplicated, while duplication and reduplication never occur in syntactic words. Particles when transformed into syntactic words may, however, retain their duplications. Syntactic words are modified by means of prefixes and suffixes and by modification of the stem, which, however, is probably always of phonetic origin. Prefixes are much more numerous than suffixes, but are phonetically weaker, rarely consisting of more than a single sound. They appear in considerable numbers in single words. Six prefixes in one word are not by any means unusual. The number of suffixes that may appear in combination is more limited. They are phonetically stronger. More than two or three suffixes are rarely found in one word.

Word-composition is not infrequent. However, some of the elements which enter into composition rarely appear alone, or rather, combined with syntactic elements only. They represent principally a definite group of local ideas, and therefore give the impression of being affixes rather than independent stems. These words are, for instance, motion into, out of, up, down (see § 27). Setting aside compound words of this class, composition of independent stems, or rather of stems which are used with syntactic elements only, is infrequent. Nouns are, however, largely of complex origin, and in many of them stems and affixes may be recognized, although the significance of these elements is not known to us.

The position of the word is quite free, while the order of the constituent elements of syntactic words is rigidly fixed.

§ 15. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

In discussing the ideas expressed by means of grammatical forms, it seems best to begin with syntactic words. All syntactic relations of these are expressed by pronominal and adverbial prefixes. Syn-
tactic words may be divided into three classes that receive different treatment—transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, and nouns. All of these have in common that they must contain pronominal elements, which in the first class are subjective and objective, while in the other two classes they are objective (from the Indo-European point of view, subjective). The noun is therefore closely associated with the intransitive verb, although it is not identical with it. It retains, to a certain extent, a predicative character, but is in form partly differentiated from the intransitive verb.

The differentiation of transitive and intransitive is contained in the pronominal elements. The subject of the transitive differs in some cases from that of the intransitive, which is in form identical with the objective form of the transitive.

The relations of nouns are expressed by possessive pronouns, which seem to be remotely related to the subjective transitive pronouns. Owing to the predicative character of the noun, the possessive form has partly the meaning HAVING.

Both intransitive and transitive verbs may contain indirect pronominal objects. These are expressed by objective pronouns. Their particular relation to the verb is defined by elements indicating the ideas of FOR, TO, WITH, etc. The possessive relations of subject and object—i.e., the possession of one of the objects by the subject, or of the indirect object by the direct object, and vice versa—are also expressed.

All the syntactic relations between the verb and the nouns of the sentence must be expressed by means of pronominal and adverbial elements incorporated in the verb, so that the verb is the skeleton of the sentence, while the nouns or noun-groups held together by possessive pronouns are mere appositions. Certain locative affixes which express the syntactic relations of nouns occur in the dialect of the Cascades; but these seem to have been borrowed from the Sahaptin.

The function of each pronominal element is clearly defined, partly by the differentiation of forms in the transitive and intransitive verbs, partly by the order in which they appear and by the adverbial elements mentioned before.

In the pronoun, singular, dual, and plural are distinguished. There is an inclusive and an exclusive in dual and plural, the exclusive being related to the first person. The second persons dual and

§15
plural are related to the second person singular. The third person singular has three genders—masculine, feminine, and neuter—and a single form each for dual and plural. These forms are not only true sex and number forms, but agree also with a generic classification of nouns which is based on sex and number.

The nominal stem itself has no characteristic of gender, which is expressed solely in the pronoun. The sex and number origin of the genders is clear, but in the present status of the language the genders are as irregularly distributed as those of Indo-European languages. These genders are expressed in the incorporated pronominal representative of the noun, and since there is generally sufficient variety in the genders of the nouns of the sentences, clearness is preserved even when the order of the nouns in apposition is quite free.

Besides the sex and number classes we find a classification in human beings on the one hand and other beings and objects on the other. These are expressed in the numeral, the demonstrative, and in plural forms of nouns.

It was stated before, that, in the pronoun, duality and plurality are distinguished. In the noun, a true plural, not pronominal in character, is found only in some words. These were evidently originally the class of human beings, although at present the use of this nominal plural is also irregular. Furthermore, a true distributive is found, which, however, has also become irregular in many cases. Its original significance is discernible in numeral adverbs (§ 38). A distributive is also found in a small number of verbal stems.

There are few nominal affixes of clear meaning, and very few that serve to derive nouns from verbal stems. There are only two important classes of verbal nouns which correspond to the relative sentence THE ONE WHO— and to the past-passive relative sentence WHAT IS —ED; of these two the latter coincides with ordinary nouns, while the former constitutes a separate class. Still another class contains local nouns, WHERE— (§ 40).

Demonstrative pronouns form a class by themselves. They contain the personal pronouns of the third person, but also purely demonstrative elements which indicate position in relation to the three persons, and, in Lower Chinook, present and past tense, or visibility and invisibility.

Only a few modifications of the verb are expressed by incorporated elements. These are the temporal ideas—in Lower Chinook those of § 15
future and perfect and of the indefinite aoristic time, to which are added in Upper Chinook several other past tenses. In some cases these temporal elements express rather ideas that may be termed transitional and continuative. There is a series of semitemporal suffixes expressing the inchoative and varieties of frequentatives; and also a number of directive prefixes, which seem to express the direction of the action in relation to the speaker.

All other ideas are expressed by particles. A somewhat abnormal position among these is occupied by the numerals from 2 to 9 and by a very few adjectives. These numerals are nouns when they are used as ordinals; when used as adjectives, they are generally particles; when referring to human beings, they are nouns of peculiar form (§ 51).

Most remarkable among the particles is a long series of words, many of which are onomatopoetic and which are mostly used to express verbal ideas. In this case the verbal relation is expressed by an auxiliary verb which signifies to do, to make, or to be. These words exhibit a gradation from purely interjectional terms to true adverbial or, more generally, attributive forms. They are analogous to our English forms like bang went the gun, or ding dong made the bells, and merge into forms like he was tired. If we imagine the word tired pronounced with imitative gestures and expression, it attains the value that these particles have in Chinook. The number of these words is considerable, and they take the place of many verbs. Most of them can be used only with verbs like ro do and ro go. Other adverbs differ from this class in that they are used with other verbs as well. There is no clear distinction between these adverbs and conjunctions.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 16-56)

Syntactic Words (§§ 16-45)

§16. Structure of Syntactic Words

All syntactic words contain pronominal elements which give them a predicative character. A few seem to contain only the pronominal element and the stem, but by far the greater number contain other elements besides. Most words of this class are built up by composition of a long series of elements, all of which are phonetically too
weak to stand alone. The most complex of these words contain all the elements of the sentence. Their order is as follows:

1. Modal element (transitional, participial).
2. Pronominal elements.
   a. Subject.
   b. First object.
   c. Second object.
3. Following one of these may stand an element expressing the possessive relation between the subject and the objects.
4. Adverbial prefixes.
5. Direction of verbal action.
6. Verbal stem, single or compound.
7. Adverbial suffixes.

These elements are, of course, hardly ever all represented in one word. Following are a few characteristic examples of these words:

\[ a-m-l-a-x-cg-\textit{d} m-x \text{ thou wert in the habit of taking it from her} \]
\[ a- \text{ aorist (1, see § 17)} \]
\[ m- \text{ thou, subject (2a, see § 18)} \]
\[ l- \text{ it, object (2b, see § 18)} \]
\[ a- \text{ her, second object (2c, see § 18)} \]
\[ -x- \text{ indicates that it belongs to her (3, see § 24)} \]

Elements 4 and 5 are not represented.
\[ -cg- \text{ stem to take (6)} \]
\[ -am \text{ complective (7a, see § 29)} \]
\[ -x \text{ usitative (7b, see § 32)} \]

\[ tc-t-a-l-\textit{d} t-a \text{ he will give them to her} \]
\[ tc- \text{ he, subject (2a, see § 18)} \]
\[ t- \text{ them, object (2b, see § 18)} \]
\[ a- \text{ her, second object (2c, see § 18)} \]
\[ -l- \text{ to (4, see § 25)} \]
\[ -o- \text{ direction from speaker (5, see § 26)} \]
\[ -ol- \text{ stem to give (6)} \]
\[ -a \text{ future (7, see § 32)} \]

Elements 1 and 3 are not represented.

There are, of course, transitive verbs with but one object. In most intransitive verbs all the elements relating to the object disappear and the form of the word becomes comparatively simple.

\[ l-\textit{d} c \text{ it is} \]
\[ l\text{- it, subject (2a, see § 18)} \]
\[ -\textit{d} - \text{ direction from speaker (5, see § 26)} \]
\[ -c \text{ stem to be, singular (6)} \]

§ 16
Complex intransitive forms are, however, not rare.

\textit{te-n-xe-l-\textbar-x-\textbar} they will be on me

- \textit{te-} they, subject (2a, see § 18)
- \textit{n-} me, indirect object (2c, see § 18)
- \textit{-xe-} indicates that \textit{they} belong to \textit{me} (3, see § 24)
- \textit{-l-} to (4, see § 25)
- \textit{-\textbar-} direction from speaker (5, see § 26)
- \textit{-x-} stem to \textit{do}, to \textit{be} (6)
- \textit{-\textbar-} future (7, see § 32)

Nouns are similar to simple intransitive verbs, but they have \textit{(or had)} nominal (modal) prefixes. They have no directive elements. They may take possessive forms which do not appear in the verb.

The order of elements in the noun is the following:

1. Nominal (modal) element.
2. Pronominal elements.
   - Subjective.
   - Possessive.
3. Nominal stem, single or compound.
4. Suffixes:
   - \textit{W-\textbar-x-lemlem} Rotten-wood (a place name)
   - \textit{w-} nominal prefix (1*)
   - \textit{a-} subjective feminine (2 a*)
   - \textit{lemlem} stem ROTTEN WOOD (3*)
   - \textit{\textbar-x-m\textbar-q\textbar} thy head
   - \textit{\textbar-x-} subjective masculine (2 a*)
   - \textit{-m\textbar-} possessive second person (2 b*)
   - \textit{-q\textbar-} stem HEAD (3*)

In the following sections these component elements will be taken up in order.

§ 17. \textit{Modal Elements}

1. \textit{a-}. This prefix indicates a transitional stage, a change from one state into another. Therefore it may be translated in intransitive verbs by \textit{to become}. In transitive verbs it is always used when there is no other element affixed which expresses ideas contradictory to the transitional, like the perfect, future, or nominal ideas. In the transitive verb it appears, therefore, on the whole as an aoristic tense. The action passing from the subject to a definite object is in Chinook always considered as transitional (transitive), since it implies a change of condition of object and subject. In the Kathlamet dialect of the Upper Chinook the corresponding prefix is \textit{i-}.
Whenever the a- stands before a vocalic element, its place is taken by n-. The masculine i- preceding a vowel has consonant character, and retains, therefore, the a-. In Kathlamet n- is used under the same conditions; but, besides, a form occurs beginning with i-, which is followed by a -g-.

Intransitive, before consonant:

a-l-x’-k’im it said (a- transitional; l- it; k’im to say)
a-n-o’-tx-uit I began to stand (a- transitional; n- I; o- directive; tx to stand; uit to be in a position)

Intransitive, before vowel:

n-ë’-k’im he said (n- transitional; e- he; k’im to say)
n-o’-x-o-x they became (n- transitional; o- they; x reflexive; o- directive; x stem to do, to be)

Transitive:

a-tcx’-t-a-x he did them (a- transitional; tc- he; t- them; a- directive; x stem to do)

The following examples are taken from the Kathlamet dialect:

Intransitive, before consonant:

i-l-x’-k’im it said; Kathlamet texts 99.4 (analysis as before)
i-m-ta-t-k!oa-mam you came home ibid, 132.15 (m-thou; x (o)- reflexive; t- coming; k!oa to go home; (m)am to arrive)

Intransitive, before vowel:

i-g-ë’-x-k!oa he went home ibid. 169.6 (-ë- he; x- reflexive)
i-g-ä-x-k!oa she went home ibid. 191.8

Transitive:

i-q-i-o’-lram somebody told him ibid. 169.7 (-q somebody; i- him; o- directive; lram to tell)
i-gx’-t-u-x she acted on them ibid. 217.16 (gx- she; t- them; u-directive; x to do)

2. ni-. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It takes the form nig- before vowels, like the preceding. It occurs in transitive and intransitive verbs. It expresses a somewhat indefinite time past, and is used in speaking of events that happened less than a year or so ago, yet more than a couple of days ago. (E. Sapir.)

ni-y-u’ya he went (ni- past; y- he; uya to go)
nig-u’ya she went (the same before vocalic element; a- she; being contracted with u- into u)
ni-te-i-gil-kel he saw him (ni- past; te- he; i- him; gil- verbal prefix; kel to see)

§ 17
3. *a-*. This prefix is confined to the intransitive verbs of the Upper Chinook (Kathlamet), and indicates the future. When followed by a vowel, it takes the form *al-*.  
\[ a-m-\bar{\bar{\alpha}}-k\ell-a \] thou wilt carry her (*a-* future; *m-* thou; \(\bar{\bar{\alpha}}-\) contracted for *a-* her and \(\bar{\bar{\alpha}}-\) directive; \(-k\ell\) stem to carry; \(-a\) future)  

*Before vowel:*  
\[ al-\bar{\bar{\alpha}}-meqt-a \] she will die (*al-* future; \(\bar{\bar{\alpha}}-\) contracted for *a-* she and \(-\bar{\bar{\alpha}}-\) directive; \(-meqt\) stem to die; \(-a\) future)  

*In the dialects east of the Kathlamet it is used also with transitive verbs (Sapir).*  
\[ a-te-i-ge'l-k\ell-a \] he will see her (*a-* future; \(-te\) he; \(-i\) him; \(-ge'l-\) verbal prefix; \(-k\ell\) to see; \(-a\) future)  

4. *ga-*, before vowels *gal-*. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It expresses time long past, and is always used in the recital of myths (Sapir).  
\[ ga-y-u'ya \] he went (see analysis under 2)  
\[ gal-u'y'a \] she went (see analysis under 2)  
\[ ga-te-i-ge'l-k\ell \] he saw him (see analysis under 2)  

*n-* may be used in place of this prefix.  

5. *na-*, before vowels *nal-*. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It refers to recent time exclusive of to-day, more specifically to yesterday. Its use is analogous to that of the preceding. (E. Sapir.)  

6. *k-, g-*. This prefix has nominal significance, and designates the one who is, does, or has.  
\[ k-\bar{\bar{g}}e'-ka-l \] those who fly (*k-* nominal; \(-\bar{\bar{g}}e\) they; \(-ka\) to fly; \(-l\) always)  
\[ k-ck-t-a-xo'-il \] those two who always make them; (*ck-* they two [transitive subject]; \(-t\) them; \(-a-\) directive before \(-x\); \(-xo'-il\) to work always)  

This prefix is used most frequently with nouns in possessive form, designating the one who has.  
\[ g-i-t\overline{\alpha}^{-\prime}-ki-k\ell-al \] those who have the power of seeing (*i-* masculine, \(-t\overline{\alpha}^{-\prime}\) their; \(-ki-\) indicates that there is no object; \(-k\ell\) to see; \(-\overline{\alpha}\) always)  
\[ g-i-t\overline{\alpha}^{-\prime}-ma\overline{s} \] the one who is shot (*i-* masculine; \(-t\overline{\alpha}^{-\prime}\) its; \(-ma\overline{s}\) the condition of being shot)  
\[ k-t\overline{\alpha}^{-\prime}q\overline{e}wam \] the one who has shamanistic power (*t\overline{\alpha}^{-\prime}\) its; \(-q\overline{e}wam\) shaman's song)
7. **w-**. This seems to have been at one time the prefix which characterized nouns. It is no longer in general use, but persists in a few terms like *wē'wulē* interior of house, *wē'kooa* day (Kathlamet), *wēlč* country (Kathlamet), and in geographical names like *Wapltō'tci* salal-berries on stump. It is always followed by the masculine or feminine intransitive pronoun. Its former general use may be inferred from the pronominal form *ō* of all feminine nouns, which is probably a contraction of *w-* and the ordinary intransitive feminine pronoun *a-. In Upper Chinook the forms *wi-* and *wa-* are preserved before short words. There is no trace of the former existence of this prefix before the pronominal forms of neuter, dual, and plural, all of which are consonantic, while masculine and feminine are both vocalic (*ē* and *a-*). It seems probable that its use, like that of *n-*, was confined to vocalic pronouns (§ 17.1).

8. **na-**. This is a nominal prefix indicating locality. It occurs principally in place names, *Nakótālt* (see § 40).

§ 18. **Pronominal Elements**

It has been stated that the pronominal elements in the verb are subject, first object, second object. The whole series occurs in some transitive verbs only. In form, the subject of the transitive verb is somewhat differentiated from the other forms, while the objective pronouns coincide with the subjects of the intransitive, and are closely related to the personal pronouns which appear attached to nouns.

The possessive has a series of peculiar forms. In the noun the order is personal pronoun, possessive pronoun. Thus the pronouns may be divided into three large groups, which may be called transitive, intransitive, and possessive.

**TABLE OF PRONOUNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Pronoun</th>
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<tr>
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<td><em>n-</em></td>
<td><em>-tčė- -gs-</em></td>
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<tr>
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<td><em>nt-</em></td>
<td><em>nt-</em></td>
<td><em>-nt-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive plural</td>
<td><em>ntč-</em></td>
<td><em>ntč-</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive dual</td>
<td><em>tč-</em></td>
<td><em>tč-</em></td>
<td><em>-tč-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive plural</td>
<td><em>ltč-</em></td>
<td><em>ltč-</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person singular</td>
<td><em>m-</em></td>
<td><em>m-</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person dual</td>
<td><em>mt-</em></td>
<td><em>mt-</em></td>
<td><em>-mt-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person plural</td>
<td><em>mc-</em></td>
<td><em>mc-</em></td>
<td><em>-mc-</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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It will be seen from this list that most of the forms in the three series are identical. A differentiation exists in the first person and in the third person singular (masculine and feminine). In all these forms the exclusive appears as the dual and plural of the first person, while the inclusive seems to be characterized by the terminal -x-. n- may be interpreted as the first person, m- as the second person, t- as the characteristic of the dual, and c as that of the plural of these persons.

The third person plural exhibits a number of irregularities which will be discussed in § 21.

§ 19. The Post-Pronominal g

In a number of cases these pronouns are followed by the sound g, which, judging from its irregular occurrence in the present form of the language, may have had a wider application in former times.

(1) The transitive subject (except the first and second persons singular, the third person singular masculine and feminine, and the indefinite g) is followed by g or k, which give to the preceding pronoun its transitive value.

\[ a-l-k-l-\bar{o}'-wa' \] it killed it (a- transitional; l- neuter subject; -k- prefix giving the preceding l- its transitive character; -l- neuter object; -a- directive; -wa' stem to kill)

\[ a-t-k-l-\bar{o}'-cg-am \] they took it (a- transitional; t- they; -k- [as above]; l- neuter object; -cg stem to take; -am completion)

\[ a-n-l-\bar{o}'-cg-am \] I took it (same as last, but with n- I as subject, which does not take the following -k-)

When followed by a vowel (including e), the -k- sound is more like a sonant, and has been written -g-. When the subject pronoun is accented, the e, which carries the accent, follows the g, so that the transitive pronoun and the -g- form a unit.

\[ a-l-g-i-\bar{o}'-cg-am \] it took him (same as above, but with l- it as subject, followed by -g- instead of -k- before i-, which is masculine object)

\[ a-tg-e'-t-a-x \] they do them.
(2) The intransitive subject third person plural is followed by $g$ in two cases.

(a) When the subject $t$ would normally precede the directive element -ő- (§ 26.1), this element is omitted, and instead the $t$ is followed by $g$.

$a$-y-ő-ţiunē he drifted 24.15 (a- transitional; $y$- for $i$- before ō he; -ő- directive; -ţiunē stem to drift)

$a$-t-gy-ţiunē they drift 38.10 (a- transitional; $t$- they; -g- inserted after subject; -$s$- carries accent [§ 5.1]; -ţiunē stem to drift)

(b) When the subject $t$ is changed to ō before $k$ stems (§ 9.2; § 21), the $g$ follows it when the $k$ sound is a stop. It seems, however, more likely that originally this element had ā following the $g$.

$n$-ő-ţi-kim he said 107.2 (n- transitional before vowel [§ 17.1]; ō-he; -ţi-kim stem to say)

$n$-ő-ɡō’-koim they say 266.5 (n- as above; -ő- third person plural before $k$ sound; -g- following third person plural before $k$ stop; ō inserted according to phonetic law [§ 7.4]; -koim, -ţi-kim stem to say; $o$ inserted according to § 7.3)

(3) The possessive pronoun of the third person plural in neuter and plural nouns has the form -$g$-, which probably stands for $tg$-, the $t$ being elided between the neuter prefix $l$ and the plural prefix $t$ respectively, and the $g$. Thus we have

$t$-g-ā’-qtq-a-kc their heads 165.9 (t- plural; -g- for $tg$- their; -ā- vowel following possessive [§ 23]; -qtq stem head; -a- connective vowel depending upon terminal consonant of stem; -kc plural suffix [§ 38.1])

$l$-g-ā’-zauyam-t-ikc their poverty 13.18 ($l$- neuter; -g- for $tg$- their; -ā- vowel following possessive [§23]; -zauyam poverty; -t-ikc plural with connective sound [§ 38.1])

It appears that the $g$ occurs most frequently following the third person plural. It seems probable that in these cases, at least, it is derived from the same source. Whether the $g$ after the transitive pronoun is of the same origin, is less certain, although it seems likely. This $g$ never occurs after objects. The rules given above have the effect that the $g$ can not occur in intransitive verbs which contain a reflexive element and in intransitive verbs with indirect objects. It is possible that this may be explained as due to the fact that all intransitive pronouns in these cases are really objective. The $g$ never appears after the personal pronouns prefixed to the noun.

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§ 20. The Third Person Dual

The third person dual has two forms, c- and ct-. ct- is used—
(1) As intransitive subject preceding a vowel, except e and its representatives.

Examples of the use of ct-:
- a-ct-ö'-y-am they two arrive (a- transitional; ct- third person dual; -ö- directive; -i stem to go; -am to complete motion)
- ct-ä'qoail they two are large

Examples of the use of c-:
- c-xēlē'itx they two remained
- a-cē'x-a-x they two became (a- transitional; -c dual; -x- reflexive; -a- directive before -x; x to be)

(2) As object of the transitive, when the accent is on the pronominal subject.

Examples of the use of ct-:
- a-tē'x-ct-ú-kʷl he carried their two selves 26.20 (a- transitional; tc- he [transitive]; -ē carries accent; ct- them [dual]; -ú- directive; -kʷl stem to carry)
- a-lē'x-ct-a-x it did them two (a- transitional; lē- neuter subject; -ct- they two)

Examples of the use of c-:
- a-k-č-ö'lx-am she said to these two (a- transitional; k- she; c- they two; -ōlx to say; -am completive)

(3) In all possessive forms.

lē'-ct-a-qcō their two selves' hair 77.3 (l- neuter pronoun; -ē carries accent; ct- their [dual]; -a- vowel following possessive [§ 23]; -qcō stem hair)

§ 21. The Third Person Plural

It has been mentioned before that the third person plural before single k sounds, and before adverbial l and n (§ 25), is ö- instead of t-.
This change occurs both when the pronoun is intransitive subject and when it is first or second object. The transitive subject is always tg-, tk- (see § 19).

Plural t-:
- a-tē'-x-a-x they came to be on him (a- transitional; t- they; ē- him; -x indicates that they belonged to him; -a- directive; -x stem to do, to be)
- a-tē'x'-t-a-x he did them (a- transitional; tē- he; -ē carries accent; -t them; -a- directive; -x stem to do)

§§ 20, 21
Plural ð-:

n-ðˈ-x-o-x they became (n- transitional before vowel; -ð they before k sound; -x reflexive; o- directive; -x stem to do, to be)
a-ð-ג-ד-ק-ו-ו-ינא they placed them in the ground (a- transitional; c- they two; -ג- marks preceding c- as transitive subject; -ד- them [before k sound]; -ג-ו-ו-ה stem to stand [plural])
a-ג-t-ד-ו-י-ו-ז somebody gave them to them (a- transitional: q- indefinite; t- them; -ד- inserted in accented syllable before semivowel w [§ 5.2b]; -ו- stands for -ד- [between two vowels]. them; -י- stands for -ל- after preceding o [see § 9]; -ז stem to give away)

Before k stops, a -ג is inserted after the subject third person plural. as described in § 19.2b.

In a few nouns the third person plural is n instead of t; for instance:

natē'tanuē Indians
navā'îtk net

Numerals take a- instead of t- for indicating the plural of human beings (see § 51).

§ 22. Pronouns of the Transitive Verb

The first person and the exclusive subject do not occur with a second person object. In place of these combinations we have the forms yam-, yamt-, yame-, for the combinations i— thee, i— your two selves, i— you; and qam-, qamt-, tame-, for the corresponding forms with dual and plural exclusive subject. The inclusive subject can not occur with second person objects, since this would be a reflexive form (see § 24). In transitive verbs with two objects the same irregularities occur when either the first or second object is second person while the first person is subject. In case the second object is second person, the forms begin with the first object.

t-am-l-ð-t-a I shall give them to thee (t- them; -am I — thee; -ל- to; -ð to give; -a future)

The indefinite subject q- is peculiar to the transitive.

§ 23. Possessive Pronoun

All possessive pronouns are followed by -a-, except the first and second persons. The first person is always followed by e, which, after the -tc- of the masculine, takes an tinge, while after the o- of the feminine it becomes u (§ 7.1). The second person is followed by §§ 22, 23
When the accent falls on the possessive pronoun, the a is lengthened. If the accent precedes the possessive pronoun, the a remains short. In this case the consonant phonemes introduce an e before the possessive (§ 5.1). When followed by m and y, this e is lengthened to ā in accordance with the phonetic rules given in § 5.2b. The g of the first person and of the third person feminine, when following the accent, becomes kx in accordance with the general tendency to make a k following an accent affricative (§ 6.1).

The possessive pronoun exhibits a peculiar modification in the first person and in the third person singular feminine. Masculine nouns have in both cases -tc-, while all the other genders have -g-.

For the insertion of -g- in the third person plural possessive of neuter and plural nouns, see § 19.3.

Examples of possessive forms with accent on possessive pronoun:

- tce'-ts!emenõ my wooden spoon 115.18
- ò-gu'-xamukc my dog 16.11
- L-gq'-gaqcac my grandfather 211.1
- s-gs'-xanîm my (dual) toy canoe 115.21
- t-gs'-xawôk my guardian spirits 211.4
- i-me'-xal thy name 72.26
- ò-me'-pute thy anus 114.1
- L-me'-tata-iks thy uncles 10.12
- c-me'-ktxict thy nostrils 113.20
- te-me'-xeqlax thy hunter's protectors 234.10
- i-á'-ok his blanket 74.14
- u-yã'-tcinkikala his head wife 74.16
- L-ia'-nemâc his wives 74.16
- c-ia'-kulglast his squinting (on both eyes) 139.5
- t-ia'-xalaítane-ma his arrows 10.16
- i-tcâ'-yul!l her pride 74.11
- u-gõ'-cgyan her bucket 115.11
- L-gã'-cgane-ma her buckets 115.12
- c-gã'-xa her two children 14.4
- t-gã'-potê her arms 115.24
- i-tã'-qula their camp 73.15
- u-tã'-xk!un their eldest sister 73.15
- Lã'-wuř their younger brother 74.15
- c-Lã'-amtoket its double spit 93.10
- Lã'-ułema their houses 227.23
- t-Lã'-xilkuõ their bushes in canoe 47.10
- i-ntã'-xanîm our two selves' (excl.) canoe 163.4
- Le-ntã'-mama our two selves' (excl.) father
- i-txã'-xikala our two selves' (incl.) husband 76.12

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ō-txā'-lak our two selves' (incl.) aunt 116.11
l-txā'-xk'un-íc our two selves' (incl.) elder brothers 11.19
e-txā'-xamūks our two selves' (incl.) dogs 16.9
*txā'-cōlāl our two selves' (incl.) relatives 224.12
i-mtā'-kë-tēnax what you two have killed 163.6
ō-mtā'-xamūkč your two selves' bitch 16.12
le-mtā'-nāa your two selves' mother 13.24
i-cṭā'-mōlak their two selves' elk 115.25
ō-štā'-xamūks their two selves' dog 16.10
l-ctā'-amtket its double spit 96.22
ctā'-xōs their two selves' eyes 129.28
t-ctā'-sti their two selves' smoke 75.22
i-ntcā'-lxam our (excl.) town 234.11
ō-ntcā'-hâtlau our (excl.) virgin 150.21
l-ntcā'-xgaczac our (excl.) grandfather 22.20
i-lxā'-xak!smāna our (incl.) chief 224.25
o-lxā'-qaxalpteki'w our (incl.) fire 73.21
ct-lxā'-xak!smāna our (incl.) two chiefs 37.10
i-mcā'-xak!smāna your chief 50.3
ō-mcā'-pōtcxan your sister-in-law 224.26
le-mcā'-cquic your mat 173.23
tc-mcā'-nemcke your husbands 138.6
i-tā'-lan their rope 227.15
u-tā'-xanīm their canoe 163.16
tγā'-xauyamčik their poverty 13.18
tγā'-wun-aks their bellies 14.21

Examples of possessive forms with accent preceding the possessive pronoun:

ō'-tca-mxte my heart 12.26
le'-kxe-ps my foot 41.20
se'-k-xēst my arrogance
tē'-kṛu-ql my house 24.4
ō'-mi-la thy body
sā'-mē-xēst thy arrogance
tā'-mē-ps thy foot
ā'-ya-qcō his skin 115.24
l-ā'-ya-qtq his head 73.13
c-ā'-ya-qtq his two heads 14.11
t-ā'-ya-ql his house 15.12
ō'-tca-qtq its head 223.8
se'-kxā-xēst her arrogance
tē'-kxā-ql her house 89.7
ō'-la-tcl'a its sickness 196.6
ō'-la-qst its louse 10.21
le'-la-ps its foot 191.20

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te’-la-ps its feet 137.16
ê’-nta-m our two selves' (excl.) father 29.16
t’-nta-q’pas our two selves' (excl.) targets 30.12
t’-tza-m our two selves' (incl.) father 29.11
t’-tza-ps our two selves' (incl.) feet
t’-mta-ps your two selves' feet
t’-cta-t’la their two selves' sickness 193.18
le’-cta-q’o their two selves' hair 77.3
t’-cta-ql their two selves' house 193.4
t’-ntca-ql our (excl.) house 129.26
t’-lxa-ql our (incl.) house 225.25

§ 24. Elements Expressing the Possessive Relation Between Subject and Object

When there is a possessive relation between the subject and one of the objects, the element -x- is inserted.

(1) After the first object of the transitive verb, it indicates that the object belongs to the subject.

a-g-a-x-d’-pc-am she hid her own 216.5 (a- transitional; g- she; a- her; -x- indicates that the object is possessed by the subject; -d’- directive; -pc stem to hide; -am completion)

(2) After the second object of the transitive, it indicates that the first object belongs to the second.

a-m-l-a’-x-cq-am you take it (hers) from her 185.16 (a- transitional; m- thou; l- it; a- her; -x- indicates that it belongs to her; -cq stem to take; -am completion)

(3) After the intransitive subject, it has the force of a reflexive transitive verb; i. e., it indicates sameness of subject and object.

n’-x-a-x he does himself; i. e., he becomes (n- transitional before vocalic pronoun [§ 17.1]; n’- he; -x- reflexive; -a- directive; -x stem to do)

a-m-x-a’-n-el-gu’-l-tick you expressed yourself to me; i. e., you told me 97.10 (a- transitional; m- thou; -x-reflexive; connective e with secondary accent becomes a- before n [§ 5. 2b]; n- me; l- to; -gu’l stem to talk; -tick inchoative)

(4) After the object of a verb with intransitive subject, it has the force of a transitive reflexive in which subject and second subject are identical.

n’-l-x-a-x he does it in reference to himself; i. e., he becomes from it 244.16 (same analysis as above under 3, with the object l- it inserted)

§ 24
§ 25. Adverbial Prefixes

A number of adverbial ideas—particularly those defining the relation of the verb to the object, and corresponding to some of our prepositions—are expressed by prefixes which follow the pronouns. The adverbial character of these elements appears in forms like—

\( a-q-e'-l-gi-tk \) somebody placed him near by (\( a- \) transitional; \( q- \) some one; \( e' \) him; \( l- \) to; \( gi- \) eliminates one object [§ 26.4]; \( tk \) stem to place)

The verbal idea is to place near, and the form is purely transitive. The same construction appears clearly in—

\( a-l-g-i-g'e'l-txem \) it sings for him 260.17 (\( a- \) transitional; \( l- \) it; \( g- \) post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; \( i- \) him; \( g'e' \) on account of; \( txem \) to sing shaman's song)

These examples show that the prefixes do not belong to the objects, but that they qualify the verb. Following is a list of these prefixes:

1. \( -l- \) to, for.

\( l-\bar{a}'-l-\bar{o}-c \) it was to (in) her 71.6 (\( l- \) it; \( a- \) her; \( l- \) to; \( \bar{o}- \) directive; \( c \) stem to be)
\( a-c-k-\bar{a}'-l-\bar{o}-kL \) they two carried it to him 29.9 (\( a- \) transitional; \( c- \) they two; \( k- \) post-pronominal[§ 19.1]; \( l- \) it; \( \bar{a}'- \) him; \( l- \) to; \( \bar{o}- \) directive; \( kL \) stem to carry)

The third person plural of the pronoun, when preceding this \( l- \), has the form \( \bar{a} \) (§ 21). In this case the \( l- \) changes to \( \bar{e}- \) (§ 9.1), and the \( \bar{o} \) is then weakened to \( w \).

\( a-q-t-a-w-\bar{e}'-m-aku-x \) they distributed them to (among) them 246.10 (\( a- \) transitional; \( q- \) somebody; \( t- \) them; (\( a- \)) probably connective; \( w- \) for \( \bar{o}- \) them; \( \bar{e}'- \) for \( l- \) after \( o- \); \( m \) stem to hand [?]; \( ak\)o about; \( x \) usitative)

2. \( -n- \) in, into.

\( a-tc-a-le-n-g\bar{a}'-n-a\bar{t}it \) he threw her into it 173.6 (\( a- \) transitional; \( tc- \) he; \( a- \) her; \( l- \) it; \( n- \) into; \( g\)n stem to place changed to \( g\)n on account of accent [§ 5. 2b]; \( a\bar{t}it \) to be in position)
\( s-\bar{a}'-n-p\bar{o}-t \) she closed her eyes 47.18 (\( s- \) they two; \( \bar{a}'- \) her; \( n- \) in; \( p\)\(\bar{o}\) stem to close; \( t \) perfect)

3. \( -k- \) on.

\( a-l-g-\bar{o}'-tx \) she stands on, it 191.20 (\( a- \) she; \( l- \) it; \( g- \) on; \( \bar{o}'- \) directive; \( tx \) stem to stand)
\( a-le'-n-ka-t-ka \) it comes flying above me (\( a- \) transitional; \( l(e)- \) it; \( n- \) me; \( k(a)- \) on; \( t- \) coming; \( k\)a stem to fly)

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m-a-n-k-ó'-tx-umit-a you will make her stand on me 24.13 (m-thou; a- her; n- me; k- on; -ó- directive; -tx stem to stand; -(u)mit to cause [§ 29]; -a future)

4. -gel- on account of.
a-l-g-i-gel'-txem-x it sings on account of him 260.17 (a- transitional; l- it; g- post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; i- him; -gel- on account of; -txem stem to sing shaman’s song; -x usitative [§ 32.11])
mc-g-a-n-gel-ó'-tg-a ye shall keep her for me (mc- ye; g- [§ 19.1]; a- her; n- me; -gel- on account of; -ó- directive; -tg stem to put; -a future)

4a. -xel- reflexive form of -gel- on account of. In many cases the translation FOR, ON ACCOUNT OF, does not fit in this case, although the etymological relation is clear.
n-ó'-l-xel-a-x she makes it for herself 267.2 (n- transitional before vowel; a- she; l- it; -xel- on account of; a- directive; x stem to do, to make)

a-l-xel'-tciam it combed her for itself; i.e., she combed herself 13.2 (a- transitional; l- it; a- her; -xel- on account of; -tciam stem combing)

5. -gem- with, near.
a-q-l-gem-ó'-tx-uiit somebody stands near it 238.4 (a- transitional; q- some one, transitive subject; l- it; -gem- near; a- directive; -tx stem to stand; -(u)it to be in a state [§ 29])
a-l-x-l-gem'-apk-x it steamed itself near it (a- transitional; l- it; x- reflexive; l- it; -gem- near; -apk stem to steam; x usitative)

5a. -xem- reflexive form of -gem- with, near.

n-i-n-xem-tcē'na he lays me near himself; i.e., I lay him near me (n- transitional before vowel; i- he; n- me; -xem- near; tcē'na stem to lay)
c-xem-l-ó'it they two stood near each other 228.25 (c- they two; -xem- near; l- stem to move [?]; a-it to be in a position)

6. -x- on the ground.

č'-x-ó-c he is on the ground 39.18 (č- he; x- on ground; -ó- directive; -c stem to be)

7. -t- El-. No translation can be given for this element, which appears in a position analogous to the other adverbs in a few verbal stems.
-tel-kel to see
-tel-gel'-ako to uncover
tel-latke to leave

§ 25
§ 26. Directional Prefixes

I use this term for a group of prefixes which are difficult to classify. One of them designates undoubtedly the direction toward the speaker, another one negates the direction toward an object, and a third one seems to imply direction from the actor. For this reason I have applied the term "directional prefixes," although its propriety is not quite certain.

1. -ō-, a very frequent verbal prefix which seems to indicate motion away from the actor, although this significance does not readily apply in all cases. This prefix occurs with most verbs and immediately precedes the stem.

\[a-\text{tc-}\text{-i-} \text{-\text{o}'-\text{cg-}a\text{m}}\] he takes him 135.9 (-ō- directive; -cg stem to take; -am completive)

\[i-\text{o}'-\text{c}\] he is (-ō- directive; -c stem to be)

When the stem begins with a velar, a glottal stop, or a w, the -ō- changes to -a-, but, when not accented, it remains -o- before stems beginning with w.

\[a-\text{tc-}\text{-i-} \text{-\text{a}'-\text{wa}a\text{t}}\] he killed him 23.20 (-a- directive; -wa\text{t} stem to kill)

\[\text{tc}\text{-e-}\text{n-} \text{-u-} \text{-wu'ля-} \text{-ayə}\] he will eat me 212.15

\[a-\text{tcəe'-t-} \text{-a-x}\] he did them 9.5 (-a- directive; -x stem to do)

\[a-\text{tc-}\text{-a}'\text{y-} \text{-a-} \text{-qe}\] he bit him 9.9 (-a- directive; -qe stem to bite)

\[a-\text{q-}\text{-i-} \text{-a}'\text{з'-} \text{-оnim}\] some one laughs at him 184.3 (-a- directive; -з'-оnim stem to laugh)

This change is evidently secondary, and an older form—in which ŏ was used in all cases, as we find it now in Upper Chinook—must have existed. This is proved by the persistence of o in place of all a vowels that occur after this stem, even when the directive o is changed into a.

\[\text{tc-}\text{-i-} \text{-n-l-} \text{-а'-x-} \text{-о}\] he will make him for me 69.25 (terminal -o for future -a, as would be required by the laws of vocalic harmony if the directive -a- before the stem -x had remained -о-)

\[a-\text{tc-t-} \text{-а'-x-} \text{-ом}\] he reached them 191.12 (terminal -оm for -am)

This explanation does not account for a form like \text{naiga'tl'оm she reaches him}, in which the change from \text{am to -оm follows the fortis which stands for tq}. (See § 29.4.)

The directional -о- is never used with imperatives. As stated in § 22, the imperative of the transitive verb has also no subject.

§ 26
Intransitive imperatives:

\[ m_x^r-tx-wit \] stand up! 211.21 (\( m^- \) thou; \(-tx \) to stand; \(-wit \) suffix [§ 29.1])

\[ m_x^r-x-a-x \] do! 15.25 (\( m^- \) thou; \(-x \) reflexive; \(-a- \) directive; \(-x \) to do)

\[ m_x^r-lx-a \] go to the beach 175.16 (\( m^- \) thou; \(-lx \) to the beach; \(-a- \) future)

Transitive imperatives:

\[ \ddot{e}^-c\ddot{g}-am \] take him! 43.8 (\( \ddot{e}^- \) him; \(-c\ddot{g}^- \) to take; \(-am \) completion)

\[ \ddot{a}^-latzk \] lift her! 15.7 (\( a^- \) her; \(-latzk \) to lift)

\[ \ddot{a}^-t-k\ddot{l}-a \] carry her here! 15.24 (\( a^- \) her; \(-t^- \) here [§ 26.2]; \(-k\ddot{l} \) to carry; \(-a- \) future)

\[ se^r-p\ddot{e}na \] jump! 16.3 (\( se^- \) them two, namely, the legs; \(-p\ddot{e}na \) to jump)

2. \(-t^-\) designates direction toward the speaker.

\[ a-k-L-x^r-t-k\ddot{l}-am \] she brought it 124.24 (\(-t^- \) toward speaker; \(-k\ddot{l} \) stem to bring; \(-am \) completion)

\[ a-L-x^r-t-ga \] it comes flying 139.1 (\(-t^- \) toward speaker; \(-ga \) to fly)

\[ a-L-x^r-n-ka-t-ga \] it comes flying over me (\(-k^- \) on)

3. \(-t^-\) potentiality, i. e., the power to perform an act moving away from the actor, without actual motion away. This prefix is identical with the preceding, but, according to its sense, it never occurs with the transitional.

\[ tc-L-x \] he can do it 61.8 (\(-t^- \) potential; \(-x \) stem to do)

\[ q-tx^r-t-piaL-xz \] somebody can gather them 94.15 (\(-t^- \) potential; \(-piaL-xz \) stem to gather; \(-xz \) usitative)

4. \(-k\ddot{e}^-\) negates direction toward an object, and thus eliminates one of the two objects of transitive verbs with two objects, and transforms transitive verbs into intransitives.

\[ a-q-i-L-gem-\ddot{o}^-kte-x \] somebody pays him to it 261.23 (\(-gem^- \) with, near; \(-\ddot{o}^- \) directive; \(-kte \) thing; \(-x \) usitative)

\[ a-Lc-a-gem-k\ddot{e}^-kte \] he paid her 161.9 (\(-gem^- \) with; \(-k\ddot{e}^- \) eliminates first object; \(-kte \) thing)

\[ a-L-k-L-\ddot{o}^-kct \] it looked at it 256.8 (\(-\ddot{o}^- \) directive; \(-kct \) stem to look)

\[ a-Lx^r-ki-kct \] it looked 218.9 (\(-ki^- \) eliminates object; \(-kct \) stem to look)

The interpretation of these forms is not quite satisfactory. The element \(-t^-\) occurs also as the stem to come, and the forms \( \ddot{a}^-\ddot{n}\ddot{o}, \ddot{a}^-l\ddot{o} \), IT WENT, suggest that \(-\ddot{o}^-\) may be a stem of motion. If this is the case, the first and third prefixes of this class might rather form compound stems with a great variety of other stems. The potential \(-t^-\)

§ 26
and the intransitive -ki-, on the other hand, do not seem to occur as stems that can be used with pronominal elements alone.

Attention may be called here to the analogy between the prefixes -gel- and -gem and their reflexives -zel- and -zem- (§ 25) and the two forms -ki- and -x-. However, since -ki- never occurs with following directive -ō- or -a-, while -x- appears frequently combined with it, this analogy may be due to a mere coincidence.

It would seem that the directive -ō- is always retained after l-, and sometimes after -gel-, -gem-, -zel-, -zem-, but that it never occurs with other adverbial elements.

§ 27. Verbal Stems

The verbal stems are either simple or compound. It was stated in the preceding section that what we called the prefixes -t- and -ō- may be stems expressing to come and to go. There are a number of verbal stems which appear with great frequency in composition, and almost always as second elements of verbal compounds. All of these express local ideas. They are:

1. -pa motion out of.
2. -pl motion into.
3. -wulxt motion up.
4. -lce motion down.
5. -lx motion from cover to open.
6. -ptck motion from open to cover.

We find, for instance—

n-ō'-t-pl! he comes in 211.18 (-t toward speaker; -pl motion into)

a-l-ō'-pa he goes out 46.8 (-ō- directive; -pa motion out of)

a-k-l-ō'-kct-ptck she carries it up from the beach 163.11 (-kct- to carry; -ptck motion from open to cover, especially up from beach)

a-n-ō'-tct-wulxt I travel up in canoe (-tct motion on water; -wulxt motion upward)

There are a few cases in which these verbs appear in first position in the compound verb.

n-ō'-lx-lait he goes to the beach and stays there (-lx motion from cover to open, especially from land to sea; -lait to stay)

Compounds of nouns and verbs are much rarer.

a-te-a-i-ne-mō'k'i-oya-kō he makes her (the breath) in his throat be between; i.e., he chokes him (-n- in; -mōk- throat; -oya to be between; -akō around)
Here belong also the compounds with t!/ö well

ē-ń!ö'-cg-am hold him well! 44.15 (-t!/ö- well; -cg to take, hold;
- am completion)

The idea around (-akö) does not seem to occur independently,
and is therefore treated in the next section.

Suffixes (§§ 28-33)

§ 28. GENERAL REMARKS

According to their significance and position, the verbal suffixes
may be classified in five groups:

First, generic suffixes:
1. -a-it to be in a position.
2. -amit to cause.
3. -x-it to be made to.
4. -am to complete a motion, to go to.

Second, local suffixes:
5. -ako around.

Third, semi-temporal suffixes:
6. -tck to begin.
7. -l repetition, so far as characteristic of an action.
8. -l continued repetition.
9. -em repetition at distinct times.
10. -a-itx habitually.

Fourth, temporal and semi-temporal suffixes, always following the
preceding group:
11. -x customary.
12. -t perfect.
13. -a future.

Fifth, terminal suffixes:
14. -ē successful completion.

On the whole, the suffixes appear in the order here given, although
sometimes a different order seems to be found. In the following list
the combinations of suffixes so far as found are given.

§ 29. GENERIC SUFFIXES

1. -a-it TO BE IN A POSITION. Followed by -amit (2), -x-it (3), -tck
(6), and all the suffixes of the fourth group.
a-y-ō’-l-a-it he sits, he is 212.16 (-ō directive; -l stem to sit)
a-k-l-a-qän-a-it she laid it 44.9 (-a directive before q; stem
-qen [accented before vowel becomes -qän] LONG THING LIES

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§§ 28, 29
After k sounds with u tinge, this ending is -uit; after a terminal o, it seems to be -it.

from stem -txa to stand m̥̄eˈtx-uit stand!
from stem -cku hot a-λ-ōˈ-ck-uit it is hot 174.13
from stem -x to do l̥̄a-ax-ōˈit-a we shall do 136.14

2. -amit to cause. Preceded by -a-it (1); followed by -ako (5), -l (7), -em (9), and all the suffixes of the fourth group.
a-λ-g-ō-λ-āˈit-amit it causes her to sit 249.3 (combined with -a-it)
a-tec-ōˈ-ktekt-amit he roasted her 94.4

After a terminal o, the two vowels o and a are contracted to ō.
a-tec-i-u-ngōˈ-mit he causes him to run (= he carries him away)

3. -xˈit, with intransitive verbs, to be caused; with transitive verbs, this suffix forms a passive. Preceded by -a-it (1), -lct (6); followed by all the suffixes of the fourth group.
a-λ-u-wāˈ-xˈit it is caused to be pursued
a-n-o-gun-āˈit-xˈit I was caused to lie down 45.5
a-y-ō-lāˈ-teku-xˈit he was made to begin to rise 137.5

4. -am to complete a motion, to go to. Followed by all the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.
a-tec-iˈt-kλ-am he came to take him 26.6
n-i-xa-t-ngōˈ-p!-am he arrives inside running

When the directive -o- is changed to an -a- before k sound, and when, in accordance with the law of harmony, the a in am would have to be changed into -ō-, this change is made, even though the a before the k sound is substituted for the -ō.
a-tec-t-aˈ-x-ōm he did them reaching (he reached them)
a-q-λ-g-aˈ-t-ōm some one met it 117.24

This -ō- is retained even where the -t- is substituted for -o-.
n-a-i-qaˈ-t!-ōm she reached him (for naigoˈtqam)

After l, n, a, ē, i, ō, ā this ending takes the form -mam.
l̥̄aˈlemam go and take it 25.26
ēˈxkinəmam go and search for him 25.14
nx̥oguilləˈmama I shall go to shoot birds
aʔgṓquix̥eˈmam they invited them 98.19
aqaxiktøjgōˈmam one gives her in marriage 250.19

The form ayōˈyam he arrives, from āˈyō he goes, forms an apparent exception to this rule. Presumably the verb to go contains a stem -y- which is suppressed in some forms.

§ 29
§ 30. LOCAL SUFFIXES

5. \textit{-ako around}. Preceded by \textit{-amit} (2); followed by \textit{-x} (11), \textit{-it} (1).

With \textit{-l} it amalgamates by metathesis (see § 31.8).

\begin{itemize}
\item $m\text{-}i\text{-}t\text{-}x\text{-}l\text{-}m\text{-}\tilde{a}k\tilde{o}$ you distribute him among them 154.4
\item $n\text{-}\tilde{e}\text{-}x\text{-}l\text{-}ak\tilde{o}$ he goes around him 88.24
\item $n\text{-}\tilde{e}\text{-}x\text{-}k\text{\i}\text{'ni\text{-}ak\tilde{o}$ he wraps it around himself 138.9
\end{itemize}

The significance of this suffix is often only inadequately rendered by the word \textit{around}.

\begin{itemize}
\item $a\text{-}n\text{-}\tilde{e}\text{-}x\text{-}k\text{-}ak\tilde{o}$ I get the better of him
\item $a\text{-}q\text{-}i\text{-}\tilde{e}\text{\i}l\text{-}g\tilde{e}\text{\i}\text{-}l\text{-}ak\tilde{o}$ cover is taken off 329.6
\item $n\text{-}\tilde{e}\text{-}x\text{-}\tilde{e}\text{\i}q\text{\i}w\text{-}ak\tilde{o}$ he dreams 22.11
\end{itemize}

Preceded by \textit{-amit}:

\begin{itemize}
\item $a\text{-}q\text{-}i\text{-}\tilde{e}\text{-}l\text{-}x\text{-}l\text{-}\tilde{a}m\text{-}i\text{-}ak\tilde{o}$ some one was made to be around him
\end{itemize}

Followed by \textit{-it}:

\begin{itemize}
\item $a\text{-}l\text{-}aw\tilde{e}\text{-}\tilde{a}y\text{-}ak\text{-}i\text{-}it$ he inclosed them
\end{itemize}

§ 31. SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

6. \textit{-tck to begin}. Preceded by \textit{-a-it} (1), \textit{-ako} (5); followed by \textit{-am} (4) and the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

\begin{itemize}
\item $n\tilde{a}\text{-}wi\text{-}tck$ she dances ($\tilde{a}\text{-}wi\text{-}l$ she dances always)
\item $n\text{-}k\text{-}i\text{\i}w\tilde{a}\text{-}tck$ I begin to paddle ($n\text{-}k\text{\i}w\tilde{a}\text{-}l$ I am paddling)
\end{itemize}

7. \textit{-l} repetition, as characteristic of an action. Followed by \textit{-mam} (4), \textit{-em} (9), \textit{-a-itx} (10), and the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

\begin{itemize}
\item $a\text{-}q\text{-}i\text{-}\tilde{a}\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}el$ she shook him 72.24
\item $n\tilde{e}\text{-}k\text{-}l\text{-}\tilde{e}\text{\i}\text{-}l$ he crawled about 95.14
\item $a\text{-}q\text{-}i\text{-}o\text{-}m\tilde{a}\text{-}l\text{-}e\text{-}mam\text{-}x$ they went to buy him 260.15 ($\tilde{a}l$ on account of accent preceding \textit{l})
\end{itemize}

These forms are used very often with verbal nouns:

\begin{itemize}
\item $\tilde{e}\text{-}ctxu\text{-}l$ what is carried on back
\item $\tilde{e}\text{-}t\text{\i}x\text{\i}m\text{-}a\text{-}l$ what is boiled 185.7
\item $k\text{-}\tilde{t}\text{\i}\text{-}k\text{-}a\text{-}l$ those who fly 60.5
\end{itemize}

After \textit{n} as terminal sound of the stem, the \textit{l} of this suffix becomes \textit{n} (see § 8).

8. \textit{-L} continued repetition. This suffix exhibits a number of curious traits in the manner in which it enters into combination with words. It is only rarely suffixed without causing changes in the preceding elements of the word. Often after \textit{t}, \textit{m}, \textit{x}, \textit{u}, it appears in the form \textit{-nii}.

\begin{itemize}
\item $k\text{-}c\text{-}i\text{-}l\text{-}a\text{-}t\text{-}e\text{-}m\text{-}nii$ always arriving
\item $a\text{-}q\text{-}i\text{-}d\text{-}q\text{-}c\text{-}i\text{\i}m\text{-}nii$ they two took him here and there
\end{itemize}
lk-c-îl-pē'ê xu-nil she blows it up 238.16
lg-ê'-ctxo-nil he will carry him on his back 110.9
k-lk-t-ô-lâ't-nil one who always shoots (disease) 200.16
a-te-l-êl-êm-nil he always gives food to him 22.12

In certain cases, perhaps by assimilation or metathesis, an -l- appears inserted in the syllable preceding the suffix -l-

a-te-l-ô'-tipa he dips it up  n-l-ô-tê'èlipl I dip it up often
a-gi-ô'-lapa she digs it out  a-k-l-ô-lâ'èpil she digs it often
a-yâ'm-xg-akô I am before  a-yam-xg-âl'ukl I am always before you
a-lk-t-ê'-wûlî it eats them  i-kê'-wûlêtl food 45.27

Following an m or n the inserted sound is generally n.
a-lk-c-i-k-lkâ'n-akô it steps  a-lk-c-i-k-lkâ'nanuklx she steps across 264.14

9. -Em distribution at distinct times, probably related to -ma (see § 38.2). Preceded by -amit (2), -l (8); followed usually by -l (11).
a-te-l-kê'êkê'êqo-im-x he always stood on them severally 98.6
a-lg-i-o-pcô'tet-em-x he hides it everywhere 199.18
a-l-x-ô'-x-um-x they always did here and there 228.8

10. -a-it.x habitually. Always terminal; often preceded by -em (9), and -l (8).
a-l-x-ô'tôl-a-itx she always bathes 256.14 (probably with -l[8])
a-y-ô'-tx-uit-a-itx he always stood 109.2
a-lk-l-ô-lâ'èpil-a-itx they are in the habit of digging continually 74.18

§ 32. TEMPORAL AND SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

11. -x customary. Preceded by all prefixes except -ê (14).
a-lk-t-ô'-kùl-x it is customary that they carry them 267.16
a-l-x-ô't-am-x it is customary that she goes bathing 245.11

12. -t perfect. Preceded by all suffixes; followed by -ê.
tg-i-ô'-wa-t they have followed him 139.2
tc-i-ge'n-xaô-t-ê he has taken care of him 133.20

13. -a future. Preceded by all suffixes. This suffix draws the accent toward the end of the word.
n-i-o-eg-à'm-a I shall take him
q-o-piâ'lx-a some one will catch her 15.19

In those cases in which the suffix -am takes the form -ôm (see p. 605), namely, after k sounds, which would normally require o
in harmony with the directive -o- that has changed to -a-, the future is -o.

tc-i-n-l-ā'-x-ō he will make him for me 70.6

After stems ending in a vowel the future is generally -ya.
m-za-t-gō'-ya you will come back 212.2
yam-xōnenemā'-ya I shall show you 234.11

In Kathlamet the future has also a prefix, a- or al- (see § 17.3).

§ 33. TERMINAL SUFFIX

14. -ē SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION. This suffix is always terminal. Its significance is not quite certain.
n-i-gō'-pēg-am-ē finally he came up to the woods 166.8

It occurs very often with the meaning ACROSS.
a-tc-ā'-k-zonē he carried her across on his shoulder 27.8
mc-i-gō'tct-am-a-ē you will get across 51.6

The Noun (§§ 34-43)

§ 34. GENDER

The pronominal parts of the noun have been discussed in § 18. It is necessary to discuss here the gender of nouns.

Nouns may be masculine, feminine, neuter, dual, or plural. It would seem that originally these forms were used with terms having natural gender, with sexless objects, and objects naturally dual and plural. At present the use of these elements has come to be exceedingly irregular, and it is almost impossible to lay down definite rules regarding their use.

In the following a summary of the use of gender and number will be given.

(1) Masculine and feminine respectively are terms designating men and women.

In all these terms the idea of indefiniteness of the individual, corresponding to the indefinite article in English, may be expressed by the neuter; like ēkā'naz THE CHIEF, ēkā'naz A CHIEF.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ēkāla man</td>
<td>ōō'kūil woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēkālāsks boy</td>
<td>ōkā'ōsks girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iq'ōaō'lipa youth</td>
<td>ōzō'tlau virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z̄'pētāuwidower</td>
<td>ō'pētāuwidow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iq'ēyō'q̄uxt old man</td>
<td>ōq̄loeyō'q̄uxt old woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēla'ētix male slave</td>
<td>Ṓla'ētix female slave</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 33, 34
(2) Large animals are masculine, as:

badger -penpen (-p提起'cxac,
Kathlamet) L; feminine skunk
bear, black -it'xsut (-sqeq'ntsoa,
Kathlamet)
bear, cinnamon -t'lek
bear, grizzly -cå'yim
beaver -tëna, -goa-inë'në
(-që'nuq, Kathlamet)
bird (sp. ?) -teu'yan
bird (sp. ?) -pö'époë
bird -qsö'tlotlitot
bullfrog -q'otez'ézë
deer-mâ'cen (-lå'laq, Kathlamet)
coyote -tlå'lapas
rat -qå'lapas (Kathlamet)
buffalo -tö'iha
crane -goa'sgoas
crow (mythical name) -laq!ö'
duck (sp. ?) -we'guic
eagle, bald-headed -ninë'x'ö
elk -mölak
a small fish -qale'xlex
fish-hawk -tlcap
grass-frog -q'enö'nëqën
gull -qö'në'qö
hawk -tlë'të
heron -qo'a'skloai, -'gulqul
horse -kë'utan
humming-bird -tseñtseñ
blue jay -qe'cëqëc
kingfisher -pö'tselal
lizard (?) -kinë'pet
mallard-duck (male) -cimë'wat
mink -'galella, -pö'sta (-kō'sa-
it, Kathlamet)
mountain-goat -ci'xq
mussel, small -iguë (matk)
mussel, large -niä' (matk)
ottter -nanä'muks
owl -qoelqoel
oyster -tö'zox
panther -ki'oayawc
pike -'qoqo
porcupine -cëlqëlq
rabbit -skë'epzoa (-kanaxmë'-
näm, Kathlamet)
raccoon -q!oala's (-lätät, Kathlamet)
raven -koalë'zoa
salmon, fall -qëlema
salmon, spring -gu'nat
salmon, steel-head -goanëx
sea-lion -gë'pix'L
sea-ottter -lå'kë
shag -'paowë
shark -kå'yicë
skate -aiä'iu
snake -tciau
sperm whale -'mok'tzi
squirrel -kå'a'tuñ
sturgeon -nä'qon
sturgeon, green -kaizë'nañ
swan -qelö'q
turtle -'laxoa
whale -'kolë
lynx -puk
wolf -lë'qam
woodpecker -qstö'konkon

(3) Small animals are feminine, as:

beetle -'bic
bird (sp. ?) -pë'qciuc
bird (sp. ?) -tele'nakoaëkoae
sea-bird (sp. ?) -lqëke
sea-bird (sp. ?) -çulë'x
chicken-hawk -npite
chipmunk -'tsikin (-gusgu's,
Kathlamet)
mud clam -'i'ë
fresh-water clam -'sala
cormorant -'wanö
chicken -q'ucpalë
crow -'k!unö (-t!ā'ntsa, Kathlamet)
killer-whale -galā'mat
dogfish (see shark) -q!oā'icx
eagle -tc!akte!ā'k
fawn of deer -q!e'xcap
fish (sp. ?) -nā'wan
fish (sp. ?) -k!otaqē'
fish (sp. ?) -'lēlō
flounder -'pkicx
frog -cū'ēē
halibut -ltc!alō'c (said to be borrowed from Quinault)
louse -'qct
maggot -'moa
mallard-duck (female) -goēx
mole -cē'ntan
mosquito -'plonats!ekts!ek
mouse -kō'lζul (-cō, Kathlamet)
newe -gosā'na, -latsē'menmen
screech-owl -'cxuq

(4) Very few animals are neuter, as:

bird -lā' lax (-p!e'cp!ec, Kathlamet)
dog -kē'viss (-k!u'k!ut, Kathlamet)

(5) Almost all nouns expressing qualities are masculine, as:

-nu'kstx smallness -'lkuiiē similarity
-'(k!e)sāl sharpness -'tukltz good luck
-'xalxtē flatness -'tc!a sickness
-'pik heavy weight -'p!onēnkan blindness
-'ts!axan large belly -'kunanēm diligence
-'wa expense -(ki)ma'tet(amin) shame
-'q!aθaxal badness -'l!kin bow legs
-'q!ē'lætx'éna meanness -'lk!ıp being squeezed out
-'lq!ē'latcz'eita quiet (= one-eyed)
-'yul'l! pride -qē'wam sleepiness (subject of transitive verb, and pos-sessive)
-'k!oac(tőmit) fear -'tc!pux round head (= forehead)
-kā'kxui homesickness (subject of transitive verb) -'p!aq̌a flat head
-kanā'tē life
-tsā'tsa cold
-pleasant (?) -ni'ctxuic
pigeon -qamēn
porgy -galxtē'mx
porpoise -kō'θckōtc
robin -tsiō'stisas
salmon, calico -laātcx
salmon, silver-side -qawēn
salmon, blue-back -tsōyēha
seal -'lzaiu (-qē'sgoax, Kathlamet)
sea-lion, young -'zoē
skunk -pēnpen (masculine BADGER)

snail -ts!emē'nzan
snail -ts!emō'kxan
snail -'lē'xтан
snipe -ē'xsa
teal-duck -munts!ē'kts!ēk
trout -p!ā'lō-

trout (?) -q!e'xonē

woodpecker (female) -ǩułpa
woodpecker (male) -ntciawē'ct
wasp -'pa

shellfish (sp. ?) -k!ila'ta

crab -galxē'la (= one who crawls much)
-'menukt blackened face
-’(ki)match spots, painted face
-’tkc stench
-’q!8 sweet smell
-’ts!emén sweetness
-’t!Il bitterness
-’Lélam ten
-’k!amónak hundred
-’t!óowil experience (from t!ó good)
-’(ke)!ói skill
-’t!óótskin

The following are exceptions:

Feminine
-’xiti smokiness (= cataract of eye)
-’ló hunger (subject of transitive verb)

Neuter
-’xax sadness
-’patseu red head

Plural
-’k!źil custom
-’k!ilau taboo

(6) The verbal noun corresponding to the past-passive participle is generally masculine, as:

-’lxalemax what is eaten
-’tcxemal what is boiled
-’ctxul what is carried

 Exceptions to this rule are—

ą’mel purchase money

(7) Nouns formed from particles are generally masculine, as:

-yul!l pride (from yul!l)
-k!é’wax flower (from wax)
-wax!ő’mi copper (from wax)

(8) No rules can be given for the gender of other nouns.

Masculine are, for instance:

-má’ma pewter wort
-’ta body
-’gtq head

§ 34
-cql mouth, beak, bill  
-mist' beak  
-tuk neck  
-mxtc heart  
-to breast  
-wan belly  
-ite’x tail  
-pote arm  
-pâ’tpat net  
-te’letcel brass buttons  
-kupku’p short dentalia  
-qâ’lxal gambling-disks  
-l!al!al gambling-disks  
-q!â’lxal short baton  
-qâ’mzöm cedar-bark basket  
-l!u walk !u walk mud  
-q!ê’qotqtot fever  
-pqunx large round spruce-root basket (f. small round spruce-root basket)  
-cte!’et clam basket  
-mal bay, sea, river  
-ö’k blanket  
-’lk’au cradle  
-’qël’ creek, brook  
-’ktexem dance of shaman  
-lq digging-stick  
-’am dish  
-’pqön down of bird  
-qcil fish-trap  

Feminine are, for instance,  

-’kta thing  
-’qat wind  
-’e’lqel polypodium  
-câ’qecaq pteris  
-pî’xpî’ez elbow  
-te’lxcè’l lungs  
-se’gëq buck-skin  
-kloyé’kloyé finger-ring  
-ga’cgeas sealing-spear  
-wíswíswí breaking of wind  
-’lk!nlk!en open basket  
-’lëxë’l scales  
-’lemlem rotten wood  

-ci’kc friend  
-’pfil grease  
-’lx ground, earth  
-’lan short thong, string, pin for blanket  
-’egan cedar (f. bucket, cup; n. plank)  
-’tsol harpoon-shaft  
-’msta hat  
-’töl heat  
-’k’il hook  
-kâ’pa ice  
-’paqc boil, itch  
-’kron leaf  
-’mëecx log, tree, wood (f. kettle)  
-’lkuilx mat  
-’pâ’kxal mountain  
-‘sik paddle  
-’apla roe  
-’pa-it rope  
-’nzat plank  
-’gö’cax sky  
-’txa point of sealing-spear  
-kâ’wok shaman’s guardian spirit  
-’cô horn spoon  
-’makte spruce  
-’qâ’nake stone (f. large bowl-der)  

-tspxx forehead  
-utca ear  
-atex tooth  
-atex chest  
-mö’kue throat  
-kutex bark  
-’pute anus  
-kci finger  
-’pxa alder-bark  
-’lë’m bark  
-’pl’ike bow  
-lë’qtsen box  
-pâ’utc crab-apple
*-leptckix fire
*gal fish-weir
*latx camass
*taala grindstone
*ma'la marrow, kernel
*pul night, darkness
-ma'p plank
-ga'we raspberry
*mopa rushes

Neuter are, for instance,
-ts'xtex gravel, thorn
-gulatula egg
-paa nape
-list tail of fish
-wit leg
-pc foot
-glq armor
-gu'nxun salal-berry
-ski sinew
-tcin stump, foot of tree
-ta'az sun
-zatx trail
-motan twine of willow-bark
-pcam piece of twine
-tea'rix wedge
-plx well
-goaq blanket
-atoau grease
-skuic mat bag
-tö milk, breast
-teuq water
-ckkvi pitch wood

The number of these words that appear only in the neuter gender is so small that we may almost suspect that the neuter was until recently indefinite and used to indicate both indefinite singular and plural.

§ 35. DUAL AND PLURAL

(1) Nouns that are naturally dual are:
ckuckuc testicles
szöst eyes, face
skulkulol spear
cenmk spit for roasting
cx'gxö double-pointed arrow
cpä'ix blanket made of two deer-skins
ctc!a'maq castorium
cö!al ground-hog blanket, made of two skins
ceqala'la double-barreled gun
cik!ök double ball for game
cilxact bed platform on sides of house
szutsosioq bed platform in front and rear of house
slan bowstring
cla'nist two-stranded twine

There are other words that are always dual, for the form of which no reason can be given, as:
ckä'kolë eel
cenqetqë't hawk
st'snepthep shrew
seq'aleloö butterfly
ckaqsl dentalia of the length of 40 to a fathom
citq half-fathom
cge'can fern-root (pl. ògu'can)

(2) Nouns that are naturally plural are:
tqamilaleq sand
tëpsö grass
ktë'ma property
tö house (= dwelling of several families)
tkemom ashes
In other cases where the noun occurs always with plural prefix the reason is not apparent, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tʰə'ta-ís} & \quad \text{codfish} \\
\text{tmē'ń'a} & \quad \text{flounder} \\
\text{tis'ɫəq} & \quad \text{grasshopper}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tət} & \quad \text{smoke} \\
\text{t'skō} & \quad \text{tattooing} \\
\text{tem'á'ema} & \quad \text{prairie}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 36. SECONDARY SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER

Masculine and feminine have assumed the secondary significance of largeness and smallness. This feature appears most clearly in those cases in which a stem used as a masculine expresses a large object, while as a feminine it expresses a similar smaller object. Examples of this use are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i'pənpen} & \quad \text{badger} \\
\text{o'pənpen} & \quad \text{skunk} \\
\text{i'pqunz} & \quad \text{large round spruce-root basket} \\
\text{o'pqunz} & \quad \text{small round spruce-root basket} \\
\text{i'cəgan} & \quad \text{cedar} \\
\text{o'cəgan} & \quad \text{basket, cup} \\
\text{i'm'ecə} & \quad \text{log, tree, wood} \\
\text{o'm'ecə} & \quad \text{kettle}
\end{align*}
\]

One example at least of the reverse relation has come to my notice:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{iqā'nac} & \quad \text{stone} \\
\text{oqō'nac} & \quad \text{large bowlder}
\end{align*}
\]

In one case the feminine pronoun expresses plurality:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ikani'm} & \quad \text{canoe} \\
\text{ōkuni'm} & \quad \text{canoes}
\end{align*}
\]

There are also a few cases in which smallness is expressed by what appears to be the dual form:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ikani'm} & \quad \text{canoe} \\
\text{səmə'ksəs} & \quad \text{toy canoe}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{skeni'm} & \quad \text{toy canoe}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 37. GENDER OF PLURAL

The use of the pronouns for expressing plurality has come to be exceedingly irregular. The verbal forms suggest that originally \text{t-} was the true third person plural, which was perhaps originally used for human beings only.

(1) Many plurals of words designating human beings retain the pronoun \text{t-}.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{man} & \quad \text{v'kala} & \quad \text{tkəlauks} \\
\text{women} & \quad \text{tə'nemekc} \\
\text{children} & \quad \text{tqā'cəcinike} \\
\text{virgin} & \quad \text{ōhō'tlau} & \quad \text{thələunə'na} \\
\text{old man} & \quad \text{iqleyō'qxtu} & \quad \text{tqleyō'qtike}
\end{align*}
\]

In some cases a more indefinite number may be expressed by \text{l-}. Thus we find for \text{women} both \text{tə'nemekc} and \text{tə'nemekc}; for common person \text{txalə'yuəma} and \text{txalə'yuəma}.

§§ 36, 37
(2) The articles used in the majority of cases for expressing plurality are \textit{t-} and \textit{l-}. Examples of these are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beak</td>
<td>(\text{č'mist})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belly</td>
<td>(\text{č=wan})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird (sp.?!)</td>
<td>(\text{i-pō'čpoē})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanket</td>
<td>(\text{č=č'ok})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheek</td>
<td>(\text{i=měltčan})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crane</td>
<td>(\text{i=gočc'qoac})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>(\text{č-mččččn})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bird</td>
<td>(\text{čntśčx})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>(\text{č'=qččt})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dorsal fin</td>
<td>(\text{č'=čala})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monster</td>
<td>(\text{čqčtčxčč\text{šlu}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pectoral fins</td>
<td>(\text{č'qččtčxčč\text{šlu}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>(\text{č'=kulččtččan})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunch of grass</td>
<td>(\text{č'=čpčččč\text{ščči}})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| chicken-hawk      | \(\text{č'=čnčččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččč čččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččč čččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččč čččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččč ččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččč ččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččč ččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččččč ččččččččččččččččččččč č

1 The sign - indicates that a possessive pronoun is here required.
(3) There are a few cases in which the article ő- is used for expressing the plural, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>coat</td>
<td>ő-tqēke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>ő-kuni’m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eagle</td>
<td>u-te!aktc!a’k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) A number of words whose plural was originally a distributive retain the masculine pronoun, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abalone</td>
<td>i-kte’luwa-ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone arrow-point</td>
<td>i-gö’ma(tk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short baton</td>
<td>i-q!ä’lqal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black bear</td>
<td>i-tsuxut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buck-skin straps</td>
<td>i-t!ä’leqema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cedar</td>
<td>ē’-cengan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elk</td>
<td>i-mō’lak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>ē’-nēmckc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all words of this type, however, retain the masculine pronoun, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bay</td>
<td>ē’-māl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small bluff</td>
<td>i-kak!ā’lat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creek</td>
<td>ē’-qēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disease</td>
<td>ē’-tc!a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feminine distributives do not seem to retain their gender, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>ō’kulaitan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunch of grass</td>
<td>ō-pā’wil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dip-net</td>
<td>ō’nuzcin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 38. PLURAL SUFFIXES

(1) Besides the use of pronominal gender for designating plurality, Chinook seems to have distinguished human beings from other nouns also by the use of a separate plural suffix -ikc, -uks the use of which for human beings is illustrated by the examples given in § 37.1. At present the ending -uks is used for forming the plural of many words, including names of animals and of inanimate objects.

On the whole, this suffix is accompanied by a shift of the accent to the penultima. When the last vowel is the obscure e followed by an l, m, or n, it is lengthened to a under the stress of the accent (see § 5); -ē changes in these cases to -āy.
The following are examples of the shift of accent without accompanying change of vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>owl</td>
<td>i-goé'lyoél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crane</td>
<td>i-goá'cqoac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large cedar-bark</td>
<td>i-gó'mxóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basket</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tillamook Indian</td>
<td>l'le'lem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>l-kë'wuçx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coat</td>
<td>o-q!oè'lxap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fawn</td>
<td>o-q!oè'xap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twine</td>
<td>c-là'ñict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea-lion</td>
<td>i-gë'pix'ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight</td>
<td>ksto'xtkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>ö-kle'mèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egg</td>
<td>l-qualà'wula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monster</td>
<td>i-getsè'lau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>c'iazoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>albatross</td>
<td>i-tà'mëla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dead, corpse</td>
<td>L-mè'malust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dusk</td>
<td>ö-muntsè'ktsë'ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>i-le'q'am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mole</td>
<td>u-cè'ntan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>u-köl'tul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evening</td>
<td>tsö'yust</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Words are quite numerous in which the shift of accent produces a change of vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pigeon</td>
<td>ö'çömën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>c'-mòtsëgn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>box</td>
<td>ö-le'qæsn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open-work basket</td>
<td>ö-lik'e'nìk'kën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>c-mà'sën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>ö'-pënpën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badger</td>
<td>î'-pënpën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>squirrel</td>
<td>i-k'la'tëkn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelican</td>
<td>i'-teyëkn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grizzly bear</td>
<td>i-cà'yiën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lance</td>
<td>i-squi'lem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clam basket</td>
<td>i'-ck'alë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frog</td>
<td>i-q!oate'neëzë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The plural of *i-po'rp̂o'ē* (a bird), is *t-poēp̂o'ŷuks*. Here the accent remains on the o, although it is shifted to the next syllable, and the becomes consonantic.

Here belongs also *l-lā'lex* bird, plural *t-lalā'xuks*, in which word he lengthening of the e to ā before x is irregular.

A number of monosyllabic stems are treated in the same manner, as those here described:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kettle</td>
<td>ő'omē'cx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flounder</td>
<td>ő-pkē'cx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round basket</td>
<td>ő'-pqunx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ē'-qōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyelashes</td>
<td>L-lō'ākks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cinnamon bear</td>
<td>i-t!ē'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanket</td>
<td>e'-ō'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken-hawk</td>
<td>ő'-n pièc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well</td>
<td>L-pi'īk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a number of words the accent does not shift:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>old person</td>
<td>i-qleyō'qūt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shag</td>
<td>i-pa'rowē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>i'-kāla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is particularly frequent in terms which occur always with ossessive pronouns, such as terms designating parts of the body and relationships:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ear ő'-utea</td>
<td>t-īa'-utokec his ears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his belly ia'-wan</td>
<td>t-gā'-unakec their bellies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth i-cql</td>
<td>t-gā'-cqlēkec their mouths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head ē-gtq</td>
<td>t-gā'-gtqēkec their heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheek ē'-mēltan</td>
<td>t-gā'-mēltanukec their cheeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fin ē'-gala</td>
<td>t-īa'-gala-ikec his fins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his father L-īa'mama</td>
<td>L-mcā'-mama-ikec your fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his elder brother  īa'-zk'ūn</td>
<td>īa'-zk'ūniks his elder brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his younger brother īa'-wux</td>
<td>īa'-wuxtike his younger brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his maternal uncle īa'-tata</td>
<td>L-īa'-tatayuks his uncles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belong also:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lid  i-sā'mel'</td>
<td>L-īa'-semēlqak's their lids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five  qu'em</td>
<td>qu'emiks five persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten of them i-tā'-lēlam</td>
<td>ī-tā'-lēlamyuks ten persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six te'xem</td>
<td>ī-tā'-k'a-te'emiks six in a canoe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 38
The ending -tike instead of -(i)kc is used particularly with indefinite numerals, and expresses a plurality of human beings:

all ka'nauve
few me'nx'ka
many (their number) Lgā'peла
several Le'zawē

kanauve'tiks all persons
me'nx'katike a few persons
Lgā'pletike many persons
Le'zawëtike several persons

Analogous are the forms of—

up river ma'ēma
t-maemä'tikec those up river
poor (his poverty) Lgā'zawym
Lgā'zawamtyikec the poor ones
his younger brother iā'wux
iā'-wuxtyikec his younger brother

Still a different connective element appears in—

man i'kala
i-kâlamuks men

Attention may also be called to the forms—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td>t-gâ'cociinikec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eagle</td>
<td>u-teakteč'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gull</td>
<td>u-teakteč'ktecinikec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raven</td>
<td>i-gonë'gonë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crow</td>
<td>i-gonëgonëtecinikec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-gonëkoatecinikec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u-k'onōtecinikec</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last four forms occur in a wail in a myth (Chinook Texts, p. 40) and are not the ordinary plurals of these words.

(2) The frequent plural-suffix -ma (Kathlamet -max) seems to have been originally a distributive element. This appears particularly clearly in the words éx'temaе sometimes (éx't one; -ma distributive; -é adverbial); kanâ'mtema both (kanâ'm both, together; -ma distributive). Following are examples of this suffix. In most cases the accent is drawn toward the end of the word:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abalone</td>
<td>i-kte'luwa-ìtk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone arrow-point</td>
<td>i-gomâ'tgema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chisels</td>
<td>Lqayâ'tgema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>willow</td>
<td>é-lâ'itk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disease</td>
<td>é-telâ'ama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geese</td>
<td>t-k'elakelâ'ama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knife</td>
<td>i-qewi'qē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saliva</td>
<td>L-iâ'-mxte (his—)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whale</td>
<td>i-kolë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meat</td>
<td>L'lê'twule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pike</td>
<td>é'-qogō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seal</td>
<td>ò-lxaiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder brother!</td>
<td>ka'pxô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breast (female)</td>
<td>i'-teca-tô (her—)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§38
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bucket</td>
<td>o’-cēgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cedar</td>
<td>i’-cēgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>tān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stump</td>
<td>o’-tein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>o-kulai’tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dipnet</td>
<td>o’-nuuin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antler</td>
<td>L-ē’t’eam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>i-i’txut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bluff</td>
<td>i-kak’ā’lat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>porpoise</td>
<td>u-kō’tc-kōte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>i-pāk’ral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>o’-pōl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunch of grass</td>
<td>o-pā’twil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common person</td>
<td>giā’-q’latzal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td>i-qē’tak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elk</td>
<td>i-mō’lak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- blanket | L-qoa’q | L-qoa’q’ema |
- nail     | i-tsū’saq | i-tsusā’q’ema |
- grey     | cpeq | cpeq’ema ¹ |
- half fathom | cii’q’ | cii’q’ma |
- deerskin blanket | cpa’iix | tpay’xema |
- another  | tā’nuq | tenō’tuma ¹ |
- mat      | ē’-lkwulx | lkwul’xema |
- well     | o-plx | lá’plxuma ¹ |
- strong person | tgelēwulx | tgelēwulx’ema |
- torch    | ik’ō’wax | ik’ō’wax’ema |
- bay      | ē’-mal | le-mā’lema |
- knee     | o’q’ōxl | tq’ō’lma |
- full     | pāl | pā’lma ² |

A peculiar form is o xo’ xo c pile, plural o xo’ xo cema, which is a verbal form signifying they are on the ground.

In a few cases in which the suffix -ma occurs with obscure connective vowel, like the preceding ones, changes of consonants occur in the end of the word:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>o’-ōlax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(his) fathom</td>
<td>a’yana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spruce</td>
<td>ē’-makte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea-otter</td>
<td>e-lā’kē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Irregular is also the change in vowel in ē’-qē:l creek, plural t’ā’lema.

¹ Also Lā’p’soakc. ² These are particles without pronominal plural sign.

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—39 § 38
A number of words take the ending -ma with connective vowel. Examples of the connective vowel -ö- are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ēnémckc</td>
<td>ēnémckcōma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co'oləl⁴</td>
<td>t!oləlōma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baton</td>
<td>i-qalqaləma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>əqōnakcōma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skin</td>
<td>ə-təc⁴</td>
<td>ə-təcōma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandson!</td>
<td>qa'c</td>
<td>qa'cōma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairie</td>
<td>te-m'a'ēma</td>
<td>te-m'a'ēmayōma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last of these seems to be a double plural, the stem being probably -m'ə.

Another series of words take -ē as connective vowel, sometimes -wē- or -oē-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Son!</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āq</td>
<td>āq xo'ema</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'xoē</td>
<td>a-xo'yewēma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>widow whose husband has been dead a long time</td>
<td>a-kliə̅lial</td>
<td>t-kliə̅lowēma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island</td>
<td>lex</td>
<td>lex xo'ema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger sister!</td>
<td>āts</td>
<td>ātsēma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger brother!</td>
<td>a'o</td>
<td>a'oēma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td>ł'xam</td>
<td>t'xam'ēma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>t!ōl</td>
<td>t!ōle'ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belong also:

- thing | i'kta | t-i'ktema his things |
- prairie | | têm'ā'ēma¹ |
- a plant | | i-qalxoe'ma |

and the irregular forms:

- Log | ē'me lex | le-mqcem'ēma'yema |
- Common man | l-xal'yal | l-xal'yu'ema |
- Warrior | l-t!ōzoyal | tōzol'yu'ema |

In at least one of these words the origin of the -ē is reducible to a probable fuller form of the word. The stem of the word house is -qulē in K talents, and would naturally form the plural tqu'lema, which, in Lower Chinook, would take the form t!olēma.

(3) A considerable number of words have no plural suffix whatever, but differ only in the pronoun, or may even have the same

¹ See above.
pronoun in singular and plural. Examples of these are contained in the lists in § 37. Additional examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>i-qoa-inē'nē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>v'-'potē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm-pit</td>
<td>i-kmēlā'pix'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut of blubber</td>
<td>i-gītē'txala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>i-kamō'kruk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dip-net</td>
<td>ē'-qxacga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buoy</td>
<td>ē'-qxun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fresh-water clam</td>
<td>ō'-sala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coal</td>
<td>ō-qō'lxatsx'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab-apple</td>
<td>ō-pā'utc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>ō-kci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>i-kani'm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Several terms of relationship and a few other related words have a plural in -nāna, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parent-in-law</td>
<td>ē'-qsix'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister's son</td>
<td>i'-latx'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife's sister</td>
<td>ō'-pōtsxan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's sister</td>
<td>ō-lak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cousin (children of brother and sister)</td>
<td>l-qa'mgē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>virgin</td>
<td>ō-hō't!au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend</td>
<td>i-ci'kc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few terms of relationship have plural forms in -iks or the distributive -ma, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>l-mama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder brother</td>
<td>i-żik!un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger brother</td>
<td>i-wux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's brother</td>
<td>i-tata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger brother! (address)</td>
<td>a'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter's child! (address)</td>
<td>qāc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) A number of words have peculiar plural suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chief</td>
<td>i-kā'nx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>l-aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youth</td>
<td>i-q'ōā'lipx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweetheart</td>
<td>l-qōlix'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(6) In a number of cases the plural is formed by the insertion of the syllable \(-yʊ\) which may be either an affix or may be considered as an expansion of the vowel of the stem by dieresis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to bathe</td>
<td>-o̱t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to rise</td>
<td>-xalatck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to notch</td>
<td>-tsl̓ēlx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to dance</td>
<td>-wîtck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to awaken</td>
<td>-ōtce</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) The personal demonstrative pronoun has a plural in \(-c\).

\(x³tʰa\) these things \(x³tʰac\) these men
\(qō'ta\) those things \(qō'tac\) those men

(see §44)

(8) Several nouns and verbs form singular and plural from distinct or distantly related stems, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual s-qoct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>o̱-o̱'kuwil</td>
<td>t-aⁿ'kmçc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>l-k¹ła'sks</td>
<td>t-qä'sösintks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child (some one's)</td>
<td>l-xa</td>
<td>l-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative</td>
<td>l-icx</td>
<td>t-cëlal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slave</td>
<td>e-lə'itix̣</td>
<td>t-əltgëc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>e̱-got</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be</td>
<td>-o̱-c</td>
<td>-x-əla-itix̣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cry</td>
<td>-yxọ'tsxax</td>
<td>-xënëm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to stand</td>
<td>l-xuít</td>
<td>-xëna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to die</td>
<td>-o̱-mëq̣t</td>
<td>-x̣'l-aït</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to kill</td>
<td>-a-wa̱t</td>
<td>-o̱-lëna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 39. VOCATIVE

A few nouns, particularly terms of relationship, have a vocative, which has no pronominal element, as:

- aō younger brother!
- mä'ma father!
- aēs younger sister!
- äq son!
- kā'pxō elder brother! elder sister!
- äc daughter!
- qāc grandchild! (said by man)
- cike friend!
- ka'ẽ grandchild! (said by woman)

§ 40. DERIVATION OF NOUNS

On the whole the derivation of the numerous polysyllabic nouns in Chinook is obscure. Evidently a considerable number of nominal affixes exist, which, however, occur so rarely that their significance can not be determined. Examples are the derivatives from the stem əl̓x LAND, COUNTRY— īl̓'c COUNTRY (the x disappears because the vowel following əl̓x carries the accent) ləgōl̓əl̓xemk PERSON, ēl̓xam TOWN, §§ 39, 40
tê’lx·em people. From the stem xê we have iqoate’xêxê bullfrog; from the stem kon, iqto’konkon woodpecker.

A few affixes only occur fairly frequently, but even in these cases it is sometimes impossible to classify the words satisfactorily.

1. -kê-. I presume this prefix is the same as, or at least related to, the verbal prefix -ki, -qi, which signifies that a verb usually transitive is used without object. Thus may be explained—

o’qiilq!up a cut
îgê’l!men!men something rotten
tgel’matk store
ogué’pxaté alder (= wood for dyeing)
îk!ê’wulelql food
ê’k’it payment for a wife
îk!ê’wax torch, flower
tkipalâ’wul word
îkimo’cx·em toy
îk’letê’naz game

2. -qe-. This seems to be a nominal prefix corresponding to the verbal reflexive -x-.

ôgôgu’nklatk club (from -x-gunk to club)
îqê’tcamëtë comb (from -xel-tciam to comb one’s self)
îqê’lecwua hat (from -xenlê’ecwua to hang a round thing on top of one’s self)

iqates’ê’lxak panther (from -xtse’ lxakö to have a notch around
ôqsidâ’yu lxak ants) one’s self)

Judging from these examples, it would seem plausible that most nouns beginning with -gi-, -ki-, -k’i-, -qi-, -q’i-, contain these prefixes, for instance:

îgê’luxctulk arrow-head
îgê’mxtâk burial
îgê’totê elk-skin
ogué’nxak plank
ôk’wê’lak dried salmon

and other similar ones. Here may also belong

oguewi’qe knife
ôq!wêlâ’wulx maturing girl (the one who is moved up, hidden?)
iq!eyô’qxtul old

The extensive use of these prefixes is also illustrated by—

iqêk!ê’s brass, but
îk!ê’xa gall (both from k’íes yellow)
iqê’p’al doorway (probably from -p’la into [= that into which people always enter])

§ 40
3. *nt*— is a local prefix.
   naltzoa'p hole (from lzoa'p to dig)
   nate'lim the country of the Tillamook (from 'e'lim)

4. -tē a suffix signifying tree, wood.
   ogue'pxatē alder (= wood for dyeing).

5. -tlk is a nominal suffix the significance of which is quite obscure.
   In a few cases it indicates the point of an object, but in many
   cases this explanation is quite unsatisfactory. It seems pos-
   sible that this suffix is the same as the verbal stem -tlk to put
   down, to deposit, so that its meaning might be something
   on the ground, or something attached to something else, or a
   part of something else. This explanation would be satisfactory
   in words like—
   ʔpotitk forearm
   ʔge'bustcutk arrow-head
   iwa'ne'ematk belly-cut of a fish
   ilemē'lk bed may be derived from -ēlx ground, and may mean
   put down on the ground
   ikalxe'lematk may mean put down to eat from (= dish)

The following list contains some stems with their nominal and
verbal derivatives. It will be noted that in a number of cases the
verb is derived from the noun.

-pxa ALDER-BARK.
   ʔ-pxa alder-bark
   ʔ-gue'pxa-te alder
   l-gē'pxa-te alder-woods
   -al-ʔ-pxa to dye in alder-bark
   l-q-l-al-ʔ-pxa dyed cedar-bark

-ts!ēlx TO NOTCH.
   i-qa-ts!ēlx-ak what has a notch around itself (= panther)
   ʔ-qq-ts!a'yulx-ak those with notches around themselves (= ants)
   -s-x-ts!ēlx-akō to make a notch around a thing

-k'lanxatē DRIFT-NET.
   ʔ-k'unxatē drift-net
   -xen-k'lanxatē-mam to go to catch in drift-net

nauā'iltk NET.
   -xe-nauā'itgē to catch in net

-wiuc URINE OF MALE.
   l-ʔ-wiuc urine
   -xa-wiuc to urinate
   o-wiùc'matk chamber

§ 40
-kxamit TO PAY ATTENTION.
  i-ka-kxamit mind
  -a-kxamit to pay attention

-gunk TO CLUB.
  ő-qő-gun'k-la-tk club
  -x-gunk to club

-tciam TO COMB.
  l-qē-tcam-ē-tē comb

-lxē TO CRAWL.
  l-qa-lxē'-la one who crawls much (= crab)

-utca EAR.
  ő'-utca ear
  -x-wu'tca-tk to hear

-lxel(em) TO EAT.
  i-ka-lxel'm-matk dish

-œic TO BREAK WIND.
  -xel'œic-tc to break wmd (perhaps for -œicqœic)
  ő'-œic-tc wind broken

-lx AROUND NECK.
  -lx-ôt it is around the neck
  i-qi'e'-lx-ôt necklace

-tēwa TO BAIL OUT.
  -x-tēwa to bail out canoe
  o-i-tewā'-lx-tē for bailing out into the water (= bailer)

-kamōt PROPERTY.
  -x-emōta to barter
  t-kamō'ta property

-kema(tk) BATON.
  ő'-kumatk baton
  -zematk to beat time with baton

-lē TO CATCH WITH HERRING-RAKE.
  -x-lē-n to catch with herring-rake
  i-qa-lē'-ma-tk herring-rake

-mōcx'em TO PLAY, TO FOOL.
  t-ki-mō'cx'ema toys

-m'cx WOOD.
  ő-m'cx tree
  ő-m'icx kettle
  -xel-meqci to gather wood

-pla TO ENTER.
  i-qē'-plal doorway

§ 40
-lētcuwa TO PUT HOLLOW THING ON TOP OF SOMETHING.
   l-qē-lētcuwā'-ma hat

-qct LOUSE.
   ò-qct louse
   -gē-qcta to louse

-kwβck TO NET
   c-kwβck-mā'tk net-shuttle
   -xel-gē'-kwβck to net

-teiakt TO POINT.
   -gen-teiaktē to point at something
   gi-teiaktē-l pointer (= first finger)

-mq TO SPIT.
   -ò-mqo-it to spit
   -ò-mst-a to vomit
   l-mx-tē saliva

-kta THING, SOMETHING, WHAT.
   i-kta thing, something, what
   -gem-ò-kti to pay

§ 41. NOUNS AND VERBS DERIVED FROM PARTICLES.

Many particles (see § 46) can be used as stems of nouns. I have found the following examples:

i-yuwl/l pride 74.11 (from yuwl/l proud)
 tkle'waxema torches 27.22 (from wax light, to shine)
 ikle'wax flower 165.27 (from wax to bloom)
 iwxo/mi copper (from wax light, to shine)
 ikle'waxo/mi fear 213.10 (from k/wac afraid)
 igil'qul/up cut 46.2 (from lq!up to cut)
 igel'/men!men syphilis (from l'men soft, rotten)
 nats!e'x piece 69.3 (from ts!ex to tear)
 naloa'p hole 23.7 (from lxoa'p to dig)
 nal'lo something round (from lōlō round)
-xā'penic a woman gives herself in payment for services of a shaman 203.11 (from pā'nic to give in payment for services of a shaman)

-gē'staq!lom to go to war 270.1 (from staq! war)
 l-xq!lam to be lazy (from q!lam lazy)
 ne-āraxome to notice 40.14 (from xāx to notice)
 cē'kple/pt it boils (from lēp to boil)
-xā'qul/qul/up to cut one's self (from lq!up to cut)

Nevertheless this series of stems is sharply set off from all others, since the latter never occur without pronominal elements, excepting a few vocatives that have been mentioned in §39.

§ 41
§ 42. COMPOUND NOUNS

There are only very few examples of nouns compounded of two independent elements, as:

\[c\text{-}ge\text{-}mōlak\text{-}txict\] my elk nose 193.19 (c- dual; -ge- my; -mōlak elk; -txict nose)

\[t\text{!}agē\text{l}a\text{'}kē\] woman’s utensils (t- plural; -agēlak woman; -kē things)

\[i\text{-}k\text{!}ani\text{-}y\text{-}i\text{'}l\text{ž}an\] myth town 216.8 (i- masculine; -kanam myth; -elžan town)

A number of nouns, particularly names of animals, are descriptive in character. These were probably used as alternates in case one name of an animal became tabued through the death of a person bearing its name, or a name similar to it. Examples are:

\[iqats\text{!}i\text{'}l\text{z}ak\] having a notch around itself, i. e., with a thin belly (=panther)

\[oqots\text{!}i\text{'}a\text{'}yu\text{'}l\text{z}ak\] those having notches around themselves (=ants)

\[ięcā\text{'}yau ā\text{'}yaqtq\] snake’s head (=dragon fly)

\[Į\text{'}ga\l\text{z}la\text{x}\] going into the water (=mink)

\[otcō\text{'}u\text{'}xul\] dip-net maker (=spider)

\[eqē\text{'}wam\] the sleepy one (=a fish [sp.])

\[okō\text{'}l\text{z}ul\] thief (=mouse)

\[i\text{k}!u\text{'t}k\text{'ut\] the one who always breaks (bones) (=dog [Kathlamet dialect])

§ 43. SUBSTANTIves AS QUALIFIERS

Substantives are often used to qualify other substantives. In this case the qualifying substantive takes the gender of the one qualified:

\[ō\text{'}kzō\l\text{a} o\text{'}wun\] a male silver-side salmon 109.3

\[ē\text{'}kē\l\text{il imōlak\] a female elk 264.3

\[ē\text{'}kzala imōlak\] a male elk 264.2

These qualifiers are not adjectives, but remain true substantives, as is shown by the feminine prefix ō-, which is characteristic of substantives.

§ 44. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs

(1) **Demonstrative Pronouns of Lower Chinook.** The structure of the demonstrative pronoun of the Chinook proper is analogous to that of the noun. It consists of a modal element, which seems to express visibility and invisibility; the personal pronoun which expresses gender; and the demonstrative element, which expresses position near the first, second, and third persons.

§§ 42-44
(1) Modal element.
   Visibility, or existence in present time \( x' \)-
   Invisibility, or existence in past time \( q- \)

(2) Gender.
   Masculine \(-i-\)
   Feminine \(-a-\)
   Neuter \(-l-\)
   Dual \(-ct-\)
   Plural \(-t-\)

(3) Demonstrative element.
   Near first person \(-k\)
   Near second person \(-au (-i-a)\)
   Near third person \(-x (-o-a)\)

In the forms with consonantic pronoun \(-l-, -ct-, -t-)\), the demonstrative element is represented by a secondary character—\(-i- (-e-)\) preceding the pronoun for the demonstratives of the first and second persons; \(-o-\) for the demonstrative pronoun of the third person.

Thus the following table develops:

**Present, Visible**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>( x'ik )</td>
<td>( x'ak )</td>
<td>( x'iik )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>( x'iau )</td>
<td>( x'au )</td>
<td>( x'iila )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>( x'ix )</td>
<td>( x'aq )</td>
<td>( x'ola )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>( x'ictik )</td>
<td>( x'iik )</td>
<td>( x'iitik )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>( x'icta )</td>
<td>( x'ita )</td>
<td>( x'iitac )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>( x'ota )</td>
<td>( x'ota )</td>
<td>( x'iota )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural, human beings

**Past, Invisible**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>( qiau )</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>( qel )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>( qix )</td>
<td>( qax )</td>
<td>( qo )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>( qec )</td>
<td>( qe )</td>
<td>( qeta )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>( qoeca )</td>
<td>( qota )</td>
<td>( qolac )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural, human beings

The forms for past or invisible near the first person do not seem to occur. Besides these, emphatic forms occur in which the initial elements are doubled. Of these I have found the following:

§ 44
Present, Visible

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x'ix'v'k</td>
<td>xaqa'k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x'ix'iu'</td>
<td>xaqa'u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x'ix'i'x</td>
<td>xaqa'x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual           | Plural       | Plural, human beings |
-              | -            | -                   |

x'ix'ö'cta     x'ix'ö'ta  x'ix'ö'tac, x'ix'ö'lac

Past, Invisible

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiqiav'</td>
<td>qaqa'u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiqë'x</td>
<td>qaqa'x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual           | Plural       | Plural, human beings |
-              | -            | -                   |

qiqö'cta      qiqö'ta    qiqö'ctac

On the whole, these doubled forms are used more frequently in a predicative sense than the single forms. Apparently they are often substantival forms, but I think they are better characterized as predicative. Quite often these forms may be translated this one, who.

x'ix'ë'k algë'tku'lam x'ila lq!eyö'gxööt it is this (masc.), he brought it (masc.) this (neut.) old man 67.6
qö!ö'xööl xaqa'u' ö'lxat Òq'lö'xöö, this is the one, she has come down to the beach 107.9 (ö- she; -lx to the beach; -t perfect)
x'ix'iu au amigà'tlöm this one whom you met 185.12 (a- transitional; m- thou; i- him; -gatq to meet; -am completive)
anìà'wa'qiqiav'x ktìenxgà'ltuk I killed that one who always went first 89.5 (-wa' to kill; qiqiav'x probably for qiqiav'; k- the one who; ktìen—he me; -xgako to go about; -L with suffix -ako by metathesis -alukL)

The simple forms occur generally in adjectival form.

nalë'ma xàk ök!u'lucin I will give her this fish head 183.7 (nal- I her to her; -ëm to give food; -a future; ök!u'lucin fish head)
attìele'ëm ikamö'këruk qö'la lgë'wusx he gave a bone to that dog 187.12 (attìele'- he him to it; ikamö'këruk bone; lgë'wusx dog)
këca'la x'ìk në'mal up this river 220.2

In some cases I have found tikc, tik, lik instead of the same elements with the prefix x'i, but I am not certain whether in these cases the beginning of the word was not slurred over.

§ 44
Apparently there is also a duplication of the terminal element in -k. At least this is a possible explanation of the form x'ix'ẻ'kik.

x'ix'ẻ'gik mkā'nax tacmā'xō this here is what will make you rich 218.1 (m- thou; -kānax chief, rich man; tacm- he thee; a-directive before x; -x to make; -ō future after x)

v'kta tcūwā'ya x'ix'ẻ'kik what can this one do! 134.25

iā! x'ix'ẻ'kik! oh, this (miserable) one! 41.10, 147.1
tgā'ma' x'itē'kik these are shot 213.20 (tgā- their; -ma' being shot)

To this form may belong the demonstratives ō'kuk, yō'kuk, ya'z'kuk, x'ix'ō'kuk, qigō'k, but all these seem to be demonstrative adverbs.

(2) Demonstrative Adverbs of Lower Chinook. These are very numerous and it is difficult to present them in a systematic way. One set corresponds strictly to the set described before. The forms expressing present have the element x'-, those expressing past q-. Both occur with the two vowels -i- and -ō-, which in this case, seem to express this and that. Their locative character is expressed by the suffixed locative element gō. Thus we find—

x'igō
qigō
x'ōgō
qōgō

a'łta a'łō iau'a x'igō nalxoq'p algā'yax īlē'ē now they went thus to this place where they had dug up the ground 23.7 (a'łta now; a- transitional; l- indefinite; -ō to go; iau'a here thus; na- place; lxoq'p to dig; a- transitional; lg- indefinite transitive subject; -āy- for -i- masculine object; a- directive; -x to do; īlē'- ground masc.)

x'igō Nagārā'mat, gō tgā'k'ul qō'ta-yē'ka here at Galā'mat is their custom thus 240.25 (na- place; gō there; tgā'-their; k'ul custom; ī'ka thus)

iā'kēwa tal! x'ōk q'at algā'nax nevertheless there I am loved 39.5 (iā'kēwa there thus; tal! nevertheless; q'at to love; a- transitional; -ān' me [accented ā]; a-directive; -x to do)
tc'α'a, qa'da x'ōgu nē'zax see! how I became here 178.8

a'łta lpił qigō lēkʷ nē'zax now it was red where it was broken 185.20 (lpił red; lēkʷ to break)
pāl ikā'pa qigō mā'ìnē it was full of ice there seaward 44.24 (pāl full; ikā'pa ice; mā'ìnē seaward)

ale'zelaguz qigō nōpō'numx he would arise when it was night 165.6

gōgu itcā'q'atxala ayā'zelax utcā'nix there the wedge was bad 161.8 (i- masculine; -tcā- feminine possessive; q'atxala badness; ayā'zelax hers is on her; utcā'nix wedge)
a'ctōp! gō gōgō gitanō'kstx t!ōl they entered that little house 29.14
(a'ctō they two go; -p! into; gō there; gitanō'kstx having their
smallness)

A distinct series, continuing the idea in this manner are ya'kwa,
yau'a, ē'wa, qēwa, ya'zēwa.

Related to these is the interrogative qā'xēwa. All of these contain
the element -wa. They designate nearness and distance, but I am
unable to tell the difference in their use, which is rather indefinite.
According to their form ya'kwa (=yak-wa) probably belongs with the
series designating position near the speaker, yau'a (=yau-wa) position
near the person addressed. The form ēwa seems to correspond
to the demonstrative position near the third person, while ya'zēwa
always refers back to a place previously designated: thus just at
that place.

iakwa' gōyē' ā'txax here he did thus 65.21 (gōyē' thus; ātx he
her; -ax to do)
nēkct mō'ya iau'a do not go there! 185.17
nē'kst xēwa we'vulē he looked there into the house 130.17 (nē-
he, intransitive; -kst designates lack of object; -kst to look;
we'vulē inside of house)
iā'xēwa nē'xankō there (to the place pointed out) he ran 23.17
iā'xēwa ayuqunā'ētxi't there (where he was shot) he fell down
62.22

The forms in -wa are used often to express the idea here—there:
ē'wa ē'nata, iau'a ē'natai here on this side,—there on that side
201.12
ia'kwa nō'ix ā'ēxat, iau'a ta'nuta nō'ix ā'ēxat here went the one
(feminine); there to the other side went the other 75.14

But we find also forms in -uk used in the same way—
iō'kuk agā'yuṭk iqē'sqēs, iakwa ē'natai agā'yuṭk kā'sa-it here on one
side she put blue-jay, there on the other robin 50.4
lā'yapec iakwa',—iō'kuk iā'melk his foot there,—here his thigh
174.15

The same adverb is not often repeated to indicate different direc-
tions or places.

iā'ma iau'a mō'yima; nākct iau'a mai'emē ixēyim only there (up-
stream) go; do not go there downstream 192.9

Generally repetition refers to the same places.
iau'a aeqīxu'luκergency, iau'a aeqīxu'luκergency here they two threw
him down, here they two threw him down; i.e., they threw
him down again and again 26.8

§ 44
yauə' actik!ələ'pəvitə, yauə' actik!ələ'pəvitə there they turned
over each other again and again 127.4
iə'koa-y-əxt, ia'koa-y-əxt kanə'mtəma one here, one here, both;
i.e., one in each hand 45.10 (see also 157.22)

As stated before, the forms in -uk seem to have adverbial meaning.
Following are examples of their uses:

o'kuk əkə'qəwam ike'x imə'xənətə there (with that) shaman is thy
soul 199.23 (kə'qəwam one having a shaman's song; i- he;
-ke- indicates absence of object; -x to do, to be; -mə- thy;
-kanətə soul)
iə'o'kuk aqə'yuṭk gə'itə'xəməlap'ix' here she put him in her arm-
pit 50.4 (-tk to put; -kəməlap'ix' armpit)
aqə'nukt x'ix'ə'o'kuk some one looked at me here 30.8 (-kt to look)
lənas yəxku'k itxə'māma ləc may be our father is there 29.14
(lənas may be; -məma father; -c to be)
tənəxwa'səmx xgə'k aŋtsəwə'pi'ənə'nəmə-itx tə'kəxəl he comes
to kill me when I always jump in my house 64.25 (tə- he; -n-
me; -t to come; -wa- to kill; -am to arrive; -x habitually; -a-
transitional; -n- I; -ts- probably for s- both [feet]; -awx- for
-ən into them [see § 9]; -pen to jump; -ən assimilated for -əl
always [§ 8] -a-itx always [§ 31.10])

Quite isolated is the form ia'xkati, which appears with great fre-
quency. The ending -ti is evidently adverbial, as is shown by the
parallel Kathlamet form gi'pətix' there, and nə'l'kətix' for a little
while. It signifies the position near the third person, there.

iə'xkati mə'pəlaya! enter there! 24.5
iə'xkatiə ayə'ia-it there he stayed 76.14

Still another form, apparently related to the forms in -uk, is
ia'xkayuk here.

ia'xkayuk ayə'yam here he arrived 64.24
ia'xkayuk ni'etə'qixa I shall leave it here 186.1

Related to this form may be yukpə' here and yukpə't to this
point here. These contain the locative suffix -pa at, which is
characteristic of Upper Chinook, but does not occur in Lower Chinook.
while the ending -t is directive and related to the Upper Chinook -əa
(see § 55).

yukpə' iə'ma'teçəlax here he hit him (his shooting he did to
him here) 62.22
yukpə' ayəxəltəceməx'it here it hit him 153.22
yukpə't əə'yaqšə aqə'lax ıəə'qa'ta his hair was made that long (to
here his hair someone made it on him its length) 156.17
yukpə't nisə'la-it ətəq up to here he stood in (it) the water 225.8

§ 44
It will be noticed that the element $iax$ ($yaq$) occurs quite frequently in these demonstratives. As terminal element it is found in $z'ix'ó'yaq$, $gó'yaq$ and the interrogative $qá'zéyaq$.

As initial element it occurs in $ya'xkuk$, $ia'xkayuk$, $ia'xkewa$, $ia'xkati$.

It is undoubtedly identical with the terminal $yaq$ of the Klamathet demonstrative and with the first element in $ia'xka$ he alone, the third person masculine personal pronoun of Lower Chinook.

(3) Demonstrative Pronouns of Klamathet. In Klamathet and Wishram, the distinction of visible and invisible does not occur and the structure of the demonstratives is quite different. In both Klamathet and Wishram, the demonstrative expressing location near the first person has a prefix (which in Klamathet has the same form for masculine and feminine), while all the other genders are designated by their characteristic sounds. In Wishram this prefix is invariable. The location near the second and third persons is expressed in both dialects by invariable suffixes.

### Klamathet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>$tayax$</td>
<td>$tawá'x$</td>
<td>$laiá't'x$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>$yá'xaué$</td>
<td>$á'xaué$</td>
<td>$lá'xaué$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>$yax'I'(yaq)$</td>
<td>$wax'I'(yaq)$</td>
<td>$lax'I'(yaq)$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Dual

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Plural, persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>$ctactá'x$</td>
<td>$laiá'ike$ $taá'ike$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>$ctá'xaué$</td>
<td>$tá'xaué$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>$ctax'I'(yaq)$</td>
<td>$tax'I'(yaq)$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides these forms, Klamathet has two very short forms, $gi$ and $taw$. Both are used for positions corresponding to here, but their exact relationship has not been determined. They occur with all genders and numbers. The form $taw$ is undoubtedly identical with the Wishram $daw$, which characterizes the first and second persons as prefix and suffix.

*$iš'ič'it's'emóm gi $á'méget$ her sweetness this thy louse (=your louse here is sweet) 118.12 (Klamathet Texts)*

*$lá'ema gi le'tcin lá'tgátex only this stump drifts down 92.5 (ibid.)*

*$qáteqi k'á igó'xox $gi$ $tgú'nat$? why have these salmon disappeared? (why nothing became these salmon?) 47.8 (ibid.)*

*$qá'mta $io'ya$ $taw$ $igtátklóá'mam$? where went he who came home? 162.7 (ibid.)*

*$iklóámit $taw$ $aqágélak$ this woman carried him away 163.1 (ibid.)*

The element $gi$ appears also presumably in *tánki something.*

§ 44
(4) **Demonstrative Adverbs of Kathlamet.** The two most frequent forms of the demonstrative adverbs in Kathlamet are

\[ \text{gipā' here} \quad \text{gōpā' there} \]

both compounds of demonstrative stems and the locative suffix -\(p\a\)

\[ \text{gipā' gi tzā'qeq'emapa ayamek̓g̓e'tga here to these our wedges I shall put you 114.13 (Kathlamet Texts) (tzā- our; -qeqem wedge; -ma plural; -p\a to; ayamek̓- I to thee; -gi- indicates absence of object; -tk to put; -a future)} \]

\[ \text{gipā' cx̣l'oā'lgōx here the two were grown together 17.1 (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{icx̣'la-tl̓x kō'pa they stayed there 10.6 (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{kōpa' igix̣q'go-t\un{tl̓}q then he awoke 21.8 (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{im̓l̓əłak gōp̓ə'ca'x̣al̓ət an elk is up there 71.5 (ibid.)} \]

In place of gipā' the stronger form gipā'tl̓x is found.

\[ \text{gipā'tl̓x siá't̓ə lstm̓pa right here on his face 76.14 (ibid.)} \]

Compare with this form—

\[ \text{il̓ə'yaq̓m el̓xp̓ət̓l̓x they arrived in that land 17.14 (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{i̱q̓eq̓e'wul̓x t̓q̓ə'menq̓p̓ə'tl̓x he climbed a pine there 11.14 (ibid.)} \]

Corresponding to the forms yuk̓p̓ə't, yuk̓p̓ə't̓ema, in Lower Chinook.

we find here gip̓ə't, gip̓ə't̓ema.

\[ \text{gip̓e't a'yaq̓tl̓q up to here its thickness 189.5 (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{l̓xp̓̊t̓emt̓l̓x lel̓aq̓c̓o gip̓ə't̓ema braided was his hair to here 131.10 (ibid.)} \]

Often yax̣'t̓ (masc. dem. 3d person) is used as an adverb:

\[ \text{yaq̓x̣ aq̓al̓əx there (was) the sun 109.3} \]

\[ \text{yaq̓x̣ m̓ə'l̓nx̣ i̱g̓e'kta there seaward he ran 172.11} \]

The series of forms of Lower Chinook ending in -\(w\a\) is represented by a'k̓oa, e'\(w\a\).

\[ \text{iq̓eq̓x̣'lau a'k̓oa itc̓ə'x̣oa here thus he made her a monster 224.3 (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{(iq̓eq̓x̣'lau monster; itc̓ə'- her he)} \]

\[ \text{l̓ən laq̓x̣ a'k̓ua l̓x̣o'la? who is that here thus talking? 51.9 (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{l̓ən who; l̓x̣o- it by itself)} \]

\[ \text{ict̓ə'l̓x̣a e'wə ikak̓ı'o'lt̓t̓x the two went down there thus to the lake 18.95 (ibid.)} \]

It is characteristic of Upper Chinook that these forms occur often with distributive endings and with directive -\(t\a\).

\[ \text{mak̓t a'wimax itcə'lt̓tax two these thus their length 189.4 (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{(mak̓t two; itcə'- her; -lt̓tax length)} \]

Another adverb is found in this dialect, t̓e'ka thus here.

\[ \text{t̓e'ka gi atz̓o̓q̓'ya! here we will sleep! 109.4 (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{t̓e'ka atzk̓t̓ay̓ə'wul̓l̓əema here we will play! 167.17 (ibid.)} \]

§ 44
(5) Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs in Wishram (by E. Sapir).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>da’uya(x)</td>
<td>da’u(ə)a(x)</td>
<td>da’ula(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>da’ya(x)</td>
<td>da’va(x)</td>
<td>da’la(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>ya’xdau</td>
<td>a’xdau</td>
<td>la’xdau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya’xda(x)</td>
<td>a’xda(x)</td>
<td>la’xda(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>ya’xia(x)</td>
<td>a’xia(x)</td>
<td>la’xia(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(formed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from ya’xdau)</td>
<td>yakə’xdau</td>
<td>akə’xdau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yakə’xdau</td>
<td>akə’xdau</td>
<td>lakə’xdau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>da’udə-ic</td>
<td>da’da-ic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>da’uda-ic</td>
<td>da’da-ic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural, persons</td>
<td>da’uda-ic</td>
<td>da’da-ic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>da’uda-ic</td>
<td>da’da-ic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>da’uda-ic</td>
<td>da’da-ic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>da’uda-ic</td>
<td>da’da-ic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>cda’xdau</td>
<td>da’xdau</td>
<td>la’xdaauaitc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cda’xda(x)</td>
<td>da’xda(x)</td>
<td>a’xdaauaitc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>cda’xia(x)</td>
<td>da’xia(x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(formed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from ya’xdau)</td>
<td>cda’xa’dau</td>
<td>da’xdaau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cda’xa’dau</td>
<td>da’xdaau</td>
<td>ak’da’xa’dauu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—It is somewhat doubtful whether ya’xdau should be so read or as ya’xdau. (x) in personal and demonstrative pronouns is dëctic in value.

-ka may be added to demonstratives in -ite.

Elements -tta and -ttike are perhaps “diminutive” forms of demonstrative pronominal stem da this and personal plural -dike.

Following is a list of the demonstrative adverbs of the Wishram dialect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>up to</th>
<th>towards, on... side</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stem da(u) da’ba here</td>
<td>dapt</td>
<td>dabā’t little ways further on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem kwō kwō’ba there</td>
<td>kwōpt</td>
<td>kwobā’t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem ia’xi ia’xi bā yonder</td>
<td>ya’xp</td>
<td>ia’xi’t further on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Stem di di’ka here   | di’gat (18.17) | (-pt also in qa’nt e ip t how long?)

1 References in the rest of this section relate to E. Sapir, Wishram Texts (vol. II, Publication Amer. Ethnolog. Society).
§ 45. Independent Personal Pronoun

The independent personal pronoun is formed from the objective pronoun by means of a number of suffixes of unknown origin and the terminal suffix -ka only.

na'ika I  ntaika we two (exclusive)  ntcaika we (exclusive)
ma'ika thou  txaika we two (inclusive)  lxaika we (inclusive)
i'a'xka he  mtaika your two selves  mcaika ye
a'xka she  cta'xka their two selves
la'xka it  ta'ska they

These forms may also be interpreted as intransitive verbs. Another emphatic form, apparently more verbal in character, is—

nā'mka I alone
mā'mka thou alone, etc.

A peculiar form mi'co you occurs in the texts (23.1)

In the Kathlamet dialect an emphatic form na'yax I, ma'yax thou (Kathlamet Texts 114.11) is found, which occurs also in Wishram.

The forms for I, thou, etc., alone are:

na'ëma I alone  txa'ëma we alone 134.16

These correspond to Wishram forms recorded by Sapir:

na'-ima I alone  la'ímadike, da'-imadike, a'-imadike they alone
ma'-ima thou alone
lxa'-imadike we (incl.) alone
Besides these, Doctor Sapir has recorded in Wishram the following:

Shortest form:

na'(x) I ya(x) he da'itc they
la'itc they (Wishram Texts 48.4)
a'itc they

Inclusive:

nai't/a I too ya'xt/a he too la'it/ikc they too
lxa'i't/ikc we too da'it/ikc they too
a'it/ikc they too

He remarks that the demonstratives of the third person (ya'xt/a) seem morphologically parallel to first and second personal emphatic pronouns (na'ya); that the demonstrative element -i- is characteristic of the first and second persons, -x- of the third; as in

na-i-ka I ya-x-ka he
na'-i-xt/a I too ya-x-t/a he too
na'-(i)-ya I ya'-x-ia he

These elements -i- and -x- are probably identical with Chinook -i- and -x- in x'i'za and x'i'x, x'ax.

Particles (§§ 46-52)

§ 46. Attribute Complements

It is one of the most striking characteristics of the Chinook language that a few verbs of very indefinite meaning which require subjective and objective attribute complements are applied with great frequency. By far the greater number of these, and the most characteristic ones, are words that do not require pronominal prefixes. Many are clearly of onomatopoeic origin. In some cases it appears doubtful whether the words belong to the regular vocabulary of the language, or whether they are individual productions. This is true particularly when the words do not form part of the sentence, but appear rather as independent exclamations. Examples of this kind are the following:

oxuwä'yul kumm, kumm, kumm, kumm they danced, kumm, kumm, kumm, kumm, 167.5 (here kumm indicates the noise of the feet of the dancers)
hoam, iguänat ënizä'kuz hoam, I smell salmon 67.3
a'lt'a, psrm, temõtsgä'noks gō iä'yaqəl now psm, flies were about his mouth 72.22 (psrm indicates the noise of flies)
tcex, tcx, tcx, tcx, gō xkamela'lsq there was noise of footsteps (tcx) on the sand 75.3
In a number of cases onomatopoetic terms which undoubtedly belong to the regular vocabulary are used in the same manner:

\[ \text{tcxup, t} \text{cxup, t} \text{cxup, t} \text{cxup al} \text{e'azx l} \text{a'k} \text{i'ewax} \] the torch flickered (literally, made tcxup) 50.24

\[ \text{l} \text{l} \text{a} \text{q}, \text{l} \text{l} \text{a} \text{q}, \text{l} \text{l} \text{a} \text{g}, \text{l} \text{a} \text{za n} \text{e'azx iske'pzoa, out, out, out, out came a rabbit} 113.6 \]

These cases make it plausible that most terms of this kind belong to the regular vocabulary. The frequent use of such onomatopoetic words and the occurrence of new words of the same kind (such as ti'ntin clock, watch, time; tsi'ktsik wagon) suggest that in Chinook the power of forming new words by imitative sounds has been quite vigorous until recent times.

Examples of onomatopoetic words of this class are:

- \( \text{he'hoe} \) to laugh
- \( \text{ho'hoe} \) to cough
- \( \text{po} \) to blow
- \( \text{t} \text{l} \text{eq} \) to slap
- \( \text{t} \text{l} \text{ek} \) to break a piece out
- \( \text{to'to} \) to shake
- \( \text{cix} \) to rattle
- \( \text{cau} \) low voice
- \( \text{ts} \text{ex} \) to break
- \( \text{tcxup} \) to flicker
- \( \text{tcxnap} \) to gnaw
- \( \text{k} \text{ut} \) to tear off
- \( \text{zwe} \) to blow
- \( \text{lep} \) to boil
- \( \text{li'ag} \) to crackle
- \( \text{lep} \) to go under water

It is difficult to say where, in this class of words, the purely onomatopoetic character ceases, and where a more indirect representation of the verbal idea by sound begins. I think a distinct auditory image of the idea expressed is found in the following words:

- \( \text{ia'li'l} \) proud
- \( \text{wa'x} \) to pour out
- \( \text{pai} \) full
- \( \text{teme'zn} \) clear
- \( \text{tel} \) tired
- \( \text{te'pik} \) loud
- \( \text{gu'tgut} \) exhausted
- \( \text{ge'ce'ec} \) to drive
- \( \text{ku'lkul} \) light (of weight)
- \( \text{kia} \) silent
- \( \text{q'am} \) lazy
- \( \text{qu'l} \) fast
- \( \text{lo'lo} \) round
- \( \text{lell} \) to disappear
- \( \text{la} \) to appear
- \( \text{lxoap} \) to dig

Most stems of this class occur both single and doubled, sometimes they are even repeated three or four times. Repetition indicates frequency of occurrence of the verbal idea; that is to say, it is distributive, referring to each single occurrence of the idea. We have—

- \( \text{wa'x} \text{waz} \) to pour out (blood) 68.1
- \( \text{po'po} \) to blow once 66.25
- \( \text{tel} \) tired
- \( \text{wa'xwaz} \) to pour out (roots) 43.2
- \( \text{po'po} \) to blow repeatedly 129.20
- \( \text{tel} \text{teltell} \) to be tired in all parts of the body
- \( \text{kututkut} \) to tear to pieces 249.4

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A few stems, however, occur in duplicated form only, probably on count of the character of the idea expressed, which always implies petition. Such are—

- hé'hé to laugh  
- hó'hó to cough  
- tó'tó to shake  
- gu'tgut exhausted  
- ku'lkul light (of weight)  
- lōlō round

Others do not occur in duplicated form, but take the distributive ending -ma. These are—

- pāl full 39.1, distributive pā'lma 229.24  
- wuk' straight, real 24.12, distributive wuk'ma 107.20  
- cpeq gray, distributive cpeq'ema

Still others do not seem to undergo any change for the distributive.

- tem'e'ن clean, empty  
- tā'menua to give up 61.18  
- tq'ëx to wish 129.27  
- stāq' war 272.5  
- k'ë to disappear, nothing  
- k'wac afraid 90.5  
- l'ap to find 140.1, 138.15

On the whole, it would seem that those least onomatopoetic in character lack the doubled distributive.

In a few cases the doubled form has acquired a distinctive significance.

- k'wan hopeful 134.8  
- k'wa'nk'wan glad 38.20  
- lāx sideways 267.3  
- lā'xlax to deceive 65.19, to rock 129.2

The most common verbal stem which is used in connection with these attributes is -z to be, to become, to do, to make. -ō(-ī?), the general verb for motion, is sometimes used with stems signifying motion. It seems difficult to classify these words, except those that clearly express noises. Among a total of 126 words of this class, 44 express activities or processes accompanied by noises; 16 are decidedly imitative; 22 designate states of the mind or body which may be expressed by imitative sounds, such as cold, tired, fear; 7 are terms of color; 45 express miscellaneous concepts, but some of these may also be considered as imitative. It seems likely that, in a language in which onomatopoetic terms are numerous, the frequent use of the association between sound and concept will, in its turn, increase the readiness with which other similar associations are established, so that, to the mind of the Chinook Indian, words may be sound-pictures which to our unaccustomed ear have no such value. I have found that, as my studies of this language progressed, the feeling for the sound-value of words like wāx to pour, k'ë nothing

§ 46
ING, k̓l̓əmm SILENCE, lō CALM, pā’pā’ TO DIVIDE, increased steadily. For this reason I believe that many words of the miscellaneous class conveyed sound-associations to the mind of the Chinook Indian.

It will be noticed that verbs of motion and transitive verbs, except such as are accompanied by decided noises, are almost absent from the list of these words.

In quite a number of cases these words seem to be rather adverbs than attribute complements:

cā’ucau naxayi’llkʷlē she told him in a low voice 40.21
lux nuč̓a’taxʷit it fell down broken 49.2
lke’plkep atciō’cgam it took it in its talons 137.15

If I remember rightly the cadence of the spoken sentence, these words must rather be considered as standing alone, the auxiliary verb -x being omitted.

**LIST OF ATTRIBUTE COMPLEMENTS**

(1) Actions and processes accompanied by noises.

(wā a noise under water 217.15)
uhā’ noise of an arrow striking a body 49.3
(hemm noise of wind 41.25)
hōmm smell 67.2
(hā noise of an arrow breaking 49.4)
ḥē’ḥē to laugh 12.22
hō’hō to cough
pemm noise of flying 72.22
pō to blow 66.25; pō’pō 129.20
pā, pā, pā 175.3
(dēll noise of bursting 49.19, noise of bear spirit 217.14)
t’eq to slap 40.25; te’qteq 26.8
tō’tō to shake 194.1
tumm noise of fire 45.16, noise of bear spirit 217.13
temm noise of feet 133.17
tlāk to break a piece out of something
cix noise of rattles 22.5
cell noise of rattles on a blanket 61.22; c’ullcell rattling of breath of one choking 150.7
cā’ca to break, to wreck 198.7
cāu low voice 162.11; cā’ucau 40.21
cix noise of flying birds 137.14
tsl̓ex (tcl̓ex, tcl̓ux, ts̓ex) to break a piece of wood, antlers, etc., with hands 60.7; to split wood 27.2; sinews 138.19; roots 95.14 (not used for splitting planks out of trees); to skin a bird 136.23; to bark a tree 164.16; tsl̓e’xts̓l̓ex 45.19; natsl̓e’x a piece of flint flaked off 69.3

§ 46
tcxup, tcxep to extinguish 51.2, to flicker 50.24; tcx'ep tcxep 28.8

tcx noise of footsteps on sand 75.3

tcxoa'p to gnaw; tcxoa'ptcxoa 175.23

gumm a noise under water 217.16

gōm noise of something heavy falling down 27.9

kummm noise of dancing 167.5

k'cgec to drive 15.5

k!ut to tear off 89.25; k!u'tk!ut to clear up (sky) 249.4

kv'tcxā to sneeze 64.24

qull noise of falling objects 67.1, noise of heels striking the ground 65.13

qla'q!al to beat time

q!e door creaks 66.14

xx to blow 113.20

qâ'xa to rub 65.9

xwē to blow nose 113.21, to blow on water before drinking 213.13

lek* to break 165.19; le'k'lek 68.16

le'k'lek to burrow 95.13

lex to split (planks) 27.1, to burst 204.4; l'e'zl'ex to tear 145.20

le'zlex noise of scratching 153.7

læp noise of shooting 272.20

luq to come out 49.2, 201.1; lu'zlux to pull out (of ground) 138.9

lk'plkæp to grasp in talons 137.15

lk!šop to squeeze 9.8; lk!šop lk!šop with eyes run out 29.20

lq!šop to cut 114.3

lxoa'p to dig 23.5; lxoa'plxoap 115.15

l!'li to titter 177.15

l'eq to hit, to strike 156.23

l'ëq, l'ëzx to crackle 38.1, 185.8

l'lep under water 14.8

(2) Descriptive words.
pâl full 39.1; pâ'lma 229.24

wâx to pour out 68.1, to take across river in canoe 23.24; wâ'xwax 43.2

wâx to light, set afire 28.2, to bloom 165.26

klômm no noise

klâ'ya no, none

klê no 128.5, nothing 14.1, to disappear 128.28

q!/el strong; q!/leq/el hard, 139.8, too difficult 204.12

tem'xe empty, clean

të'te to stop doing something

tuva'x to light, shine 12.1 (see wâx)

ku'lkull light of weight 199.9

klam, klêm no, none 37.15

lep to boil 173.1
lō'lo' round 186.23
lī'āk spread out 178.7
ḻmen to break into small pieces, soft 130.4; ḻmɛ'ṉḻmeno 17.9

(3) Words expressing states of mind and body.
iu'lil proud 93.16
pet quiet 177.24
pla'la' quietly, safe 198.4
tell, tāl tired 62.14; te'lltell tired all over (= rheumatism)
tq'tex to like 129.27
t'ayā' well, healthy 165.21
tšes cold 41.9
tše'xtšex unwell, feeling uncomfortable
tcxap to hesitate 27.15
q'at to love 41.6
xāx to notice, observe 75.17
lek!, lāk! weak 212.21
tc̱e'ktc̱ek almost choked 151.1
lāx lonesome 22.3
gu'tgut exhausted
k'efex cloyed 46.24; k'e'xk'ex grease smell 137.7
k'ē silent 37.9, 129.2
k'wan hopeful 134.8; k'wa'nk'wan glad 38.20
k'wac afraid 211.15
k'cō stiff in joints
q'lam lazy 138.4
lō'ya stingy (?) 139.11
lā to fear 212.11
lō'pāq to recover 196.22

(4) Color-terms.
lē'kl black 25.11
k'ōs yellow
cpeq gray (dry?) 109.10
tk'ōp white 124.25
ptčix green 30.21
lpil red 185.20
ts'emm variegated

(5) Miscellaneous words.
iā'c to let alone 187.13
ux to take a chance
wuk! straight 24.12; wuk!kma' 107.20
p'nk'a afoot 217.8, 107.6
pā'n'ic to give secretly payment to a shaman 200.7
pā' to divide; pā'pā' 248.4
pāx unlucky 264.13

§ 46
pōz foggy 37.4
puχ lukewarm
pō'xoig to make a mistake
mel! wet 37.5
manē'x to learn a secret 200.10
tā'menua to give up 61.18
tk'slikel dull
tk!ē to sit looking on
ti lá'nuwa to exchange 228.8
nekō to keep, to retain 277.14
stāq! war, attack 272.5
stuχ to untie, to unwrap 135.13; stu'xstuχ 116.10
(tctāx around a point)
tsk!ks to stoop
tc!pāk strongly 164.9, 110.1
k!au to tie 123.19; k!au'k!au 118.6
qua't reaching 48.6, high water 198.24
qu!t to hang, to fish with gaff-hook 27.16, to put on garment, to
dress 136.23
q!e'cq!ke dry 14.19 (= thirsty) 21.1
(q!oa'p near 40.9)
q!ul low water 198.26
q!ul fast; q!ul ē'cgam hold fast 44.15 (see qu!l)
xu'ē't half full 166.8
xōp streaming
lāx sideways 267.3, afternoon 63.18, to miss 13.19; lā'zlax to rock
129.2, to deceive 65.19
lu'zlux slick
lu'zpamē adultery
lex to sit still
lāq to step aside 146.14; to turn 137.12, 63.4; to cut off, to fall
off 154.28, 194.1; to take out 65.11; lā'q!lāq zigzag, also plural
for the other meanings
lāx to appear, become visible 23.13; lā'zlax to emerge
lēx' to cohabit 228.16; lēx'łēx' to prepare corpse for burial 253.3
lō calm 25.18
luwā' freshet
lāap to find 261.8
l!áp fitting 154.8

§ 47. Adverbs

The dividing line between attribute complements and a number of
adverbs can not be drawn very definitely. I am particularly doubtful
how tl'aya'well should be classed, and a few others which are placed
in parentheses in the preceding list.

§ 47
A considerable number of temporal and modal adverbs occur, the latter expressing certainty, compulsion, intention, and a great variety of ideas which we express by auxiliary verbs or by separate clauses. These can not be derived from simpler forms. Such are:

ai'aq can
xa'oxal can not
qōi will
qē'xtcē without reaching the desired end
ka'ltas in vain, only
qā'doxuē must
atsuwa' probably
lx may (implying uncertainty)
k!ōma perhaps
lō'nas I don't know (expression of uncertainty)
pōc contrary to fact
pēt really
nākct not
na interrogative particle
lēqs almost
qalā'texīi hardly
ā'nqa(tē) already, before
a'lta now
ā'lgē later on
kawa'tka soon
anā' sometimes
nau'i at once
lē, lē'lē a long time
q!astē'n for the first time
tcax for a while
wixt again
kule'ts once more
alā'tēwā again in this manner
guā'nsem always
wix next day (wu'xī' to-morrow; kawī't early)
qīoā'p near
tc!pāk quickly
lawā' slowly
(ai'aq quickly)
txul too much
maniqlō' too much
ttō'gea just like
ā'la even

1 Evidently the original significance of this word is quickly; for instance, a'lag sō'ye (if you tell me to go) I go quickly, i. e., I can go.

§ 47
§ 48. Exhortative Particles

A number of exhortative particles form a peculiar group of words. They are applied so regularly and seem to be so weak, that I do not quite like to class them with interjections. It would seem that the meanings conveyed by some of these have very nice shades. Examples are:

wuška a somewhat energetic request—now do let us make an end of it and—37.12
nimua please, just try to 130.3
teq since this is so, do (or let us) 24.10
tayax oh, if he would! 22.4
hoⁿtcin be quiet
tca! well! introducing a new idea
(q̕a̕tpecifiedem look out!)
(nau'itka indeed!)
(tgtö̕kti good!)

The last three of these hardly belong here. They are derivatives: q̕a̕tpecifiedem is probably derived from tño well; nau'itka, perhaps from nau'i at once; tgtö̕kti, from tño well and -kti thing.

§ 49. Interjections

The line between the last group of words and true interjections is very indefinite. As might be expected, the number of interjections in this language which has such strong onomatopoetic tendencies is considerable. Some of these are:

ä, å, ö oh!
adë' surprise 29.13
e pitsy for hardships endured 187.19
nä pity 116.15
anda' pain, regret, sorrow, pity 22.4, 161.13
aha'ha' pain 177.16
anda'x pity 153.8
hë call 12.2, indeed 38.22, 186.8
hë a long distance 28.3, 123.13
hö, hohö', ohö' surprise at the success of an action 24.3, 25.22, 67.14
ixuä' disgust 46.26
ha'o'm, haö' now I understand! 39.27, 100.23
nä disapproval 145.12
nägl contemptuous rejection of an offer 124.11
hohö' derisive rejection of a remark 23.25
ahö' ridicule, disbelief 166.23
ehelhö' derision 45.1

§§ 48, 49
le derision of weakness 60.14, 146.1
iá’ reproach for foolishness 117.9
náxaráx anger 186.16
tcžá that is nothing! 47.4
kuc good! 89.4 (also used by the Chehalis)
kítc oh! (?)

As mentioned before, many of the imitative attribute complements may be used as interjections. This may, indeed, be their original function. Such are hemm noise of wind, kumm noise of dancing, klömm silence. A few differ so much in form and use from the attribute complements, that I include them among the interjections:

ha’lelelelele  noise of flight of an arrow 62.21
wu’lelelele  noise of flight of cormorants 77.16
wa’tsetsesetsetses  cry of bluejay 31.2, 157.25
qa’ nawulewu’lewulewu’le  cry of gull 88.21
wó  bark of dog 23.9
wái  cry of child 185.24
hái  cry of a person weeping 118.8
waúuúú  low voice 162.3
kukuku  voice of bluejay after he had become a ghost 166.19

In this group belong also the burdens of songs, a few of which occur in the texts.

§ 50. Conjunctions

A number of invariable words perform the function of conjunctions. The meanings of a few of these are not quite certain. The most important are the following:

ka and, then (connecting sentences) 26.18
eka and, while (connecting sentences) 25.4
k’la and (connecting nouns)
tcží a little while passed, then 37.4 (often following the conjunction qiá’z if)
tcu or 276.1
tacela although it is so, still 44.4
ta! although I did not expect it, still 74.9
á’olel although I did not intend to, still 13.3
takí then 135.6
a’lta now 135.5
taua’lta otherwise 134.8
maníz when 253.14
qiá’z if 127.20 (që, qëc?)

§ 50
§ 51. Adjectives

Color-terms, the plural of small, the numerals from two to nine, and the indefinite numerals are used without pronominal prefixes. The color-terms were enumerated among the attribute complements, because they are generally used in that form. *gene’m small* 38.17 is used only for plurals. I have found very few cases only in which these words are clearly used as adjectives:

aqťogam ptcix le’lwelk’lwelk green mud was taken 30.21
ľo’lo’ikta something round 127.5

This is possibly due to the rarity of adjectives, except numerals and a few others in the texts. It would seem, however, that in most cases derivatives of these stems are used whenever the substantive or adjective is to be used, for instance:

ma’nix kâ’ltac ilâ’yul’il klâ’gêwam when a shaman only has pride
203.18

More often nouns with the prefix *k- the one who has* (p. 579) are used to express adjectival ideas.

ge’latcla a sick one (the one who has its sickness) 196.14

The cardinal and indefinite numerals of this class are:

môket two si’namôket seven ka’navwê all
lôn three ksto’zkin eight kapê’t enough
la’kit four ku’itst nine qâmz part
qui’nem five tcâ’ severai mank few
tê’zem six

All the cardinal numbers of this group when used as distributives take the suffix -*mtga*; when used as adverbs, they take the adverbial suffix -َ. The ordinals are formed by the third person pronominal prefix and the possessive form; for instance, *êla’lôn its third one* (m.) 217.21, *aîl’lôn* (f.) 211.20; and from these, again, ordinal adverbs, *êla’lônê the third time* 134.23. When counting human beings, all these numerals (cardinals as well as indefinite) take the prefix *a- and the plural suffix -kc*. *môket two* may also take the dual prefix *c-.*

To the groups of indefinite numerals belongs the peculiar form *kanem each, all, together, which occurs alone only in its distributive form *kanâ’mtgema* 157.23, while generally it appears as a prefix of numerals: *kanemqoa’nem five together* 201.22, *ikanemqoa’nem-miks* 176.8. With *môket two* it seems to lose its *m*: *skanasmôkst both* 76.14. In this form it appears also in *ka’nawê all.*

§ 51
§ 52. Adverbs Derived from Intransitive Verbs

Particles used as adverbs have been mentioned before. It has also been stated that numeral adverbs are formed from both ordinal and cardinal numbers by the suffix -ē. This is also used with intransitive verbs, the adverb being formed from the masculine third person singular.

īū' laqat it is long; īū' lqtē long
ē' nata the one on the other side; ē' natai on the other side

Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism (§§ 53-54)

§ 53. Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism in Wishram (by Edward Sapir)

Very characteristic of Wishram, as also without doubt of all other Chinookan dialects, is a series of changes in the manner, and to some extent in the place, of articulation of many of the consonants, in order to express diminutive and augmentative ideas in the words affected. This peculiar process of "consonantal ablaut," though perhaps most abundantly illustrated in the case of the noun, is exemplified in all parts of speech, so that it has almost as much of a rhetorical as of a purely grammatical character. Of the two series of consonant change referred to, that bringing about the addition to the meaning of the word of a diminutive idea is by far the more common, an actual change to augmentative consonantism hardly being found outside of the noun. The main facts of consonant change may be briefly stated thus: To express the diminutive, non-fortis stopped consonants become fortis, the velars at the same time becoming back-palatal (the treatment of velar stops, however, seems to be somewhat irregular); c and its affricative developments tc and tc! become s, ts, and ts! (s seems sometimes to be still further "diminutivized" to ts, ts to ts!, so that c, s, ts, ts! may be considered as representing a scale of diminishing values); x becomes ĕ, in analogy to the change of velar stops to back-palatal stops just noted; other consonants remain unmodified. To express the augmentative, fortis consonants become non-fortis (generally sonant) stops, no change taking place of back-palatal to velar; s, ts, and ts! become respectively c, tc, and tc! (in some few cases ts and tc affricatives become dēj, pronounced as in English judge, this sound not being otherwise known to occur in Wishram); other consonants remain unmodified.

§§ 52, 53
The following table of consonant changes will best make the matter clear:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$b$, $p$</td>
<td>$p'$</td>
<td>$(b)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$d$, $t$</td>
<td>$t'$</td>
<td>$(d)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$g$, $k$</td>
<td>$k'$</td>
<td>$(g)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$q$, $q$</td>
<td>$k'$, $(g$, $k)$</td>
<td>$(q)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$qz$</td>
<td>$kz$</td>
<td>$(qz)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$q'$</td>
<td>$k'$, $(kz)$</td>
<td>$q$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$p'$</td>
<td>$(p')$</td>
<td>$b$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t'$</td>
<td>$(t')$</td>
<td>$d$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k'$</td>
<td>$(k')$</td>
<td>$g$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$c$</td>
<td>$s$, $ts$</td>
<td>$(c)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$tc$</td>
<td>$ts$</td>
<td>$(tc)$, $(?)$ $dj$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$tc'$</td>
<td>$ts'$</td>
<td>$(tc')$, $dj$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$s$</td>
<td>$(s)$</td>
<td>$c$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ts$</td>
<td>$(ts)$, $ts'$</td>
<td>$tc$, $dj$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ts'$</td>
<td>$(ts')$</td>
<td>$tc'$, $(?)$ $dj$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$x$</td>
<td>$x$</td>
<td>$(x)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$z$</td>
<td>$(z)$</td>
<td>$(?)$ $x$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the whole, there is a distinct tendency to have all the consonants of a word bear a consistent diminutive or augmentative coloring, though absolute concord in this regard is by no means always observed. In general it may be said that $c$ and $s$ sounds are most easily varied in accordance with our rule. Final non-affricative stops seem incapable of change. It often happens that the normal form of a word is itself partly diminutive in form owing to its meaning; in such cases the form may be still further “diminutivized” if it is desired to give the word a more than ordinarily diminutive force. Thus -k'lac- in il-k'lacr-kac CHILD is evidently a semi-diminutive form of the stem-syllable -kacr; LITTLE CHILD, BABY appears in more pronouncedly diminutive form as ilk'lacr'kac'kas (Wishram Texts 176.3).

The following table of body-part nouns will serve as a set of examples of diminutive and augmentative forms. The diminutives would naturally refer to the body-parts of a tiny child, the augmentatives to those of an abnormally large being, as a giant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$i'$-$p'a'$qxa flat-headedness (dim.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$i'$-$g'x'tc$ nose (aug.)</td>
<td>$i'$-$k'$x'tc$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$i'$-$l'$pc$ foot</td>
<td>$i'$-$l'$ps$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 53
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-qzwi't leg</td>
<td>i-khwi't</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-q!o'xl knee</td>
<td>a-k!u'xl</td>
<td>a-go'xl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-me'luqtan cheek</td>
<td>a-me'luk'tan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-melexkt'u'lamat tongue</td>
<td></td>
<td>i-melexgu'lamat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-mi'ct lips</td>
<td>i-mi'st</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-k&quot;cxa't mouth</td>
<td>i-k&quot;sxa't</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'-keen finger</td>
<td>wa'-ksen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is-qxu's eyes (dim.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ic-qxu'c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>id-me'qco face-hair</td>
<td>id-me'kso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-k!wa'yat crown of head</td>
<td></td>
<td>i-gwa'yat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-tke'en shoulder</td>
<td>a-tsk!e'n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa-qza'tc breast</td>
<td>wa-kza'ts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-kza'tc tooth</td>
<td>i-k!a'ts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-q!a'qetaq head</td>
<td></td>
<td>i-ga'qetaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ic-k!a'lkal hip-joints</td>
<td>is-k!a'lkal</td>
<td>ic-ga'lkal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is-q!wa'gwost jaws</td>
<td>is-k!wa'gwast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dim.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-mu'q!wal paunch, stomach</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-mu'qwal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of other than body-part nouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>it-q!u'tcu bones</td>
<td>it-q!uts'itllem dog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(literally, eater of small bones)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-te'i'au snake</td>
<td>i-tsi'i'au</td>
<td>i-dji'au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-tsi'ktsik wagon</td>
<td>is-ts'i'ktsik buggy</td>
<td>i-dji'kdjik heavy truck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dim.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-egi'luke wolf</td>
<td>il-sk'i'luks new-born</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(aug.)</td>
<td>wolf cub (Wishram Texts 56.30)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da-ga'c yellow</td>
<td>a-qx-k'i'c gold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-cga'n cedar</td>
<td>wa-sk'a'n box</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>board</td>
<td>wa'-tsk'un cup</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-k!a'lamat stone</td>
<td></td>
<td>i-ga'lamat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-k!a'munaq sir</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-ga'munaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il-k!a'cekae child</td>
<td>il-k!a'skas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dim.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-tu'-gagilak good, strong woman</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-du'-gagilak strap-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ping big woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. wa-q'a'tc THORN, dim. wa-kza'ts (Wishram Texts, p. 26.1)
In these lists, (dim.) and (aug.) mean that the words so designated are wholly or partly diminutive or augmentative in consonantism to their primary significance. In i-p!a'qxa, for instance, the diminutive notion implied by p! is easily understood if we remember that head-flattening is associated with infancy. In some cases a consonant change involves or is accompanied by a vocalic change; it seems that the change of a to u or e has in itself more or less diminutive force (cf. wa'-tsk'un from wa-ska'n with ila-k!ö'its very little [Wishram Texts 176.3] ordinarily -k!ö'its small). The case of i-cga'n as compared with wa-ska'n and wa'-tsk'un illustrates the fact that the diminutive form of a noun often has a specialized meaning of its own. A few more examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-tcil'ınó bird</td>
<td>il-tsil'ınó bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-tcil'ilaq cricket</td>
<td>i-tsil'ilaq grasshopper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-q!apač'lwac turtle</td>
<td>is-k!a'psalwas lock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-tea'la grindstone</td>
<td>a-tea'la file</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be observed that several nouns on becoming diminutive in form at the same time change to a more suitable gender, masculines often becoming feminines (e.g., wa-ska'n), neuters (e.g., il-sk'i'luks), or diminutive duals in is- (e.g., is-k!a'psalwas). Most examples of diminutives and augmentatives hitherto given have been formed from nouns that in themselves have no necessary diminutive or augmentative force. Other examples than those already given of words with inherent diminutive force, and hence with at least partial diminutive consonantism, follow:

| a-k!u'ksk!uks ankle     | is-ga'k!aps hat         |
| a-p!u'xp!ux elbow-joint | i-k!a'ists smallness    |
| a-p!u'xe cotton-tailed rabbit | (contrast -gail        |
| a-tl'i anta crab        | i-k!a'stina crab        |
| a-ča'lax RAVEN           | il-ya' (somebody's)    |
| i-sk!u'l'ya coyote       | i-sk!wö'latintsin swallow |
| i-cgilukc WOLF           | wa-tsk!e'nlit n!t       |
| a-gu'agus chipmunk      |                          |
| a-p!una'tsektssek mosquito | (? cf. -bena JUMP)    |

Particularly instructive as indicating a live feeling for diminutive consonantism are such words as a-lik!u'k CHICKEN and a-lap!u's CAT borrowed from Chinook jargon (p in -pus would not be consistent
with diminutive $s$). It is perhaps not too far-fetched to recognize augmentative consonantism in the following nouns:

- i-qa'nuk beaver
- i-gu'nat Chinook salmon (contrast i-qwu's eyes)
- wa-tsw'ihia blue-black salmon
- i-qa'cax sky
- ic-gwô'ala gun
- i-es'lgelq porcupine
- ic-li'et tail of mammal
- ic-ga'kwal eel
- ic-li'et fish-tail (contrast is-p'i'ot)
- i-du'iha buffalo
- tail of bulb, dried fish

It sometimes happens that a change to diminutive consonantism implies not so much the diminutiveness of the object referred to as a sense of endearment. This seems particularly true in the case of certain terms of relationship:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-diminutive</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-qc-e-n</td>
<td>man's son's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga'c-u (vocative)</td>
<td>k!a'c-u-c paternal grandfather</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| -gak-an        | man's daugh-
| ga'g-u (vocative) | ter's child |
| -gi-an          | woman's son's child |
|                 | k!i-c paternal grandmother |

Interesting as examples of augmentative consonantism are the names of Coyote's four sons, all of which are derived from words denoting body-parts of the salmon. The augmentative consonantism implies the lubberliness of Coyote's sons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body-parts of salmon</th>
<th>Names of Coyote's sons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-k!la'tcin salmon-head gristle</td>
<td>Sipa'-glatsin Big Gristle (Wishram Texts 66.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-ksa'lk!uts backbone of fish</td>
<td>Sipa'-ksalguts Big Backbone (Wishram Texts 66.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-q!wi'nan fin</td>
<td>Sapa'-gwinan Big Fin (Wishram Texts 66.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-k!a'tkʷtgwax adipose fin</td>
<td>Sapaq-a'tkʷtgwax Big Adipose Fin (Wishram Texts 66.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As has already been remarked, the noun is not the only part of speech that illustrates the consonantal play here discussed. Adverbs and particle verbs of appropriate meaning sometimes show diminutive consonantism: ts!u'nu$s a little; sâk! to whistle; sa'u sau to whisper (contrast Lower Chinook cãu); Lower Chinook k!a and may be diminutive to ka. The diminutive form of a particle verb denotes a less intense state of being or activity than its correlative form. Sometimes its meaning is considerably specialized:

§ 53
Non-diminutive

tćīc cold

Diminutive

(ts’u’ṃnas) a-itsā’s just (a little) cool (Wishram Texts 190.15)

ma’ca to spoil

ma’sa to be ashamed

gut to break up (earth) by

k’u’l’k’ut to pluck

digging

Possibly also—

wax to pour out

wax to set on fire; to bloom

īq’up to cut

īk’up to shoot

The dual in is- is not the only example of a diminutive form of a purely grammatical element. The diminutive stem -q’wa’lasup fast running occurs with possessive prefixes showing diminutive consonantism. Thus the normal elements -tca- her and -cda- of them two appear as -tsa- and -st’ā- in i-śa-q’wa’lasup she runs fast (Wishram Texts 66.9) and i-st’ā-q’wa’lasup they two run fast (Wishram Texts 66.13). Similarly, in a song (Wishram Texts 94.23), where the reference is to is-pi’iast tail of bulb, a noun of diminutive form, the pronominal element cd- and the post-positive local element -ba at appear as st- (? better st!-) and -p’la. Thus:

staimap’ā’ giskip’i’ast it-alone-at the-my-tail

Finally the verb may show diminutive consonantism, partly in the stem itself, partly in its local and adverbial prefixes and suffixes, partly and most frequently in its pronominal prefixes. Examples of verb stems in distinctly diminutive form are not exactly common, but certain cases seem clear enough. Thus gaq’iulat’ā’-ulāx he was tossed up (Wishram Texts 84.26) and gatciulat’ā’melq he swallowed him by sucking him in evidently contain a diminutive form of the verb stem -lada- to throw away; silw’skwax it trembles (Wishram Texts 116.10) and gasi’zimk’na-uk’atsk he looked around (Wishram Texts 30.6) show diminutive consonantism both in their stems (-skw- and -k’na-w-) and in their first incorporated pronominal objects (dual -s-), the latter verb also in its adverbial suffix -tsk, doubtless the diminutive form of -tck up from position of rest; gats(s)altsg’ima he laid her belly up (Wishram Texts 56.27) shows diminutive consonantism in both stem (-tsg’i) and incorporated pronominal subject(-ts-) and first object (dual -s-).

We have already given -tsk as an example of a derivative suffix with diminutive consonantism. Other such suffixes are -p’a slightly out (of position) (from -ba out) in ayulap’a’teguxwida it will tilt up, literally, it will spontaneously move out up from its sitting position. 

§ 53
POSITION (Wishram Texts 184.10) and tsu (from -tcu DOWN) in ililu'etsu (WATER) moved down into the (HOLLOW PLACE). As examples of diminutive forms of local prefixes may be given -k'd- (from -gel- DIRECTED TOWARD) in ga-ts'i'k!elutk he looked at him and its reflexive correlative -xel- (from -xel) in gasi'xelutk he looked: -sk'l'em- under in niaask!emla'datec] I threw it down under her is doubtless diminutive to -gem- NEXT to (cf. -tcu and -s-tsu above).

The only examples of diminutive consonantism in the pronominal prefixes of verb forms occur in the case of ts (for tc, third person masculine subject transitive) and s (for c, third person dual subject intransitive and transitive and object transitive). Whenever the object of the transitive verb (or the apparent subject, really first object, of the "half-transitive" verb) is diminutive in form, the pronominal prefixes tc and c appear as ts and s; the ts by no means implies the diminutive character of the transitive subject. Examples are: i'wi gatseu'x isi'ne'nxóq he looked at his fish-line (Wishram Texts 140.28), where the incorporated pronominal dual element -s- of gatseu'x, refers to the diminutive dual object is-i'ne'nxóq his fish-line, while the pronominal subject -ts- he agrees with the object in diminutive consonantism; galsku'k!lam -(lks- always appears for -skl-) the two (women) came home with the (baby) (Wishram Texts 2.12), the diminutive dual -s- referring to the grown-up women, not to the baby; gasengatklagwā'x gas ktenak!wā'st it-waves-freely-over-me-my-feathered-cloak (Wishram Texts 142.5), where the first object -s- of the half-transitive verb refers to the diminutive dual noun s-ténak!wā'st (small) feathered cloak. Particularly noteworthy in this connection is the idiomatic use of a diminutive dual object -s- referring to an implied, unexpressed noun of diminutive significance; there need not even exist such a diminutive dual noun to which reference, if desired, could be explicitly made. A good example is: gakwi'elutk she cradled him. Literally, she put the-two-small (objects) down to him, where the two small (objects) refer to an implied word for cradle, though the word for cradle in actual use is a masculine (i'-lks). Similarly, verbs of jumping and somersaulting have an incorporated diminutive dual object -s- referring to the two small (feet), though the actual word for feet is plural (i't-pc). Examples are: gaksu'brna she jumped; gasixmi'zgwa he turned a somersault (Wishram Texts 82.18); and gats(s)altsg'ima he laid her, belly up. The

§ 53
nmost transparent example of the use of an incorporated diminutive dual object to refer to an unexpressed but existing noun is afforded by certain verbs of looking, in which the -s- has reference to s-qe\'u\'s the two eyes. A frequently occurring example of such a verb is gat\'ass\'i\'k!elut\'ek he looked at him, literally, he put the two small (eyes) down toward him, the -tc- and -gel- appearing in their diminutive forms -ts- and -k!e\'\ell- to agree with the object -s-; gat\'ixim\'t\'ana\'\'uk\'ets\'ek he looked around is another such verb.

As a rule, it will have been observed, a verb form tends to be consistently diminutive or non-diminutive in its consonantism. It is at least possible, however, to limit the application of the diminutive idea to some specific element of the action by "diminutivizing" only some corresponding element of the verb form. An example already published elsewhere will again do service here. The normal word for it struck him with it is inige\'tce\'im. If the verb stem -tcim appears, with diminutive consonantism, as -tsim, it implies that the person struck is small; if the verbal prefix -gel-, which implies in this case intent to hit, is pronounced -k!e\'\ell- the implication is that the missile used is a small one. Hence we have four forms: inige\'tce\'im i hit him with it; inige\'tsim i hit him (a child perhaps) with it; inik\'e\'l\'tcim i hit him with it (something small), and inik\'e\'ltsim i hit him (a child) with it (something small). To be sure, such examples are very uncommon and the one just given is perhaps little more than a linguistic tour de force. Nevertheless, it shows very clearly how thoroughly alive is the feeling for the significance of consonantal play.

§ 54. Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism in Chinook and Kathlamet

So far as I am able to discover, the diminutive and augmentative consonantism of the p and t stops does not occur in Chinook; perhaps because the strengthening of these consonants in case of the dropping of a following velar counteracted this tendency. When the word t\'i\'a\'\'e\'ma Creeks has a fortis t! on account of the dropping of q in the stem -q\'e\'l, the same strengthening can not very well denote at the same time diminution.

There are, however, indications that the changes from c to s and the corresponding affricatives occurred, although the significance of
the process does not seem to have been very clear in the mind of
my sole informant, Charles Cultee, while my only Clatsop informant
considered changes of this type as distinguishing characteristics of
the Chinook and Clatsop dialects. For instance: Clatsop, ʔ'celqelq: Chinook, ʔ'selqselq PORCUPINE.

The most characteristic case that I have found in Chinook is the following:

\begin{align*}
\text{itsa'antca-y-ögölal} & \quad \text{the waves are too bad (too great)} \\
\text{itsa'antsa-y-ögölal} & \quad \text{the waves are a little bad}
\end{align*}

I have also:

\begin{align*}
\text{ʔ'cgan cedar} & \quad \text{i-șge'ne'ma young cedars}
\end{align*}

It is, however, worth remarking that this plural occurs with the particle—

\begin{align*}
ge'ne'm isge'ne'ma small young cedars
\end{align*}

without strengthening of the g of ge'ne'm. An examination of the texts and explanatory notes collected from Cultee makes it fairly
certain that he did not use the diminutive changes of stops in Lower
Chinook.

It seems possible that a relation like that between c and s may
exist between l and ts.

\begin{align*}
\text{iá'qoa-il large} & \quad \text{iá'qoa-its small} \\
\text{ió'łqat long} & \quad \text{iú'tṣqat short} \\
\text{l̂'ex to split large planks} & \quad \text{ts'lex to split small pieces of wood} \\
\text{łxoa'p to dig} & \quad \text{tsxoa'p to gnaw}
\end{align*}

In Kathlamet I have found one very clear case of consonantic
change, analogous to those found in Wishram:

\begin{align*}
\text{ksemm taXi tk!uną'temax ő'xoaxt small are those little salmon 98.8} & \\
\text{(Kathlamet Texts)}
\end{align*}

Here the s in ksemm indicates smallness, and tγuną'temax SALMON
has been changed to tk!uną'temax.

\textbf{Syntax (§§ 55-56)}

\section*{§ 55. Syntax of Lower Chinook}

In the discussion of the morphology of the verb it has been shown
that every verbal form contains incorporated pronominal represent-
atives of the subject, and of the direct and indirect objects when
these occur. Nominal incorporation is almost entirely absent. The
nominal subject and the object are treated as appositions, with-
out any organic connection with the sentence, except in so far as the
§ 55
Nouns agree with the nominal gender. This agreement is, on the whole, one of form, but in the Lower Chinook texts cases occur in which the noun has indefinite (neuter) gender L-, while, according to actual sex or number, the incorporated pronoun is masculine, feminine, or plural. I do not know whether this is an individual trait of the narrator of the available texts or not.

Generally the verb with its incorporated pronouns precedes the subject and objects, but there is great freedom of usage.

Sentences with intransitive verbs:

\[
ay̓̓ɬa\,\text{maqt}\,i\,lə\,lə\,\text{̓ək}!\,\text{emā} \text{na dead was their chief 37.1}
\]

\[
\text{alələmam ləgōlələm} \text{it came a person 11.15}
\]

Sentences with transitive verbs, nominal subject and object:

\[
\text{alktəp!ənə lət̓̓ewam qələ lən̓əwa he utters his song that first one 196.7}
\]

\[
təgiišnəxətə ikanələ t̓eməwələma they watch it a soul the ghosts 199.10 (tgi- they it; i-kanələ soul; t-məwələma ghosts)
\]

\[
\text{algōrcɪtxəx r̓əq̓ələg qəx o̓ó̓kəu̓il she carries her on her back a woman that woman 248.21}
\]

Examples of inverted order are the following:

\[
\text{ęqctələw atcun̓ə̓q̓mət ləm̓cəd̓wux a monster (he) carried (her) away your younger sister 11.5}
\]

\[
\text{ka qələ iauə kəl̓iverseal̓əp!ənəx lət̓̓ewam and that one there behind (he) utters (them) his songs 196.9}
\]

\[
\text{em̓əcən algəəx k̓ləq̓əwam a deer makes the one who has (his) songs (i.e., the shaman) 199.11}
\]

\[
\text{aquə̓nəməxk t̓kalə̓m̓uxə atgəq̓cəx όl̓əkəux five men (they) hold (her) in their mouths dried salmon 267.19}
\]

\[
\text{t̓əkəq̓ algə̓lew̓o̓tx k̓əl̓əp!ənən t̓eł̓əxəm a blanket he gives (it) to (them) those who named the people 267.25}
\]

Particle verbs always precede their auxiliary verb:

\[
\text{ləg}^*\,\text{atcə}^*\,\text{yəx he took him out 133.13}
\]

\[
\text{stux atcə\,yəx he untied him 135.13}
\]

\[
\text{əhu\,nəl̓əxax he made əhu\, 49.3}
\]

\[
\text{lékə u ne\,xəxax it (fem.) broke 70.24}
\]

\[
\text{l̓əl̓əp ə\,yəx he went under water 14.16}
\]

This agrees with the most frequent position of adverbs:

\[
\text{ə\,ka atsəx thus it does 239.16}
\]

\[
\text{nəku\,at\,lət̓̓ameqt\,it faints at once 239.6}
\]

\[
\text{nəkwətalgəko\,wə they did not kill him 99.18}
\]

\[
\text{ya\,x̓x̓atə t̓əg̓əp\,x there they entered 49.14}
\]

The discussion of the prefixes in § 25 shows that the relation of indirect objects to the verb are expressed by verbal elements. In

§ 55
Lower Chinook prepositional elements are practically absent, but we find the demonstrative gō, which is used almost like a preposition.

ido'c gō iqē'p'tal he was in the doorway 65.3
atā'yaqc gō iā'tuk he bit him at his neck 9.9
naxulu'ltick gō ogō'xtō she told her daughter 11.20
atcišt'kram gō wē'wulē they brought it into the house 11.23
pō'pō aq′lax gō ltcuq she blew on them with water 12.6
agō'xtkinema gō tē'ltim she searched for him among the people 13.8

The demonstrative character of gō appears in sentences like—
mō'ya mā'lxolē gō go there inland! 13.1
a'ltu gō-y-ōtō'lxax now (when) there the sun 13.5
lō'nas gō lqētcamē'tē lkekz perhaps a comb is there 13.20
ogō'nō'yam ōtō'lxax there arrived the sun 97.16

It will be shown in § 56 that Wishram possesses quite a number of post-positional elements. In Lower Chinook a few of these appear clearly loan-words, taken from Upper Chinook:
yukpē't up to here 13.9
kapē't (go-pē'rt) up to there, enough 98.4

In Kathlamet the number of post-positional elements is greater, but only one or two are used with any degree of freedom:

-pa. This post-position takes the place of gō of the Lower Chinook.

It is used quite freely (see § 56.1).
igxk'loa'mam ts′ctaqstpa he arrived at their two selves' house 91.13'
itcīlṛa'etamit laxi lēxā't ltcu'qoapa q'loa'p he placed it that one
at the water near 121.4
q′at iql'yuxt z′tcamxtcpa like she did him her heart in 132.5

Here belong also the common demonstrative adverbs—
kō'pa there 216.9
gipā′ here 250.14

-pet. The post-position -pet is not quite free in Kathlamet.
gipē'temax to those places 131.10
ē'lxpāt as far as the ground 67.12

-ta toward.
ido'ya ẽ′watata ca′xalata he went there, then upward 219.2

-at from
ẽ′wa iā′pōteč't lqā′wulqt īa′x īk′zōx then from his anus blood came
out 184.5.

-te like.
la ikak′emā′nate itcā′lkvič like a chief was her resemblance
247.6
siāzōst la iktemenē′kstē his face was like the moon 246.6

§ 55

1 References on the rest of this page refer to F. Boss, Kathlamet Texts.
In most cases transitive and intransitive verbs are used in the dinary manner, but a number of peculiar forms of expression derive mention. The directional -ō- (§ 26) occurs in many transitive and intransitive verbs. When, however, a stem, according to its significance, is transitive, it may be made intransitive either by means the prefix -ki- (§ 26), which brings about elimination of an object, the use of reflexive forms. Which of these forms is used depends part on usage. In some cases the two forms are used for expressing different tenses. Thus i-kē'-x (i- he; -kē- prefix eliminating object; to do) signifies he is, the continuative tense, n-ē'-x-a-x (n- modal; - he; -x- reflexive; -a- directive; -x to do) signifies he becomes, he transitional tense. The manner of eliminating objects has been discussed before (§ 26). It seems, however, desirable to call attention here to the frequent use of implied objects and to the peculiar intransitive verbs with indirect objects which occupy a prominent osition in Chinook sentences. Implied objects occur frequently with verbs implying the use of parts of the body, as

a lksō'pena it jumped (literally, it jumped the two [feet]) 9.6
atkicentpēxē they kneel (literally, they kneel them two) 270.6
sā'npōt she closed her eyes (literally, they two were closed in her) 48.10

They occur also with other verbs:

melneltcā'ma you will comb me (literally, you will comb it [namely, the comb] to me)
atca-tā'lgemax he shouted at him (literally, he shouted her [namely, the shout] at him 236.9)
aniē'tlēkō I oil him (literally, I oil it [namely, the oil] to him)

Intransitive verbs with indirect object are used often in place of our transitives. These forms also contain often implied objects.

nē'nxilayu he deserts me (literally, he removes himself from me)
avaxel'tōmēgt she forgets him (literally, he on account of her forgets his own) 167.16
nīnxel'qile I burn him (literally, he catches fire from me)
snēnpō'xuit I close my eyes (literally, they two are closed in me)
mcaqelē'tā-ē you cure her (literally, you cure on account of her)

Subordinate modes are not indicated in Chinook by changes in the form of the verbs. Subordination of sentences is indicated only by conjunctions which are followed by the usual verbal forms. The

§ 55
most frequent form of subordination is brought about by the particle ma'nix which indicates primarily a temporal relation.

ma'nix aqi'elgelax ike'utan when someone sees (it) a horse 198.1 ma'nix te'mama, mitelo'la when they come, give it to them 66.22 mixenliklæ'yogö ime'tuk ma'nix agemol'sektca bend your neck when some one will roast you 107.21 (mi- you him; -xor reflexive: -kælik to bend, plural -lk'áyuk; -tuk neck; -lsktc to roast)

The conditional conjunctions are closely connected with the demonstrative pronoun. The forms që, qëa, qiä'x occur, which perhaps express nearness and absence. When a statement contrary to fact is to be expressed, the particle pös is used.

që nêkctx mai'kxa imeq'atxala, pöc nêkct e'ka atci'lxax if it had not been for your badness, he would not have done so to us 139.19 (nêkct not; mai'kxa thou; i-q'atxala badness; e'ka thus: tc- he; -lx us; -a directive; -x to do)
qiä nêkct qaç 0ö'kvi, pöc nêkct aqiä'waë if it had not been for that woman, he would not have been killed 64.5 (qaç that feminine; 0ö'kviul woman; qi- somebody him; -a- directive; -waë to kill)
t'ayä' qia' mkllë'men good, if you dive 12.12 qiä'x qlaö'p ëlë'e tcx'i pös amlo'lxam aqiö'egam when you were near the land you should have said to it to take it 44.2 (qlaö'p near; ëlë'e land: tcx'i then; aml- you it; -ö- directive; -lxam to say; aqi- it him; -a- directive; -egam to take)
qiä'x itlæ'yan, tcx'i miä'xö if it is a snake, then you shall eat it 194.2

The interrogative is expressed by the particle na, which, however, is not used when there is an interrogative pronoun or adverb.

tenlä xo-ix na tge'eltgeut are (they) known to me my slaves! 117.10

nêkct na te'në'tix? do I not know it? 66.2 e'ktalx lgiä'xö? what will he eat? 22.20 (e'kta what; -lx may be: lgi- it him [masc. object corresponding to e'kta])
qä'xewa a'zö? where did they go? 23.14 la'ksta x'iix'ö'lat who is that? 73.14

The imperative differs from other verbal forms in that it has no directive prefix. The imperative of the transitive verb has no subject of the second person. (See §§ 22, 26).

§ 56. Post-positions in Wishram (by Edward Sapir)

Wishram, differing markedly in this respect from Lower Chinook, makes rather considerable use of a series of post-positive particles

§ 56
defining material case relations (chiefly local and instrumental). As most such relations can be expressed by means of local and adverbal prefixes and suffixes in the verb, the denoting parts of speech being in apposition to incorporated pronominal elements, this use of postpositions must be considered as un-Chinookan in origin; the fact that some of the postpositive particles are phonetically identical with corresponding Sahaptin case suffixes proves the whole process to be borrowed from the neighboring Sahaptin linguistic stock. As a rule such postpositive particles are used with denoting parts of speech (nouns, pronouns, adjectives), but some of them may also be suffixed to predicating words (verbs, particle verbs); in the latter case the predicate is to be considered as substantivized syntactically, though not morphologically, and is used subordinately to another predicate. Wishram thus utilizes its postpositions to some extent in the building up of subordinate clauses. Where a noun or other denoting part of speech has been already represented in the verb by an incorporated pronominal element, its relation to the verb and to other nouns in the sentence is necessarily already defined, so that no postposition is necessary; even here, however, it not infrequently happens that a postposition is pleonastically used (compare such English possibilities as “He entered into the house”). If a noun is modified by a preceding attributive word (demonstrative pronoun, numeral, noun, or adjective), the postposition is used with the modifying word. The postpositions, with examples illustrating their uses, are listed in the following paragraphs:

1. -ba (-pa) in, at. With this element should be compared Yakima -pa in. Examples illustrating its use with nouns and pronouns occur with very great frequency, so that only a few need here be given.

cikxa'-imat ci't!iç yak*cxa'tpa half of it lies in his mouth 4.3

jaklaβα'-ima ilk!a'čkac akñ̐i'mba she put the child in the canoe 2.11

atgαdί'mama da'uyaba wîl? they will come in this land 6.17

gayu'yan içtpō' wîl? he arrived at one land 6.28

iteqxe'mem aqξatcpa I am sick in my breast 12.27

gaci'upmt ti'îñxwαtcpa he hid it in the bushes 18.25

galv'ya yazka'ba he went up to him 20.10 (one can also say galıglu'ya HE WENT TO HIM with local prefix -gel-)

1 References are to Wishram Texts.
gadiq’elzi’uba icia’gtoba ya’k’çratpa wam’u’xibu they went out through him at his nostrils, at his mouth, and at his ears 28.24
gatu’zuni yaga’itpa wi’mal it floated in the great river 48.7
alzu’ya wa’tekhib’ itga’qpuks let us go on the tops of the grass 70.26 (literally, the-grass-at-its-tops)

Observe that the first two examples illustrate its pleonastic use: the nouns yak’çxa’t and akni’m have been respectively anticipated in the verb by the pronominal elements -i- and -a-. while their local relation to the verb is defined by the prefix -k- on following these elements. -ba is also used with demonstrative stems to form adverbs of place where: da’ba here: kwô’ba there; iâ’xiba yonder.

As subordinating element, -ba denotes where; less frequently it indicates cause. It is suffixed either to the verb itself, or, similarly to the case of the modified noun, to an adverb or particle preceding the verb. Examples are:

ci’rya i’nadix qa’tënba gatcqa’elgelë across yonder (were) the two where he had first seen them 8.10 (literally, first-at he-saw-them)

galiktô’ptck gatcqa’elgelëឆ’pa he came to land where he had seen them 8.5

ë’wi qali’çox gayaxa’limalxpa he looked back to where he had thrown himself into the water 8.6

ma’sa gali’çox qi’umbo gagi’ux he was ashamed because she had disturbed him in his sleep 58.26 (literally, disturb-in-sleep at she-made-him)

2. -iamt (often with palatalized a as -iâmt, -iêmt) to, FROM. This suffix is probably Chinookan in origin; it may be plausibly analyzed as verb stem -i- go+verb suffix -am arriving+tense suffix -t. This analysis would explain its two apparently contradictory meanings. It tends to draw the accent to itself. Examples are:

ickti’lguiptck wimalia’mt they collected (driftwood) from the river 2.2

nigelga’ba iciagitcia’mt it flew out of his nostrils 80.29 (literally, out of him from his nostrils)

gacq’k’wa’z tetóqlia’mt the two returned to their house 2.12

gayuk’wi’xa ilaxni’miëmt he swam to the person’s canoe 18.23

m’ç’tetkcm wimalia’mt go to the river and wash yourself 22.18 (literally, go-and-wash-yourself to-the-river)

gatelu’k’ul íq*liâ’mt iltcgoa he took the water to the house 28.8

As subordinating element it may be translated as TO WHERE. An example of its use after verbs is:

§ 56
aseṃezelu'k_a a'tpli'amd aq'a'lax you shall look towards the east 188.21 (literally, she-comes-out to-where the-sun)

3. ba'ma for, belonging to. This is evidently the Yakima suffix -pama for. Examples of its use with denomingating words are:

na'ikabam' amtkl̓i'dama ilqagi'łak for my sake you two will go and get me the woman 62.25

ya'zę'I laʔkə'bama lgiubi'tcema that (fish) he obtains for himself 186.4

gaeq̓əgwigax it's/h'nönks w'Ixpama animals were taken belonging to the country 16.13

ctm̓ə'kə'cactu'iq ntcə'a'ikabama two of our men (literally, us-for) went on 216.16

da'nabma qə'ضاء mxu'laʔ what for do you speak thus? 132.24

tlga'tq̓əwəm tuxu'n qa'xbabama he has come I know not where from 128.17 (literally, what-in belonging-to)

kə'a'ya kw̓ə'baba nə'uxam lədux̓ he had not made people belonging to there 44.23

gi'guaʔbəm' iʔk'ə'tit underclothes (literally, below-for clothes)

Less commonly bama may precede. An example is—

bam' ilx̓əwulx aklugwii' ilk'a'lamət he carries rocks for (i. e., in order to gain) strength 186.17 (cf. ilx̓əwulx bama 188.2)

When used at the beginning of a predication, bama gives it the meaning of a clause of purpose. Examples are:

ba'ma la'-itka a'lem' atctudi'nə in order that he might kill them 54.2 (literally, for them will he-will-kill-them)

bama kapca'p guw'ən̓nit ika'ba 188.19 for chopping up the ice (literally, for chop-up it-is-always-made-the-ice)

When accented (bama'), it is used after predicates to mean ever since. An example is—

nkə'a'cəkbəmə kə'a'ya qəxantči xitcəq'emem ever since I was a child I have never been sick 190.9

4. (E)nEgi with, by means of, less frequently made out of. It seems to be the Yakima genitive case ending -ngi. Examples are—

asək' e'negi amcgimuxa ilq̓i6p with it you will cut it off 12.4

iq̓i6p galgichux aqə'nekc e'negi they cut it off with the stone knife 18.5

galkəqg̓al akčec'ən enegi he counted them with his finger 18.19

iʔla'ma ngi gayu'ya he went by means of a round-pointed canoe 38.21

iqa'be'naq e'negi gatculux he made them out of young oak 4.13

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Less frequently *ngi* may precede. Examples are—

*xa'u xau gałxu'x ng' ilkce'n* they combed themselves with the hand 78.10

*ayak'alaman ngi wa'nux* his pipe (was) made out of a stomach 94.9

*a'meni* made out of, less frequently with. It is perhaps the Yakima -nm. Examples are—

*są'qʷ itk'alamat a'meni aki'lax* it is entirely out of stones 82.13

*isk'w'ly' a'meni isgak'aps agsu'xwa* a hat is made out of coyote 182.7

*alk'wa'dit a'meni aqi'u'xwa* it is made of tule 182.9

*itq'u'te' a'meni tse'xtex gaqtu'x itk'alamuaq* they split trees by means of antlers 182.14

6. *-pt* up to is used to form adverbs out of demonstrative stems: *dapt up to here; kwópt up to there, then, enough; ya'pt up to yonder.* Probably etymologically identical with this element is *-bet*, frequently added to verbs or other words in the predicate to form temporal clauses. Examples are—

*gatčes'mquit lqa'vuruqt gagiula'dabit* he spit blood when she threw him down 14.11

*galikt'a'tckpet pl'a'la igi'xūx* when he had come up out of the water, he stopped 22.18

*le'p(b)et alaxu'xwa anigelgā'ya* when he dives, I shall take hold of it 18.20

*nk'a'ckacbet* when I was a boy 188.8

*aqa'lxax alaxu'xwa yaxtadi'wi gaki'xuz galxö'qbet* the weather will be as it was when they came together 130.27

When rhetorically lengthened to *-bāt*, this post-position has a general cumulative significance; with verbs it is best translated as *many as*. Examples are—

*gwe'nenamabá'd ilgwó'mex antka'walałaqwida* I shall be absent as much as five days 122.12

*kwó'pt nạtduqpenayabá't* that many (ropes) as he had apportioned 188.6

*qza'ntcivet alk'a'tgway' atčelxamabá't* he piles up as many as he tells him to 186.19

7. *diwi* (emphatic *dā'wt*) like. This element is very likely of demonstrative origin, and so does not perhaps belong here. It is freely used, however, as a post-position, and so may be included. Examples are—

*ick'al'li diwi date'i'p* striped like a basket 166.2

*iya'lx ilqwa'iliz diwi* his body (was) like a person's 166.17

*naika dā'wi itce'lgulit* exactly like my appearance 104.10

§ 56
VOCABULARY (§§ 57-60)

§ 57. Onomatopoetic Terms

The most important trait of the Chinook vocabulary is the abundance of onomatopoetic terms.

There are many nouns of onomatopoetic origin. All of these contain the imitative group of sounds doubled. Since, in onomatopoetic words when used as verbs, duplication of the stem signifies repetition, the doubling of the stem in nouns may be interpreted as meaning that the particular sound is uttered habitually by the object designated by the onomatopoetic term. Some nouns contain other phonetic elements in addition to the doubled group of imitative sounds.

This class of nouns includes particularly names of birds, of a few other animals, and a miscellaneous group of terms among which are found names of parts of the body and a few terms of relationship. Some of these are not strictly onomatopoetic, but may be included in the class of doubled stems for the sake of convenience.

(1) Birds.

From stem *t*lē is formed *t*lē*t*lē hawk

- *goēl* iqoē’iqoē owl
- *pōē* ipō’epōē (sp.?)
- *qēs* iqē’sqēs, o’c’cēc blue jay
- *goās* iqoā’sqoas crane
- *qonē* iqonē’gonē gull
- *tsēn* ē’tsēntsen humming-bird
- *goēx* ogoē’zgoēx female mallard-duck
- *tcēlēk* uctlē’aktēlēk eagle
- *tsiās* otsiā’stsias robin
- *qul* ē’qulqul heron
- *lōt* iqso’iqlot toiōt (sp.?)
- *tcēlēk* ömürnts!ē’ktēlēk teal-duck
- *koāq* otlē’nakoēkōaē (sp.?)
- *tcēxen* tq!ē’ptcēntxen sprigtail ducks
- *qēt* cemqēqē’t hawk
- *kon* iqtō’konkon woodpecker

(2) Mammals.

From stem *pen* is formed *d’pen*pen skunk; *v’pen*pen badger

- *nam* (?) ēnāmnā’muks otter
- *kōt* ukō’tockōtoce porpoise
- *tsp* s’ntsp’ntsp shrew
- *celq* ē’cełqcélq porcupine
(3) Other animals.

From stem *qo* is formed *qogo* pike

\[ \text{lôx} \quad \text{ilô-zlox} \text{ oyster} \]
\[ \text{lex} \quad \text{iqal'ê-xax} \text{ a small fish (see lex scales)} \]
\[ \text{xê} \quad \text{iq'lôat'e-xê} \text{ bullfrog} \]
\[ \text{men} \quad \text{êlatsê-menmen} \text{ newt} \]
\[ \text{lô} \quad \text{seq}!aldô \text{ butterfly} \]

(4) Plants.

From stem *ma* is formed *emâ'ma* pewterwort

\[ \text{qêl} \quad \text{êkêlqêl} \text{ polypodium} \]
\[ \text{câq} \quad \text{ucâ'qcaq} \text{ pteris} \]

(5) Parts of body.

From stem *pôx* is formed *upôx*pôx elbow

\[ \text{tcôl} \quad \text{utctô'leqôl} \text{ lungs} \]
\[ \text{kuc} \quad \text{ckuckû'c} \text{ testicles} \]

(6) Terms of relationship.

From stem *ga* is formed *iâ'gaga* his mother's father

\[ \text{gac} \quad \text{iâ'gaqac} \text{ his father's father} \]
\[ \text{ega} \quad \text{ayâ'ega} \text{ his mother's mother} \]
\[ \text{klê} \quad \text{ayâ'kêlê} \text{ his father's mother} \]
\[ \text{ma} \quad \text{liâ'mama} \text{ his father} \]
\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{liâ'tata} \text{ his mother's brother} \]
\[ \text{klêc} \quad \text{ikâ'êckc} \text{ boy} \]

(7) Miscellaneous terms:

From stem *pât* is formed *ipâ'tpat* net

\[ \text{têl} \quad \text{êtêlêtêl} \text{ brass buttons} \]
\[ \text{seq} \quad \text{osê'qseq} \text{ buck-skin} \]
\[ \text{tsêx} \quad \text{îtsê'xtsêx} \text{ gravel, thorn} \]
\[ \text{k'loyê} \quad \text{ok'loyê'k'loyê} \text{ fingering} \]
\[ \text{gac} \quad \text{ogô'eqac} \text{ sealing-spear} \]
\[ \text{kup} \quad \text{iâkupku'p} \text{ short dentalia} \]
\[ \text{qal} \text{ (i)} \quad \text{iq'alxal} \text{ gambling-disk} \]
\[ \text{l'al} \quad \text{i'l'alal} \text{ gambling-disk} \]
\[ \text{g'al} \quad \text{iq'âlqal} \text{ short baton} \]
\[ \text{qwis} \quad \text{ô'wiswis} \text{ breaking of wind} \]
\[ \text{qôm} \text{ (i)} \quad \text{iq'ômzôm} \text{ cedar-bark basket} \]
\[ \text{lk'en} \quad \text{ô'lk'enlk'en} \text{ open basket} \]
\[ \text{qula} \quad \text{lkulâ'tula} \text{ egg} \]
\[ \text{lex} \quad \text{ô'lezxlex} \text{ scales} \]
\[ \text{l'uwalk} \quad \text{ô'l'uwalkl'uwalk} \text{ mud} \]
\[ \text{lem} \quad \text{ôlemôlem} \text{ rotten wood (-lem rotten bark)} \]
\[ \text{got} \quad \text{iqê'qotot} \text{ fever} \]

A second large class of onomatopoetic terms, those used in place of verbs, has been discussed before (§ 46).

§ 57
§ 58. Nouns Expressing Adjectival and Verbal Ideas

In Chinook a great many adjectives and verbs are expressed by substantives. In these expressions the quality or action becomes the subject or object of the sentence, as the case may be. The Chinook will say, THE MAN'S BADNESS KILLED THE CHILD'S POVERTY, meaning that the bad man killed the poor child. It is true that such expressions are not entirely unfamiliar to us; for we can say, HE WENT THE WHOLE LENGTH OF THE WAY, OR HE MASTERED THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE PROBLEM, in which we also treat a quality as objective. In Chinook this method is applied to a greater extent than in any other language I know. Many qualities are used only as abstract nouns, while others may be transformed into adjectives by the prefix $g-$, which expresses possession (see § 17.6); for instance:

$iā'q’atxal$ his badness
$giā'q’atxal$ the one who has his badness (i. e., the bad one)

In the same way, verbs appear as nouns. This also is a mode of expression not unfamiliar to us, although the frequent application of such expressions and the ideas they express appear very strange. We can say, like the Chinook, HE MAKES A HIT and HE HAS A SICKNESS, instead of HE HITS and HE IS SICK; we can even use the verbal idea as the subject of a transitive verb, or form analogous passive constructions; for instance, SORROW FILLED HIS HEART, HE WAS SEIZED BY A FIT OF ANGER; but the absence of rarity of the corresponding verbal forms and the strong personification of the verbal idea in the noun appear to us quite strange.

Most of the nouns of this class are always used with the possessive pronoun. The following examples illustrate their uses:

$a’ltə$ (1) itsanō’kstx (2) ōlk!e’nlk!en (3) agiā’lōtk (4) ik!enā’tan (5) now (1) she put (4) potentilla-roots (5) into (4) the smallness of (2) a clam basket (3) 43.22
$ohō’$ (1) ići’qōgei (2) iia’xawayam (3) ! ohō’ (1) my wife’s relative’s (2) poverty (3) ! i. e., oh, my poor relative ! 67.21
$togē’$ (1) e’tcxtōt (2) iā’lkuile (3) just like (1) a bear’s (2) similarity (3) 275.11
$qul’ec’$ (1) iqōi’lgelī (2) tcxt (3) lō’i (4) once more (1) her lie (2) has done her (3) Ioi (4) i. e., Ioi has lied again 163.14
$ōlō’$ (1) aktā’x (2) tē’lx’em (3) hunger (1) acts on (2) the people (3) 260.16

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ka'nauwē (1) telalā'zukc (2) o'tām'tō (3) all (1) birds (2) their
c Chewed thing (3) i. e., all birds eat of it 40.18
ta'ke (1) a'ya'lcha (2) nizā'la'ax (3) then (1) his sickness (2) came
to be on him (3) i. e., then he became sick
qa'da (1) itzā'alqt (2) qgiā'xō (3) how (1) shall we make (3)
our wailing (2)?

A list of these nouns has been given on pp. 599–600.

It will, of course, be understood that these words, from the Chinook
point of view, do not form a separate class, but that they are simply
concrete or abstract nouns, as the case may be. They are in no way
different from similar constructions in English, in which the quality
of an object is expressed as its property. We find, therefore, also
that many ordinary concrete nouns perform the functions of adjectives. Ayā'pθela (1) icime'wat (2), literally, the duck (2) its fat
(1) means the duck had (much) fat, or the fat duck. The only
peculiarity of Chinook in this respect is, that certain ideas which we
consider as qualities or activities are always considered as concrete
or abstract nouns. A glance at the list shows clearly that quite a
number of these words can not be considered as stems. Some ar-
derivatives of unchangeable words, and others are evidently com-
ounds.

§ 59. Phonetic Characteristics of Nominal Stems

On account of the intricate derivation of Chinook nouns, and our
unfamiliarity with the component stems, it is impossible to describe
the phonetic characteristics of nominal stems. The lists of nouns
given before (pp. 597 et seq.) contain a number of stems consisting of
consonants only, while most of the others are monosyllabic stems. It
is doubtful if the purely consonantic stems have originated entirely
through phonetic decay. A comparison of the Upper and Lower
Chinook dialects gives no decisive answer to this question.

On the whole I am under the impression that a considerable number
of monosyllabic nouns, and perhaps a few of two syllables, may be
considered as stems.

§ 60. Verbal Stems

The onomatopoetic stems which do not readily form true verbs
and the nouns used for expressing verbal ideas (so far as they are
not derivatives) reduce the total number of true verbal stems con-
siderably. These are very brief, consisting sometimes of a single:
§§ 59, 60
sound, often of a group of consonants, or of a single syllable. Stems of this character are relatively so numerous as to arouse suspicion that all disyllabic stems may be compounds.

In many cases it is very difficult to determine the stem of the verb, because it remains often doubtful whether an initial -x, -k, and -g belong to the stem or to a prefix. The following list contains only such stems the phonetic character and significance of which appear reasonably certain. The stems are arranged according to their initial sounds—first vowels, then labials, dentals, palatals, and finally laterals. The beginning of the stem is marked by parallel lines; suffixes are separated by single lines; tr., signifies transitive; intr., intransitive.

-enux others, apart
-ą'mka only, alone
-ą'newa first
-ęzt one (for animals and inanimate objects)
-ę'xat one (person)
-o|i to go. The forms of this verb are irregular. Some are derived from a stem -i, while others seem to have the stem -ō. It may be, however, that the latter is only the directive prefix -ō-. The stem -i (which is absent in forms like ą'yō he goes, ą'lō it goes) reappears in
ayō'yam he arrives
ayō'ix he is in the habit of going
nō'ya I go
nō'yam I arrive
nę'gemoya he goes along it
nįgəlō'ya I go for a purpose, i. e., I go hunting
ayoe'wulxt he goes up
-xel|ōi ma other, different
-wa to pursue
-ą|wa to pursue tr. 62.12
-xa|wa to run pl. intr. 276.9
-ξe'lt|wa|ko to follow around
-w|wa'|x'it to flee (= to be pursued) 223.10
-w|wa'ko to demand 157.19
-ą|wa' to kill sing. obj.
-a|wan belly 186.6 (= pregnant)
-ą|wulε to swallow 46.12
-ą|wintsx to melt
-u|węε raw, unripe 93.26
-ę'na to jump
-o|ę'na tr. with dual obj. to jump 192.13

§ 60
-palau to talk
  -o||palawul to address some one tr. 213.15
  -ki||palau substantive to bewitch (=word) 62.16
-o||piā'lx to gather, to pick 245.5
-o||peqla to scratch 26.21
-o||pēl to stretch out 109.12
-pō to close, to shut
  -x||pōtē to be locked 12.3
  -ā||pō to shut a box
  -n||pōt to shut in (=to shut eyes) 47.18
-x||pōna to carry food to wife’s relatives 249.7
-o||pōnit to put up 29.8
-pōl darkness, night
  -pōλakli dark 29.8
  no|pōnem it gets dark 23.5
-ō||pcut to hide 9.10
-o||ptca to lead by hand 130.6
-o||ptcx to mend
-o p!ena to pronounce, to utter 253.21
-o|mako to distribute, to give presents 98.8
  -l|mako 77.17
-o|mā'inx rotten 199.26
-o|mētck to find, gather up 162.21
-l|mē'ctx to loan, to lend; tr. with two obj.
-o|mēql to lick 42.8
-o|mēla to scold 93.24 (=bad? Kathlamet)
-mēxa one more
-o|mēt to grow up 224.4
-ō|mēl to buy 94.20
-ō|mēq to die sing. 114.3, to faint, 239.6
  -ō|mēqit thirsty 71.1
-meq to vomit, to spit
  -ō, meqo-it to spit
  -ō|mēsa to vomit 13.6
e|mēalql qualmish
-xen|mōšx'em to play, to fool, to make fun of 178.18
-ō t to give 164.6
-t to come
  -tē mam to arrive coming 161.14
-x |takō to come back 28.21
-x |takōm to arrive coming back 16.17
-ga|t!ōm (for -gatqōm) to meet 94.11
-gel’ta to leave 250.8
-xel’ta to leave 250.10
-’el’taɡl to leave sing. obj. 123.15
-’e’taɡl to leave pl. obj. 128.7
-l’taɪkɛ to leave to somebody 177.5
-k’ta to pursue, to meet 197.24, 23.19
-l’taɡt to meet 164.26
-o’tɛna to kill pl. obj. 23.22
-l’tiɡo to oil, to grease; tr. with two objs., the direct obj.
-’l- standing for GREASE
-xel’iṭo m to accompany 135.20
-o’tuɪkɛ to suck
-tk to put down
-’o’tk to put away 177.6, to snow 42.1
-xɛm’o’tk to stake 30.16
-’o’tɡaŋkő to put down around (=to step) 240.29
-’o’tcɪɛn.tk to put first (=to begin)
-’o’tx to give away
-tx to stand sing.
-’o’tx’uɪt to stand 184.20
-’o’otx to stand on, to strike 191.20
-’o’tx’uɪt’tcu to fall down
-’o’tx’uɪmɛ to place upright 48.5
-’o’tx’uɪt’ck to make ready 42.17
-xel’tx’uɪt’ck to get ready
-teâm to hear
-’x, tɛcɪmaq to understand 165.16
-l’tɛcɪmaq to hear 24.18
-o’tɛcɛna to lay down 98.6
-o’ltɛcɛl’k to be crosswise 266.13
-gel’tɛcɛm to strike, to hit 66.4
-tɛt to move on water
-’o’ltɛt’cu to go down river by canoe 277.3
-’o’tɛt’ami to push into water 74.22
-o’tɛtx’o m to finish 46.23
-naxɛ’ltɛtx’o m to finish one’s own (breath), to faint
-o’ltɛktɛ to wash 39.23
-o’tsɡat short
-xel’o’tcɛ to observe 25.1
-o’ltɛξɛm to boil 23.4
-c to be somewhere sing.
-’o’c to be 219.7
-’o’c to be in 151.3
-k’o’c to be on 39.12
-v’o’c to be on ground 39.18

§ 60
-o|ci to roast in ashes 185.4
-o|ictx to carry on back 114.20
-eg to take
   -o|cg|am to take 134.1
   -o|cg|x to take to water 116.24
   -x|cg|am to take away
   -ge|ge|cg|am to help 28.6
   -x|cgjil to play 17.4
-o|sko|it warm 174.13
-ckta to search on beach 88.4
-o|ckz to turn over fire
-'||nata on the other side, across
-naxz to miss something that is needed
   -o|nax|talck to lose 43.17
-o|naxz to wipe
-ni to tie (?)
   -k|e|nia|ko to tie around 253.2
   -x|nia|ko to tie around 115.24
-ngo to run sing.
   -xa|ngo to run 23.23
   -xa|te|ngo to come running 28.3
   -o|ng|o|mít to cause to run (= to carry away) 27.16
   -o|ng|e to flutter
-kél to see
   -e|kél to see sing. obj. 115.1
   -e|kél to see pl. obj. 66.11
-ka to fly
   -ö|ko to fly
   -t|ka to come flying
   -t|ka|mam to arrive flying and coming
-kim to say 127.17
-gé'xa to swim
   -o|gxe|xa to swim 14.15
   -gèl|gëxa|xe to swim across 217.11
-gëxe (-gëxe?) to sweep
   -o|gëxe.172.5
-kö to go home, to pass
   -x|kö to go home 25.9, to go past
   -xa|t|kö to come home 212.2
-ka (-kö?)
   -o|kö to order 129.29
-gön another
-x|kruë to throw away 17.11
-o|kuman to look at 47.2

§ 60
-o'kula to sharpen 15.21
-o ktik to lie down on side 76.8
-kto'mit to take revenge on relative of a murderer 203.10
-ktuq to enslave
-o ktc to carry 66.4
-kteax (-ge'kteax) to cry 275.2
-o ktecan to hold in hand 271.10
-o ktcikt roasted, done 134.10
-o|ktcikt|amit to roast 93.26
-o kc to harpoon 92.9
-o kct to see 217.22
-o|kctam to go to see 187.10
-o, kct (probably the same as -kte above) to carry 38.18
-xo kcti to lie down, to sleep 76.20
-xalo kctgo to throw down 16.8
-o, k*tcck to make net 95.4
-o, k*uL to carry 129.19
-t|k*uL to bring 127.13
-t k*uLam to arrive bringing 67.6
-k*uL to tell
-x|l gu|l.itck to tell 37.17
-x|k*uL|el 41.4
-kLëwa to paddle 135.1
-o|kLpa to miss 271.13
-k!a to haul, to pull
-x,k!a 117.19
-gat k!a to haul here
-k!ôx to glue
-a q to meet
-ga|q|ôm to arrive meeting 117.24
-a qamt (-a|qamit?) to look 218.11
-a qamst to drink
-l qamx to shout
-qana.it to lie
-o,quna.it to lie down 16.23
-k|qana.it to lay on top of
-o|qunâ' itx.it to fall down
-qâ'yaqit between
-o|qa-îL large
-qêna orphan
-tém to give food
-l|têm to give food 22.10
-t||têm to come to give food
-gê|qoim 240.28.
-"ōya between
-"n"ōya to put between into 172.20
-"a"ōya mit to leave meanwhile 93.26
-"a"ōya time between (= days) 175.9

-al"wēwul to invite 176.18
-t"lawul to invite here 41.6

-al"wilx' to hit, to strike 65.12
-al"ōptit to sleep 255.16
-al"ōpk to steam on stones 97.25
-al"qōt to bathe
   -x"ōt to bathe sing. 12.8
   -x"ōyut to bathe pl.

-al"ōtc! to awaken sing. 137.23
-al"ōyutc! to awaken pl.

-al"ōnim to laugh at 184.3
-al"qc to split wood 45.18, to bite 100.13
-al"qcti to be satiated 172.12
-qta to count
   -qtda"x'it to be counted (= to menstruate) 245.20

-o xun to drift
-o"xtk to steal 163.12
-o"x'tkin to search 12.5
-xgō to be transformed
   -xgōmit to transform 30.23
-al"x tr. to do; intr. to become, to be
   -lx"ōm to arrive
   -al"xotck to begin to do (= to work)

-xauve many
-xāyal common man -(xalr)
-xēna to stand pl., to place upright 23.6
   -xēna"x'it to stand pl. 235.19

-xomem to show 41.2
-gem"ōtēn to help sing 235.5
-o"xogtc to invite 60.4
-xōlt dizzy
-xoxt to finish
-o"xtk to swim (fish) 63.13
-xg'ako to surpass 245.13
-al"xs to cut
-l to move
   -o"la to move
   -x"ll to shake intr. 156.14
   -o"latck to lift 25.21

-lap to dig
ā -laxta next 60.8

§ 60
-o|lektc to roast 124.19
-o|lqam to say to tr. 13.17
-lêmät next to last
-la to sit, to remain
-o|la|it to be, to sit 22.10
-gem|la|it to wait for 128.5
-xE'|la|it dead pl.
-k|la|it to be in canoe
-o|lata to pull back 38.13
-o|lā'ta|x-it to fly about
-lk'lik crooked
-o|lqat long
-o|l{l (-o|lq) to win, to surpass 30.15
-lqia to strike
-ge|lqia to stab 89.1
-xel|ð|lqia to hammer
-xel|lxelem to eat
-lala foolish
-l|lélex lean

§ 60
CHINOOK TEXT

THE SHAMANS

Gitā'kikelal1 atgē'īx2 ē'wa3 tmēwā'lema.4 Ma'nīx5 alō'nīkā.6

Those who have power of seeing they go thus the ghosts. When three persons,

Lā'nēwā7 aqlā'x8 pāt9 gilā'xawōk;10 k'llmta'11 aqlā'x8 pāt9

that one first some one really one who has last some one really

makes him guardian spirit; makes him guardian spirit;

gilā'xawōk;10 kā'tsek12 aqlā'x8 gianu'kstx13 iltxawōk.14 Aqe'ktāx15

one who has a middle some one who has his guardian some

spirit; people it some. spirit. It per-

its u'xanatē16 Lkā'na,x17 ma'nīx5 ē'Latacl18 iltxawōk.14 Ma'nīx5

his life the chief, when his sickness the chief. When

its is on it that trail, he utters it his shaman says

qō'la25 Lā'nēwā.7 Ma'nīx5 ē'wa3 k'llmta'11 itca'q'atxala19 ayā'xelax20

that first one. When thus behind its sadness it is on it

1 -kēl to see, as a transitive verb used with the prefixed element -ē'-p- (§ 25.7); -ēl is introduced to make

the stem -kēl intransitive (§ 26.4); terminal -ēl (with connecting weak vowel a) indicates an action char-

acterized by many repetitions (§ 31.7); this compound stem kēklēl is treated as a masculine noun. rows of

seeing (§ 34.5); this appears as third person plural possessive 44-, (§ 23), and is transformed into a per-

sonal noun by prefixed -p- (§ 17.6).

2 -a- aorist (§ 17.1); -p- third person plural, special form (§ 19.2); ēl vowel lengthened under stress of accent;

-p- usative (§ 32.11).

3 ē'wa thus, when (§ 44.2.)

4 -l- third person plural (§ 21); -mīwol ghost, a stem introduced after the older stem -mēna, kēl had been

tabooed on account of the death of a person whose name contained this word; -ma third dialect forming.

always used with the stem -mīwol (§ 38.2).

5 mē'-it, temporal conjunction when.

6 kōn three; -kō plural indicating human beings (§ 38.1); -a- special plural.

7 ma'nīx first; -t- neuter pronominal (§ 18).

8 a- aorist, -p subject some one (§ 18); -t- object it (§ 18); -p- directive, for of before k sound (§ 10); -x stem

to do; contracted with the usitative ending -x (§ 32.11), which has drawn the accent to the last syllable.

9 -pār really, adverb.

10 k'awōk guardian spirit; -tō- neuter possessive (§ 23), after which the k changes to t (§ 6.1); -p- trans-
morphs the term into a personal noun (§ 17.6).

11 k'llmta' last, afterwards, behind. Adverb, may also be used as noun.

12 kā'tsek kiddle. Adverb, may also be used as noun.

13 -t- nukst smallness, with possessive pronominal masculine third person, and personifying prefix p (see

notes 1, 10).

14 See note 10.

15 a- aorist; p- some one; -p- him; stem presumably -t-; the preceding k seems to be adverbial of

(§ 25.3), because when accented it takes the form pē', and because, after k, an a is inserted following it: for

instance, aspō'tat' 197.15 some one pursues them; the verb has, however, only one object. It never

occurs with directive -p-.

16 k'awōk life, soul. Neuter possessive (§ 23). See also note 10.

17 k'ā'na,x chief, rich man; ēk'īna,x chieffastness (§ 7); Lkā'na,x indefinite, a chief.

18 -p- a sickness. Masculine noun; neuter possessive.

19 -p- a sickness. Masculine noun, feminine possessive, relating to the feminine noun wa'pāl.

20 Intransitive verb with indirect object; a- aorist; p for i between vowels (§ 17.1); he (namely, bad-
ness); a- her (namely, trail); -x indicates that the badness belongs to the trail (§ 24); -t to (§ 25.1); -p- directive before k sound (§ 10); -x stem to do, to be.

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Demonstrative feminine, absent past (§ 44); the corresponding masculine is qit.

stem probably -qit.

stem p'ena (Upper Chinook -p'ena).

neuter possessive (§ 23); since the accent is thrown back before the q, it is weakened to -q (§ 6.3).

The connective conjunction appears as ka, k/a, and cka. It has not been possible to give a satisfactory explanation of their uses.

stem -t'el. Stem probably -t'el.

for am after k sound, to arrive (§ 26.1).

- infix.

stem -t'el to pursue; -am for -am after k sound, to pursue; -am for am after k sound, to arrive.

stem -o-t'el.

stem -o-t'el.

stem -o-t'el.

stem -o-t'el.

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stem -o-t'el.

stem -o-t'el.
qax 21  uē-xatk 22 alōîx; 51 nōgō-goîmx 52 gitā'kikkelal: 1 "ō,\ nōgō-goîmx\ 52 \gitā'kikkelal: 1 \"ō,\ that\ trail\ it\ went;\ they\ say\ those\ who\ have\ the\ power\ of\ seeing: \nōgō-goîmx\ 52 \gitā'kikkelal: 1 \"ō,\ \he\ will\ die,\ nevertheless!\" When\ there\ goes\ his\ soul: \"Oh,\ well\ some\ one\ will\ make\ him.\" Lō'meqta, 53 \tal!!\ "54\ Ma'nîx 5 iau'a 27 qing!eama\ 56 ayōîx\ 54 \some\ one\ reaches\ it
\when\ the\ hole\ ground.\ There\ they\ are,\ the\ ghosts. When\ he\ has\ drunk\ it\ the\ one\ who\ has\ there\ his\ sickness\ goes.
īla'xanate; 16 "ō,\ tla'ya 47 qīlā'xō. 74 that\ water,\ not\ any\ how\ well
\some\ one\ makes\ him.\" Aqīga'omx 57 qigō 54 naixoā'pe 58 ilē'ē. 59 \some\ one\ does\ it not\ \make\ some\ one\ makes\ him.
\alke-\ Some\ one\ reaches\ it
\ground.\ They\ are\ there,\ the\ ghosts. When\ he\ has\ drunk\ it\ the\ one\ who\ has\ there\ his\ sickness\ goes.
qō'la 55 \ltcuq, 65 \al'ta 66 nēkct\ qa'nsix 47 tlayā' 47 \alqā'x. 8 \Qē'xtōe 56 that\ water,\ not\ any\ how\ well
\some\ one\ makes\ him.\" ka'nuwē 59 \tgū'qēwama\ 70 atarge'la-itx, 71 nākct 72 Līpax 73 \alqā'x. 1 \\alke-\ Find\ some\ one\ does\ it\ his\ life\ that\ it\ has\ drunk\ it\ the\ water.
Lap 75 \aqīg'ax 74 \ilāxanate 16 \qō'la 55 Lkrāmetx 63 \ltcuq, 55 \some\ one\ makes\ him.
\alke-\ Some\ one\ takes\ it,\ it\ is\ large\ that\ life. They\ return\ their\ guardian\ spirits
\ilāxanate; 16 \qīqoa'it 75 \qīxā'it 71 \ilqā'it 16 \Aqīg'cangmx 36 \tgā'xawōk 2 \\alke-\ those\ who\ have\ it\ large\ that\ life. Some\ one\ makes\ him.
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\ilāxanate; 16 \qīqoa'it 75 \qīxā'it 71 \ilqā'it 16 \Aqīg'cangmx 36 \tgā'xawōk 2 \\alke-\ those\ who\ have\ it\ large\ that\ life. Some\ one\ makes\ him.
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The seers go thus to the ghosts. When there are three of them, the one who has a strong guardian spirit is placed first, and one who has a strong guardian spirit is placed last. One who has a small guardian spirit is placed in the middle. The soul of a chief is pursued when the chief is sick. When the trail is bad, the first one utters his shaman song. When the trail is bad behind, then the one there behind utters his shaman song. And it is night for a little while, and they treat him; but when the morning star comes, the soul of the sick one is overtaken. His soul is taken. The guardian spirits of the seers return. Sometimes his soul is given to him two nights, sometimes one night, after the guardian spirits return. Then the sick one becomes well.

When the soul of a sick person is pursued, the seers go, when the soul of the sick person is pursued. There it went thus on the trail to the left. Then the seers say, "Oh, he will die, anyway!" when the soul went there thus to the right, "Oh, he will become well!"

It is reached where there is a hole in the ground. There the ghosts are in the habit of drinking. When the sick one has drunk of that water, he can not be made well at all. All those who have shaman songs try to treat him, but he is not made well.

The soul of one who has drunk of that water is found. It is taken. That soul is large. The guardian spirits of the seers return. That soul is large. It is taken here, near to the Indians, and it grows small. Those who treat them say, "Perhaps it will not be one night before he will die." It gets daylight. The attempt is made to give him his soul. It is given to him. It nearly (fills) his body, and he dies. His soul is too small.
KATHLAMET TEXT

Exa't1 neqatexe'n2 nai'ka3 tge'qleyuqtike.4 Tqeqlax4 qateixoxi-
One he sang conjurer's  One hundred he owned
song
wateguix.6 laxanako'ngut7 iia'lxam.8 Noxuak'koax9 ta-itei10 ta'lxam'
songs. laxanako'ngut his town. They assembled those people
that his house at that the one who sang Four
noxuwi'i'utequaux10 ta-itei10 ta'lxam.8 A'qa17 nigex'mix18 ya'xi19
they danced those people. Then said that
noxuiwi'i'utequaux10 ta-itei10 ta'lxam.8 A'qa17 nigex'mix18 ya'xi19
the dances.

They thought the people: "Whence may be he will arrive

1 Stem -et ONE; feminine et'et; neuter et'; plural et; forms indicating human beings i'et, et
etak, et'at.
2 Stem -taxam; the preceding k- (heard generally -q-) probably ON; nq- transitional masculine (117).
3 naka I, independent personal pronoun; used here to intensify the possessive pronoun in the following
noun.
4 qet'od OLD PERSON; t- plural; qet' oo; -tc plural, human beings.
5 This form is not otherwise known.
6 qa-a very frequent transitional verb prefix in Kathlamet, either transitional or a slurred form of qa
contracted with transitional i-; i- he, transitional subject; -hi him; this verb may correspond to Chinook
tea'tzuwaléek he helped her SING (Chinook Texts 144.3).
7 Laxanako'ngut is a Nehalem town, called in that language Neex'ka; perhaps derived from Laput's
small bay with steep banks, and Lad'xané outside.
8 i- masculine; -ia indefinite possessive; -ixam TOWN, from stem -ix. The neuter or indefinite possessive
pronoun refers here to the indefinite ancestor whose name is not stated. From the same stem is formed
et'ixam with t- plural prefix.
9 Stem probably -kso (Lower Chinook -ko); no- transitional, third person plural; -rus- reflexive after i
vowel; -ks- stem; -x- usitative.
10 Demonstrative, indicating human beings (see § 44).
11 Demonstrative plural, referring to IQU L. HOUSE.
12 Without possessive pronoun this noun has the stem -quL with possessive pronoun the vowel is dropped.
It has always the plural prefix le; -la- refers to the same person as the possessive in iia'lxam (see note 5: pi
st. (§ 55).
13 ya'xi, teu'xi. La zi demonstratives (§ 44).
14 Numerals: for human beings the form la'kitke is used.
15 wil'pol night; -i indefinite pronoun; -pol night, dark; -max distributive plural.
16 no-, ig- transitional third person plural (§ 17); -pu- reflexive, used apparently in this verb only in
plural: the u is introduced after preceding i; stem -we to DANCE; always ending with -i expressing
iteration, or -aic expressing probably an inchoative (§ 31); -x usitative.
17 This is the most common connective and then (see note 6).
18 ni- masculine transitional; -kum, accented, -pum to say; -x usitative.
19 l indefinite; -ra- reflexive: the stem does not occur in any other place in the available material.
20 le- future; -i indefinite; -i- reflexive; -i him; -i- coming; -i-te to look on; -am to go to; -i future.
21 ilq- transitional third person plural (§ 17); -x reflexive changed to -ru- after preceding -i; -o- to
think; -a-t suffix expressing rest.
22 qu where; -nt suffix, not free; whence, whither.
23 Lq enclitic particle, may be.
24 a- future; -le indefinite; -te to come; -nam for -am after vowel to arrive (§ 29); -a future.

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Lax.13 Lq leyo’qt4 Lxuan35 é’wa36 Nqélém37 alté’mama24 alxiteloté’tc-
that old man? Perhaps thus Nehelim he will arrive he will see the
xama,30 Lxuan35 é’wa36 Tia’klakax38 alté’mama44 alxiteloté’txama.50
dance, perhaps thus Clatsop he will arrive he will see the dance."
Igó poblém.39 Aqa17 wít’ax30 igxuxiwi’yutek16 ta-stcî10 té’lxam.8
Then war they danced those people.
Qe’qlaya31 wâ-pólpà,32 aqa17 tél23 igó’xoax4 ta-stcî10 té’lxam.8
Middle night at, then tired became those people.
Igugsaq’wit’ix.55 Lékh4 Lq leyo’qt4 Lqagulak36 as37 nô’lí8
They rested. One old woman and a little
igó poblém39 aqa17 iiloq’dptít.9 Qo’a40 c’tkelél41 qîle’qo’-ítq12
that old woman. Then it was dark she slept. Near morning star she arose
Lâ’xi13 Lq leyo’qt4 Lqagulak36 Aqa17 tán’kî43 ig’xox4 Ilgilte’maq45
was something there. She heard
q’â’é q’â’é q’â’é tân’kî43 ig’xox44 ic’qépa.47 Ilxlo’xoa-it21 L’â’x13
noise of a crack opening something was the door at. She thought that
Lq leyo’qt4 “Lxuan45 sáq48 qem45 kâ’o’xt43 xam.49 N’xu4a50 anctuq’o’yute-
old one: “Perhaps war some one comes to Well I awoke
make on us.”
Qe’ma51 té’lxam.37 Aqa’17 itluqô’qo’yuteq,52 ac57 qem4’mkatîx53 ta-stcî10 them the people.” Then they woke, and remaining quiet those
té’lxam.8 Iguxoaq’o’-itq4 ta-stcî10 té’lxam.8 Iguxoaal’tyutek.55
people. They arose those people. They arose.

* Perhaps related to *Lóót*—to think (see note 21); compare miLóó’xwani ciq’iLo’pi the Do you think it is

* Demonstrative adverb (see § 44).

* na-locative prefix (§ 40); -qélém stem for a place name south of Columbia river; Tqélém makes the people of Naqélém (Nehelim), the Tillamook.

* -í plural: -id’ his; -kal’ar rostered, dried salmon; -í adverbial ending; where are there their roasted salmon, the native name of Clatsop. In the Clatsop dialect the name Lâ’uxp has the same meaning; Létheir; -luxp rostered, dried salmon.

* igó transitional and directive; -pól night; -pónem it is always night (see § 8).

* AGAIN corresponding to Lower Chinook weót.

* Qe’q’sapak the middle of a thing.

* -ó feminine; -pól night; -pá at, in.

* Onomatopoetic particle verb.

* igó transitional intransitive third person plural; -ré reflexive; -oa’ changed from o after í; -r to do.

* Iguxoa- third person plural before k sound (§ 19); -qénil to rest; -r it suffix (§ 29).

* -í indefinite; -qagulak woman.

* aq, ac connective conjunction, sometimes used for while.

* nóL a little; nô’lít’ adverb.

* -il indefinite transitional; -ó directive; -qéntl to sleep.

* near, near by; also q’od’piq almost.

* Stem -kénil.

* qíl see note 6; -q reflexive; -qo’-tq to arise.

* ñan what; ñan who; ñá’nki something.

* Igó transitional third person masculine; -r reflexive; -ó directive; -r to do.

* Lq’- it him; -l is probably the prefix to (§ 25); stem -temaq to near; the terminal -aq may also be a suffix.

* An onomatopoetic particle.

* L- masculine; cf’q’ dooryard; -pá at.

* A particle verb (see p. 46).

* -í transitional; -í same one; -íte inclusive plural; -í to come; -ít to do; -íim to arrive.

* iñua corresponds almost exactly to the German “doch;” here it might be translated anyway.

* a future; -íte them; -íte directive; -qáte plural; -qáteq to awaken; -ím distributive; each one (?); -a future.

* Igó’- it them.

* Perhaps 6á’ quiet; distributive 6ánámí; -katí adverbial suffix; compare Chinook iñ’katí right there; q’od’pkatí quite near.

* go- transitional third person plural; -oa reflexive after o; -qo’-tq to arise.

* Igóoa- see note 54; -ltek plural; -ltyuteq to arise; this word contains the inchoative -ltek, and may be the stem -l to move.
Itgo'guiga64 tge'qamatcx.57 Iqlo'lxam66 Laxi13 Loxat1: * "War6 a'xa6
They tell their arrow. He was told that one: "Light do it
wuxi13 a'tol.57 Wux66 i.e'kox52 Laxi13 Lgoatel'lx.43 A'qa17 t'nak14
that fire." Light he did that person. Then something
Lax66 iqe' xox44 iqe'qepa.47 Lxuan55 a'tima44 ftea'qa-ilax66 sia'xost64
visible became the door at. Perhaps: thus its lageness its face
La77 Lktemena'kste.66 Igugoa'k'i'm66 ta-itci10 ta'lxam5: "Iqetxel'an
like the moon like. They said those people: "A monster
ya'xi12 ali'gxe'tpqa.71 Iqe'k'i'm66 ya'xi12 iqe'txemam2: "Iqetxel'Lautci77
that he will come in." He said that the one who sang "A monster is it
the conjurer's song:
"Iqetxel'lan" that he will come in."
Klo77 Laxka73 La'xi13 laleyqqt4 ilexlolot'e'xam30 ilgemetqoa'qemam.74
he that old one he came to see the dance he came to give you food.
Qoes75 iqe'pixl76 yauxya77 igixelot'xamam.75 Tia'maq79 iqe'tlax66
Behold see lion that he came to see the dance. His shots they made on it
kopa53 is'maqat.82 Kela'tl63 ca'xalix53 ya'xi12 e'lxam8, tata'c
there up that town, never
iuque'wulx44 ya'xi56 iqe'pixl76 A'qa17 itgie'xelumux85 ta-itci10
it went up that those
t'lxam,5 ta-itci10 iqe'taxelot'xex.66 Oxue'lutoc66 ya'xi13 e'txemam2
people, those who had come to see They saw the dance that song at.
Klo77 Laxanake'ngut' nai'k53 tge'qleyuq
Thus then supernatural long ago Laxanake'ngut' I my ancestor.
tukc.4

64 iqe'- they them; -qal after 6 changed to -gui; stem -qal to take.
57 i- plural; tge'- their; qamatcx arrow.
58 i- some one him; -oe- directive; -inam to say.
59 Onomatopoeic particle verb.
60 Imperative of transitive verb without subject; & feminine object; -x to do; -ae future.
61 a- feminine; -kal fire.
62 Probably i- transitive; -l it; -t indicating preceding transitive subject; -ae here; -x to do.
63 Probably from the stem -des place, country.
64 -lae thus; distributive a'wimax (?)
65 I- masculine; -cic their two sides, relating to the following dual noun face; -pe-lax largeness.
66 a- dual; -a'; his; -xet face, eyes.
67 la just like.
68 In Chinook Dkl'men is used for moon. After the death of a man named Kl'men, whose guardian spirit was the moon, the Kathlamet discarded the word ak'le'men, which corresponds to the Lower Chinook form, and used ak'e'm instead (see Lktemena'kste Kathlamet Texts 27.3). The word at this place corresponds to the plural of the Lower Chinook, and should read perhaps Lktemena'kste (see Chinook Text 245.18); the ending -t axle see § 55.
69 iqe- transitional third person plural; -goa inserted before stem in & -xim to say; see note 18.
70 Stem -qite'x. Lon.
71 al- future before vowels (17); -ie he; -ix us; -it coming to; -pq into; -ae future.
72 i'ci interrogative particle.
73 al-ka'ka, a'ka, al'ka he, she, it.
74 i- transitional; Lqetx- it you; -q to come; -qem to give food; -qem to arrive.
75 An exclamation.
76 Stem -qip t.i.
77 Demonstrative, see § 44.
78 iqe- transitional intransitive; -xal reflexive on behalf of themselves; -oe- directive; -kem to go to see.
79 I- plural pronoun; -a' his; -mag the act of shooting.
80 iqe- somebody them on him; -oe- directive; -x to do, to make.
81 Perhaps better -pas' there at.
82 I- masculine; -oe- directive; -mag to die, singular.
83 Both words contain the adverbial ending -al.
84 From a stem -pif to go up; -wa'luf.
85 iqe'- they him; -axelux used here as a transitive verb; more commonly intransitive itxa'lelaxent?'et
at. in reference to him; stem -xux.
86 See note 20; -1xetx to witness a dance; 3rd third person plural; -talot'xex is nominal, probably
the ones who had their witnessing; 3- feminine actor; -ic masculine; -t theirs.
87 See note 2; L'xam the conjurer's song that is sung; -pa at.
88 Ld- theirs; -1xem supernatural being.
89 In Lower Chinook D qaqal.
WISHRAM TEXT

By Edward Sapir

COYOTE AND ITSCHE'XYN

Aga3 kwópt³ gayu'ya⁴ isklu'lya⁷ wíltlax.⁸ Ná'²wit⁷ gayu'yam,⁹
Now then he went Coyote again. Straightway he arrived going;
galixš'ítemaq⁴ isklu'lya gwá'nísim¹⁰ qutulatla'melq¹¹ ide'lxam¹²
he heard Coyote always they (indef.) are always swallowing them down
the people

¹ A connected English translation of this text will be found in Sapir's Wishram Texts, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, ix, 41, 43. The Indian text as here given has been very slightly normalized from its form as there published (pp. 40, 42).

² Used partly with weak temporal force, partly as mere connective in narrative. It is frequently practically untranslatable into English.

³ kwópt, then, at that time, is regularly used with preceding aga to mark new step in narrative. It can be analyzed into demonstrative stem kwó- (or kwó-) that (= Chinook ph there) and local suffix -pt up to (no and so) far. Neither of these elements occurs freely. kwó- is not used to form demonstrative pronouns, only occurring stereotyped in several adverbs; besides kwópt we have kwótha there (note 30), and kwó/daw and (note 46). -pt also hardly seems to occur except stereotyped in adverbs; cf. depat as far as this (related to du'ba, this-in=here, as kwópt is to kwóbc, and yepst, as far as that yonder, from yu'ipt off yonder). See also note 56.

⁴ ga- (gal- before vowels) = tense prefix denoting remote past, regularly used in myth narrative. -g = 3d pers. masc. subj. intr., referring to iskalu'lya, before consonants it would appear as -g, while gal- would then appear as tense prefix (ga-g = gal-: see notes 9, 26, 32, 47). -w = directive prefix away from speaker. -ps = verb stem to go.

⁵ -w = mas. noun prefix with which -g in gayu'ya is in agreement. -kalu'lya = noun stem coyote, apparently not capable of analysis; perhaps loan-word from Klickitat spí'ly. Chinook has another stem, -kalu'lyás.

⁶ Composed of wíltla again and deictic particle -s: cf. da'yuša (note 54) and da'uyas this. wíltla is most plausibly explained as stereotyped adverb from wíl, masc. noun prefix (originally independent masc. pronoun? See notes 19 and 35), and -lts, emphatic particle added to pronouns, too, also (see note 21). According to this analysis wíltla (s) was originally formed from *wíls as wíltla (s) he too from yu'-ph. He really must have meant that (masc.) too, but was later generalized in meaning.

⁷ Rhetorically lengthened form of wíl immediately, right away. When thus lengthened to wílt, it seems to imply direct, unswerving motion without interference of other action; it may then be rendered as straight on or on and on.

⁸ As in note 4, except that instead of verb stem -ps we have its shorter form -p - (as in yu'ipt he goes; cf. also note 61). To this is suffix verb suffix -am arrive while --ing, go (or come) to do. Several verb stems have two forms, one in -s, and one without this -s (e.g., -ps and -p to go out; cf. galu'ps she went out with stop she comes out).

⁹ gal- tense prefix ga- before vowels. -l = 3d pers. masc. obj. before reflexive element (reflexive verbs have, morphologically speaking, no subject). -x = indirect reflexive composed of reflexive element -s and local verb prefix -to, into. -ctmaq = verb stem to hear. galixš'ítemaq means literally to himself heard. To hear some one is expressed by x-ctmaq with prefixed transitive subject and object prononominal elements.

⁰ Adverb not capable of analysis.

¹¹ -w = indefinite transitive subj. -l = 3d pers. pl. obj. tr., referring to ide'lxam. -w = directive prefix (very many verbs have this "directive" -w even when no definite idea of direction away from speaker seems to be implied). -talatmaq is example of rarely occurring compound verbs. -talat is " diminutive" form of verb stem -lata to throw down, away (in this case the meaning seems to correspond somewhat more closely to that of its Chinook cognate -lata to full back); melq is best explained as verb stem -melpq- (or -melq-) to vomit with infixed -l that is not really part of stem is shown by form taltamaq he swallowed him down; full back + vomit may be construed as meaning vomit backward, draw to one's self and swallow. -l = tense suffix of present time. Observe peculiar sequence of tense, he heard, they swallows them down. Verbs that are dependent on other verbs, chiefly of saying or perception, are always present in tense, no matter what tense is logically implied; cf. below galiixståtemaq... ikfaz (note 43) he saw it, it is.
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itc'É'xyan.¹² Qxa'qamti¹⁴ gayu'⁷¹⁵ ik'nim⁷¹⁶ ná'wit gatcige'la¹⁷
Merman. Whither it went the canoe straightway he got hold of:

itc'É'xyan; gatcluentla'melq¹⁸ ká'navi¹⁹ dan.¹²⁰ "Nait!"²¹ ag'²¹
Merman; he always swallowed it down every thing. "Me too now
acuentula'melqema?²² iskül'lya galixlux'wa-it.²⁴ Aga kwópt²⁴
he will swallow me down," Coyote he thought. Now then
gayu'²⁵ iskül'lya; gatcige'la yag'aí²⁵ ikla'munaq.²⁶ Aga kwópt²⁶
he went Coyote; he got hold of it its bigness the tree. Now then

¹² id - 3d per. pl. noun prefix, in concord with -i in preceding verb. -iím (-i is inorganic) = noun stem village (wiípəm village is formally masc. sing. of id'É'xyan people); -iím is evidently related to -i (see note 33).
¹³ -as in note 5. -tc'É'xyan = noun stem Merman, protector of fishermen (see Wisham Texts, note 2, p. 42, note 2; p. 226, note 2); no etymology suggests itself. Syntactically itc'É'xyan is subject implied, but not grammatically referred to, by -i of preceding verb. This clause can hardly be considered as quite correct; properly speaking, itc'É'xyan should go with taculant/a'melq.
¹⁴ From interrogative stem qó- (or -ga-), seen also in qa'ba what-in? = WHERE? qa'ba of what kind? and qa'qí what-with? = HOW? -damí = local suffix toward found suffixed to several adverbs (cf. ca'zaladandi toward above, gipu'la'dandi toward below). -damí is evidently related to local noun suffix -iadmí to, from, Qxa'qamti here introduces indirect question, and may best be translated as NO MATTER WHERE.
¹⁵ = gayu'ga. Final vowels are regularly elided when following word begins with vowel. For analyses of form, see note 4.
¹⁶ -as in note 5. -kání = noun stem canoe. This stem can only be secondarily monosyllabic, for otherwise we should have *wiknim (see note 33); its Chinook cognate -kanim shows original disyllabic form. See also note 37.
¹⁷ qa- = tense prefix as in note 4. -tc = 3d per. masc. tr. subj., referring to following itc'É'xyan as subject. -ag = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to ik'nim of preceding clause as object. -iím = verb prefix of adverbial force, toward (with purpose, intent to reach); it here replaces directive -as of most transitive verbs. -ga- = verb stem to GET HOLD OF, seize; it is possibly to be identified with verb stem -gas to stick to. Its particular active significance being gained by use of transitive pronominal prefixes and verb prefix -ga-.
¹⁸ qa-te-i as in note 17, -ag here referring to following dan. -u-lát'a'melq as in note 11.
¹⁹ ka'návi all, every is most probably compounded of kána- all together (found in such numerals as ka'na'nimáké all-the-two = both and, with unexplained -i, in ka'na'nahí all three people) and 3d pl. masc. demonstrative pronoun *wi (cf. note 6) now no longer preserved as such (except in such petrifed words as wi'ta and ka'návi), but specialised, like its corresponding fem. we- as 3d pl. per. noun prefix (see note 33). These old pronouns *wi and *we are best explained as substantivised from pronominal elements -i (masc.) and -ae (fem.) by means of demonstrative element -ag (or -a-); this latter element is probably identical with -as in demonstrative stem da'á-us this (found also as -as; see note 54), and with Chinook -ó in demonstratives near 3d per. (xó'lá, xóda, xóta). ka'návi must originally have meant something like ALL OF (that) (masc.), but, like wi'ta, was later generalised in significance. ka'návi is here, as often, rhetorically lengthened to ka'návi to emphasize its meaning of TOTALITY.
²⁰ Interrogative and indefinite pronoun referring to things, what, anything, something. Though not provided with any sign of gender, it is always construed as masculine, hence -i in gatcilent/a'melq. Its correlative can (Kathlamet lan) referring to persons, who, anybody, somebody, is always neuter a gender, hence always unmarked. Everybody down would be gatcilent/a'melq ka'návi can.
²¹ Elicited from na'ús (see note 15). Composed of 1st per. sing. pronominal stem na'- (seen also in wi'ná i and emphatic suffix -tús too, also see note 6). All independent pronouns in -ás can be changed to emphatic pronouns by merely replacing -ás by -tas (e.g. qa'ba he becomes qa'ba'tás he too). Syntactically na'ús here anticipates -a in following verb (see note 23) as 1st per. sing. obj.
²² = a'ga (see note 15). This particle is very frequently used before future verb forms in conversation.
²³ a- = tense prefix of future time. -te- = 3d per. masc. tr. subj. -ag= = 1st per. sing. tr. obj. -a-lat'a:melq as in note 11 (-i before -a is inorganic). -eim = connective before future suffix -a: verbs that are continuative or frequentative in form regularly use this connective -eim before certain suffixes (such as future-e, causative-e, unitive-e). -a- = tense suffix of future time; in Wisham verbs regularly forms the unmarked prefixing -a or -as (before vowels) and suffixing -a. It is somewhat difficult to see why this form should be frequentative; one would rather except gatcilent/a'melq.
²⁴ go-i as in note 9. -ag = reflexive element; literal translation of verb would be (to) HIMSELF THOUGHT.
²⁵ huy(te) = verb stem to THINK. -a-il = verb suffix of rather uncertain significance here; It is found in all tenses of verb but present, where it is replaced by -a: (na')seen he THINKS.
²⁶ ya- = i-yá. i- = masc. noun prefix, determining gender of noun stem -páil. -pa- = 3d per. masc. possessive pronominal prefix, referring to masculine noun ik'a'munaq. -páil = abstract noun stem BEAUTY. populi ik'a'munaq the tree's bigness may, like all other possessive constructions, be construed either attributively (the big tree) or predicatively (the tree is big). Its attributive character is best determined by presence of true verb (gatcilepíqas) as predicate.
²⁷ ká'munaq = noun stem tree, wood, stick. This word is difficult of etymology analysis, yet can be no simple construction: kíta- is undoubtedly to be regarded as noun prefix (cf. ik'a:ná:méí Rock, perhaps from verb stem -la to MOVe). -ká: is most plausibly considered as "diminutive" for verb stem -pá: to FLY. UP IN AIR (as first element in compound verb); cf. ik'a:ná:méí he whetted it with ik'úla he filed it, and i:inígual/a-da-ú: i threw it up on (of something) with mánéde-ak I THREW IT UP.
x37 gali'xôx.35 Gateige'lgat itcle'xyan, gaqiulatla'meleq.39
dght he made him- he got hold of merman, they (inad.) swallowed
him down.
Nâ'wít itlcqö'ba90 gi'gwâ11 iskl'ulya galixi'maxitam43 wi'lxâ.93
traighway in the water below. Coyote he arrived falling on the ground
za kwô'pt gatcugi'kâ14 iglabâ'd18 ide'lxam; iglabâ'd20 akny'm7
w then he saw them their multitude the people; their multitude the canoes
u'xt35 kwâ'ba90 gi'gwâ itlcqö'ba. Aga kwô'pt gateige'lkâ10
rey they were there below in the water. Now then he saw it
xîl'ulya itcle'xyan yagö'menî1 qwxôl43 ikl'âx.43 Aga kwô'pt
Coyote Merman his heart hanging it. Now then

"Particle verb. Though verbal in force, it is purely adverbial morphologically, having no grammatical
m of its own. In regard to tense and person it is defined by following verb, which serves as its forming
auxiliary.

1. gal-a as in note 9. -a = reflexive element. -o (modified from -u- because of preceding and following ar
consonants) = directive prefix; ordinarily reflexive -o replaces directive -u-, but there are several
bas that retain it even when reflexive in form. -a = verb stem to DO, MAKE. -a-o-to DO TO ONE'S
y, MAKE ONE'S SELF, is regularly used to mean BECOME. For other forms of verb stem -a see notes
55, 64, and 66.

2. gas-as in note 4. -p = indefinite tr. subj. -a = 3d per. masc. tr. obj. -u-lutâ'meûy = as in note 11.
rum with indefinite -p subject are very commonly used in Wishram in lieu of passives.

3. ia- as 3d per. neut. noun prefix. -a = inorganic consonant, serving as glide between i and c. -apâ-
-êp-; a is related to d by preceding g) = noun stem water; its shorter form -a is seen in iat'c
E WATER OF THE TWO (Wishram Texts 190.14). -a = local noun suffix in AT (see also notes 33,
and 60).

4. Adverb: -a is probably not part of stem, for it is found also in correlative ca'at al above.

5. gas-as in note 9. -a = 3d per. masc. intr. subj., referring to preceding i-ak'hu-pa. -ima- = verb stem
PUT DOWN, PUT ON GROUND, LAY DOWN (as irr.); LIE DOWN (as intr.); probably composed of -a-
ON ROUND?) and -ima- PUT (cf. ga-ga-a-t'â'ima-2 he PUT HIMSELF INTO THE WATER [Wishram Texts 2.5]);
tenerer indirect object with -k- on is introduced, -ima- becomes -a-ima- (e. g. ga-kâ-k-ka'ima-
e Laid it DOWN ON IT [Wishram Texts 2.11]). -p = quasipassive suffix; -sima-pâ- = BE Laid DOWN.
Y ONE'S SELF DOWN, FALL DOWN TO GROUND.
-a = verb suffix arrive — ing (cf. note 8).

6. wi- = 3d per. masc. noun prefix; masc. noun stems that are non-syllabic or monosyllabic require wi-
- note 55); those that have more than one syllable have i- (see notes 5, 13, 16, 26); for probable origin
- see note 19. In Chinook wi- has entirely given way to i- except as archaisms in some place-names
d in songs. -p = noun stem land; seen also in wi'xam village, idexxam people (see note 12);
probably also in wá'îxî fishing station and îxî'tâx staging for fishing. -a as in note 30.

7. gas-as in note 4. -a = 3d per. masc. tr. subj. -a = 3d per. pl. obj., referring to following idexxam
before verb prefix -a-3d per. plural obj. -a is replaced by -qâl- then becoming -q(âl)- (in other words,
before -p is treated analogously to when it comes before -qâl-). -qâl- = plural form of -p(see note
out from enclósed space (cf. ga-la-qâl-1'é it FLOWED OUT OF HER [Wishram Texts 94.4]); analog-
ously to qâl- (see note 17) direct is here replaced by -qâl-. -kâl- = verb stem to KNOW (cf. i-k-âû-
-HE KNOWS THEM [Wishram Texts 176.10]; -qâl-kâl- = TO KNOW FROM OUT ONE'S (EYES) hence to
GET SIGHT OF.

8. k- = 3d per. neut. noun prefix, defining gender of abstract noun stem -blad. -pa- = 3d per. pl.
possessive pronominal prefix, referring to idexxam. -blad = noun stem MULTITUDE, GREAT NUMBER.
ida-lâ'x'âm is construed like pa'pâ'it ik'â'munâg (see note 25).

9. As in note 35 except that -pa- = 3d per. fem. possessive pron. prefix (merely homonymous with -pa-
note 35), referring to aklâm.'

10. a- = 3d per. fem. noun prefix; though many fem. dissyllabic stems have wæ- (e. g. wæ'âl'a pond,
is here replaced by analogy of idexxam (see note 16), as in related nouns i- and -a-, wi- and wà-
generally are off respectively. -aklâm as in note 16. Logically aklâm canons is plural, morphologically it is
m, being so referred to in ap'âx (note 38); another example of fem. as plural is wà'masc M âGgôg, masc.
'm'wâ'gîtô MAGGÔT.

11. a- = 3d per. fem. intr. subj. referring to aklâm. -a- = verb prefix ON GROUND, ON BOTTOM (?) -a-
receptive prefix. -at = verb stem to LIE, SIT, BE PLACED, corresponding in use to Chinook c-.
This verb allows no further modification by means of tense affixes.

12. Composed of demonstrative stem kwô- (see note 3) and local suffix -ba (see note 33); THAT-IN = THERE.

13. As in note 34, except that incorporated obj. is -a = 3d per. masc. referring to pêpö'mënl, and that
âl is unmodified.

14. pa- = 3d per. masc. intr. subj. referring to pêpö'mënl. -pâl- = verb prefix on GROUND, ON BOTTOM (?) -a-
receptive prefix. -at = verb stem to LIE, SIT, BE PLACED, corresponding in use to Chinook c-.
This verb allows no further modification by means of tense affixes.

15. Particle verb, for which ikl'âx serves as auxiliary.

16. kwô- = 3d per. masc. intrub. referring to pêpö'mënl. -klâz TO BE is another tenses verb (cf. note 38).

17. best, though somewhat doubtfully, explained as composed of verb prefix -ki-, which shows lack of
gaqiu'lxam 43a iskul'lya: "Ya'xduau 43b itc'le'xyan yagö'menil." Aga
they (l indef.) told Coyote: "That Merman his heart." New
kwö'pt Lqöl'p 44a gatciux; 44d Lqöl'p 44a gali'xōx 44e itc'le'xyan yagö'menil.
then cut he made it; cut it made itself Merman his heart.
Aga kwö'pt k'anawi gatkxe'ni'ytuck 44s q' 444 akni'm kwö'dau 44n
Now then all they each floated up entirely the canoes
ide'lxam kwö'dau iskul'lya.
the people and Coyote.
Aga kwö'pt gali'kim 44t iskul'lya: "Lqao 449 pu'q 449 qa'ma 50 ma'ima 50
Now then he said Coyote: "Perchance would how you alone
itc'le'xyan qxi'dau 52 amdu'xwa 52 ide'lxam? Da'uy 52 w'iq'gwa 52 aga
Merman thus you will do to them the people? This
day aw

object of ordinarily trans. verb, and verb stem -x to do (cf. Eng. he does well, i.e., gets along well). -aw would then have to be explained as inorganic glide vowel (cf. Chinook i-k'le'x 1 he is and Wisham i-k'le'x he is, has become). For syntactic construction, as subordinated to gatciux 44d, see note 1.

As in note 4. -q = indef. tr. subj. (cf. note 29). -i = 3rd per. masc. tr. obj., referring to akni'm.

-aw = directive prefix. -xan = verb stem to say to with personal object. This verb form is logically passive.

Demonstrative pronoun, showing location near 2d person, composed of simple form of independent 3d personal pronoun + demonstrative element -q. (cf. also ordinary forms of independent 3d personal pronoun yu'q-ak and similarly for other genders) + demonstrative stem -dau (= -du + -a), for which see note 54. Syntactically pu'qdu, here used substantively, agrees in gender with yagö'menil, to which it refers. There is no expressed predicate in this sentence, yagö'menil (1b) is his heart being so used.

Particle verb, to which following verbs gatciux and gali'kim, both from verb stem -x to do, serve as auxiliaries. Lqao doubtless has onomatopoetic force.

As See note 64.

As in note 28. Cut It-made-Itself = It became cut.

As in note 4. -i = 3rd per. pl. intr. subj., referring to akni'm, ide'lxam, and ikk'wits as combined plural subject. -x = regular replacement of directive -aw whenever intr. subj. -i would theoretically be expected to stand before it. -qimi-(or -qini-) = verb stem to float, drift. -yu= = distributive suffix each separately (gatciux'ni'tuck would mean they floated up in one body). -tck = local verb suffix up to surface, up from position of rest (cf. also gal-i-tck he moved himself up from sitting position, he arose [Wishram Texts 4.8]; gal-i-tck he rose (sticking his head) out of water [op. cit., 10.5]); combined with -a out of interior, tck appears as -pick from water out to land (gatciux'ni'tck they each floated on to land; for change of -a to -p cf. gal-ic'tick [with -tck? [Wishram Texts 94.7]). This -tck should be distinguished from -tck of cessative significance; whose function is to deprive verbs that are continuative or frequentative in form of their continuative force (e.g., yuwe'il he is dancing, yuwe'i'lbirmick he was dancing (but is no longer doing so).

Adverbial in force. Logically ay= (rhetorically lengthened to ay=) to emphasize idea of totality often seems to be used attributively with nouns (translated as all), but grammatically it is best con
cidered as adverbial, even when there is no expressed predicate.

Composed of demonstrative stem kwö- (see note 3) and dau- (see note 54). Its original significance was evidently that (which preceded) and this (which follows).

Gal-i as in note 32. -kim = verb stem to say (without personal object; cf. note 54).

Adverb of modal significance, serving to give doubtful coloring to verb.

Adverb of potential and conditional significance; in formal conditions introduced by cma'siq if, it often has contrary-to-fact implication. This use of modal particles in lieu of verb modes is characteristic of Chinookan.

Evidently contains interrogative stem ga- what, seen also in gu'a'dam (note 14). -ma cannot be explained. This word has been found only in such passages as here, and is very likely felt to be archaic. Gu' pu gu'ma occurs as stereotyped myth-phrase in transformer incidents (cf. Wishram Texts 6.13, 38.6, for similar passages).

Forms in -si'ma alone may be formed from simplest forms of personal pronouns (subject intr. incorporated): e.g., ma'ima i alone, ma'ima you alone, pa'ima he alone. It is doubtful, however, whether these forms should be considered as intransitive verbs from verb stem -si'ma. Since personal plurals in -di'e (e.g., ta'imaside they alone) occur, it seems preferable to consider them as formed by suffixed -ma alone? (cf. gu'ma note 50) from independent pronoun stems in -a'i (as in ma'ima, note 3, and ma'ai'a, note 21); this -a'i is in these forms found also in 3d persons (e.g., la'ima it alone, as con
trasted with la'jka and la'j'itsa). Chinook ma'ima alone, analyzed by Boas as intr. subj. pronoun - verb stem -maka, is probably best explained as simple independent pronoun in -a'i (me, we, and cor-
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G'pt56 qxi'dau andu'xwa idg'lxam. Na'ika57 isklu'lya yamu'lxam.58
at far they will do to you. I have told you.

7a'ic60 da'uyaba60 wi'ixa atgadi'mama61 idg'lxam. Kwö'pt
soon land they will arrive coming the people.

Then gwa'gima,62 'Qxi'dau EX63 gaci'tux64 isklu'lya itcE'xyan.
they will say, 'Thus exercising he did to him
Coyote Merman.'

supernatural power

vö'pt a'ga itcE'xyan pla'l65 amxu'xwa."66
then now Merman being quiet you will make yourself.'

-ing forms for other persons occur not rarely in Wishram + -m(s) + -za just, only (cf. lu'xaka just EK).

Adverb composed of relative particle xi- (cf. xi as relative pronoun in Wishram Texts, 188.1) and demonstrative stem daw- this (cf. note 54). -g'ixdaw thus means literally as, like this.


Demonstrative pronoun, showing location near 1st person, composed of demonstrative stem daw-da-, as in da'ba' here + -a- see note 19) and simple form of 3d per. independent pronoun in -a (masc. fem. a, neut. la, du. cda, pl. da). Forms without -a- (e.g., da'pa) occur, though much less frequently; ctic -x may be added without material change (e.g., da'pa'x or da'pax). -daw also occurs second element in demonstrative pronouns showing location near 2d person (e.g., ya'za'x that masc., ya'x 43b). da'wax is here masculine because in agreement with masc. noun wi'wax, Chinook seems to preserve da- only in isolated adverbs like te'kx then (cf. Wishram da'uka asa so).

-w- masc. noun prefix, with -w- because noun stem is monosyllabic. -wa- noun stem DAY. wpa wi'wax this DAY is regularly used as stereotypical phrase for TO-DAY; da'wa'pax this SUN is so used.

Analysis given in note 3. Here kwö'pt, with well-marked stress accent, preserves its literal meaning that far, thus much, apo kwö'pt being regularly used, outside of narrative, to mean ENOUGH. I think kerp' enough is doublets related, but kwö- can not be directly equated with kwö-, which corresponds rather to Chinook pö (see note 3).

Ordinary form of independent personal pronoun, composed of stems in -a- for 1st and 2d persons) or -x- (for 3d persons) and suffixed particle -ka just, only, found also suffixed to numerals. na'ika is here grammatically unnecessary, but was used to emphasize subject of following verb form.

- - pwa'ma'pwa. -a- tense prefix of immediate past time. -pwa- combination of 1st per. sing. subj. id 2d per. sing. obj. -a- directive prefix. -x- verb stem to SAY to with expressed personal object.

Temporal adverb referring to action just past or about to occur, either JUST NOW, RECENTLY, or SOON, seems to be Kilkiat loan-word.

Da'wax as in note 54; masc. because in agreement with masc. noun wix. -a- local noun suffix in gullarly suffixed to demonstrative pronoun preceding noun instead of to noun itself.

-a- as in note 53. -a- 3d per. pl. intr. subj., referring to idg'lxam. -a- element regularly introduced after 3d per. pl. intr. -a- before -d- to come and, before verb stems beginning with k-sounds, ter 3d per. pl. intr. -a- (cf. note 62). -a- to come consists of -a- directive prefix HITHER, TOWARD YAKKE, correlative to directive -a- and -a- verb stem TO GO. -pwa- form of -pwa- (see notes 8 and 1) used after vowels. -a- as in note 53.

-a- tense prefix of future time employed before vowels (a- and e used analogously to pal- and pa-).

-t- 3d per. pl. intr. subj. used, instead of -e-, before verb stems beginning with k-sounds (as here rim-).

-pö-wa- -pö- as in note 61, -w- being inorganic, due to influence of -w- preceding k-sound (cf. note 53). -pöm- verb stem to SAY; -km (as in note 47) is used when accent immediately precedes, when suffix (here -a) is added and accent is pushed forward. -a- as in note 53. In Chinook -uwe' appears a-sö-pö- (pö regularly becomes pö); allu'remwa is paralleled in Chinook by opos'ma.

Particle verb to use supernatural POWER, TRANSMIT, to which following gaci'tux serves as auxiliary. It is one of those very few Wishram words in which glottal catch is found (other words are, ic'm, a'tin bluejack, da'xat'x perhaps).

-pö- as in note 4, -d- 3d per. masc. tr. subj., referring to isklu'lya. -a- 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring o'ic'ita'x. Observe that subject noun regularly precedes object noun, their order being thus analogous o that of incorporated pronouns with which they stand in apposition. -a- directive prefix. -x- verb stem TO DO (to).

-pö'la'. Particle verb, with which following amxu'xwa used as auxiliary. pö'la' amxu'xwa QUIET you-will-become (i.e., you will stop, dest).

-a- as in note 53. -m- 2d per. sing. obj. with following reflexive element (see -a- in notes 9 and 28).

-a- as in note 28. -a-t- as as in note 53.
MAIDU

BY

ROLAND B. DIXON
MAIDU

BY

ROLAND B. DIXON
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MAIDU

By ROLAND B. DIXON

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND DIALECTS

The Maidu (or Pujunan) stock comprises the various dialects of the language spoken by a body of Indians in northeastern California. The region occupied by these Indians is a continuous single area, lying partly in the Sacramento valley and partly in the Sierra Nevada mountains. It may be roughly described as extending from the Cosumnes river in the south to a line drawn from Chico, through Lassen's Butte, to Susanville in the north, and from the Sacramento river eastward to the eastern base of the Sierra. The neighboring languages are, on the north the Achomawi-Atsugewi (Shastan) and Yana, on the west the Wintun (Copehan), on the south the Miwok (Moquelumnan), and on the east the Washo and Paiute (Shoshonean). Of these the Wintun and Shoshonean show the clearest morphological resemblances to the Maidu.

The Maidu language is spoken in three dialects, differing from one another more morphologically than lexically or phonetically, although differences of this sort, of course, occur. In general these morphological differences are in the direction of the morphological type of the languages of the other stocks with which the Maidu are in contact; the northwestern dialect most resembling the Wintun; the northeastern, the Achomawi-Atsugewi; and the southern, the Miwok. The northwestern dialect is spoken in that part of the Sacramento valley occupied by the stock, which lies north of the Yuba river, and also in the foothills adjoining, up to an elevation of about three thousand feet. It shows some minor variations within itself in the way of subdialects, these differences being as a rule, however, very slight. The northeastern dialect is spoken in the region of the high, flatfloored mountain valleys extending from Big Meadows in
the north to Sierra valley in the south. It has fewer variants than the other two dialects. This dialect is the one whose grammar is here given. The southern dialect comprises a number of slightly varying subdialects occupying the remainder of the area covered by the stock. In most respects this southern dialect is closer to the northwestern than to the northeastern.

With the exception of a few general statements in an article on the languages of California,¹ no account of the grammar of the Maidu has ever been given. Its grammar is, however, of interest, in that it may be taken as to some extent typical of a considerable group of central Californian languages, which in many important particulars are quite different from the majority of American Indian languages.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. System of Sounds

The phonetic system of the Maidu is only moderately extensive. Itpossesses but one series of k-sounds, of which only the k is frequent, and is lacking in velars and lateral (l) sounds. The consonant system includes palatals, alveolars, dento-alveolars, labials, and laterals. The sonants and surds are as a rule not very clearly differentiated, and it is sometimes difficult to determine in a given case which is intended. Surds are more common than sonants in the pairs g-k and d-t, g in particular being quite uncommon. Although in most groups of consonants there is a sonant, surd, and fortis, yet the fortis is often by no means strongly marked, and is difficult to separate from the surd. The glottal catch is but little used. A peculiar feature of the Maidu is the existence of two weak inspiratal sonant stops s and d. The exact method of formation of these sounds is not clear. However, it is certain that inspiration proceeds no further than the soft palate; the peculiar quality of the sound being produced by a "smack" formed by a slight vacuum in the mouth. The s and d occur only as a rule before ò, and the difference between them and the ordinary b and d is, in the case of some speakers and in some words, very slight; in other words, or in the same words by other and generally older speakers, the difference is strongly marked. The consonant system of the Maidu may be shown in tabular form as follows:

---

§ 2
The vowels are quite variable. One of the most characteristic features of the use of vowels is the fondness for the ə, ā, and ā sounds. The vowels are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{u} & \quad \text{ü} \\
\text{i} & \quad \text{I} \\
\text{e} & \quad \text{ê} \\
\text{ä} & \quad \text{ê} \\
\text{a} & \quad \text{o} \\
\text{â} & \quad \text{ô} \\
\text{å} & \quad \text{â} \\
\end{align*}
\]

§ 3. Phonetic Character of Stems and Sound-Grouping

Stems are with few exceptions monosyllabic and consonantal, and consist as a rule either of (1) consonant, vowel; (2) consonant, vowel, consonant; or (3) vowel, consonant. Words may begin with a vowel, h, y, or w, or with any consonant except x or n. By far the greater number, however, begin with a consonant, most commonly t, k, or p, with h and w also very common. The most frequent initial vowels are a, o, and e. Whereas initial combinations of two consonants are impossible, such clusters are common in the middle of words. Groups of more than two are, however, unknown. In combinations of two consonants, sonants, except l, are never found as the first member of the group. Except for this restriction, the possible combinations are comparatively unrestricted, the only ones which are avoided being those of two spirants, a nasal and lateral, or those in which x is the second or ts the initial member. The following combinations are most frequent:

\[
\begin{align*}
l_d, l_b, l_t, l_p, l_k, l_u, l_s & \quad x_b, x_l, x_k, x_t, x_p \\
k_d, k_b, k_l, k_t, k_t, k_p, k_s, k_n, k_m & \quad s_d, s_b, s_l, s_k, s_t, s_n, s_m \\
t_d, t_k, t_p, t_n, t_m & \quad n_d, n_b, n_k, n_t, n_t, n_s, n_p, n_s, n_m \\
p_d, p_b, p_k, p_t, p_t, p_s, p_s, p_n & \quad m_d, m_b, m_t, m_t, m_p, m_s, m_n \\
\end{align*}
\]

1 Verbal stems of the second class (§5, b), like the words themselves, tend very strongly to begin and end with surds. The larger number also of this class have a, o, or u for their vowel.

§ 3
All words must end in a vowel, or in m, n, p, t, or very rarely in l. The great majority end in a vowel (most commonly i); and of the consonantal endings, the nasals are by far the most common. The phonetic structure of the Maidu is thus quite simple, and, owing to the prevailingly vocalic character of the language and to the comparative lack of consonantal combinations and phonetic changes, the whole structure is unusually transparent, and the component parts of any word are easily recognized.

§ 4. Laws of Euphony

Euphonic laws require sound-changes in some instances. These laws are mainly retroactive, and apply to consonants only in the case of m. Where m is followed by k or w, the m is changed to n; as, amam that one (subj.) + -kanand = amañkan and that one möm he + we = möñwe he alone, he himself

There appears to be more or less of a tendency toward vocalic harmony in the Maidu. It is obscure, however, and never is more than a tendency, the exceptions to the rule being often very numerous. As will be pointed out more fully in § 12, the Maidu possesses a number of stems, which are ordinarily dependent on others, as prefixes, but which may in some instances stand as independent stems by themselves. These semi-independent stems are all composed alike of a consonant in combination with a vowel. The larger proportion of them seem to be grouped in series, with variable vowel; as,

ba-, br-, bo-, bö-, bu- wä-, we-, wi-, wo-, wö-, wu-, etc.

The significations of these are in most instances general, and in some cases very obscure; but it is probable that in each series, the a, o, ö, and u prefix-stems, at least, are alike in meaning, or closely related. Similar, although less complete, series of wholly independent stems occur; such as,

hap, hop, höp, hup tas, tes, tos, tus, etc.

and here again, in the a, o, ö, and u stems there seems to be often a close correspondence in meaning. Where these or other independent stems are combined with the prefix-stems, there seems to be a tendency to similarity of vowel-sounds; the vowel of the prefix being either the same as that of the stem, or of the same class; as, for instance, bahap-, bohop-, wököt-, yedip-, bapus-, böyl-, etc. This

§ 4
Tendency is most marked in the case of the ö-stems. The o-stems take preferably either o or a prefix-vowels; the a-stems, either a or e; the e-stems, either e or a; the ı-stems, either e or a; and the u-stems are very variable. In every case, however, except in the case of the ö-stems, any vowel may occur in the prefix, those noted being merely the most frequent. In all cases, ı-prefixes are abundant, because the prefix wi- is one so important that it is used with practically every stem, and appears to suffer no phonetic change. In the case of other prefix-stems, whose meaning is more precise, which do not occur in series, and which generally refer to parts of the body as instruments in the action of the verb, no such tendencies toward vocalic harmony are apparent. Traces of a similar tendency toward vocalic harmony are also to be seen in the use of the general verbal suffix -n. This, in the case of o and a stems, has generally o for a connecting vowel; with other stems, however, it has i; as, for example,

yok-on, ok-on, pin-in

In a few instances, progressive euphonic changes occur, as where ö after ä becomes ü:

pák’üpem instead of páköpem

or in the change of p to b after n:

öpe’kanbem instead of opékanpem

There are also several instances of the insertion of t or i for euphonic reasons; as, for example,

yayö’tso pin instead of yayö’tso pin

të’tyollebüssin instead of tëtyollebüssin

kö’dödi instead of ko’dödi

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

(§§ 5, 6)

§ 5. Composition

Of the different grammatical processes employed in Maidu, composition is by far the most important and widely used. It will be most conveniently considered by dividing it into—

(1) Nominal composition, and

(2) Verbal composition.
**Nominal Composition**

Composition, in the case of nouns, occurs in its simplest form in the formation of compound nouns. Where the initial component ends in a vowel, a connective is usually employed. This connective is always m (changing to n before k or w; see § 4). As a nominal suffix, this m indicates syntactic relationship. With nouns which do not end in a vowel, the compound is formed by the mere juxtaposition of the two words. Composition is further used with nouns to express diminutives, superlatives, collectives, privatives, etc., all of which are indicated by unchangeable suffixes added to the nominal stem. The most important use of composition in the noun is, however, its use in indicating local and instrumental, as well as syntactic relations. These locative and instrumental ideas are expressed by suffixes added to the nominal stem (§ 30). Syntactic relations are also expressed by suffixes, there being a subjective and a possessive case-ending. Finally, composition is employed, although in a very small number of cases, to indicate ideas of number, a few animate nouns taking suffixes which indicate duality or plurality.

**Verbal Composition**

In verbal composition there are three elements to be considered—the stem, the prefix, and the suffix. In Maidu there are two classes of stems. In the first class, which includes all but a few out of the total number, the stem is wholly independent and is always used as a stem, never being subordinated to another stem as prefix or suffix. These stems are predominantly of the consonant-vowel-consonant type; and although they normally seem to be, as just stated, entirely independent, some are at times combined with others to form double stems, the double stem taking the regular prefixes just as if it were simple. The second class, which includes only about a half dozen or so, consists of stems which are sometimes independent and sometimes dependent, being subordinated to other stems as prefixes. In the case of these latter stems, we have what might be called co-ordinated composition. The true prefixes, on the other hand, are always subordinate to some stem, and never stand alone or as stems. There are but a small number of these prefixes, and they indicate as a rule the agent or instrument of the action, referring chiefly to parts of § 5.
the human body, as hand, foot, head, etc. In other cases, the prefixes point out the shape of the object.

Suffixes express a much wider variety of ideas, and are very much more numerous than prefixes. They indicate direction of motion, modal and temporal ideas, negation, etc., and, like the true prefixes, are (with one possible exception) always strictly subordinate to the stem, and can under no circumstances stand alone.

One feature of composition in Maidu which is very clear is the slight degree of coalescence between the component parts of the compound; prefix, stem, and suffix each keeping its separate individuality. With few exceptions there are no phonetic changes resulting from composition; no contractions, elisions, or assimilations between affix and stem taking place. The most important exceptions are the case of an m coming before a k or w (in which case the m changes to ñ), and the retention of the euphonlic terminal i before the subjective suffix m in nouns whose stem ends in m. A few other exceptions are noted in § 4.

§ 6. Reduplication

Maidu makes use of duplication and reduplication to only a slight extent in expressing grammatic concepts.

Simple duplication is restricted largely to the noun, where it is used, in connection with a suffix, to indicate the distributive. Very few nouns, however, appear to form such distributives. With verbs, it gives an iterative meaning, and the duplication may include both stem and prefix; as,

\textit{witōvitōsōnoitsoia} he went about picking here and there

Reduplication is quite frequent in verbs, both reduplication of stem and of prefix or suffix. In all cases the vowel of the reduplicated stem, prefix or suffix, is the same as that of the original, and the reduplication conveys the idea of iteration, or, in the instance of some suffixes, apparently gives the idea of \textit{a little, slightly}.

The reduplication or duplication is, in the majority of cases, initial, but there seem to be a number of instances of inner or terminal reduplication or duplication; as, for example,

\textit{paka'nkanto} springs (distributive), from \textit{paka'ni} spring \textit{yaha'ham mai'dim} good men (\textit{yaha'm} good), the red5317\textit{ok'i'tdom} getting home one after another (\textit{ok'i'tdom} getting home)
In the first two instances neither the noun nor the adjective can be analyzed into components, as may be done in the case of several other apparent instances of terminal reduplication.

§ 7. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES AND FORMS

Nominal and verbal stems are, in all but a few cases, distinct. There are a few nominal stems which also serve as verbal stems, but the number of such instances is small. With few exceptions also, the suffixes in use are confined strictly either to nouns or verbs.

Local relationships and directive ideas are expressed by suffixes, which are different for nouns or verbs. The nominal suffixes express such ideas as in, out of, toward, from, in company with, etc. The verbal forms point out the direction of motion; as, up, down, along, through, etc. Instrumentality and agency are indicated in the noun by suffixes, but in the verb by prefixes. In the latter, the series includes terms designating actions performed by the various parts of the body, by objects of different shapes, or the method of action, as by force or pulling, etc.

The formal relations of the parts of the sentence are expressed by nominal suffixes, in so far as the subject, object, and possessive relations are concerned. Modal and temporal ideas are also expressed by suffixes; the latter in some cases, however, being so loosely connected to the verb that they may at times stand alone or precede the verb entirely.

There are in Maidu no generic classifications of nouns, unless we consider the half-dozen cases known, where a few nouns designating human beings take regular dual or plural suffixes. These are the only instances, however, of any such classification, for none is apparent in the case of the few distributives.

Ideas of plurality are but little developed in the noun. Here a dual and plural, formed regularly, as in the pronoun, is found only for the words woman, child, husband, and dog. Distributives as opposed to plurals also occur with but few words. Indefinite plurals, expressing such ideas as a pile of, many, etc., and duals, are, however, common, and are indicated in both cases by suffixes. In the pronoun, ideas of number are abundantly developed, there being a regular dual and plural. As will be seen from § 28, the dual and plural are quite regular in form, and are strictly used. Both the dual and plu-
al are indicated by suffixes. In the verb, plurality, or rather iteration, is expressed by duplication or reduplication. In the pronoun dual and plural forms are derived in each case from the corresponding singular.

Diminutives, imitatives, inchoatives, desideratives, etc., are all indicated by suffixes, but are in general little used.

The pronoun indicates each of the three persons by a separate formal element, all of which possess both dual and plural forms. An inclusive and exclusive form of the first person plural exists, but the distinction is not commonly made. The third personal pronoun is frequently used as a demonstrative; but there exist regular demonstrative forms as well that are never used in the personal sense.

The demonstrative possesses really but two forms, corresponding to our this and that, and denoting relative distance from the speaker. The demonstrative is thus comparatively undeveloped in so far as regards number of forms and accuracy of the expression of location, and, even in its simple contrast of nearness or remoteness, is not always strictly used.

The Maidu sentence is characterized by the definiteness with which the agent of action, the direction of motion, or the qualification of the action is expressed, and by the extent to which ideas of plurality are strictly carried out in all pronominal sentences. In its formal characters, the chief features of the sentence are its flexibility, openness, and clarity, the independence of the noun and pronoun, and the absence of the process of incorporation, well marked in many Indian languages. The expression of verbal ideas in nominal form is also a rather common feature.¹

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 8-37)

Composition (§§ 8-27)

§ 8. Nominal Composition

As has been stated in § 5, nominal composition is much less developed than verbal composition in Maidu. Its uses, apart from those expressing syntactic relations, are

(1) In the formation of compound nouns.
(2) In the formation of diminutives.

¹*nis'ki hes'timenmpem, literally, OUR WHAT-NOT-SHALL-DO (our nothing shall do), instead of I SHALL DO NOTHING, CAN DO NOTHING.
(3) In the formation of collectives.
(4) In the formation of privatives.
(5) In the formation of terms, such as are expressed in English by words like ONLY, MERELY, etc.

1. Connectives. In the formation of compound nouns a connective may or may not be used. Where the stem of the primary component ends in a consonant, the connective is very generally omitted; as in—

hōs-bini spider-web (hōsi buzzard; bini net)
ba't-sāwi head-plume (bat [?]sā'wi grass)

In other cases, the euphonic i is retained, as in—

toli'-waka calf of leg (toli' leg; wakā' meat)

When a connective is used, this is invariably ʰm (or ʰn, see § 4), and it may be used either with a noun whose stem ends in a vowel, or with one ending in a consonant, but retaining the euphonic i; as,

sū'-m-bukū dog-tail (sū dog; bu'ku tail)
hi'ni'-m-butū eye-lash (hi'ni eye; butū fur)

Inasmuch as ʰm is the regular nominal suffix of the subjective case, it may be regarded here as expressing a weak syntactic relation between the two components of the compound word.

2. Diminutives. These are, on the whole, little used in Maidu. In the dialect here discussed, the formation of the diminutive is by means of the suffix -bê; as,

ōbê little stone (ō stone) sū'bê little dog (sū dog)

The suffix is added directly to the stem, and is applied indiscriminately apparently to animate or inanimate objects.

3. Collectives. These express such ideas as A PILE OF, A CROWD OF, A LOT OF, and are quite commonly used. The most frequently used is the suffix -nono added directly to the stem; as,

kūlo'k-nono a lot of women, all the women mai'dū-nono the men as a body

Beside this suffix, there are two others that are frequently used as such, although they may be used alone, and stand before the noun. These other forms are -bomō and -loko; as,

mai'dūmbomō all the men, the crowd of men
tsā'mloko a bunch of trees, cluster of trees.

In the case of both these latter forms the connective ʰm is always used.

§ 8
4. Privatives. These are used only in connection with the suffix -pe\(_m\), the various uses of which will be found discussed in § 22. There are three suffixes indicating privation, and each is added directly to the stem, and is followed by the suffix -pe\(_m\); as,

- \textit{bu'k-mul-pe}\(_m\) tailless (\textit{bu'kū} tail)
- \textit{hi'n-kol-pe}\(_m\) eyeless (\textit{hi'nī} eye)
- \textit{pai'-wii-pe}\(_m\) foot-less (\textit{pai}, \textit{paiyi'} foot)

The last of these suffixes, -wii, is simply the stem of the negative \textit{win}.

5. The suffix -dōkō is used to express the idea of only a, merely, etc. It is generally added directly to the stem, but occasionally requires the connective \textit{m}; as,

- \textit{onō'-dōkō} merely a head
- \textit{tsakū'-m-dōkō} only pitch

\textbf{Verbal Composition (§§ 9-27)}

§ 9. CHARACTERISTICS OF VERBAL COMPOSITION

In verbal composition we have to deal with three component factors—prefixes, stems, and suffixes. As a class, the prefixes are not numerous; whereas the suffixes, at least in comparison, are abundant, there being between fifty and sixty of them in use. Nearly all the prefixes are composed of consonant and vowel, or a single vowel. The suffixes, however, are not so regular.

\textbf{PREFIXES (§§ 10-14)}

§ 10. Groups of Prefixes

Verbal prefixes may in the first place be divided into two types, according as they are or are not arranged in series, as stated in § 4. As pointed out in § 5, prefixes are also of two different types, according as they are wholly subordinated to the stem, or co-ordinate with it, and able sometimes to appear as stems themselves. About half the prefixes are of this latter class, although it is possible that many not as yet noted as of this type may eventually be found to belong to it. In the majority of cases the prefix indicates the agent by which the action is performed. In a limited number of instances, however, the prefix appears to point out the object of the action; as, for example, the prefix \textit{tē}, which normally indicates actions done \textit{with} the foot, may in some cases refer to actions done to the foot. Classified

§§ 9, 10
according to their meaning, the prefixes fall into two groups; the smaller and more definite referring to different parts of the body as the agents (or objects) of action, the other and more numerous pointing out the general shape or character of the thing or agent by which the action is performed.

§ 11. Prefixes Referring to Parts of the Body

1. ha(n) actions performed with the shoulder or the back (also used as stem).
   ha’n-dak-dau-dom prying off board with shoulder
   ha-la’p-no-dom dragging along (by rope over shoulder)
   ha-yō’-sip carry it out on back!
   ha’-kin to lay down a load (carried on back)

2. hi- actions performed with the nose or snout.
   hi’-tul-sip-dom breaking a pane of glass in window by pressing with nose

3. in- actions performed by sitting on.
   i’n-bat-o-dom breaking stick by sitting on
   i’n-no-ti-moto bend together by sitting on

4. is-, ic- action performed with the foot.
   is-dot-sono-tsoia he kicked it over
   ic-wa-wa-koi-tsoia he scraped away with feet
   ic-dot-ö-kö foot-ball

5. ka- actions performed with the flat hand, or sometimes with the flat side of something (also used as stem).
   ka’-bak-dau-dom prying off shingle with hand
   ka’-dak-kin to shut a pocket-knife
   ka’-dek-to to shove hand through something
   ka’-not-kit-dom bending down with the hand
   ka’-moto to place the hands together

6. kî- actions performed with the fingers.
   kî’-bak-dau-dom picking off scab with finger
   kî-tus-to to break twig in fingers
   kî-üsü-pi rub (with fingers)

7. õ- actions performed with the head (also used as stem).
   õ-ba’t-to-dom breaking a stick with the head
   õ-pō’-pōk-dom shaking water out of the hair
   õ’-pul-don to root up (as a hog), to dig up with horns
   õ’-moto to put heads together
   õ’-mit-on to look into a house; i. e., stick head down in through smoke hole

§ 11
8. **sō-** actions done with the arms (also used as stem).

   sōhu'ń-bōk-tsoia he jumped at to seize in his arms 
   sō'-wo-dom lifting in arms

9. **te-** actions performed with or upon the foot (also used as stem).

   te'-as-pin to pull toward one with the foot 
   te'-hul-dom stamping upon 
   te'-lap-sito to shove something sharp through the foot 
   te'-pes-ton to step on and mash something soft and wet 
   te'-sin to step out of; i.e., put the foot out from

In the case of two of these prefixes, there is apparently a very clear relation to nominal stems — o- with o'no head, and hi- with hi'ku nose. The others show no such connection.

§ 12. Prefixes Indicating the Shape or Portion of the Agent by which the Action is Performed, or the Character of the Action Itself

10. **ba-, be-, bo-, bō-, bu-** actions performed in connection with a rounded or massive thing. This series of prefixes is one of the most puzzling, as they seem on the whole to express but a single idea, yet many of the forms are quite erratic. In this series the influence of vocalic harmony makes itself strongly felt, and there are many instances of sympathetic variation of the vowel in both stem and prefix without change of meaning, as well as cases where the change in vowel of the stem forms a new stem with different meaning. The following examples will make the use of this series of prefixes clear. Only **ba-** and **bo-** may stand alone as independent stems.

   (a) Examples illustrating the regular use of these prefixes:

   ba-da'k-dau-dom knocking a board off wall with a rock or hammer 
   ba'-pes-ton to crush something soft and wet with fist 
   ba'-pol-dom to dig up something rounded, as potato, stone 
   ba'-yau-kin to throw a stone through the floor 
   ba'-sin to scrape dirt out of a hole 
   be'-dek-kin to throw a stone downward and pierce something 
   be-ke't-sito to throw past; i.e., throw, and not hit 
   bō'-dak-dau-dom knocking something out of a tree with a stone 
   bo'-kot-dau to cut a snake in two with a heavy rock 
   bo'-lok-don to make a snowball 
   bo'-kin to put down something round or bulky 
   bō'-tōi-don to bounce up, as a ball, rock 
   bō-le'k-wo-doi-dom reaching the top of a mountain
bō'-tul-to-dom breaking a window with a stone
bū'-dut-min to force a stone into the ground by stepping on it

(b) Examples illustrating change of vowel in prefix only:
ba'-pol-don to dig up something rounded, as potato
bo-po'³l-don to wash or dig a gopher out of a hole
ba'-top-to to break small stick with fist
bo'-top-kin to break stick with stone, throwing it downward

(c) Examples illustrating change of vowel in both prefix and stem:
ba'-kap-kin to force a peg into the ground by pressing
bo'-kop-kin to stick needle in floor
bō'-kōp-kin to force a stake into the ground
ba'-yal-dau to split or break to pieces with wedge and hammer
bo-yō'³l-kin to smash a cup with a stone
bō-yō'³l-kin to split or break up fine by a blow

In the first examples in this last group, there seems to be a departure from the otherwise general meaning of something rounded or bulky. As these variations from the general meaning occur, however, only with three stems (k-p, l-p, and h-p) which always seem to carry with them the idea of something long and slender, the prefix in these cases would seem to refer to the massiveness of the whole upper part of the body by which the pressure was exerted, or something of that sort. There are, however, a number of forms like the following, where the meaning of the prefix is obscure:

ba'-ta-don to drive up cattle
ba-tsau'³p-sito to pierce sheet of paper with a pencil
bō-tōi'-sito to pierce sheet of paper with a pencil

11: ho-, hu- actions performed with the edge of a long thing, generally by a steady, continuous motion (hu- also as stem).

hō-yō'³t-dau-dom taking off a fine shaving with knife
hū'-bak-dau to cut off a piece of bark, sole off shoe.
hū-de'k-to-dom piercing with sharp knife
hū-no't-kin to bend down by means of a stick used as lever
hū-tu'³l-to to break pane of glass by pressing with a stick

As stem, hu- seems to have a very general meaning.

hū'-mit-dom taking something into the house
hū'-sito to take a horse across river
hū'-tso-pin to take something off a high shelf

12. si-³, sīl- actions performed with the end of a long thing.
si'-dak-dau to scrape out a basket
sīl'-dak-dau to poke away with a stick
sī-kē'-yo-dom drying meat (cutting it in slices?)
sii-tā'no-dom shining along with a stick
si-kes-tsoi-a she cooked.
si'-sup-dom falling, slipping from the hand
si-to'k-dom drying meat
si-wa'-wai-to-weten having dug it apart
si-dak-dau scrape something dry out of a basket
si-ka'la-ma-kōkan they would bother me

13. wa-, we- actions performed with the edge or side of a thing, often
by a sudden motion or blow.
wa-a'p-dau to scrape off with edge of a knife
wa-ba't-on to break a stick by a blow with the butt of an axe or
with a club
wa'-das-ton to split with an axe
wa'-hap-kin to insert a stick into a bunch of sticks
wa'-kat-sito to bat across, knock across, with side of pole
we'-kut-to-dom biting in two with teeth
we'-pit-in to pinch with thumb and fingers
we'-tsap-dau-dom tearing off with teeth

14. wo-, vô-, wu- actions performed with the end of a long thing,
generally by a blow. The preceding prefixes wa- and we- are
so close to these that it seems probable they all belong together
in one series, as in the case of ba-, be-, bo-, bö-, bu-. Wo-
is used also as a stem.
wo'-bak-dau to pry off shingle with stick
wo'-das-dau to split or pry piece off a log
wo'-do't-sito to bat across
wo'-kot-dau to chop off end of log
wo'-to'k-dom clapping together (the hands)
wo'-kin to lay down a stick or long thing (cf. bö'-kin)
wo'-pö-pök-dom shaking one's self (cf. o'-pö-pök-dom)
wo'-töi-dom bouncing up, as a stick (cf. bö'-töi-dom)
wo'-su-wala-ka-no to knock over backwards with a club.

15. ya-, ye-, yo-, yö-, yu- actions performed with the end of a long
thing, endways, or in a direction parallel to the length of the
thing (yo- also as stem).
yā'-ās-dau to strike a thing with end of spear and slide it along;
to hit with fist, and move
yā'-bak-dau to knock bark off tree by stroke with arrow or
bullet
yā'-dat-kin to put knife in sheath
yā'-moto to pile up boards on end
ye-ā's-sito to drag one's self across on a pole
yē'-dek-ton to shoot through anything, and pierce

§ 12
yë'-hap-kit-in to lower a window
yë'-sito to take a boat across a river (?)
yo-do't-sito to knock across with end of stick, as ball with a billiard cue
yö-ho'p-doi-dom shoving a pole up through a crack
yö-kot-tön to cut in two with edge of shovel
yö'-nöö-n to flow, as water in a ditch
yö-töö'-to to drive the fist through a curtain
yü'-lüp-sito to stick a knife or nail into one
yü'-ta-no-dom shoving along with shoulder (considered apparently as end of body)

This class of prefixes, as a whole, is one of the most obscure features of the language, and can not yet be considered as satisfactorily explained.

§ 13. Prefixes Indicating the General Character of the Action

16. he- actions occurring spontaneously or by accident. Although this prefix would seem to be part of a series (ha-, he-, ho-, hu-), its meaning is apparently not at all related to the others. It is often very obscure. It occurs also as a stem.
he'-as-dau-dom snow sliding off roof
he'-dak-dau a shingle or leaf pulled off by some agency unknown
he'-kot-sito to break up of itself, to crack, as a glass
he'-poi-dom bending by falling of itself
he'-tsap-dau-dom knocking off hornet's nest with stick (?)
he'-min to brush flour into a hole
he'-dan to comb the hair, brush clothes

17. wi- actions performed by force, very frequently by pulling. This is the most common prefix of all, and seems to have a very general meaning. It occurs with every stem, seems to suffer no phonetic changes, and may also be used as a stem itself. Its uses are so varied that only a few can be given. As in the case of the last prefix, he-, although wi- would form part of the series wa-, we-, wi-, wo-, wö-, wu-, it seems to be really independent, and to have no relations to any of the others in the series.
wi'-äs-pin to pull toward one
wi'-bak-dau-dom wrenching off a board or shingle
wi'-bat-kîn to pull down and break, as a branch of tree
wi'-dek-kîn to tear in strips downward
wi'-hap-sito-dom pulling a rope through a hole
wi'-hus-doi-dom pulling on socks

§ 13
wi'-kot-doi-dom breaking off a piece of something soft, like bread, by upward motion
wi'-not-kin to pull and bend down
wi'-pol-dau to pull brick out of wall
wi-tā'-tā-moto-pi to hug in arms
wi-tō'k-dau to pull off a button
wi'-yal-kin to pull off a sliver downwards
wi'-moto to gather together, as a crowd

§ 14. Composition of Prefixes

In a few instances, prefixes of the classes described in §§ 11 and 12 may be used together, although this is rare. An example of such use is the form

wō-wō'-han-o-dom carrying on the shoulder a man extended at length (i.e., head-first)

§ 15. STEMS

In §§ 3 and 4 the phonetic features of stems were pointed out, and their tendency to occur in incomplete series with variable vowel was illustrated. As in the case of the prefixes, the pairs or series appear to have, for the most part, similar meanings, although a considerable proportion differ radically in their significance, as do the prefixes. The less noticeable feature of a variable consonant in the stem was also pointed out. Further discussion of verbal stems will be found in the analysis of the vocabulary (§ 41).

SUFFIXES (§§ 16-26)

Verbal suffixes are, as already stated, numerically far more important than prefixes. Their range of meaning is also much greater, and, unlike the prefixes, they may be compounded one with another to a considerable extent. They do not, moreover, show any tendency toward occurrence in pairs or series, as is characteristically the case with many of the prefixes.

§ 16. Groups of Suffixes

The various suffixes may be divided, according to their meaning, into the following groups:

(1) Suffixes expressing direction of motion.
(2) Modal suffixes.
(3) Temporal suffixes.
(4) Suffixes indicating relative success or completion of action.

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(5) Suffixes indicating number, iteration, reciprocity.
(6) Nominalizing suffixes.
(7) Participial suffixes.
(8) Suffixes giving general ideas of motion.
(9) Suffixes indicating negation, i...ility.

§ 17. Suffixes Expressing Direction of Motion

Of the different classes of suffixes, that which includes those indicating direction of motion is decidedly the most numerous. The following examples will illustrate the use of these directive suffixes:

1. -da downward, to the end.
   wo-dá'-kas I fell (from a tree)
   më'-da-to-tsoia he took down, it is said

2. -dau separation, off from.
   bá'-kas-dau to knock a shingle off with a hammer
   ye'-dis-dau-tsoia she slid off, it is said

3. -dik(no) against, up to, alongside of.
   lök-diknö-má'-kas I shall crawl up to
   së-ta-dì'kno-dom pushing or rolling it up against something

4. -doi upward.
   ka-pwìlim-doi-no-dom rolling a log up hill
   o-no'-doi-tsoia he went along up, it is said

5. -kit(t) down, on ground.
   hu-ko't-kit-dom cutting to pieces (by bearing down on knife)
   së'-wë-kit-tsoia he carried a long thing and laid it down, it is said

6. -koi away, away from.
   i'c-dot-koi-dom kicking away something
   ò-ko'v'-tsoia he went away, it is said

7. -mit(t) down into a hole, into a house, into a box.
   ha's-mit-asi I slid into a hole
   ò-mi't-dom going into the house

8. -moto together, toward each other.
   ka-ta'-moto-dom squeezing between hands
   ò'-moto-dom coming together, approaching each other
   ka-tsik-i-moto-bos-weten having completely surrounded on all sides

9. -pai against, at.
   hit-pai-dom throwing water at some one
   hom-pai-to-dom boxing, fighting

§ 17
10. -\textit{pin} toward the speaker.
\begin{quote}
ö-pi\textquotesingle n-tsoia he came toward
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
hu\textquotesingle n-moi-pi-pin-kit-toi-tsoia they came by degrees back down
toward from hunting, it is said
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
hé\textquotesingle ap-pin-pin-tsoia she slid toward, little by little, it is said
\end{quote}

11. -\textit{si(p)} out of, out from.
\begin{quote}
ö-si\textquotesingle p-tsoia they got out (of the boat)
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
has-si\textquotesingle p-asi I slid out (of the house)
\end{quote}

12. -\textit{sitto} across, through.
\begin{quote}
la\textquotesingle p-sito-dom crawling through (a hole in the fence)
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
ö-si\textquotesingle to-yè-wè\textquotesingle -büs-ma-pem one who shall continually travel back
and forth across
\end{quote}

13. -\textit{ta} on top of, off the ground.
\begin{quote}
tus-bô-tà-dom standing by the smoke hole on the roof
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
wô\textquotesingle ta-nû it lies on top of, said only of a long or flat thing
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
tûp-ta-tsoia he jumped upon
\end{quote}

14. -\textit{tso} round and round, over and over, over.
\begin{quote}
lâ\textquotesingle p-tso-no-ye-dom crawling around something
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
lô\textquotesingle k-tso-pin-wè-bissim they kept crawling over toward speaker
\end{quote}

15. -\textit{wai} apart, asunder, stretching out.
\begin{quote}
hé\textquotesingle -sas-wai-to-ti-dom causing to fall apart
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
ka-tâ\textquotesingle -wai-to-dom flattening out by patting between hands
\end{quote}

\section*{§18. Modal Suffixes}

These suffixes may be divided to good advantage into two subclasses,—those which are modal in the general sense of the term, and those which are temporal.

16. -\textit{n} infinitive.
\begin{quote}
bil\textquotesingle sin to be
dôn to seize or hold in mouth
ö\textquotesingle sip-in to go out
\end{quote}

17. -\textit{us} reflexive.
\begin{quote}
pê-bo\textquotesingle s-us-tsoia he ate himself entirely up
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
yapai\textquotesingle to-us-dom talking to himself
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
wâ\textquotesingle s-wèye-us-tsoia he swore at himself
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
nî\textquotesingle -us I myself
\end{quote}

18. -\textit{tî} causative.
\begin{quote}
wîle\textquotesingle u-kit-tì-koi-tsoia he caused to run away down
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
bu-dut-no-ti-paai-kan he made water to rise
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
wô\textquotesingle no-ti-dom killing (causing to die)
\end{quote}

19. -\textit{p, pa, pada} imperative.
\begin{quote}
ö-nô\textquotesingle -p go!
\end{quote}

\section*{§ 18}
mē-p give (me)!
ō-nō'-pa go!
hata'm-pada do ye search for!

20. -ta future imperative.
wō'no-ta it shall die, let it die!
tse-la' let them see!
ma-ta'-si let me be!

yahā'-bo let it be good!
wō'no-kōn-kādō ma-bō' a mortal-world let it be!

22. -pō, -pē, -pee exhortative.
ō'-no-pō let us go!
bū's-ta-pē let us stay!
helai'-to-pē let us gamble!

23. -de interrogative.
oka'-de möyē'm is he hungry?
wō'no-ti-ma-ka-de-s shall I kill?
suda'ka-de is it sweet?

24. -benē(e) obligation, must.
ō-ko'i'-bēnē mintsē'm ye must go away
so'-doi-ben must bring, carry on shoulder
ō-noi'-ben-ma-p do not go away!

25. -lut obligation, compulsion, intensive.
ō-nō'-lut-ma-ka-s I must go along
ya'k-tse-ti-lut-weten looking exactly like

It is used also with adjectives, as tetē'-lutī very large, and with nouns sometimes, as e's-to-luti the very center.

26. -yaha ought, should.
ō-ko'i'-yaha-ka-ankano you ought to go away (yaha good, although an independent adjective, seems in such cases as this to be fully incorporated as a suffix into the verbal structure)

27. -nats can.
wō'no-men-atse-s I can not die
wi-wō'-doi-natse-no can you lift it (a long thing)?
wlē'-no-natse-n mo'-yē can he run?

28. -bō might.
ō'n-no-ti-bō-si I might swallow
ya-tai'-bō-nō you might miss (with arrow)

29. -helu may, perhaps (?)..
yo-do't-pa-nu-to-helū'-kō-kan he may have tied them up to ok-hē'lu-kō-enkesi we all may be hungry

§.18
This seems also to be used independently, when it means some, a few. It would appear probable from this, that its use in the verb would indicate the plurality of the object, as in the case of woli many, which is used similarly for this purpose. The examples available, however, only indicate its meaning as above.

§19. Temporal Suffixes

30. -ka incom completed action (present).
   ō-koi'-ka-si I am going away
   o'kasi (ok-ka-si) I am hungry
   wē'ye-don-kō-ka-n he is talking

This suffix is still somewhat uncertain. It is used in the great majority of instances, but is occasionally omitted in direct statements of immediate action; as ō-koi-s I go, tse-s I see. It is probably intimately related to the auxiliary verb ka to be, seen in such forms as ka-s I AM; ka-an-ka-no you are; ka-ti'-ka-s I CAUSE IT TO BE, I DO, etc.

31. -ma incom completed action (future).
   ōkoi'-ma-ka-s I shall go away
   ō-yē'-ma-dom will be going
   ko-bē'-bek-ti-men-ma-pem one who shall not cause to cry aloud

As indicated in the first example, this suffix is often combined with -ka. Like the latter, it also is extensively used as an independent auxiliary verb; as ma-ma-ka-s I SHALL BE; kul-dom ma-mā'-pem one who shall be mourning; hesā'dom ma-ka-de-s what SHALL I BE, DO?

32. -as, -has completed action (past).
   ok-ā's-asī I was hungry
   yok-ā's-has min I struck you
   adom as ō-koi-ka-s so I went away
   nik as kai'-kō-kan me she was calling

This may be used, as shown in the last two examples, separately before the verb, which is then in the usual present form. It is not, however, as in -ka and -ma, used as an auxiliary verb.

33. -paaī completed action (remote past).
   ok-paaī'-kan he was hungry long ago
   ā-paaī'-kan he said long ago

34. -tsoi completed action (mythic past, known indirectly).
   ōkoi'-tsoi-a he went away, it is said
   wi-dō'k-dau-tsoi-a he tore off, it is said

§19
35. -wea, -ea incompleted action. Used only in direct quotation, as a sort of historical present; also with the idea of the action being customary.
la'p-ti-kinu-wea-s I sit beside
tse-wē'ano you see
tō's-bo-kiit-eam he stands

36. -weu, -yeu, -eu completed action. Used only in direct quotation.
tse-ḥē'-ye-weu-kan he looked around
kai-yē'u-ka-si I called
tse-me'n-eu-ka-s I did not see

37. -yak completed action. Generally, but not always used in direct quotations.
dōnī'-no-men-yak-es I did not hold
ok-ya'k-eno ai'sōi you were hungry, I think
homō' ő-koi'-yak-en whither they had gone

38. - büiš, -bis continuative.
sō'le-büs-im kept on singing
hi'sse-büs-tset while continuing to weave
tso'-wē-büs-pe-dī into the still burning one

This suffix is identical with the stem of the verb büsin to live, stay, remain.

§ 20. Suffixes Indicating Relative Success or Completion of Action

39. -bos to do a thing thoroughly, completely, and hence, derivatively, an action done by or to all of a number of persons or things without exception.
tso'-bos-poto-tset while almost wholly burned
tui'-bos-no-tsoia she slept soundly, it is said
vi'ye'-bos-weten after having told everything
wilē'-koi'-bos-tsoia they every one ran away

40. -kanim to finish doing, to bring the action to an end. It is related clearly to kani, meaning all.
so-ha'n-on-kanim he carried him there, i. e., finished the act of carrying
ő-dikno-n-kanim he arrived

41. -hēkit inchoative, to just begin.
pī'yē-to-hēkit-dom just beginning to bathe

42. -hudoi almost, nearly.
wō-kō't-dau-hudoi-as I almost cut off
tē'-dis-doi-hūdoi-ye-bis-im (her feet) were all the time almost slipping up

§ 20
3. -hehē only, just.
    kūlū-nan-na-mōni-hehē’ only when nearly dark
    bō-yōk-sip-dom-hehē’ only selecting

4. -poto almost, nearly.
    batā’-potō’-tset nearly catching up with her

§ 21. Suffixes Indicating Number, Iteration, Reciprocity

15. -to. This suffix, of general and very frequent use, is somewhat puzzling. It is used in some cases to indicate iteration; in others, reciprocal action; at times it seems to point to a plural object. It occurs frequently in combination with other suffixes, particularly the directive suffixes. It is also used as a nominal suffix in connection with the reduplicated distributives. Examples of its use in these various ways will show its variability.

mo’-tōn to drink repeatedly (mon to drink)
yo’k-ō-tōn to strike repeatedly with fist (yo’k-ōn to strike)
yapai’-to-to-dom talking to each other
si’mak-to-dom talking to each other
hē’-sas-wai-to-ti-dom causing to fall apart
tsā’-tsa-to trees
si-kala-to-to-men-wet not bothering each other

§ 22. Nominalizing Suffixes

46. -pe forms nomina actoris, and also indicates place of action.
    ho’m-pai-to-pe a fighter (ho’mpaito to fight with the fists)
    mōnq kūl’s hē’-doī-pem a runner after that woman, one who runs after that woman
    tus-wō’-ye-pe-nan from the standing-place, from where he stood
    o’k-pem mai’diũ hungry man

This use of verbal nouns to take the place of true adjectives is very common in Maidu. Adjectival stems, most intransitive verbal stems, and many transitive verbal stems, form verbal nouns of this sort, which are used in place of regular adjectives. In many instances both forms are in use,—the more strictly adjectival and the verbal noun.

la-la’m-pem tsa, la’-lam-im tsa long stick
opī’t-pem wolo’m, opī’t-im wolo’m full basket

47. -kō indicates the quality of being or having, and seems to be identical with kō-, the stem of the verb to possess.

pē’-kō food (pē to eat)
ti-yu'k-sip-men-köm mai'düm a man who does not come out; i. e.,
one who has the quality of not coming out
ok-helü'-kö-kasi I may be hungry; i. e., I am one who has the
quality of perhaps being hungry
piye'-to-kö bathing place; i. e., having the quality of being appro-
priate for bathing
This suffix is also much used with nouns, being followed then
by pronominal suffixes or participial forms, and indicating
possession or ownership.
ha'n-wo-kit-kö-di at the place to which he carries people
höbo'-kö-dom a householder; i. e., one who has the quality of
having a house
teti' si'm-kö-dom big-mouth-having; i. e., being one having the
quality of having a large mouth
yepö'ni-kö-pem having a chief
48. -ma forms verbal nouns.
han-o'-koi-s-ma what I carry off
niki bi's-ma-s-ma my future abiding-place
wö'no-ti-s-ma what I kill
What relation this suffix bears to the regular future suffix -ma
is uncertain. The latter is never found following the pronom-
inal suffixes, and yet the nominalizing -ma always seems to
carry with it an idea of futurity. It is very rarely used.

§ 23. Participial Suffixes

These are largely used in Maidu, and participial construction is
a very common feature. Such expressions as AND TRAVELING,
HE ARRIVED, OR RUNNING, HE WENT AWAY, are constantly recurring.

49. -(o)m) present participle.
o-koi'-dom going away
mü'-hun-e-pin-i-moto-dom gathering together from hunting
tse-do'm seeing
50. -tset(e) when, while.
hesü'pai-ti-tset while, when, dressing (causing to be dressed)
okit-(t)set when he arrived
hi'sse-büs-tset while she stayed there
51. -möni when, at the time when.
o-koi'-s-möni when I went away
lo'l-möni when crying
52. -wet(e) after having, having (past participle, immediate past).
o'nikoi-tin-wet having caused to conquer
tsedef'-da-weten having breakfasted

§ 23
wō'nō-ti-men-wet not having killed; i. e., not having caused
to die (wō'nō to die; -ti to cause; -men not)
ā'weten it having been so or thus

The use of this suffix with pronominal and nominal forms will
be described in § 31.

53. -wono past participle, more distant past than -wet.

wille'-koi-wonom having run away
pō'p-koi-wono-pem the one that had burst out
tu's-kit-wono-di at the place where he had stood
he-yu'-kit-wono-kō-tsoia (they were such) as had the quality of
having fallen down of themselves, it is said

54. -yatan past participle, similar in most respects to -wono.

wowō'-kinu-yatan having lain down on the ground
bū's-yatan having stayed, having lived, after having remained
sol-yatan after having sung

§ 24. Suffixes Giving General Idea of Motion

55. -no general idea of motion.

piye'-to-no-tsoia he went to bathe, it is said (piye'totsoia he
bathed)
ō'-no-tsoia he went along, he traveled, it is said
hoi'-pai-no-ma-kas I shall go last, behind (hoi'pai behind)

56. -ye general idea of motion.

ō'-yēn to come, come toward
lō'k-doi-ye-bis-im kept crawling up
hu'n-mo-koi-ye-tsoia they went away to hunt, it is said

Both of these may be used together, giving the meaning of here
and there, about.

be-he's-no-ye-dom scratching here and there
la'p-no-ye-dom crawling about

§ 25. Suffixes Indicating Negation, Inability

57. -men general negative, not.

ō-koi'-men-wet not having gone
ba-pol-doi-men-tsono-dom not being able to dig up
tse-mé'n-tsoia he did not see, it is said

58. -tsōi inability, can not.

wō'nō-ti-tsōi-tsoia he could not kill him, it is said; i. e., could not
cause him to die
ōpi'n-tsōi-dom not being able to come home
sol-tsō'i-dom not being able to sing

§§ 24, 25
§ 26. Composition of Suffixes

Examples of the extent to which these various suffixes can be combined are shown in the following:

wile’-no-ye-tsöi-biss-ma-pem one who shall be unable to be always running about
han-wo-tso-no-wë-bis-dom continuing to carry over
wo-hop-mit-hudioi-to-we-bisim kept almost inserting long thing into
lap-no-ye-wë-bis-kö-tsoia continued to sit about

§ 27. COMPOSITION OF STEMS

Stems may be combined into compound verbs with considerable freedom. Such compounds may consist of single stems, or of stems with affixes. This method of treatment of prefixes in compounds increases the impression of independence of these elements, which is conveyed by the occurrence of many of them as independent stems.

sö-hu’n-bök-tsoia he jumped at it to seize it in his arms (sö- action done with arms [§ 11 no. 8]; hun- to capture [7]; bök to seize; -tsoia it is said [§ 18 no. 34])
dö’n-wi-kap-pin-tsoia she dragged toward in her mouth (dö’n to seize or hold in mouth; wi- action done by force [§ 13 no. 17]; kap to move with friction; -pin [§ 17 no. 10]; -tsoia it is said [§ 18 no. 34])

§ 28. Number

Ideas of number are unequally developed in Maidu. In nouns, the exact expression of number seems to have been felt as a minor need; whereas, in the case of pronominal forms, number is clearly and accurately expressed. In the degree to which the expression of number in nouns is carried, the dialects differ. In the northeastern dialect here presented it is less marked than in the northwestern. Not only are true plurals rare in nouns, but distributives also seem to have been but little used. Where these forms occur, they are formed by reduplication or duplication, with the addition of a suffix (see § 21); as,

sëu’sëuto each, every river (së’wi river)
höbo’boto every house, or camp (höbo’ house)
y’a’mamnanto every mountain
tsa’tsato every tree (tsa tree)

Distributives appear not to be used in ordinary conversation to any extent, and are rare in the texts. The above are practically all the forms that have been noted.

§§ 26–28
The existence of a real plural seems to be closely associated with a dual, and all of the few nouns taking plural suffixes take dual forms as well. The use of either is, however, rare. The dual is more common than the plural. The dual is formed by the suffix -tso; as, 

\textit{ama'm ye'pitsom} those two men
\textit{mop'i'tso} my two daughters
\textit{mnopî'letsoki} those two women's . . .

This dual suffix is the same as that used with the third person of the personal pronoun (see § 31). The use of the dual suffix seems to be restricted to a very few terms of relationship and words for human beings only.

Plural forms are equally if not more restricted. In the few examples noted in which the plural is used, the noun takes indifferently -söm or -sem, the suffixes used for the plural of the second person and of the first and third persons of the pronoun, respectively (see § 31). The suffixes are added in all cases directly to the stem.

\textit{ye'peöm} men, husbands (\textit{ye'pi} man, husband)
\textit{mai'diisem} men (\textit{mai'dü} man)
\textit{kü'lesem} women (\textit{kü'le} woman)

As regards nouns, thus, the ideas of number are but little developed; the development, however, is greater in the northwestern than in the northeastern dialect, and it is altogether lacking apparently in the southern dialect. In the first two cases, the degree of development of the expression of number in the noun is parallel to the regularity of the development of its expression in the pronoun.

In pronouns, the feeling for the necessity of exactness seems to have been more strongly felt. On the whole, the forms may be said to be developed regularly, and, as opposed to the fragmentary nature of these ideas in the case of the noun, we have a full series of dual and plural forms in the independent personal pronoun. In the suffixed form of the pronoun, however, this completeness is lost, and distinctions of number are made only in the first person. As will be seen by referring to the paradigm of the subjective independent personal pronoun (§ 31), there is some little confusion in the series, the dual suffix of the second person being identical with that of the plural suffix of the first and third persons. The dual suffixes, again, are varied for the different persons (-sam, -sem, -tso), although the plural suffixes are more uniform, the first and third persons being alike, with the second quite similar. In com-
parison with this northeastern dialect, the forms in the other dialects are interesting:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Northwestern</th>
<th>Southern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person singular</td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person singular</td>
<td><em>mi</em></td>
<td><em>mi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person singular</td>
<td><em>mōm</em></td>
<td><em>mōm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person dual</td>
<td><em>nisām</em></td>
<td><em>nās</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person dual</td>
<td><em>mimām</em></td>
<td><em>mām</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person dual</td>
<td><em>mōsām</em></td>
<td><em>mōsām</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person plural</td>
<td><em>nisēm</em></td>
<td><em>nēs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person plural</td>
<td><em>mimēm</em></td>
<td><em>mēm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person plural</td>
<td><em>mōpām</em></td>
<td><em>mōsēm</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that in the northwestern dialect greater regularity prevails, the dual forms for the first and third persons being alike, and that of the second keeping the same vowel. In the plural, however, while the characteristic vowel-change in the first and second persons is preserved, the third takes a wholly new plural suffix. In the southern dialect this irregularity disappears, in spite of the considerable coalescence and contraction which the pronoun in its subjective form has suffered. It seems not improbable that this greater regularity of the dual and plural pronominal forms in the northwestern dialect may be connected with the still greater regularity which prevails in this particular among the Wintun stock, on which the northwestern Maidu border. In Wintun, the pronominal forms are perfectly regular throughout dual and plural. On the other hand, the northeastern dialect, with its smaller degree of regularity, is in contact with the Achomā’wi and Atsugē’wi, dialects of the Shasta, which, on the whole, have a still less regular development of dual and plural, and form a transition to the Shasta proper, which has no dual at all. Variations of this sort are found also in other Californian languages.

As stated above, the suffixed forms of the pronoun are much less clear in their expression of number, dual and plural forms existing for the first person only, as may be seen from the following:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person singular</td>
<td><em>-s</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person dual</td>
<td><em>-as</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person plural</td>
<td><em>-es</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person singular, dual, and plural</td>
<td><em>-no</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person singular, dual, and plural</td>
<td><em>-n</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 28
The method of differentiation is apparently that which lies at the basis of the expression of number in the pronoun; i.e., the vowel-change of a to e to distinguish the plural from the dual. Co-ordinate with the greater regularity of the northwestern dialect in the independent pronoun is its greater regularity in the suffixed form, although this form is much less used than in the northeastern. In the southern dialect suffixed forms of the pronoun are not found. The lack of definite expression of number in the suffixed forms of the pronoun in the dialect here presented necessitates the use of the independent forms of the pronoun, in connection with the verbal form, to distinguish dual from plural; as,

\[ m'i'ntsem\, okmā'nkano\, ye\, two\, will\, be\, hungry \]
\[ minsō'm\, okmā'nkano\, ye\, all\, will\, be\, hungry \]

§ 29. Case

The Maidu differs from many American languages in that it lacks any development of incorporation as a means of expressing syntactic relations. In common with most of the languages of central California, subjective and objective as well as possessive relations are expressed by regular case-endings, suffixed to the noun or independent form of the pronoun, both of which stand separate and independent, outside the verb. That the marking of both subject and object by means of a separate case-suffix is, for purposes of clearness, not a necessity, seems to have been recognized by all these languages. The Maidu is among those which distinguish by a special suffix the subjective, leaving the objective form unchanged. To designate the subjective, the Maidu uses the suffix \(-m\). The following examples will render the use of the subjective as used with nouns sufficiently clear:

\[ sū\, nī\, has\, wō'kas\, I\, hit\, the\, dog\, (with\, a\, stick)\ (sū\, dog;\, nī\, i)\]
\[ sūm\, has\, nik\, dō'kan\, the\, dog\, bit\, me\]
\[ maidsüm\, a\, o'kōn\, the\, man\, is\, hungry\]
\[ nissā'm\, has\, maidsū\, wō'nōtiankas\, we\, killed\, the\, man\]
\[ mī\, kulū'di\, önō'bane\, atso'ia\, thou\, must\, travel\, at\, night,\, she\, said\]
\[ i'cyōkas\, min\, I\, am\, kicking\, you\]

While all nouns and all independent pronouns, except the first and second persons singular, form the subjective regularly in \(-m\) (the objective being the simple stem), the two forms referred to reverse the process, and are, besides, irregular. As shown in the
above examples, the subjective and objective forms of the pronoun in the first and second persons singular are, respectively, ni, nĩ and mĩ, min. In the dialect here presented the independent subjective forms of the pronouns above mentioned are somewhat rarely used, the subject being, as a rule, expressed by the suffixed form instead. That the -m used is really a subjective and not an agentive case is shown by the fact of its universal employment with intransitive as well as with transitive verbs.

The possessive relation is shown analogously to the subjective by a case suffix -ki. In this instance there is no irregularity, and all nouns and all forms of the independent pronoun alike take the suffix:

sũ'ki bukũ' dog's tail
mũim mai'dũmbomũki i'tusyo those people's roast
niki hũbũ' my house
mi'nkũ sũ hav wũ'nũtiaš I have killed your dog
nisũ'ki kã'dũ our country

The suffix is added always to the objective form of the noun or pronoun (i.e., the simple stem), and, at least in this dialect, is with few exceptions -ki. In the case of the interrogative form whose, however, we find simply -k; as,

homũ'nik sũm makã'de whose dog is this? ¹

This possessive suffix may in some cases be added after a previous locative, as in the form

šũ'-wono-na-ki from-behind-the-fire's; i.e., belonging to the one who comes from behind the fire

§ 30. Locative and Instrumental Suffixes

In Maidu, locative and instrumental ideas are expressed by regular suffixes, continuing logically the indication of real syntactic relations by the same means. The development of these locative and instrumental suffixes in Maidu is not very great, there being but three locatives, an instrumental, and a comitative. The following examples will illustrate the use of these different forms:

-di general locative, in, on, at.
mo'mdi in the water
betũ'itōdi in the olden time

¹In the northwestern dialect the possessive is the same as here; but in the southern form there seems to be a distinct tendency to its partial or complete abandonment. It there frequently becomes reduced to -k, and in the most southerly of all the dialects seems to disappear completely, the subjective form of noun or pronoun being used instead.
hōbō’di in the house, at home
kau’di on the ground
noko’m ni’kdi ka the arrow is in me
tu’skitwonōdi at the place where he had stopped
ōng kanai’di underneath the rock

-na, -nak illative, to, toward; sometimes reduplicated.
  o’lōlokna toward the smoke hole
  ūni’na hither (this-toward)
  mi’nna toward you
  kūlū’nana just before dark, toward night

-nan ablative, from, away from.
  hōbō’nān ēkoi’tsoia he went away from the house
  tiktetē’nān from a little distance
  tutsō’yepenan from the place where he stood

-ni instrumental, with, by means of.
  sū has tsā’ni wo’kas I hit the dog with a stick
  mō’ki ono’mbutū’ini wōma’ktikōtsoia she measured with her hair

-kan comitative, in company with, together with.
  ni’ki si’kān ēkoi’as I went away with my dog
  kū’lēkān ődī’k notsoia he arrived in company with the woman
  mi’nān ēkoi’as I went off with you

There is some question as to this being a regular comitative suffix, its identity with the conjunction kan suggesting that the apparent suffix is merely the conjunction closely combined with the noun.

§ 31. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns in Maidu are characterized by their independence. In discussing the ideas of number, the independent forms of the pronoun have already been given; but for purposes of comparison, the subjective, objective, and possessive forms are here given in a single table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person singular</td>
<td>nī</td>
<td>nik</td>
<td>ni’ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person dual</td>
<td>nisā’m</td>
<td>nisā’</td>
<td>nisā’ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person plural</td>
<td>nīsē’m</td>
<td>nīsē’</td>
<td>nisē’ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person singular</td>
<td>mī</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>mi’nki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person dual</td>
<td>mī’ntsem</td>
<td>mī’ntse</td>
<td>mī’ntseki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person plural</td>
<td>mī’nsōm</td>
<td>mī’nsō</td>
<td>mī’nsōki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person singular</td>
<td>mō’yem</td>
<td>mō’ye</td>
<td>mō’yekī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person dual</td>
<td>mōi’tsom</td>
<td>mō’tsō</td>
<td>mō’tsoki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person plural</td>
<td>mō’sem</td>
<td>mō’se</td>
<td>mō’seki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 31
The third person is in reality more a demonstrative than a true personal pronoun; but its use is predominantly that of a personal pronoun, and the corresponding demonstrative unī this is not used in either the dual or plural forms. As has already been pointed out, these independent forms of the personal pronoun take all the locative and instrumental suffixes, and are in every respect treated as nouns. The personal pronouns also, in their independent form, may take the suffix -wet(e), used chiefly with verbal stems in a participial sense, but here giving forms like

ni'wete I myself, I alone
mo'ńwete he alone

In speaking of the development of ideas of number, the fact was referred to, that there were two forms of the personal pronoun—one independent and one suffixed to the verb. The two series show little in common, except that the first person dual and plural are differentiated in both series by the same vowel-change from a to e. The suffixed forms are always subjective, and are suffixed directly to the verbal stem or to the various modal, directive, temporal, and other suffixes which the verb may have, the pronominal suffixes with few exceptions, always coming last. In the singular the resulting forms are clear enough without the addition of the independent form of the pronoun; in the dual and plural, however, these are usually added, although here the first person is always sufficiently distinct. When the sense of the sentence renders the person clear, this independent pronoun is frequently omitted. The following indicates the use of the pronouns with the intransitive verb:

ni o'kasi or o'kasi I am hungry
mit oka'nkano or oka'nekano thou art hungry
möye'm oka'n or oka'n möye'm he is hungry
nisā'm oka'kas or oka'nsasi nisā'm we two are hungry
mi'ntsem oka'nkano or oka'nkano mi'ntsem ye two are hungry
mötsom oka'n or oka'n mötsom they two are hungry
nise'm oke'nes or oke'nesi nise'm we all are hungry
mi'nsöm oka'nkano or oka'nkano mi'nsöm ye all are hungry
mösem oka'n or oka'n mösem they all are hungry

As will be seen from the above, the position of the independent pronoun is variable, it being placed either before or after the verb at will. It will also be seen that the suffixed form is by no means as fully developed as is the independent. This condition is instructive when the forms in use in the other dialects are compared. It then appears that in the northwestern dialect the suffixed form is rare,
with the verbal stem, but is universally added to the auxiliary verb; in the southern dialect the use of the suffixed form of the pronoun disappears. It seems, then, that the northeastern dialect here presented, in the matter of pronominal usage, lies at the extreme, toward the close synthesis of pronoun with verb, the northwestern being less so, and the southern entirely without it. As the northeastern dialect is in close touch with the Achomá'wi, which shows much greater development of the incorporative idea, we may be justified in regarding this greater development of synthesis between the verb and pronoun as in part due to association and contact.

In the transitive verb, precisely the same conditions prevail. The subjective pronoun, in the pronominal conjugation, is suffixed to the verb in the northeastern dialect, the objective standing free and independent.

\[
\begin{align*}
yô'-kas \text{ min } & \text{ I am hitting thee} \\
yô-a'nkano \text{ möyë' } & \text{ thou art hitting him} \\
nisä'm \text{ min } yô-a'nkas & \text{ we two are hitting thee} \\
mö'tsom \text{ nik } yô'-kan & \text{ they two are hitting me} \\
yô-a'nkano \text{ nisä' } & \text{ thou art hitting us two}
\end{align*}
\]

With a nominal object, the method is the same:

\[
\begin{align*}
sü \text{ wö'notikas } & \text{ I am killing the dog}
\end{align*}
\]

With a nominal subject, the pronominal suffix is always used:

\[
\begin{align*}
süm \text{ has mai'dü } dö'-kan & \text{ the dog bit the man}
\end{align*}
\]

For emphasis, it is customary to use, in the first and second persons singular of the pronominal conjugation, the independent form in addition to the suffixed; as,

\[
\begin{align*}
yô'-kas \text{ ni } \text{ min } & \text{ I am hitting you} \\
yô-a'nkano \text{ mi } \text{ möyë' } & \text{ thou art hitting him}
\end{align*}
\]

Just as in the intransitive the dialect here presented tends more strongly toward synthesis between pronoun and verb than do any of the other dialects, so in the transitive the same conditions prevail, if anything, more strongly marked, as both the other dialects have the subjective as well as the objective pronoun entirely free and separate from the verb which appears in a participial form.

§ 32. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative is not as highly developed in Maidu as in many other American languages. But two forms are commonly

§ 32
in use, corresponding to this and that, and indicating position near or remote from the speaker. For the former, unii' is used and for the latter, amā'. Somewhat rarely a third form, ani', is employed to indicate position still more remote. The third personal pronoun is often used in place of a demonstrative, and may take the place of any one of the three. All three demonstratives take all the nominal case and locative suffixes. The use of these demonstratives is shown in the following examples:

unii'm mai'düm yahā'maka this man will be good
amā'm süm that dog
ani'm mai'düm that (far off) man
amā'kan wōnōtitsoia and he killed that one
unii'n en from here, hence
amā'di there, at that place
amā'ki sū that person's dog
mōi'm mai'düm this, that man

§ 33. Relative and Interrogative Pronouns

A relative pronoun seems to be lacking in Maidu, its place being filled by the use of a reflexive suffix with the verb. Such constructions are, however, rare. An example is:

mōm mai'düm has kakā'n i'syōtiušdom this man it was causing to kick himself; i.e., he was the man who was kicked

Interrogative pronouns, on the contrary, are common. Which is expressed by homō', and who by homō'nī, both taking case and locative suffixes, as do other pronouns. What, why, and how are formed from a different stem, being respectively hesi', hesa', and hesa'ti. A few examples of the use of these follow:

homō'mài makā' bu'spem in which (house) do you live?
homō'ním makā' who are you?
homō'nik süm makā'dē whose dog is this?
hesi'm makā'dē what is it?
hesa'mōnī kadi'kmenom makā'dē why doesn't it rain?
hesa'ti eto'spem . . . how strong . . . ?

§ 34. Adjectives

The adjective in Maidu is strongly nominal in character. In many cases it is a true nomen actoris, formed from a verbal stem, with or without duplication or reduplication, by the addition of the §§ 33, 34
-pe. Apparently any verbal stem may thus be used in this form to qualify or describe a noun; as,

\[ \text{o'k-pem mai'düm} \text{ hungry man (literally, hungerer man)} \]
\[ \text{eto'spem mai'düm} \text{ strong man (eto'skasi I am strong)} \]
\[ \text{di'pādipem pā'ka} \text{ smooth board (literally, slider board)} \]
\[ \text{lala'mpem tsa} \text{ long stick} \]

Many adjectives, however, do not admit of the form in -pe, and are formed from the verbal stem by merely adding to them the nominal subjective suffix(1) -m. The majority of these forms are made from verbal stems ending in a vowel. Examples of this type of adjective are:

\[ \text{tetē'm süm} \text{ large dog} \]
\[ \text{kē'yim hōbō' old house} \]
\[ \text{tēm süm} \text{ small dog} \]

Most, if not all, of the stems from which the adjectives are formed, are capable of taking the regular pronominal tense and modal suffixes and being used as intransitive verbs; as, \[ \text{kē'yimakas i hāll be old} \]. Some stems, however, appear not to be used, except in forming these nominal forms, as adjectives. Either of the nominal forms of these stems (that in -pe or in -m) takes all regular nominal ocative suffixes, and probably also all case-suffixes as well, although these have at present been noted only in the instance of those ending in -pe.

\[ \text{kē'yidi in the old one} \]
\[ \text{lala'mpeki the long one's . . .} \]
\[ \text{tetē'ni with the big one} \]

In some cases both the -pe and the -m forms are used with the same stem; as,

\[ \text{la'mim tsa, lala'mpem tsa} \text{ long stick} \]

In these cases, the form in -pe is generally, but not always, duplicated.

§ 35. Adverbs

Adverbs may be formed from adjectiveal stems by the suffix -t; as,

\[ \text{yahā'm} \text{ good} \]
\[ \text{yahā't well, nicely} \]
\[ \text{wasa'm} \text{ bad} \]
\[ \text{wasa't poorly, evilly} \]
\[ \text{tetē'm large} \]
\[ \text{tete't much, greatly, very} \]

Other adverbs, such as those of time and distance, etc., seem to be from independent stems.

\[ \text{ti'kte slightly, somewhat, a little} \]
\[ \text{bēi again} \]
\[ \text{hadā' far away} \]
\[ \text{bēi'duk by and by} \]
\[ \text{be'nek to-morrow} \]
\[ \text{lē'wo a little, partially} \]
§ 36. Connectives

With the exception of kan and, connectives in Maidu are all formed from the auxiliary verb ā to be, by the addition of various temporal, modal, and other suffixes. Very often the resulting form is compounded with kan, which, while it may stand alone, is generally reduced to an enclitic. The more common of these connectives are:

- a-dom, ado'ńkan so, and so
- a-met but
- a-mendo if not, and if not
- a-mō'ni, amō'nikan then, and then
- a-tse't, atse'tkan while, and
- while
- a-we'ten, avete'nkan then, thereafter, and then

§ 37. Interjections

There are quite a number of interjections in Maidu, the following being those most commonly in use:

- hē' halloo!
- hō well! all right
- sī look! well!
- ā an exclamation of disgust
- ham an exclamation of rage, practically equivalent to a curse
- ettū' stop!
- hmm exclamation of disgust

VOCABULARY (§§ 38-41)

§ 38. Classes of Stems

In analyzing the vocabulary of the Maidu we may divide the stems into three classes:

1. Those which admit of no suffixes, or only such as are neither nominal nor verbal.

2. Those which take nominal suffixes.

3. Those which take verbal suffixes.

The first group includes merely a few adverbs, interjections, and a connective. The second comprises nouns, pronouns, and most adjectives. The third takes in all verbs (with a few exceptions), some adjectives, and the remainder of the connectives. This grouping, which, on the whole, seems to be the most feasible, breaks down in so far as it is possible, in some cases, to use participial suffixes with stems normally taking only nominal suffixes, and also from the fact that there are cases where noun and verb are formed from a single stem. The latter cases will be considered

§§ 36–38
speaking of the stems of the second group; and as for the former, I that can be said here is that it is the ordinary usage rather than the extraordinary forms which should be given greatest weight.

39. Stems Taking no Suffixes, or Only Such as are neither Nominal nor Verbal

Of stems taking no suffixes at all, there appear to be very few. Interjections include the majority of such stems. A list of these is been given in § 37. Except for these interjections, the only her stem taking no affix is the simple conjunction *kan and*. This, moreover, although it may, and often does, stand independently, is times so closely connected with the noun as to be enclitic.

Stems taking suffixes other than those taken by nouns or verbs are few also and are only adverbial:

*bëi* (*bëi’bim, bëi’bô*) again, also *hû’koi* still, yet

*bëi’dûk* by and by

*lê’wo* a little, partially

A considerable number of adverbs are formed from adjectival stems by the suffix *-t*; as,

*yahâ’m* good; *yahâ’t* well

*tetê’m* large, great; *tetê’t* much, greatly
dverbial ideas, however, such as CAN, MUST, PERHAPS, ALMOST, HOLLY, ALWAYS, etc., are expressed in Maidu by suffixes added to the verb.

§ 40. Stems Taking Nominal Suffixes Only

These stems may be further subdivided into nominal, pronominal, and adjectival stems.

**Nominal Stems**

Maidu possesses a large number of true nominal stems showing no relation at all apparently to verbal or other stems. Derivatives formed from verbs exist in considerable numbers; but the greater mass of nouns are derived from purely nominal stems. A few examples of nouns derived from verbal stems may be given before considering the nominal stems proper:

*kí* to smell; *kí’ku* nose

*bô* to blow; *bô’wo* wind

*maí* to speak; *maí’dû* Indian;

*maí’ki* boy

In other instances noun and verb appear to be formed from the same root; as,

*ho’ni* heart

*ho’nôwê* breath

*ho’nsiptsoia* she breathed

*ho’nkodom* coughing

§§ 39, 40
Nominal stems proper may be divided into three groups:

1. Monosyllabic.
2. Polysyllabic, duplicated or reduplicated.
3. Polysyllabic, without reduplication.

1. Monosyllabic stems are not very numerous, but as a class include some of the most common nouns. They may be grouped under several heads:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELATIONSHIP TERMS</th>
<th>ANIMALS, PLANTS, PARTS OF BODY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>son lē</td>
<td>dog sū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter pō</td>
<td>hand mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger sister k'ā</td>
<td>flower yō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother nē</td>
<td>bush dō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandson pē</td>
<td>willow pā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>feathers yē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MISCELLANEOUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fire sā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt bā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud yā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow kō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Duplicated and reduplicated stems are also not very numerous, and refer chiefly to parts of the body and to animals and birds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duplicated</th>
<th>REDUPLICATED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>crow āā</td>
<td>yellow-hammer volo’loko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eagle kā’kā</td>
<td>robin ts’i’statatkō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quail yū’h yū</td>
<td>fly emē’lulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nest tu’tū</td>
<td>shoulder dā’daka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rib ts’i’tsi</td>
<td>star lūlū’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breast nā’na</td>
<td>egg pa’kpaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ankle po’lōpolō</td>
<td>cotton wood wili’li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass popo’</td>
<td>smoke hole olo’lokō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow pine bōbō’</td>
<td>thunder witi’mtūmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twig tōtō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Onomatopoeia seems to be but little in force in Maidu, being not particularly apparent in these duplicated and reduplicated animal and bird names, where, in other languages, it frequently plays a very important part.

3. Polysyllabic unreduplicated stems, in the case of nouns, form probably a majority of the total number of nominal stems. Although a considerable number of polysyllabic nominal stems are quite clearly descriptive, and hence analyzable into simpler stems, a large majority have so far resisted analysis and must be considered stems. The following are examples of such apparently unanalyzable stem-nouns:

§ 40
PARTS OF THE BODY

head onō'  back kī'wē
face mūsū'  nipples mini'
eye hī'ni  arm'yi'mi
mouth sī'mi  armpit kōvō'
teeth tsā'wa  belly kamī'
tongue z'ni  hip mā'wa
ear bonō'  penis kosi'
neck ku'yi  leg toli'
foot pai'yi  liver kula'
nails tsībī'  bone bō'mi
blood sēdē'  dung pīti'
sinew paka'  fat hō'ti
tail buku'  skin posā'la

MAMMALS

gizzly bear pā'nō  coyote wē'pa
brown bear mō'dē  field-mouse yosō'
deer sūmī'  ground-squirrel kīlō
fox hawi'  chipmunk wi'sla
gopher hemē'

BIRDS, FISH, INSECTS

fish makō'  grasshopper tō'li
salmon māyi'  angle-worm kayī'

MISCELLANEOUS

woman kūlē'  pack-basket wolo'
baby konō'  snowshoe tsūwā'
house u'yi  meat wakā'
coals hemi'  sun pokō'
smoke sukū'  evening kūlū'
arrows-point bosō'

As examples of nominal stems which are clearly analyzable, but not yet entirely explained, the following may serve:

forehead sūn-daka (perhaps from sūn- referring in some way to the head, as in sō'ntssetsopindom, HEAD-FIRST; and dā'daka SHOULDER, i. e., head-shoulder)
beard sim-pani (perhaps from sim MOUTH, and pan-, a stem occurring in pantoia they made rope)
wrist ma-kulū' (from mā hand and [?])
wild-cat hī'n-teeipi (from hī'ni eye, and [?])
ottor mo'm-pano (from mo'mi water, and pā'no grizzly-bear)
rat sō'm-sape (from sō rock, and [?])
jack-rabbit tsi'n-kuti (from tsī robe, and kuti animal)
shite-poke wak-si (from the verbal stem wak- to cry)

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1-10—46 § 40
PRONOMINAL STEMS

A full paradigm of the personal and demonstrative pronouns has been given in §§ 31, 32, and these need not therefore again be referred to here. The interrogative pronouns ought, however, to be noticed. These are *homō* which, and *homōni* who. The interrogative pronoun what is *hesi*, but, besides taking the regular nominal suffixes, it also may take certain verbal or semiverbal suffixes.

ADJECTIVAL STEMS

Adjectives are of two sorts: (1) those formed from independent stems, with or without reduplication; and (2) those formed from verbal stems, generally with the suffix -pe. The first of these classes may be divided according as to whether there is or is not any reduplication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO REDUPLICATION</th>
<th>REDUPLICATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>little <em>tēm</em></td>
<td>large <em>tētē’</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small <em>tibī’</em></td>
<td>long <em>lä’lami</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good <em>yahā’</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad <em>wasa’</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short <em>nū’si</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old <em>kē’yī</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quite a number of adjectives belonging apparently to this first class have the suffix -pe, although the stem shows no relation to any verbal stem, and seems never to be used as such. These are both reduplicated and unreduplicated, and include all color names. In some cases, two forms exist, one with, and one without, the suffix -pe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO REDUPLICATION</th>
<th>REDUPLICATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>healthy <em>eto’spe</em></td>
<td>weak <em>le’lepe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy <em>wōhō’lpe</em></td>
<td>light <em>hehe’kpe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thick <em>kot’lpe</em></td>
<td>thin <em>tōt’pe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short <em>nu’spe</em></td>
<td>wide <em>da’pdape</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sour <em>tsūtsu’kpe</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COLOR NAMES

black *sēū’sēūpe*  red *la’klakpe*
green *titit’pe*    white *da’lدلalpe*

NUMERALS

The numerals belong to this first class of adjectival stems, and are as follows up to ten:

one *sū’ti*          six *sait’soko*  
two *pē’ne*          seven *to’pwi*  
three *sā’pwi*        eight *pe’ntcōyē*  
four *tsō’yī*         nine *pe’lio*  
five *mā’wika*       ten *mā’soko*  

§ 40
The numeral adverbs are formed by the suffix -nini; as, sутènini
nìce, пёнènini twice, etc. Distributives are formed by reduplicat-
ing the final syllable; as, sутiti one each, пёнènè two each, etc.

§ 41. Stems Taking Verbal Suffixes

Verbal stems may be divided into two groups, according as to
whether they are treated always as stems pure and simple, or are
sometimes used in connection with other stems, modifying these
and serving as prefixes.

Stems of the first type are predominantly composed of consonant-
owel-consonant. Many occur in pairs or groups, with similar or
early similar meaning, but with variable vowel; whereas a few
pairs show not a variable vowel, but a variable consonant. Besides
these tri-literal stems there are a number of bi-literal and uni-
literal orms and a few as yet unanalyzable dissyllabic stems. The follow-
ing list shows the tri-literal stems which have at present been deter-
nined, and indicates both the systematic character of these stems
and also the pairing or grouping spoken of above. In some cases
he meaning of the stem is yet uncertain, owing to the small num-er of instances in which it occurs. Tri-literal stems, as a rule,
ake modifying stems or true prefixes before them.

-bak- to detach a flat thing; -bek- (?); -bök- (?)
-bal- to mark, paint
-bas- to sweep (?); -bis- to live, stay; bus (?)
-bat- to break; -bot- to break
-dak- to detach a flat thing; -dek- to make hole
-dam- to give
-dip- to slide
-diś- to slide
-das- to split
-dat- (?); -dot- to overturn; -dut- (?)
-hak- to tear; -huk- to whistle (?)
-hal- to lie, cheat; -hul- (?)
-hap- to move with friction; -hop- to move with friction; -höp- to
stretch; -hup- (?)
-has- to slide; -hes- to scratch; -his- to make basket; -hös- to
scare (?) -hus- (?)
-kal- (?); -kel- to perforate; -kol- to bore (?); -köl- to roll; -kul- (?)
-kap- to move with friction (?); -kop- to move with friction (?);
-köp- (?)
-kes- (?)
-kat- to strike; -ket- to graze; -kot- to divide; -kut- to divide
-lak- (?); -lek- (?) -lok- (?) -lök- to creep; -luk- to creep

§ 41
-lol- to cry
-lap- to crawl (?) 
-lep- (?); -lip- to cry out; -lop- to move with friction (?)
-loss- (?)
-mak- to know, count, measure
-mal- (?)
-not- to bend
-pok- to strike; -pök- to shake (?)
-pel- to perforate; -pol- dislocate; -pul- dislocate, remove
-pin- to hear
-pes- to crumble
-pat- (?); -pit- (?)
-sal- (?); -sil- to shake
-tul- to break flat thing
-tek- to jump (?); -tsik- (?)
-tön- (?)
-tap to squeeze (?); -top- to break; -töp- to jump; tup- to break
-tsop- to tear, rip
-tas- to slap (?); -tes- to strip off; -tos- (?); -tös- (?); -tus- to break
-tsot- to rip off
-usu- to rub
-uras- to cry out
-yak- to crush; -yok- to strike
-yal- to split; -yol- to break; -yul- to rip, split
-yat- (?)

Bi-literal and uni-literal stems of this first type are quite numerous, and a partial list is here given. They are distinguished from the tri-literal stems as a rule, by the fact that they rarely take any modifying stems or true prefixes before them.
Special mention ought to be made, in speaking of stems of this type, of the connectives. The simple connective AND, indicated by \textit{kan}, has already been referred to in speaking of the unchangeable stems. All other connectives seem to be formed from the auxiliary verb \textit{a to be}, by the addition of various verbal suffixes. A list of these connectives, any of which may take the simple connective \textit{kan} as an additional suffix, follows:

\begin{align*}
\text{ado'm so, thus} &\quad \text{atsee t the whiles, at this time} \\
\text{amč't but} &\quad \text{avoč'bisim continually} \\
\text{amč'ni then} &\quad \text{avoč'te then}
\end{align*}

Verbal stems which, although disyllabic, yet appear to be unanalyzable, are not nearly as numerous as the other types. Some of the more common ones follow:

\begin{align*}
\text{hč'no- to die} &\quad \text{-pwč'li- to roll} \\
\text{kolč'- to rotate} &\quad \text{-tala- to crush} \\
\text{o'nkwi- to conquer} &\quad \text{-tibil- to wind around} \\
\text{ōpc'- (?)} &\quad \text{wile'- to run} \\
\text{pēdā'- to steal, to answer} &\quad \text{wō'nō- to die}
\end{align*}

Verbal stems of the second type have already been discussed in §§ 11–13, and need not therefore be taken up in detail here again. The \textit{h}, \textit{w}, and \textit{y} series seem to be the clearest and least doubtful, and to offer the fewest apparent exceptions. The \textit{h} series is quite puzzling; the \textit{i} form (\textit{hi-}), having no apparent relation to the others in the series in meaning, falling as it does into the class of pure prefixes, indicating parts of the body. The \textit{e} and \textit{u} forms (\textit{he-} and \textit{hu-}) are also very irregular. Although the characteristic feature of these stems is, that while they are most commonly used to modify another stem as a prefix, they may yet themselves stand as independent stems on occasion, there are one or more in each series which can not so stand independently, it seems. The reasons for this exception are not yet clear.

\textbf{§ 41}
TEXT

Sö'tim \(^1\) neno'mmaidūm \(^2\) bū'ssasio. \(^3\) Wiso'tpini \(^4\) he'nant\(^5\) 
One old people lived, it is said. Big Springs on this side of
ku'mmenim \(^6\) hōbo'kōdom \(^7\) .mai'sem \(^8\) . bū'ssasio. \(^3\) Amā'ikan \(^4\) sō'ti\(^9\) 
houseless one bark hut owning they lived, it is said. That one and one
pākūpem \(^11\) neno'mmaidūm \(^2\) matsoi'am. \(^12\) Amā'dikan \(^13\) mō'n\(^14\) 
daughter possessing person
kūlē'm \(^15\) bū'ssasio. \(^3\) Amā'ikan \(^6\) matsoi'am \(^12\) òpē'kænbenin\(^11\) 
girl lived, it is said. That one and it is related always

---

\(^1\) Sö'tim ONE (-m subjective).
\(^2\) neno'mmaidūm OLD PEOPLE; ne'šo, ne'nope the usual adjective used for referring to animate things, and standing for OLD PERSON if unaccompanied by a noun; -m the connective, euphonic consonant used in forming compound nouns, etc.; ma'k'da MAN, INDIAN, perhaps from root ma' to speak; -m the suffix of the subjective case.
\(^3\) bū'ssasio lived (from the stem būsa-, bīs- TO LIVE; TO REMAIN; TO CONTINUE IN ONE PLACE); -sio- verbal suffix indicating completed action, quotative, i.e., the knowledge is not obtained by the experience of the speaker, but comes to him merely by hearsay; -a the usual suffix of the third person, -a (-hūi). Is rarely used with -tāi This may be a contraction from -tāi-o-mi-?
\(^4\) wiso'tpini a place known locally as Big Springs, one of the main sources of the North Fork of Feather river, in Big Meadows, Plumas county, California. I am unable to analyze this name satisfactorily.
\(^5\) he'nant on THIS SIDE OF. Analyzable as follows: -k a demonstrative stem (confined chiefly to the northwestern dialect) meaning this; -wān the nominal locative suffix meaning from; -tāi probably from -di, the general locative suffix at in, etc.: hence the whole meaning THIS-FROM-AT, A SPOT BETWEEN THIS AND THE ONE SPOKEN OF.
\(^6\) ku'mmenim a HOUSELESS PERSON; kum- the name applied to the semi-subterranean, circular, earth-covered lodges; -m the negative or privative suffix; to this it is then added a euphonic i, and finally the subjective suffix -m
\(^7\) hōbo'kōdom OWNING A BARK HUT; hōbo' the conical bark huts in which the poorer people lived; kō doer seems to be used as synonymous with DWELLING. ANY SORT OF A SHELTER OR HOUSE; -kō a suffix very commonly used, indicating the quality of possessing, hence hōbo'kō HAVING THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING A BARK HUT; -tāi the suffix of the present participle; -m the subjective suffix. The whole might be rendered OWNERS OF A BARK HUT.
\(^8\) mai'sem they. This is apparently a form synonymous with ma'isem or ma'lisem. The final m is the subjective suffix.
\(^9\) sō'ti the demonstrative pronoun THAT, referring to the old people, here in the subjective case am'd'm, the m being changed to i before k, in accordance with the regular rule (see \(\#\quad 6\)), -k and AND.
\(^10\) ñ'bi one. Here in objective case (cf. note 1). 
\(^11\) pākūpem A PERSON HAVING A DAUGHTER; pāk, pā daughter; -kā the same as -kō, the suffix meaning HAVING THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING; -pe the suffix used generally to form the nominative, etc.; -m the subjective suffix.
\(^12\) matsoi'am it is RELATED. This frequently appearing form seems to come from a verbal stem ma- to RELATE, to TELL; -tāi-the quotative suffix of completed action; -a- the suffix of the third person, generally used with -tāi. The use of -m here is as yet not clear.
\(^13\) amā'dikan and AT THAT PLACE; amā' demonstrative pronoun THAT; -di the locative suffix AT. -kū the conjunction AND.
\(^14\) mō'n the, that. The independent form of the third personal pronoun. This is used very frequently almost as a demonstrative. Here mōn, instead of mōm, because of the following k
\(^15\) kūlē'm Woman, girl (here subjective).
kulu'nanamohnihede'17 piye'tonokom18 sotim19 kulu'nanamaat20 evening-toward-when almost one who went bathing one evening-toward
wonomentsoia.21 Amahikan9 tuitsoia.22 Amahikan9 nedisutsoia.23 missed-not, it is said. That one and slept, it is said. That one and dreamed for herself, it is said.
Nediwebissim34 kaka'nim35 pono36 nediwebissim34 mopikno37 Dreaming kept on every night dreaming kept on same one
deri'dom35 nedisutsoia.23 Amahikan9 piye'tonotsoia.29 dreamed for herself, it is said. That one and bathing went, it is said.
Piye'tonopeikan30 okimenpe31 edkatsoia.22 Amahikan9 be'nekto33 One who has gone one not returning it dawned, it That one and morning in
bathing and is said.

17 kulu'nanamohnihede' when it was almost dusk; kulu' is the usual term for evening, the early part of the night; -nana- a reduplicated form of the locative suffix -na, meaning toward; -min a temporal suffix with the force of when, after; -kek' a suffix of somewhat uncertain meaning, usually indicating doubtfulness or approximation.
18 piye'tonokom one who went bathing (from piye'-, piye'to- to swim or bathe); -no is probably merely the verbal suffix of generalized motion, although it may perhaps be a contraction from *di-no- to go, to travel, hence to go to bathe; -no the suffix indicating having the quality of possessing; -min the subjective suffix, agreeing in case with the amda'm in amda'ikan.
19 sotim one. It is not clear whether this refers to the girl or to the evening. It is probably, however, the former, as, if it meant one evening, the close connection of the two words would lead to the change of the -m to -n.
20 kulu'nanamaat. The first portion of this is identical with the first portion of the word in note 17. The final suffix is, however, a rather puzzling one. It would seem to mean indeed, thus, but its use is obscure.
21 wonomentsoia did not lose, miss; wonomentsoia seems to mean to lose, to miss, and must be distinguished carefully from wo'mo, which means to die. The -soia is the usual quotative, completed action, with the suffixed form of the third personal pronoun.
22 tuitsoia slept (from the stem tu'i'- to sleep); -soia (see above).
23 nedisutsoia dreamed for herself, it is said; nedii is a dream, nedii'm-maidii is a dreamer, one of the two classes of shamans. The use of the reflexive suffix -us here is not wholly clear. It probably means she dreamed for herself. This construction—a participle followed by a verb, or a continuous participle followed by a verb—is one of the most frequent.
24 nedii'webi'sim kept dreaming. The reflexive is not used in this case. The suffix -bi'sim is formed from the verbal stem bi' to remain, to continue, and is the usual continuous suffix employed, giving the sense of to be. It is very generally joined to the verbal stem by -wii, which is of uncertain meaning.
25 kaka'nim every. A reduplicated form of keni'm each, all.
26 pono night. This term is generally used in reference to the whole period of darkness, or, if restricted, applies more to the middle of the night. pono'eto midnight.
27 mopikno that same one; mii is the independent form of the third personal pronoun. The suffix -pi'kno seems to be an intensive, and to mean the same, the very. It is here objective.
28 nedii'dom dreaming (here the present participle, formed with -dom).
29 piye'tonotsoia went to bathe, it is said (cf. note 18).
30 piye'tonopeikan the one who had gone bathing; piye'tono- cf. note 18; pe'sii the suffix of the nomen actors, -pem becoming -pe' before k: the suffix -kii is the common connective.
31 okimenpe one not returning, okii- meaning to return, to arrive at a place. Analyzable, perhaps, into o- (an hypothetical verbal stem connected with o- to go) and -ki the regular directive suffix meaning down, down to. We have, in addition, -men the negative, and -pe the suffix of the nomen actors, with the subjective -m.
32 edkatsoia it dawned. The verbal form edkatsoia is related closely to edkatdiy.
33 be'nekto in the morning (sometimes merely be'nekto). The suffix -to in use here is obscure. It occurs in a number of similar cases, with apparently a temporal meaning.
makō 34 halá'peten 35 ọsi'pindom 36 ọki'tsoa. 37 Móbé'jokuns 38 Her father

bohú'sisitsoa. 39 Awete'nkan 36 bús'sisoa. 39 Bódó'kinúdó 39 bús'sisoa.

hand over, it is said. Thus having been remained. Sitting on ground
横向 is called.

Amá'nu 42 mayá'ken 43 tsai'men 44 tseménpe(m) 45 oki'tkótsóin 46

That one say they by and by one unseen arriving-quality

Púyíannan 47 mayá'ken 43 okó'kóinpinsoa. 48 A'ñkanim 49 mayá'ken 43

Outside, from it was head lowered down toward, gradually, it is said.

34 makō' fish (here objective).
35 halá'peten having carried. We have here the use of one of the troublesome preflight-stems b-.
36 Taken by itself, -de- is a verbal stem signifying to CRAWL ON HANDS AND KNEES, OF TO ST, KNEES ON GROUND. Combined with ká-, it means to CARRY, perhaps to DRAE, generally by a cord or rope, hence CARRYING FISH ON A STRING. The suffix -e-ten is a temporal suffix meaning AFTER HAVING.
37 ọsi'pindom coming out of toward house. The verbal stem here is ò- ò TO GO, TO TRAVEL, to which are added two directive suffixes, -e OUT OF (THE WATER), and -e TO toward. In -de- we have the regular present participle.
38 ọki'tsoa arrived, came back. Okit- cf. note 31. While this is sometimes heard oki'tsoa, as a rule the second t is elided.
39 móbé'jokuns her father to. With relationship terms, the simple third person pronoun is often used in place of the regular possessive case, as here we have mób- instead of mób'. B'é-re father is apparently analyzable into b'-i-, a stem meaning AGAIN, another (b'é-im again; b'é-bó another; b'é-bó: new), and the familiar suffix -kó having the quality of possessing. The final suffix -is is the locative suffix meaning toward, expressing the motion of the gift from the girl to her father.
40 bohú'sisitsoa handed over to, it is said. In bo- another of the prefix-stems appears. This usually seems to signify actions done with a BULKY OR ROUND OBJECT. Its application here is obscure, unless the fist is thought of as a bulky thing, in which the string on which the fish are strung is held. The main stem, -húi, is uncertain in its meaning, this being the only place where it occurs. In conjunction with bo-, however, it has the meaning given above. The suffix -de is one of the directive verbal suffixes, meaning across, over.
41 awete'nkan and after having been thus. All conjunctions, except kán and, are formed in Maidu from the auxiliary verb a to be. Here with the suffix -e-ten we get the idea of sequence, usually expressed in English by and then. The -kan is, of course, the simple conjunction and.
42 Bódó'kinúdó sitting. In this case the initial syllable b- is in all probability the same prefix-stem which appeared in bohú'sisitsoa, in this case changed in accordance with some obscure vowel-harmonies. bá as a simple verbal stem means, on the other hand, to BLOW, as the wind. The prefix-stem b- here is used as a stem, taking the suffix -kó, a verbal directive meaning toward, and often appears thus: further addition; as Bódó'kinúdó he sat. It is not clear how the idea of sitting comes from the elements bá and -dei, unless we assume that the idea is of a round thing (the knees) sticking up (as one sits on cor)

43 mayá'ken it was. This frequently-appearing form seems to be derived from the stem ma- to be.

44 tsai'men after a while. Derived from tsai another, and the suffix -men, not the negative, with which it is identical in form, but a suffix indicating time of, which is used in the name of seasons, etc. (pó-men summer, flower-time; ku'men winter, earth-lodge-time, i.e., the period during which the people live in the earth-lodges).
45 tse'ménpe(m) one who is not seen. The verbal stem here is tse- to see, with the negative suffix -men and the -pe of the nomen actors. It would seem to mean, therefore, one not seeing, but emphatically declared, in this instance, to be passive. No formal distinction of the passive has yet been noted in Maidu.
46 oki'tkótsóin had the quality of arriving, it is said (from oki- to arrive, to reach; cf. note 31). The use of the suffix -kó has already been sufficiently explained.
47 púyíannan from outside, púi'pán means, in general, the outside, without the house. The suffix -e is the usual locative, meaning from, away from.
48 okó'kóinpinsoa lowered head little by little down toward, it is said. In this instance we have the use of the prefix e-indicating actions done with the head. The verbal stem is -kó, meaning to lower, to depress (kó-tóna to set, the sun, i.e., to go down over the edge of the world). The reduplication of the stem here indicates that the action took place slowly at intervals. The suffix -is is directive, meaning toward. The a before the p is probably phonetic.
49 A'ñkanim then. This is a connective formed from the stem a- and the suffix -kóisim, meaning to finish, complete an action.
lök'o'npinwëbissim 50 lök'o'npinwëbissim 50 tsa'ñ'wono 51 t'loihá'dom 52
köö'na'no 53 opí'tindom 54 pú'yaam 55 i'kina 55 opí'tispdom. 56 Awête'ñ 57
fire behind filling up one side colling around
máyá'ken 58 kúle'm 58 i'kina 59 on'o'm 59 s'ó'nste'donúdom 60
looking straight continued, it is said.
that was girl beside, from head projecting
lök'o'ñwëbissstoa, 51 Amá'm 43 b'u'ssytanan 43 lök'siptoa. 43
looking straight continued, , it is said.
Lo'kisipëbissim 44 tsa'i'men 44 lök'ísipbo'stosa 45 A'ñkànim 46 mó'im 46
Crawling out continued by and by crawled wholly out, Then he

50 lök'o'ñpinwëbissim KEPT CRAWLING INTO, TOWARD. The main stem here is lök'- TO CRAWL ON HANDS AND KNEES, OR ON BELLY (lök'kad-toíla CRAWLED UP). This stem is here apparently combined with ñon TO GO, TRAVEL (from δ, the simple verb of movement) to form a compound verb, TO GO CRAWLING. The suffix -pin is the regular directive meaning TOWARD, INTO (into the house, toward the girl), whereas the -ñëbissim is the continuous already explained; cf. note 24.

51 tsa'ñ'wono ON ONE SIDE OF THE HOUSE; tsa'n- is a stem referring to the side of anything, as tsam' (tsam'-ná) SIDEWAYS. The suffix -wono is somewhat puzzling. There is a verbal suffix apparently identical, indicating the past participle. Here, and again a few words farther on, it occurs in terms indicating the parts of the floor of the house.

52 t'loihá'dom COILING AROUND. The verbal stem is here t'lo- meaning TO COIL, TO TWIST, TO TURN, as in o'ñolótoikóokO TO CURLY-HEADED (o'ño HEAD). The force of -do is not known. The final suffix is the present participle -dom.

53 köö'na'no TOWARD THE PLACE OPPOSITE THE DOOR; ôd is the term for FIRE; the area back of the fire, i.e., the other side of the fire from the door, is called köö'no, and is the place of honor. The final suffix -na is the locative, meaning TO, TOWARD.

54 opí'tindom FILLING UP. The stem opít-, meaning FULL, seems analyzable INTO -pit-, a stem entering into several verbal forms (as kopl't-watidom FILLING AND BURSTING; kopl'tdrom FINCHING SOMETHING LIKE A BERRY AND BURSTING IT), and a prefix (?) of uncertain meaning, possibly the prefix indicating actions done with the head (?). The suffix -tundom following is probably -tundom, the suffix of generalized motion, with a euphonic i.

55 pú'yaam inking TO THE THRESHOLD; pu'ya, meaning really THE OUTSIDE as CONTRASTED WITH THE INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE, is often used FOR THE DOOR, which leads to the outside; -ñi'k means the base, BOTTOM, of a thing; -ñi'k is the locative TOWARD.

56 opí'tispdom FILLING IT OUT. The stem here is the same as above (note 54), with, however, a different suffix, -sip, meaning OUT OF, OUT FROM. The idea would seem to be that of filling the space so completely as to overflow, as it were.

57 Awête'ñ THEN; cf. note 40.

58 kúle'm i'kina FROM BEHIND THE WOMAN. This should probably be written as two words, although in speech the two nouns are very closely run together. Kúle' is the usual term FOR WOMAN, and i'nan the locative meaning FROM.

59 on'o'm HEAD (the subjective form with the -m).

60 s'o'ntedoñadom PROJECTING, STICKING UP. As yet not analyzed satisfactorily. Stó- appears in a number of verbs as a stem whose meaning is doubtful. The -n is probably euphonic, while -tep may be the common stem té-t- TO SEE. The following suffixes appear to be -dól, meaning UPWARD, and the vague suffix -ñi or -ñi, usually indicating simple motion (sów'tdoloiñoa CRAWLED UPWARD; sów't'kádom STANDING UPRIGHT).

61 tétk'o'ñwëbistoa, òokeeping steadily AT, IT IS SAID. The stem here is té-t- TO SEE, which, with the suffix -kón (perhaps related to -kói AWAY), has the meaning TO LOOK AT, TO GAZE ON. The continuous suffix -te'biss, indicating steadiness and fixity of gaze.

62 b'u'ssytanan AFTER HAVING STAYED. The stem biss- has already been referred to. The suffix -tanan is best translated by AFTER HAVING.

63 lök'ísipbostoa CRAWLED OUT, IT IS SAID. The stem lök'- has already been discussed. The suffix -sip out or has also already been referred to in note 56.

64 lök'ísipëbissim KEPT CRAWLING OUT. Here the continuous suffix -bissim is shortened to -bissim.

65 lök'ísipbo'stosa CRAWLED WHOLLY OUT, IT IS SAID. The suffix -bo' gives the idea always of thoroughness, completion (see § 20, no. 30).

66 mó'im he (in the subjective form).
mo’onna water to
d went into. It is said.
kule'm girl
bi'ssstois a stayed, it is said
this-in
huba'di'si
crawled down into, it is said.
Tsa'men men
we'yetsoa spoke, it is said.
"Okoitapd' said (the
akna' 
father), it is said.
iskoitapd' said she, it is said.
Amo'ni then
"He' said he, it is said.
Amo'ni
said he, it is said.
Etsai men by and by
bussayan staying
"Hoa" all right.
"He' is said.
Etsai men having
"Amo'm to-morrow
to-morrow
bene' go-shall-t
go away, let us.
Amo'ni
said he.
Etsai men
then
Amo'ni
bussayan
sai
Etsai men
said (he),
it is said.
Amo'ni
then
bussayan
sai
Amo'ni
by and by
Etsai men
sai
Amo'ni
by and by
"Hoa"
all right.
"He'
Etsai men
"Amo'm to-morrow
to-morrow
bene' go-shall-t
go away, let us.
Amo'ni
said he.
Etsai men
then
Amo'ni
bussayan
sai
Amo'ni
by and by
Etsai men
sai
Amo'ni
by and by
"Hoa"
all right.
"He'
Etsai men
"Amo'm to-morrow
to-morrow
bene' go-shall-t
go away, let us.
Amo'ni
said he.
Etsai men
then
Amo'ni
bussayan
sai
Amo'ni
by and by
Etsai men
sai
Amo'ni
by and by
"Hoa"
all right.
"He'
Etsai men
"Amo'm to-morrow
to-morrow
bene' go-shall-t
go away, let us.
Amo'ni
said he.
Etsai men
then
Amo'ni
bussayan
sai
Amo'ni
by and by
Etsai men
sai
Amo'ni
by and by
"Hoa"
all right.
"He'
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to-morrow
bene' go-shall-t
go away, let us.
Amo'ni
said he.
Etsai men
then
Amo'ni
bussayan
sai
Amo'ni
by and by
Etsai men
sai
Amo'ni
by and by
"Hoa"
all right.
"He'
Etsai men
"Amo'm to-morrow
to-morrow
bene' go-shall-t
go away, let us.
Amo'ni
said he.
Etsai men
then
Amo'ni
bussayan
sai
Amo'ni
by and by
Etsai men
sai
Amo'ni
by and by
"Hoa"
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"He'
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"Amo'm to-morrow
to-morrow
bene' go-shall-t
go away, let us.
Amo'ni
said he.
Etsai men
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amän' 42 be'nekto 33 momi' 88 hēnō'tsoia. 89
slept, it is
said. That one in
water went to get, it
is said.

mōk'i 90 ye'pi 91
tsētsoia'.
her husband
saw, it is said.
Then Amō'ni 78
makō' 94
pi'luti 93
me'tsoia. many-very
gave, it is said.

Amō'ni 78
tsē'nan 96
mōni' 86
hēdo'i'wet 96
on one side
carried up
water
having
side

tsoia. 97
Okī'tweten 96
momi' 88
sō'kitsoia. 90
Then
up in
water
having
side
set down, it is said.
A'ṅkanim 49
makō' 34
Then
generation in
Then

ha'psitsoia. 100
Amō'ni 78
mē'datsoia. 101
Then
took, it is said.
That one in
mōka'ni 100
tlo'i'kitsoia. 95
same place at
coiled up, it is
saw.

A'ṅkanim 49
tlo'i'kitsoia.

Then
then

saw, it is said.
This is the regular possessive form of the third personal pronoun in the singular, with the

sū ffi hās' sōtsoia. 2
bū'ilā very
pli alone means many, much;
ielson suffix equivalent to the English

vēr.

mē'tsoia gave.
expressed by the stem mt-

atsē' 71
lōkō'npintsoia. 104
meanwhile
crawled in toward, it
is said.

bū'i
remained, it is said.
A'ṅkanim 49
ma'kō' 34

I

A'ṅkanim

then

mōka'ni

mēdatsoia
carrying up,
generally
on shoulder (see note 89).
The suffix "-wet here apparently gives the idea of sequence, in that,
after having taken up in one hand or on one side the water, she then took up the load of fish in the other.

sō'dōis'wet

sōdōis'wet

hēdo'i'wet

hēdo'i'wet
carrying up (from water).
The more usual form is hādōi'- to carry up, generally
on shoulder (see note 89).
The suffix "-wet here apparently gives the idea of sequence, in that,
after having taken up in one hand or on one side the water, she then took up the load of fish in the other.

sō'dōis'wet
carrying up (from water)
for the purpose of carrying (on the shoulder?).
In either event, the analysis is not easy, as ha'

mēdatsoia
carrying up,
generally
on shoulder (see note 89).
The suffix "-wet here apparently gives the idea of sequence, in that,
after having taken up in one hand or on one side the water, she then took up the load of fish in the other.

sō'dōis'wet
carrying up (from water)
for the purpose of carrying (on the shoulder?).
In either event, the analysis is not easy, as ha'

mēdatsoia
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sō'dōis'wet
carrying up (from water)
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In either event, the analysis is not easy, as ha'

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carrying up,
generally
on shoulder (see note 89).
The suffix "-wet here apparently gives the idea of sequence, in that,
after having taken up in one hand or on one side the water, she then took up the load of fish in the other.
pü'yanaki 108 opitsiptsoia 109 Awete'nkan 40 bê'ibóm 110 mö'in 111 doorward filled completely, it is said. Then and again she (the). küle'm 115 in'kan 112 tsêkö'nwebisstaia 61 Awete'nkan 8 beside-from looked straight continually, it is said. Then and ti'ktena büs'sdom 113 büs'sweten 114 lo'siptsoia 63 Lô'kispêbissim 8 little while staying staying after crawled out, it is said. Crawling out kept.-

lô'kispob'stoia. 65 A'ñkanim 40 lôkdo'nusoa 113 crawled whole, it is said. honey lake from country in Ama'nanta 117 eño'doitsoia 130 that from toward went off up, it is said. Hanö'lekanantëka'doidi 116 Honey Lake from country in mana'nanta that from toward eño'si'm going-1'.

Amö'nikan 119 mo'in 111 kule'm 15 we'yetsioa 73 "Sû 120 0no'si'm going-1" we'yetsioa 73 said (she), it is said. "Sû 120 0no'si'm going-1".

ätsöia. 77 Amö'nikan 119 mo'im 66 neno'm 122 "He'û 74 "He'û 74 said (he). ätsöia. 77 "He'û 74 "He'û 74 said (he). It is said.

"Éttu' 113 min 124 basa'kö 115 yâ'tisi' 116 "He'û 74 "He'û 74 "He'û 74 said (he). It is said. 

"Éttu' 113 min 124 basa'kö 115 yâ'tisi' 116 "He'û 74 "He'û 74 said (he). It is said.

A'ñkanim 49 then.

basa'kö 125 yâ'tissoia. 126 A'ñkaninikan 127 piwi' 128 kan 129 staff made, it is said. Then and roots (magic) and.

108 pü'yanaki doorward. A similar construction to that in note 107. For pâ'ya, see note 55.
109 opitsiptsoia filled up completely, it is said (see note 54).
110 bê'ibóm again (from the stem bê'- meaning again, another, and the suffix -bô of unknown meaning).
111 mö' seen (that one). Subjective of the third personal pronoun, here used as demonstrative. Phonetic change of -m to -n before k.
112 i'kan from beside; âki, meaning base, with the locative suffix -na, meaning from.
113 ti'ktena büs'sdom staying a little while; ti'kô alone has the meaning of slightly, somewhat, a little while; ti'kô na has a temporal meaning, a little while (is this -na the locative?); the verbal stem is büs's-to stay, to remain, and has here the present-participle suffix.
114 büs'sweten after staying (from the same stem büs's-, with the common suffix -weten, meaning after, after having).
115 lô'kdo'nutson crawled up, it is said. The directive suffix -dôn here also has the general suffix of motion -n (nê). 116 Hanö'lekanantëka'doidi in the honey lake region. It is not clear yet whether Hanö'le is merely the Indian pronunciation of the English name, or a real Indian name itself, of which the English name is a corruption. The suffix -n is the usual locative from, apparently meaning this side from, i.e., between here and honey lake. The -ê is a suffix of uncertain meaning, apparently nominalizing the locative form preceding it. The -n is from -m before k, and is the connective. Kô'do, kodo, is the usual term for place, country, world, and frequently takes a euphonic before the locative -di at, in.
117 mana'nanta na that place from toward; an' the demonstrative that, with the locative -nes from, meaning this side of that place, i.e., between there and here; the same suffix -të, as in the preceding word; and finally the locative (exactly the reverse of -m) -na toward, i.e., the snake crawled of toward some spot between here and honey lake.
118 0no'douteen went off up, it is said; 0no- to travel, to go; -dôi the directive upward (north is apparently always up to these Maidu).
119 ama'nanta that place from toward; and the demonstrative that, with the locative -nes from, meaning this side of that place, i.e., between there and here; the same suffix -të, as in the preceding word; and finally the locative (exactly the reverse of -m) -na toward, i.e., the snake crawled of toward some spot between here and honey lake.
120 0no'douteen went off up, it is said; 0no- to travel, to go; -dôi the directive upward (north is apparently always up to these Maidu).
121 0no'si'm am going (from the stem 0no- to go, to travel). Here the suffix of the first person singular is suffixed directly to verbal stem, without the -kô which is generally used (see § 19, no. 30).
122 nuno'm old man. Here apparently refers to one or other of the parents; from context later, this seems to be father. See note 2.
123 êttu' stop! a moment! wait!
124 min for you. The objective form of the independent second personal pronoun.
125 basa'kô a cane, staff. This appears to be from a stem bas-, which seems to mean wide spreading, spreading apart, from which, with the suffix -kô, we have that which has the quality of possessing wide spread, i.e., a staff, with which one spreads out one's support. Here objective.
126 pâ'tisi' i am making. The stem pâ'- means to create, to make (Ko'do'tenem the earth-maker, creator), and, with the causative -të, seems to mean about the same, to prepare, to make. Here, again, we have the suffix of the first personal pronoun singular, without the usual suffix preceding it.
127 a'ñkaninikan and.
128 piwi' roots (objective).
129 kan and.
basī'kōmostā'ndi 130
staff (cane) end-on
wida'tpaitsioia. 131
tied-to, it is said.
"Uni" 133
odi'knodom 133
This
"arriving

To'lolokdi 134
to'sdadom 135
smoke hole at
standing up
tsēhe'hetsownoteten 136
looking-over (into)-after
having
wōdo'minodom 137
throwing-into

Wōdō'nikma'nkano 138
throw-down-you-shall
sāmō'estodi 139
fireplace-centre-into"
åtsōia. 77
"Sika'latset 140
"Bother-while (if)

Min 124
O'hōni 141
you
something
mysterious
with

Min 124
O'po'ktibōs 144
Nik 92
sīka'lamen 143
ama 43
headache
cause I may.
Me
"Bother not"

Aam'nakano 144
"Say-you"
åtsōia 77
Amo'nikan 119
"He'ū" 84
åtsōia. 77
Then and
"Yes"

A wete'nkan 40
O'nōdoitsioia 118
Then and
went off up, it is
said.

---

130 basī'kōmostā'ndi on the end of the staff. Basī'kō staff: -m the connective; osta'ndi the end, point. The locative -di has the force of at, on.
131 wida'tpaitsioia tied to. It is said. The prefix-stem wi-, indicating actions done by force, generally by pulling, is here combined with the stem -dot-, which, in its more common form, -dot-, is of frequent occurrence. It has a meaning alone of to knock, apparently, but with wi- has the meaning of to tie. The suffix -pai means against, upon, i.e., to tie or affix to, on.
132 Uni this (objective), the demonstrative pronoun.
133 Odi'knodom arriving, when you arrive (from d- to go, and dikno against, up against; hence to reach, to arrive); present participle suffix -dom.
134 To'lolokdi at the smoke hole. From ololoko is the smoke hole of the earth-covered lodge. The terminial euphonic vowel (here o instead of the more usual i, probably depending on vowel-harmony) is dropped before the locative -di.
135 To'sdadom standing up (present participle). From tō- a stem meaning to stand; the suffix -da indicates motion upward or position aloft; hence standing up by the smoke hole.
136 Tsēhe'hetsownoteten after having looked over into. From tse- the stem of the verb to see, here with a suffix, -ēhē, which is obscure. The suffix -tōno, however, is a common one, meaning over edge of, off over down; hence to look over the edge of the smoke hole into the house. The -teten is the common suffix indicating after having.
137 Wōdō'minodom throwing down into. The prefix-stem wō- here refers to the staff, as a long thing; wōdō'm meaning to throw or drop a long thing. The stem dōm- is obscure. The directive suffix -mi, meaning down into a hole, hollow, etc., follows, with the -no of general motion, and the participial (present) suffix -dom.
138 Wōdō'nikma'nkano you shall throw down. The same stem as above; wōdōm here takes the suffix -kit, meaning downward, to the ground. The future suffix -ma follows, with the regular ending of the second person coming last (see § 28).
139 Sāmō'estodi in the center of the fireplace; -sād is the term for fire; sāmō' the fireplace, apparently sa- mō' fire-stone; -eto, often used independently, means the fire or middle of anything, here with the locative -di.
140 Sīka'latset while, at the time when he bothers; sīka'la- has the meaning of to bother, to trouble, to hurt, its analysis is not yet clear; si- is a prefix of uncertain meaning (si'ker- to cook, siket- to seize, etc.). The stem -kal- is also troublesome. The temporal suffix -set here really gives the idea of whenever, if.
141 O'hōni with something mysterious. Bad (magically); o'hō is anything which is evil in its effects, or by magical means works harm to a person. The instrumental suffix -ni requires no explanation.
142 Opo'ktibōs I might make headache; ope k is a headache (probably from o-, the prefix referring to the head; and -pok-, meaning to strike); opo'ki- to cause a headache. The suffix -bō corresponds to our English might, the -s being the suffix of the first person, without, in this case again, the -ka. This -ka is, however, never used, I believe, after -bō.
143 Sīka'lamen don't bother, hurt (sīkā'-, cf. note 140). The negative -men is often used thus to indicate negative imperative.
144 Aam'nakano you say (from d- to say, with the regular ending of the second person).
There was an old couple. They lived just this side of Big Springs and, having no earth-lodge, lived in a bark hut. These old people had one daughter, who lived with them. Every evening, just at dusk, she always went bathing, and never missed a single night. One night she slept and dreamed of something; dreamed the same thing every night. Then one night she went bathing, but did not return. In the morning she came back, however, coming out of the water toward the house, carrying fish. She handed the fish to her father and then sat down. By and by a great snake came up unseen, lowered his head through the smoke hole, and crawled in. He kept crawling in and coiling around, till he filled all the space between the area back of the fire and the door on one side of the house; then, sticking his head up beside the girl, he looked steadily at her. After a while he began to crawl out, and, crawling entirely out, went down into the water and disappeared. Meanwhile the girl stayed in the house still. After a while she spoke, saying, "That person said to me, 'Let us go away.'" Then her father said, "All right."—"'I shall go to-morrow, let us go away to-morrow,'" said the girl. Then the old man replied, "Yes; you ought to go." Then they slept. In the morning the girl went to get water. She saw her husband the snake. He gave her a great quantity of fish. Then, carrying fish on one side and the water on the other, she came back to the house. When she arrived, she set the water down and passed the fish through the smoke hole to her father, who took them. That morning, after they had finished breakfast, the snake came again and coiled up in the same place as before. He looked straight at the girl, and then crawled out and went off toward the country between here and Honey lake. Then the girl spoke and said, "Well, I am going now." Then the old man said, "Yes." Then he added, "Stop a moment! I will make a cane for you." Then he made the cane and fastened magical roots to the end of it. "When you arrive at the snake's house, stand by the smoke hole and look over into the house and throw this staff into the center of the fire," he said. "'If you trouble me, I might make your head ache with something mysterious. Don't trouble me.' That is what you must say," he said. Then the girl answered, "All right." Then she went off up north, after the snake.
ALGONQUIAN
(FOX)

BY

WILLIAM JONES
(REVISED BY TRUMAN MICHELS0N)
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ALGONQUIAN
(FOX)

By William Jones
(Revised by Truman Michelson)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The following sketch of the grammar of the Fox was written by Dr. William Jones in 1904. Shortly after the completion of the manuscript Doctor Jones was appointed by the Carnegie Institution of Washington to conduct investigations among the Ojibwa of Canada and the United States, and it was his intention to revise the Fox grammar on the basis of the knowledge of the Ojibwa dialect which he had acquired.

Unfortunately Doctor Jones’s investigations among the Ojibwa were discontinued before he was able to complete the scientific results of his field-studies, and he accepted an appointment to visit the Philippine Islands for the Field Museum of Natural History, of Chicago. The duties which he had taken over made it impossible for him to continue at the time his studies on the Algonquian dialects, and finally he fell a victim to his devotion to his work.

Thus it happened that the sketch of the Fox grammar was not worked out in such detail as Doctor Jones expected. Meanwhile Doctor Jones’s collection of Fox texts were published by the American Ethnological Society, and Doctor Truman Michelson undertook the task of revising the essential features of the grammar by a comparison of Doctor Jones’s statements with the material contained in the volume of texts.

On the whole, it has seemed best to retain the general arrangement of the material given by Doctor Jones, and Doctor Michelson has confined himself to adding notes and discussions of doubtful points wherever it seemed necessary. All the references to the printed series of texts, the detailed analyses of examples, and the analysis of the text printed at the end of the sketch, have been added by Doctor Michelson. Longer insertions appear signed with his initials.

FRANZ BOAS.

MARCH, 1910.

739
§ 1. THE DIALECT OF THE FOX

The Fox speak a dialect of the central group of Algonquian Indians. By "central group" is meant the Algonquian tribes that live or have lived about the Great Lakes, particularly in the adjoining regions west and south, and now embraced by the territory of the states of Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. The group contains many dialects, some of which are the Ojibwa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Menominee, Kickapoo, Sauk and Fox.

The dialects present great similarity in the absolute forms of many words; but marked differences are noticed in the spoken language. Some of the differences are so wide as to make many of the dialects mutually unintelligible. This lack of mutual comprehension is due in some measure to variations of intonation and idiom, and in a certain degree to slight differences of phonetics and grammatical forms.

The extent of diversity among the dialects varies; for instance, Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi are so closely related that a member of any one of the three experiences only slight difficulty in acquiring a fluent use of the other's dialect. The transition from Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi to Menominee is wider, and it is further still to Kickapoo and to Sauk and Fox.

Some of the dialects, like the Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, are disintegrating. The breaking-up is not uniform throughout a dialect: it is faster in the regions where civilized influences predominate or play a controlling force; while the purer forms are maintained in the places where ideas of the old-time life and associations have a chance to live and survive. The dialect of the Mexican band of Kickapoo is holding its own with great vigor; but not quite the same can be said for Menominee or Sauk. Sauk and Fox are the same speech with feeble differences of intonation and idiom. Kickapoo is closely akin to both, but is a little way removed from them by slight differences of vocabulary, intonation, and idiom. The dialect taken up here is the Fox, which is spoken with as much purity as Kickapoo.

§ 1
The number of the Foxes is nearly four hundred, and they live on wa River at a place in Tama county, Iowa. They call themselves 'eskwa'ki'a'g' Red-Earth People, and are known to the Ojibwa and others of the north as Utagamî'g People of the Other Shore. Among their totems is an influential one called the Fox. It is told that members of this totem were the first in the tribe to meet the French; that the strangers asked who they were, and the reply was, Wā'gō'ya'g' People of the Fox Clan: so thereafter the French knew the whole tribe as Les Renards, and later the English called them Foxes, a name which has clung to them ever since.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-12)

§ 2. General Characteristics

There is a preponderance of forward sounds, and a lack of sharp distinction between k, t, p, and their parallels g, d, b. The first set have no doubt as to their being unvoiced sounds: their acoustic effect is a direct result of their organic formation. The same is not true with the second set. They form for voiced articulation, but their acoustic effect is plainly that of surds: when the sonant effect caught by the ear, it is of the feeblest sort. Sometimes l is substituted for n in careless speech. Vowels are not always distinct, specially when final. There is weak distinction between u and y, both as vowel and as consonant.

Externally the language gives an impression of indolence. The ps are listless and passive. The widening, protrusion, and rounding of lips are excessively weak. In speech the expiration of breath is uncertain; for instance, words often begin with some show of effort, then decrease in force, and finally die away in a lifeless breath. Such is one of the tendencies that helps to make all final vowels audible: consequently modulation of the voice is not always clear and sharp.

The same indistinctness and lack of clearness is carried out in continued discourse, in fact it is even increased. Enunciation is blurred, nd sounds are elusive, yet it is possible to indicate something of the nature of length, force, and pitch of sounds.
§ 3. Sounds

Consonants

The system of consonants is represented by the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Spirant and affricative</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-palatal</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
<td>k, g</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
<td>'k</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>c,s</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
<td>t, 't, d</td>
<td>ts, tc</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
<td>p, 'p, b</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

h, 'hw, y

a soft glottal stop resembling a feeble whispered cough. It occurs before initial vowels: "a'tci" lacrosse stick.

[ intervals presumably a spirant with glottal stricture.—T. M.]

'k denotes a whispered continuant before the articulation of k, t, and p.

[The closure is so gradual that the corresponding spirant is heard faintly before the stop, so that the combination is the reverse of the fricative. Thus "pyăte" when he came is to be pronounced nearly as "fspyăte" with bilabial f.—T. M.]

It occurs also before h.

h an aspirate sound almost like h in hall, hail, hull. It is soft breath with feeble friction passing the vocal chords, and continuing on through the narrowed glottis: nahi' hey! listen!

'k an aspirate of the same origin as h, but without an inner arrest. The tongue is drawn back and raised high, making the air-passage narrow; it has a sudden release at the moment almost of seeming closure: ma" hwẵ'wə wolf.

hw a bilabial, aspirate glide, starting at first like h, and ending with the air-passage wider and the ridge of the tongue slightly lowered: pa'nahwẵ'wə he missed hitting him.

k like the k-sound in caw, crawl. The stoppage makes and bursts without delay on the forward part of the soft palate: kaho' hist!

---

1 It should be pointed out that in the Fox Texts d and t, g and k, b and p, often interchange. This is due to the peculiar nature of b, d, g. Dr. Jones has simply tried to record the sounds as he heard them when taking down the stories. Wherever such fluctuation occurs, the actual sound pronounced was undoubtedly b, d, g. As an example we may give sdpA wdbA to look at.—T. M.
a $k$-sound articulated in the same position as $k$. But the closure is dull and sustained, with a pause between the stop and break, leaving an acoustic effect of almost a medial sonant: $\ddot{a}^i gw$ no. 

$k$ an outer $k$-sound like the one in *keen, keep, key*. The articulation is farther front than for $k$ or $g$. The spiritus asper is for a hiss of breath that escapes before complete closure: $\ddot{i}^i kw\ddot{a} w$ woman.

$\dddot{z}$ like the voiceless $\dddot{sh}$ in *she, shame, mash*. The sibilant is made with friction between the tongue and upper alveolar. The opening is narrow, and the tip of the tongue is near the lower teeth: $\dddot{c}\dddot{a}s$k$ only.

$s$ a hissing surd articulated with the tip of the tongue against the lower teeth. The air-passage is narrow and without stop: $w\ddot{a} sesi^i$ bull-head.

$tc$ like $ch$ in *chill, cheap, church*. The articulation is with the ridge of the tongue behind the upper alveolar, while the blade is near the lower alveolar: $tc(\ddot{i}) st\ddot{c}u^i$ or $tci\ddot{st}c\ddot{u}^i$ heavens and earth!

$t$ a pure dental surd articulated with the point of the tongue against the upper teeth and with sudden stress: $tet\ddot{e} pis\ddot{u} w$ he whirls round.

$d$ a dental articulated in the same place as $t$, but delayed and with less stress. It leaves the impression of almost a voiced stop: $me\ddot{d}\ddot{a}s w$ ten.

$t$ a dental surd differing from $t$ only in the fact that an audible hiss is expelled just previous to a full stop: $me\ddot{t}u^i$ bow.

$l$ a lateral liquid sometimes heard in careless speech. It often replaces the nasal $n$ after $u, a$, and the dull $a$. The point of the tongue articulates softly with the upper alveolar, the friction being so slight that the sound has much the nature of a vowel. It is like $l$ in *warble*: $w\ddot{a}bigul\ddot{a}$ for $w\ddot{a}bigun\ddot{u}$ mouse.

$n$ not quite like the $n$ in English, the articulation being with the point of the tongue at the base of the upper teeth: $n\ddot{i} n$ I.

$m$ a bilabial nasal consonant like $m$ in English: $m_a n$ this.

$p$ a surd like the sharp tenuis $p$ in English; it is made with complete closure, and the stop usually breaks with a slight puff of breath: $py\ddot{u} w$ he comes.
b a bilabial stop with almost the value of a sonant; it differs from p in being dull and having less stress. The lips close and are momentarily sustained, as if for a sonant, but break the stop with a breath: wā'ban‡ morning light.

'p like p, but with the difference of having first to expel a puff of breath before coming to complete closure: ū'pyātc‡ when he came.

y like the voiced spirant y in you, yes. It is uttered without stress: wā'tciyā'ni whence I came.

w bilabial liquid like the English w in war, water: wāwī'gewā'y‡ at their dwelling-place.

**Vowels**

ū like the vowel-sound in words like loon, yule, you, and clue. It is long and slightly rounded; the ridge of the tongue is high and back, and the lips and teeth have a thin opening: ū'viyā‡ somebody.

u like the u-sound in full and book. The vowel is short, open, and faintly rounded. It is the short of ū: pyā'tusā'w^a he comes walking.

ō like o in words like no, slope, rose. The vowel is long and slightly less rounded than ū; the ridge of the tongue is not so high and not so far back as for ū: ū'mōw‡ honey.

ɔ like o in fellow and hotel. It is the short sound of ō: nōtā'gosī'wa he is heard.

a like the short vowel-sound in words like not, plot, what. The vowel suffers further shortening in final syllables; it is uttered with the ridge of the tongue drawn back; the lips are passive: na'husā'w^a he can walk.

A like the vowel-sound in sun, hut; it is short, dull, unrounded, and made with the ridge of the tongue slightly lifted along the front and back: ma'n‡ this.

ā as in the broad vowel-sound of words like all, wall, law, awe. The ridge of the tongue is low, and pulled back almost to the uvula; the lips make a faint attempt to round: wā'bamōn‡ mirror.

ā like a in father, alms. The tongue lies low, back, and passive; the lips open listlessly and only slightly apart: māhan‡ these.
̄ longer than the a in sham, alley. The ̄ in German Bär is probably more nearly akin. It is broad, and made with the tongue well forward; the opening of the lips is slightly wider than for ą; the quantity is in fact so long as to be diphthongal. The first part of the sound is sustained with prolonged emphasis, while the second is blurred and falling. The character of this second sound depends upon the next mould of the voice-passage: mā'ndaw̄ there is much of it.

ę like the a-sound in tale, ale, late. It is made with the ridge of the tongue near the forward part of the palate; the lips open out enough to separate at the corners, but the rift there is not clear and sharp: nahē' hark!

e like the vowel-sound in men, led, let. It is a shorter sound of Ė: pe'mt oil, grease.

ı with much the character of the diphthong in words like see, sea, tea, key. It is the most forward of all the vowels; the opening of the lips is lifeless: ni'n̄ I.

i like the i in sit, miss, fit. It is the short of Ė; it is even shorter as a final vowel: öi'ćim'i'lc̄ just as he told me.

§ 4. Sound-Clusters

Consonantic Clusters

The language is not fond of consonant-clusters. In the list that follows are shown about all of the various combinations. Most of them are with w and y, and so are not types of pure clusters of consonants:

Consonant Combinations

kw kw'i'yen̄u exactly
gw Ė'gw̄ no
'kw i'kwaw̄ woman
hw keći''kahwawi'w̄ he stabs him
'hw ma''hwaw̄ wolf
sw me'daw̄u ten
cw me'cwaw̄ rabbit
tw a'twu' ouch
mw a'mawaw̄ he eats him
nw nō'tenw̄u wind
pw pwaw̄ not
'pów w"pwa'q'm' pipe
dw a'bwä'tcig'q'm'i roasting-spit
ky kekyä'nena'mw'a he holds it
gy u'gyän'i his mother
'ky a'kyän'i lands
cy me't'egumicyän'i oaks
my myä'w'i road
ny nyä'w'i four
py pyä'w'a he comes
'py ä'pyä'tc'i when he comes

The following true consonantic clusters occur:

sk cäs'k'i only
ck ma'cicki'w'i grass
stc tsistcä'c my stars!

Diphthongs

Not more than two vowels combine to form a diphthong. Stress is stronger on the leading member, and movement of the voice is downward from the first to the second vowel.

ai like the diphthong in my, I; aiyän'ä opossum
ai like the diphthong in turn with the r slurred; a'śai skin
ēi like the diphthong in day, play; nahëi' now then!
äi' like the diphthong in soil, boy; mä'ınähwa'w'a he went at him
au like the diphthong in shout, bout; hau halloo!
ōu like the diphthong in foe, toe; pyänō'u come here!

§ 5. Quantity

Vowels vary in length, and in the analysis of sounds they have their phonetic symbols indicating quantity. A vowel with the macron (¬) over it is long, as ö, ü, ă, and ī, and a vowel without the sign is short. Some vowels are so short that they indicate nothing more than a faint puff of breath. The short, weak quantity is the normal quantity of the final vowel, and for that reason is in superior letter, as ä, i'. Rhetorical emphasis can render almost any vowel long—so long that the vowel-sound usually develops into a diphthong, as ägwe'i why, no, of course! (from ä'gwo' no).

Change of quantity is often due to position. Long vowels are likely to suffer loss of quantity at the beginning of long combinations: nä"k'a again becomes na'ka in the phrase na'katcämegutä's'gi again

§ 5
CERTAINLY SEEMED AS IF. Long vowels also shorten when placed before a stressed syllable: ʾaʾkigʾ on the ground becomes aʾkigāʾhi-
nābiʾtcʾ when he looked down at the ground.

Diphthongs undergo change of quantity. The accent of a diph-
thong slides downward from the first vowel, and the loss when it comes is in the breaking-off of the second member: aʾsāʾ buckskin, neʾtasāʾmʾ my buckskin.

Consonants show evidence of quantity also. In general, the quant-
ty is short; but the length of time between the stop and break in g, d, and b, is noticeable, so much so that the effect of a double sound is felt. As a matter of fact, g stands for a double sound. The first part is an articulation for an inner k, and in gliding forward comes to the place for g where the stoppage breaks. Assimilation tends to reduce the double to a single sound. Nasal sonant m and n sound double before accented i: mīʾmīwʾa pigeon, nīʾna ʾi.

A syllable consists (1) of a single vowel-sound, ā; (2) of two or more vowels joined together into a diphthong, ʾwāiʾ whatʾ; and (3) of a vowel-sound in combination with a single consonant or a cluster of consonants, the vocalic sound always following the consonant: nīʾtcʾi my kind. Two or more vowels coming together, no two of which are in union as a diphthong, are broken by an interval between: āhiʾowāʾtcʾi so they said.

§ 6. Stress

Force is but another name for stress, and indicates energy. It is not possible to lay down definite rules for the determination of stress in every instance, and it is not always clear why some syllables are emphasized at the expense of others. Generally, in words of two syllables, stress-accent falls on the first, kīʾnʾa thou; for words of three syllables, stress falls on the antepenult, kwīʾyenʾa sufficiently. Beyond words of three syllables, only the semblance of a rule can be suggested. The chief stress comes on the first or second of the initial syllables, and the secondary stress on the penult; the syllables between follow either an even level, or more often a perceptible rise and fall alternating feebly up to the penult. In accordance with its rising nature the principal stress can be considered as acute ('), and in the same manner the fall of the secondary stress can be termed as grave ('). The sonorous tone of the voice on the penult is marked,
due perhaps to the extreme brevity of the final, inarticulate vowel. The feature of the sonorous penult is apparent in extended combinations like phrases and sentences, especially when movement is swift at the start, and, gradually slowing up on the way, brings up at the syllable next to the last with a sustained respite which ends with a sudden break into the final vowel. The arrival on the penult creates one or two effects according as the syllable is long or short. If the quantity is long, the vowel is sung with falling voice; if short, the vowel is brought out with almost the emphasis of a primary stress-accent.

This makes a fairly normal order for stress in a single group standing alone; but it suffers interference in the spoken language where the measure of a syllable for special stress often becomes purely relative. The stress on one syllable brings out a certain particular meaning, and on another gains an effect of a different sort. Stressing the stem of wā'baminu look at me exaggerates the idea of look; stressing the penult -ni-', the syllable of the object pronoun, centers the attention on that person; and stressing the final member -nu' thou makes the second personal subject pronoun the object of chief concern.

Special stress often splits a vocalic sound into two vowels of the same or a different kind. This is common in the case of pronouns, in words of introductive import, in vocatives of spirited address, and in cries calling at a distance: i'ìn't for i'ñ't that; nahe'i' for nahi' hark; neniwetigē'i for ne'nīwetigē' oh, ye men! pyāgō'u for pyā'gō come ye.

§ 7. Pitch

This Algonquian dialect does not fall wholly in the category of a stressed language. Pitch is ever present in a level, rising, or falling tone. The effect of pitch is strong in the long vowels of the penult. Temperament and emotion bring out its psychological feature. For instance, pride creates a rising tone, and a feeling of remorse lets it fall. In the sober moments of a sacred story the flow of words glides along in a musical tone; the intonation at times is so level as to become a tiresome monotone; again it is a succession of rises and falls, now ascending, now descending, and with almost the effect of song. In general, the intonation of ordinary speech is on a middle scale. The tone of men is lower than that of women and children.

§ 7
Sound-Changes (§§ 8-12)

§ 8. Accretion

In the course of word-formation, phonetic elements are taken on that have the impress of mere accretions. The additions are the result of various causes: some are due to reduplication; some to accent; and others act as glides between vowels, and as connectives between unrelated portions of a word-group. Instances of the accretion of some of these phonetic elements are next to be shown.

Syllabic Accretion

A syllable, usually in the initial position, is sometimes repeated by another which precedes and maintains the same vowel-sound. The repetition is in fact a reduplication:

\[ i'ni \, \text{wāyātu'geme'g} \] and so in truth it may have been, for \[ i'ni \, \text{yātu'geme'g} \]

It is not always clear whether some accretions are but glides passing from one sound to another, or only additions to aid in maintaining stress-accent on a particular syllable. The syllable \( hu \) is a frequent accretion in dependent words, and occurs immediately after the temporal article \( ā \):

\[ āhugu'kahigwā'te' \text{ WHEN THEY MADE A BRIDGE is the conjunctive for} \ kuv'kahigwā'g \ \text{ THEY MADE A BRIDGE} \]

\[ āhuke'piskwātawā'hōniwe'te' \text{ WHICH THEY USED AS A FLAP OVER THE ENTRY-WAY [cf. 354.22] is a subordinate form of} \ ke'pis-kwātawā'hōnā'mō'g \ \text{ THEY USED IT FOR A FLAP OVER THE ENTRANCE} \]

[I am convinced that \( h u \) is not a glide nor an addition to maintain the stress-accent on a particular syllable, but is to be divided into \( h-u \), in which \( h \) is a glide, but \( u \) a morphological element. In proof of this I submit the following: There is an initial stem \( wīgi \) to dwell (\( wīgē \) also; cf. \( kīwe \) beside \( kīwi \) [§16]). Thus \( wīgiwā \) he dwells 220.22 (-wā §28). Observe that we have \( wihuwīgewā'te' \) where they were to live 56.5 (future conjunctive, §29) beside \( āhuwīgewā'te' \) where they lived 56.23 (for -wā'te'; aorist conjunctive, §29); \( āhuwīgī-wā'te' \) where they lived 94.21; \( āhuhūgīyāg \) where we (excl.) were living 216.1 (aor. conj. §29); \( āhuhūgī'ite' \) where he lived 42.20 (§29); \( āhuhūgī'inite' \) where he was staying 182.8 (§34). That is to say, \( h u \) is

\[ § 8 \]
found after wi- as well as ā-. Now, it should be observed that we have hu after ā- in some stems regularly; in others it never occurs. As ā is unquestionably used as a glide, we are at once tempted to regard the u as a morphological element. But a direct proof is wāvīginūcis' he who dwelled there 80.9, 12, 20; 82.10, 22; 84.10, 21; 86.2, 20. This form is a participial (§ 33), showing the characteristic change of u to wā (§ 11). Hence the wā points to an initial u, which can not be a glide, as nothing precedes; and ā is absent. Now, this u is found in ā'kwi'i'wigestc' when they went to live somewhere 66.15 (ā—wātc', § 29; kīwi is an extended form of kī, an initial stem denoting indefinite motion, § 16; 'k for k regularly after ā).—T. M.

Other additions, like ā, w, y, are clearly glides:

ā'hu'uteic'tc' whence he came, the independent form of which is u'tc'wā he came from some place
ā'hu'napami'tc' when she took a husband, a temporal form
for unā'pāmi'wā she took a husband
ō'wīwā'nī his wife (from ovi-ānī)
ovi'tāwā'nī his brother-in-law (from ovi'-tā-ānī)
ketāsi'yūtā'wā he crawls up hill (from ketāsi-ūtāwa)
ki'yāwā'wā he is jealous (from ki-āwāwa)

Consonantic Accretion

A frequent type of accretion is w or y with k, forming a cluster:

tca''kwīwinā'wā he is short-horned (from tcagi-wināwa)
tca''kwāpyā'wā it is short (from tcagi-āpyāwt)
sāsīgā'kyā'wā he scattered it (this is just the same in meaning as sāsīgā'kāwā)

Intervocalic Consonants

The most common accretion is t. It falls in between two vowels, each of which is part of a different member in a word-group.

Examples:

Between i and e: a''kwitepyā'gā top of the water
Between e and ā: netā'āpānā'nī I laugh
Between ā and ō: ā'wato'wā he carries it away
Between ā and u: pyā'tusā'wā he came walking
Between ō and ā: pī'tōtā'wā he crawls in

n

\[1 \text{ } t \text{ serves as a connective in an intimate relation, and will be mentioned again.} \]

§ 8
[In so far as -ōtā- is a secondary stem of the second order (§ 19), the -t- can not be an intervocalic inserted phonetically. The same applies to the s in -isā- cited below.—T. M.]

When the vowel of the second member is i, then t usually becomes tc:

- Between ā and i: pī'tcisā'wa it (bird) flew in
- Between a and i: kepa'tcigā'nī cork, stopper
- Between ā and i: kuqwā'tcisā'wa it (bird) tries to fly
- Between ā and i: kiwā'tcitāhā'wa he is lonely

Sometimes n has the value of an intervocalic consonant. It often occurs immediately after the temporal particle ā:

tcāgānā'towātci'gī PEOPLES OF ALL LANGUAGES, a participial with the elements of tcā'gī ALL, ā having the force of the relative pronoun WHO, and ā'towāwa'gī THEY SPEAK A LANGUAGE.
ānāpata'gī WHEN HE SAW THEM 206.18 as contrasted with ātāpā-
pata'gī HE HAD A FEEBLE VIEW OF IT IN THE DISTANCE 206.16

[Is āpa- to see related with wāpa- to see, to look at?—T. M.]
ānā'pawātcī HE DREAMED 206 TITLE; 210.17 (ā— tcī [§ 29]) contrasted with īnā ā'pawātcī THEN HE HAD A DREAM 212.3; ā'ā'pawātcī SHE HAD A DREAM 216.1

Sometimes n occurs between vowels much after the fashion of t:

- Between ā and e: myā'negā'wa he dances poorly
- Between a and e: upyā'nesiwā he is slow
- Between ā and ā: myānā'pawāta he that dreamed an ill omen

TITLE 210; 212, 17, 20; 214.1, 10 (myā + ā'pawā- to dream; participial [§ 33])

See, also, 212.4, 5, 7, 9, 10; 214.20.

- Between i and a: ā'peminawatena'gī then he went carrying it in his hand 194.12 (ā—agī [§ 29]; pemī- awā- (āwā) [§ 16]; -tcī [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

- Between i and ā: ke'tcināpyāyāwātc when they drew nigh 152.2 (ke'tci- intensity; pyā- motion hither; yā- to go; ā—wātcī [§ 29]; -t lost by contraction [§ 10])

- Between i and ā: ā'cināpamegūtc as he was thus seen 76.6 (-tc for -tcī [§ 10]; ā—tcī [§ 29]; īci- thus; āpa- same as āpā to see; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]); petegīnā pi'kanī thou shalt (not) look behind at me 382.9 (petegī BEHIND; -i'kanī [§ 30])

[Is ā'panāpamāwātcī THEY LOST SIGHT OF HIM 180.19 for ā'pananā-
pamāwātcī (§ 12)? The analysis would be ā—awātcī (§ 29); pana-
(§ 16) TO MISS, TO FAIL TO; āpa- TO SEE; -m- (§ 29). Similarly

§ 8
Vous avez été dépossédé du refuge de votre corps physiquement. 382.7 (a—yan [§ 29]; -tisw- [§39]).—T. M.

While these consonants seem to be inserted for purely phonetic reasons, others, that appear in similar positions, seem to have a definite meaning, at least in some cases.

[Though I also think that in a few cases intervocalic consonants are inserted for purely phonetic reasons, yet I am convinced that in bulk we have to deal with a morphological element. Take, for example, pyätcisäw a he came in flight. Here -tc- and -s- are regarded as intervocals. Such is not the case. It stands for pyätc- + -isä- + w a, as is shown by pyätcine'kawäw a he comes driving them home (§ 16). The secondary stem -ne'ka- follows (§ 19) pyätc-. A vowel is elided before another (§ 10); hence the final -i of pyätc- is lost before -isä- (§ 19). Similarly -tc- seems to be added to pyä-. Note, too, ä'pitigätc when he entered the lodge, compared with pitcisäwäg a they came running in (pit-: pütc-: pü- = pyä-: pyätc-: pyä-. In short, pitc- stands for pitci-). I can not go into this further at present.—T. M.]

It looks as if s plays the same rôle as t, tc, and n, but on a smaller scale. Instances of its use are:

Between e and i: asä'wesì'w a he is yellow
Between i and ä: pyä'tcisä'w a he came in flight (isä [§ 19])
Between a and ö: ne'masö'w a he is standing up
Between u and ä: pyä'tusä'w a he came walking (usä [§ 19])

In these examples s has an intimate relation with the notion of animate being. It will be referred to later.

The consonant m is sometimes an intervocalic element:

nanähi'cimä'w a he carefully lays him away
pä'nen'mamöw a he dropped it

Other functions of m will be mentioned farther on.

[It would seem that me is substituted for m when a consonant-cluster would otherwise be formed that is foreign to the language. (For such clusters as are found, see § 4.) Contrast keväpame'w I look at thee, with newä'pamäw a I look at him; äväpamätc he then looked at her 298.20; note also newäpamegüw a he looked at me 368.19; contrast wäpame'k w look ye at him 242.19 with wäpamin w look thou at me 322.3. Other examples for me are kepyätcicwäpamen a I have come to visit you 242.11; äväpawäpamegutc a was she watched all the while 174.17; pünime'k w cease disturbing him (literally, cease talking with him [see § 21]) 370.18.

§ 8
here is some evidence to show that a similar device was used in conjunction with \( t \) and \( n \), but at present I have not sufficient examples to show this conclusively.

On further investigation it appears that the device of inserting a ovel to prevent consonant-clusters foreign to the Fox runs throughout the language. The vowel is usually \( e \), but always \( a \) before \( h \) and \( hw \). There is an initial stem \( nes \) to kill; compare \( ânesâtc \) then he killed him (\( ã—âtc \) § 29). Contrast this with \( ânesëgtc \) then he was slain (\( -gu- \) sign of the passive [§ 41]); \( nesegwâ \) 190.3 he has been slain (independent mode, aorist, passive [§ 28]; \( -wâ \) lengthened or \( -wə \)); \( năsegwâ \) he who had been slain 190.8 (passive participle; \( -gu- \) as above; \( -ta \) [§ 33]; change of stem-vowel of \( nes \) [§§ 11, 33]).

Other illustrations are \( kusōwâ \) he was feared 56.14 (-s- [§ 21]), contrasted with \( kusōwâ \) he feared him (-\( œwə \) [§ 28]), \( ku'tamwâ \) he ears it (\( 't \) [§ 21]; -\( amwâ \) [§ 28]); \( â'to'këntc \) then he wakened her 04.18 (for -\( tc\); -\( n\) [§ 21]; per contra \( â'to'këntc \) then he woke up 08.11); \( â'tâgenâtc \) he touched him 158.5; \( mi'kemegucnc \) he by whom she was wooed 142.6 (passive participle; \( mi'k- \) [§ 16]; -\( m\) [§ 21]; -\( gu- \) [§ 41]; -\( tcnc \) [§ 33]); \( mi'kemâwâ \) he wooes her (\( -wâ \) [§ 28]); \( âmi'kemâtc \) when he wooed her 148.6 (\( ã—âtc \) [§ 29]); \( ōgenâwâ \) he washes him (\( kög- \) [§ 16]; -\( wâ \) [§ 28]; contrast \( kögâwə \) e mires). For \( a \) as the inserted vowel observe \( pítahwâwə \) he buries in (\( pît- \) [§ 16]; -\( hw \) [§ 21]; -\( wə \) [§ 28]); \( kaska'hamwâ \) he accomplishes n act (\( kask- \) [§ 16]; -\( h\) [§ 21]; -\( amwə \) [§ 28]); \( a'pítahwâwətc \) then he bury him 160.2 (\( ã—âwətc \) [§ 29]; -\( t \) elided).—T. M.]

§ 9. Variation of Consonants

Some consonants interchange one with another. The process is marked among those with forward articulation. \( s \) and \( c \) interchange in:

\[ më'se'kwâwə \] she has long hair
\[ më'câwə \] it is large
\[ Mësë'sibôwə \] large river (name for the Mississippi)
\[ më'cîmi'nə \] large fruit (word for apple)

\( t \) and \( c \) interchange:

\[ më'tahwâwə \] he shot and hit him
\[ më'cwâwə \] he shot and hit him

\( t \) and \( s \) interchange:

\[ në'tamawâwə \] he killed him for another
\[ në'sâwə \] he killed him

[For the interchange of sonant and surd stops see § 3.—T. M.]

44877°—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—48

§ 9
§ 10. Contraction and Assimilation

Contraction is a frequent factor in sound-change. Instances will first be shown in the case of compounds where the process works between independent words. The final vowel of a word coalesces with the initial vowel of the next, with results like the following:

\[ a + a \] becomes \[ a: \] \( \text{ni'načt'ut} \) in turn (for \( \text{ni'n} a'c'it\)\)

\[ + + a \] becomes \[ a: \] \( \text{nā'k'pyā'tc} \) again he came (for \( \text{nā'k} a''pyā'tc\)\)

\[ + a \] becomes \[ a: \] \( \text{pyā'wagayō'ī} \) they came to this place (for \( \text{pyā'wag} ayō''t\)\)

\[ + + a \] becomes \[ a: \] \( \text{nā'gawak'i'w} \) it is a sandy place (for \( \text{nā'gaw} a''ki'w\)\)

\[ + + a \] becomes \[ a: \] \( \text{ite'pāhā'tc} \) he goes there (for \( \text{i'tep} a'hātc\)\)

\[ + + a \] becomes \[ a: \] \( \text{nēpā'nāte'g} \) they go to fetch water (for \( \text{nē'p} a'nāte'g\)\)

\[ + + i \] becomes \[ i: \] \( \text{kā'civw} \) what does he say? (for \( \text{kā'c} i'w\)\)

\[ + + i \] becomes \[ i: \] \( \text{i'nipi'yōw} \) so it was told of yore (for \( \text{i'n} i'yōw\)\)

\[ + a \] becomes \[ a: \] \( \text{nā'wasku'tc} \) in the center of the fire (for \( \text{nā'c} ʻskut\)\)

\[ + a \] becomes \[ a: \] \( \text{āgwamātc'i'n} \) he did not eat it (for \( \text{āgw} amwāc'i'n\)\)

\[ + + a \] becomes \[ a: \] \( \text{āē'gōpe'} \) and often (for \( \text{āē'g} ʻpe'\)\)

\[ + + u \] becomes \[ u: \] \( \text{nēgutu''kāte'g} \) on one of his feet (for \( \text{nē'gw} u''kāte'g\)\)

The two vowels in contact may assimilate into a diphthong:

\[ a + a \] becomes \[ a: \] \( \text{ne'c'i'kaiyo'} \) alone here (for \( \text{ne'c'i'ka} a'yō''t\)\)

The result of the assimilation of two vowels may produce a sound different from either:

\[ + a \] becomes \[ a: \] \( \text{pyā'nutawitā'y} \) if he should come to me here (for \( \text{pyā'nutawit} a'yō''t\)\)

\[ + a \] becomes \[ a: \] \( \text{mā'taci'kitcā'y} \) he might overtake me here (for \( \text{mā'taci'k} i'tc} a'yō''t\)\)

Contraction between contiguous words is usually in the nature of the first sound suffering loss either by absorption or substitution. In much the same way does contraction act between members that make up a word-group. But in an attempt to illustrate the process there is an element of uncertainty, which lies in the difficulty of accounting for the absolute form of each component; for many members of a composition seldom have an independent use outside of the group. They occur in composition only, and in such way as to adjust themselves for easy euphony, and in doing so often conceal § 10
ther an initial or a final part. Nevertheless, hypothetical equivalents are offered as attempts at showing what the pure original forms probably were. Hyphens between the parts mark the places where robable changes take their rise:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{i} + e & \text{ becomes } e: \text{pe}'\text{meq}\text{á}w^a \text{ he dances past (from } \text{pemi-egâw}^a); \\
\text{i} + a & \text{ becomes } a: \text{ma}'\text{netövêge}n^t \text{ sacred garment (from } \text{manetöwi-} \\
& \text{ägen}^t); \text{ço}'\text{skwöge}n^t \text{ smooth cloth (from } \text{côskwi-ägen}^t); \\
\text{i} + a & \text{ becomes } a: \text{pem}a'\text{hògö}w^a \text{ he swims past (from } \text{pemi-ahogöw}^a); \\
\text{ta}'\text{gwàhöto}w^a & \text{ he is trapping (from } \text{tagwi-ahöto}w^a); \\
\text{i} + a & \text{ becomes } a: \text{ma}c'\text{skiwâpö}w^t \text{ tea, i.e., herb fluid (from } \text{ma'ci-} \\
& \text{skiwi-ıpöw}^t); \text{wicku'}pâpöw^t \text{ wine, i.e., sweet fluid (from } \text{wicku-} \\
& \text{pi-ıpöw}^t) \\
\text{i} + a & \text{ becomes } a: \text{'nemâskâw}^t \text{ it fell the other way (from } \text{anemisi-} \\
& \text{âskâw}^t) \\
\text{i} + o & \text{ becomes } o: \text{pe}'\text{mòta}n\text{mew}^a \text{ she passes by with a burden on her back (from } \text{pemi-òtamew}^a); \\
\text{i} + u & \text{ becomes } a: \text{pe}'\text{musâw}^a \text{ he walks past (from } \text{pemi-usâw}^a); \\
\text{i} + û & \text{ becomes } û: \text{pe}'\text{mûtûw}^a \text{ he crawls past (from } \text{pemi-ùtw}^a).
\end{align*} \]

[On the other hand, we find pemipahöw^a she passes by on the run (from pemipahöw).—T. M.]

Assimilation occurs between sounds not contiguous:

\[ \text{kicwini'}\text{cwihi}w^a \text{ after he had two (for } \text{kicini'}\text{cwihi}w^a) \]

§ 11. Dissimilation

Vowels often undergo dissimilation. A very common change is o or u to wä. The process takes place in the formation of participles from words having o or u as initial vowels:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{u}'\text{ticew} & \text{ he came thence; wä}'\text{tcit}^a \text{ he who came thence} \\
\text{u}'\text{töki}m^t & \text{ his land; wä}'\text{tökim}^t \text{ he who owns land} \\
\text{u}'\text{gwissan}^t & \text{ his or her son; wä}'\text{gwisi}^t \text{ one who has a son} \\
\text{u}'\text{kätc} & \text{ his foot; wä}'\text{kätc}^a \text{ one that has feet (name for a bake oven)} \\
\text{u}'\text{wìwi}n^t & \text{ his horn; wä}'\text{wìwinâ}^t \text{ one with small horn}
\end{align*} \]

The vowel u becomes wä when preceded by a consonant:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ku}'\text{sigâ}w^a & \text{ she plays at dice; kwâ}'\text{sig}^a \text{ she who plays at dice} \\
\text{nu}'\text{wiw}^a & \text{ he goes outside; nwâ}'\text{wiwâpe}^t \text{ he always goes outside} \\
\end{align*} \]

The vowel u can also become wä:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{uwi}'\text{gewâ}w^t \text{ their dwelling-place; wäwi}'\text{gewâ}^t \text{ at their dwelling-place}
\end{align*} \]

§ 11
§ 12. Elision

Elision plays an important part in sound-change. It occurs at final and initial places and at points inside a word-group. The places where the process happens, and the influences bringing it about, are shown in the examples to follow.

In some cases a vowel drops out and a vocalic consonant as a glide takes its place, the change giving rise to a cluster made up of a consonant and a semi-vowel:

\[i\] drops out: \(\ddot{a}’wāp\ddot{w}\ddot{a}’\ddot{g}e\ddot{si}\ddot{tc}\) then she began to wail (from \(\ddot{a}’wāp\ddot{i}-\ddot{w}\ddot{a}’\ddot{g}e\ddot{si}\ddot{tc}\)); \(\ddot{a}’’k\ddot{y}āw\ddot{a}\ddot{tc}\) and he grew jealous (from \(\ddot{a}’k\ddot{i}-\ddot{y}ē\ddot{w}\ddot{a}\ddot{tc}\))

\(o\) drops out: \(\ddot{a}wā’\ddot{w}ē\ddot{w}ā\ddot{tc}\) he singed his hair (for \(\ddot{a}wā\ddot{w}\ddot{i}so’-\ddot{w}ā\ddot{tc}\))

\(u\) drops out: \(\ddot{a}’s\ddot{is}\ddot{w}ā\ddot{tc}\) she fried them (from \(\ddot{a}’s\ddot{i}s\ddot{w}ā\ddot{tc}\))

Words sometimes suffer loss of initial vowel:

\(skōtā’y\) in the fire (for \(s’skōtā’y\))

\(tōkō’tām\ddot{w}ā’y\) at their fire (for \(u’tōkō’tām\ddot{w}ā’y\))

\(k\ddot{w}’\ddot{g}ā\ddot{gō’}\) nothing (for \(\ddot{a}’g\ddot{w}īg\ddot{gō’}\))

\(nā’\ddot{w}ā\ddot{tc}\) then he started away (for \(\ddot{a}’nāgwā’\ddot{tc}\))

The loss often includes both initial consonant and vowel:

\(c\ddot{w}ā’c\ddot{i}g\) eight (for \(n’c\ddot{w}ā’c\ddot{i}g\))

\(a’k\ddot{s}n\ddot{i}gīc\ddot{e}’\ddot{g}w\) all day long (for \(n’k\ddot{a}n\ddot{i}gīc\ddot{e}’\ddot{g}w\))

The second member of a consonant-cluster frequently drops out:

\(\ddot{a}’p\ddot{w}ā’\ddot{w}in\ddot{w}ā’\ddot{tc}\) when he did not see him (for \(\ddot{a}’p\ddot{w}ā’\ddot{w}in\ddot{w}ā’\ddot{tc}\))

\(pē’\ddot{m}u\ddot{t}a’\ddot{m}w\) he shot at it (for \(pē’\ddot{m}w\ddot{u}ta’\ddot{m}w\))

The elision of \(n\) takes place before some formative elements:

\(\ddot{a}’p\ddot{a}’\ddot{g}i\ddot{c}\ddot{i}’\ddot{g}\) when it (a bird) alighted (a subordinate form of \(p\ddot{a}’\ddot{g}i\ddot{c}\ddot{i}’\ddot{g}w\) it [a bird] alighted)

\(n\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}’hīc\ddot{e}m\ddot{a’}\ddot{w}\) he laid him away carefully; \(n\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}’hīc\ddot{e}m\ddot{a’}w\) he fixed a place to lie down

To slur over a syllable frequently brings about the loss of the syllable. In the instance below, the stressed, preserved syllable moves into the place made vacant, and becomes like the vowel that dropped out:

§ 12
The second part of a stem often suffers loss from the effect of having been slurried over:

- **kīwa'i'yatei'tc** after he had gone (for kiciwa'i'yatei'tc)
- **kī'ke'kā'nemā'tc** after he had learned who he was (for kī'cike'kā'-nemā'tc)
- **ā'pwā'nāwā'tc** when he did not see him (for ā'pwā'wināwā'tc)
- **ā'pwā'camā'tc** when he did not feed him (for ā'pwā'wicamā'tc)

To slur over part of a pronominal ending causes loss of sound there:

- **uwī'-nemō'** his sisters-in-law (for uwine'mōha')

Removal of the grave accent one place forward causes elision of final vowel:

- **ne'ksa'nitepe'k** all night long (for ne'ksa'nitepe'ki'w)

Suffixes help to bring about other changes in the pronominal endings. A frequent suffix causing change is -gi: in some instances it denotes location, in others it is the sign for the animate plural. The suffix conveys other notions, and wherever it occurs some change usually happens to the terminal pronoun. One is the complete loss of the possessive ending ni before the suffix with the force of a locative. At the same time the vowel immediately in front of the suffix becomes modified:

- **ō'san** his father; **ō'seg** at his father's (lodge)
- **u''kāta'n** his foot; **u''kāte'g** at or on his foot

Another change before -gi is that of a pronoun into an o or u with the quantity sometimes short, but more often long. The change is usual if the pronoun follows a sibilant or k-sound:

- **u'wānā'gw** hole; **uwā'nagō'g** at the hole
- **ma''ka'kw** box; **ma'ka'ku'g** at or in the box
- **mētegw** tree; **mē'tegu'g** at the tree
- **kīcesw** sun; **kīcesō'g** at the sun, suns
- **ne'nusw** buffalo; **ne'nusō'g** buffaloes

The suffix -gi affects inanimate nouns ending in the diphthong ai. The first vocalic member lengthens into ā, and the second drops out:

- **u'piskwa** bladder; **u'piskwā'g** on or at the bladder
- **u'tawwaga** ear; **u'tawwagā'g** at or in the ear
The change of the pronominal ending into an o or u occurs in a similar manner before n', a suffix sign of the inanimate plural:

\( u'wānā'gw' \) hole; \( uwā'n'gō'n' \) holes  
\( ma'kak'w' \) box; \( ma''kō'n' \) boxes  
\( me''teg'w' \) tree; \( me''tegō'n' \) trees  

A k-sound stands before the terminal wa of some animate nouns. To shift an ō into the place of the \( w \) is a device for creating a diminutive:

\( ma''kw' \) bear; \( ma''kō' \) cub  
\( 'c'askw' \) muskrat; \( 'c'askō' \) a little muskrat  
\( ce'gāgw' \) skunk; \( ce'gāgō' \) should be the proper diminutive, but it happens to be the word for onion, while \( kitten skunk \) is \( cegā'gōhā' \), a sort of double diminutive.

The substitution of o or u for w occurs with great frequency:

\( pā'gwāw' \) it is shallow; \( pā'gōne'g' \) the place of shallow water (the name for St Louis)  
\( nūcwi''kwāwa'g' \) two women; \( nūcō''kwāwā'w' \) he has two wives  
\( me'ckw' \) blood; \( me'ckuŝi'w' \) he is red  
\( wi'pegwā'w' \) it is blue; \( wi'pe'guŝi'w' \) he is blue

§ 13. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The principal process used for grammatical purposes is composition of stems. The stems are almost throughout of such character that they require intimate correlation with other stems, which is brought about by a complete coalescence of the group of component elements. These form a firm word-unit. Excepting a number of particles, the word-unit in Algonquian is so clearly defined that there can be no doubt as to the limits of sentence and word. Phonetic influences between the component elements are not marked.

The unit of composition is always the stem, and the word, even in its simplest form, possesses always a number of formative elements which disappear in new compositions. Examples of this process are the following:

\( pe'nāmā'w' \) he imitated the turkey-call (from \( penāwa-mūwa \)  
\( ma'hwāmā'w' \) he imitated the cry of the wolf (from \( ma'hwāwa-mūwa \)  
\( kiutū'gimā'mipe'n' \) thou wilt be our chief (\( ugiōmāw' \) chief)  
\( nūtunā'hwatū'g' \) he may have sought for him (independent mode \( nūtunāhwiw' \) he seeks for him)
pyā'gwānt he must have come (independent mode pyā'wā he came)

Most of the elements that enter into composition are so nearly of the same order, that we can not properly speak of prefixes or suffixes. Those groups that may be considered in a more specific sense as grammatical formatives, such as pronouns, elements indicating the animate and inanimate groups, are largely suffixed to groups of co-ordinate stems.

Another process extensively used by the Algonquian is reduplication, which is particularly characteristic of the verb. It occurs with a variety of meanings.

Modification of the stem-vowel plays also an important part and occurs in the verbal modes.

§ 14. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The extended use of composition of verbal stems is particularly characteristic of the Algonquian languages. These stems follow one another in definite order. A certain differentiation of the ideas expressed by initial stems and by those following them, which may be designated as secondary stems, may be observed, although it seems difficult to define these groups of ideas with exactness.

It seems that, on the whole, initial stems predominate in the expression of subjective activities, and that they more definitely perform the function of verbs; while, on the other hand, secondary stems are more intimately concerned with the objective relations. It is true that both initial and secondary stems sometimes refer to similar notions, like movement and space; but it is possible to observe a distinction in the nature of the reference. A great many initial stems define movement with reference to a particular direction; as, hither, thither, roundabout. Secondary stems, on the other hand, indicate movement; as, slow, swift, or as changing to rest. Secondary stems denoting space seem to lack extension in the sense they convey; as, top, cavity, line, and terms indicating parts of the body. Initial stems refer to space in a wide general sense; as, distance, dimension, immensity, totality.

Every stem is stamped with the quality of abstract meaning: the notion of some stems is so vague and so volatile, as they stand in detached form, as to seem almost void of tangible sense. Some stems

§ 14
can be analyzed into elements that have at most the feeblest kind of sense; it is only as they stand in compound form that they take on a special meaning. It is not altogether clear how these stems, so vague and subtle as they stand alone, came to convey the sensuous notions that they do when thrown together into a group; how, for example, an initial stem introduces a general notion, and forms a group complete in statement but incomplete in sense, as when in composition it terminates with only a pronominal ending. Yet such a group can be of sufficiently frequent use as to become an idiom; in that case it takes on an added sense, which is due not so much perhaps to the inherent meaning of the combined stem and pronoun as to an acquired association with a particular activity. The psychological peculiarity of the process is more marked in the wider developments, as when initial and secondary stems combine for the larger groups. The components seem to stand toward each other in the position of qualifiers, the sense of one qualifying the sense of another with an effect of directing the meaning toward a particular direction. But, whatever be the influence at work, the result is a specialization of meaning, not only of the single member in the group, but of all the members as they stand together with reference to one another. The stems seem charged with a latent meaning which becomes evident only when they appear in certain relations: out of those relations they stand like empty symbols. It is important to emphasize the fact that the order of stems in a group is psychologically fixed. Some stems precede and others follow, not with a freedom of position and not in a haphazard manner, but with a consecutive sequence that is maintained from beginning to end with firm stability.

The following examples illustrate these principles of composition. A general summary of the process can thus be put in illustration:

*poni* is an initial stem signifying **no more, no longer**: its original sense comes out best by adding the terminal animate pronoun, and making *poniwa*. The group means that one has previously been engaged in an activity, and has now come into a state of cessation, making altogether a rather vague statement, as it stands unrelated to anything else. But travel has made a figure of speech of it, and so it has come to be the particular idiom for **one camps, one goes into camp**. So much for the simpler form of a combination.

An initial stem, *p*ag-, has the general sense of **striking against something**; *-ā'kw* is a secondary stem denoting **resistance**, § 14
and so pagā"kw- is to strike against a resistance. The stem -tun- is a mobile secondary stem denoting the special notion of place about a cavity, and has become a special term indicating the place about the mouth; and so pagā"kwitu'nā- is to strike against a resistance at a point on the mouth.

Again, -cin- is a secondary co-ordinative stem, and refers to change from motion to rest, but leaves the character and the duration of the change to be inferred from the implications of the stems that precede; furthermore, it indicates that the performer is animate, and serves as a link between the terminal pronoun and what precedes; and so pagā"kwitu'nāci'nwā is a definite statement meaning that one strikes against a resistance and is brought for a time at least to a condition of rest. He bumps himself on the mouth and he bumps his mouth would be two ways of putting the same thing in English.

A rigid classification of the objective world into things animate and things inanimate underlies the whole structure of the language. Thus the terminal -a indicates an object possessing the combined qualities of life and motion, and the terminal -i designates an object without those attributes. Thus:

pyā'wa he comes; pyā'miga'twi it comes
i'neni'wa man, he is a man; i'neni'wi bravery, it has the quality of manhood

A'nemō"a dog; a"ki earth

Every verb and noun must fall in one or the other class. Forms ending in -a are termed animate, and those ending in -i inanimate. The distinction between the two opposing groups is not rigidly maintained, for often an object regularly inanimate is personified as having life, and so takes on an animate form. But permanent forms of lifeless objects having an animate ending can not always be explained by personification. The breaking-down of the contrast is best seen in the names of plants; logically they fall into the inanimate class, but many are used as animate forms, like A'dāmi'nā corn, A'sāmā'wā tobacco, me'cimī'nā apple.

The idea of plurality is expressed both in the noun and in the verb. Subjective and objective relation of the noun are distinguished by separate endings. A vocative and a locative case are also expressed.

In the pronoun the three persons of speaker, person addressed, and person spoken of, are distinguished, the last of these being divided into an animate and an inanimate form. Exclusive and inclusive plural

§ 14
are expressed by distinct forms, the second of which is related to the second person. In the third person a variety of forms occur by means of which the introduction of a new subject, and identity of subject and of possessor of object (Latin suus and ejus), are distinguished.

The pronouns, subject and object, as they appear in transitive verbs, are expressed by single forms, which it is difficult to relate to the singular pronominal forms of the intransitive verb.

While tense is very slightly developed, the pronominal forms of different modes seem to be derived from entirely different sources in declarative, subjunctive, and potential forms of sentences. The discussion of these forms presents one of the most striking features of the Algonquian languages.

In the participial forms, the verbal stem is modified by change of its vowel.

Ideas of repetition, duration, distribution, are expressed by means of reduplication.

A number of formative affixes convey certain notions of manner, as—

-tug' in pyâ'tug' HE PROBABLY CAME, which conveys the notion of doubt or uncertainty; while -âpe' in pyâ'wâpe' HE IS IN THE HABIT OF COMING, expresses the frequency or repetition of an act

Formatives are also instrumental, not merely in the formation of nouns, but in giving to the nouns they form the quality of distinctive designation. Thus:

-mina in A'dâ-mi'nâ CORN denotes FRUIT, GRAIN, BERRY; and -gani in pâ'skesiâ'nî GUN (literally, exploder) is expressive of TOOL, IMPLEMENT, INSTRUMENT

**DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 15-54)**

**Composition (§§ 15-24)**

**Verbal Composition (§§ 15-21)**

§ 15. TYPES OF STEMS

The verbs and nouns of the Fox language are almost throughout composed of a number of stems, the syntactic value of the complex being determined by a number of prefixes and suffixes. Setting aside § 15
these, the component parts occur rarely, if at all, independently; and only some of those that appear in initial position in the verb are capable of independent use. In this respect they appear as more independent than the following component elements. On the other hand, the latter are so numerous that it seems rather artificial to designate them as suffixes of elements of the first group. There is so much freedom in the principles of composition; the significance of the component elements is such that they limit one another; and their number is so nearly equal,—that I have preferred to call them co-ordinate stems rather than stems and suffixes.

Accordingly I designate the component parts of words as—

1. Initial stems.
2. Secondary stems of the first order.
3. Secondary stems of the second order.
5. Instrumental particles.

§ 16. INITIAL STEMS

Initial stems are capable at times of standing alone, with the office of adverbs. Some instances are—

\[\text{u'tc}^t\text{ whence}\]
\[i'c^t\text{ hence}\]
\[t^g\text{w}^t\text{ together}\]

Furthermore, an initial stem can enter into composition with only a formative, and express an independent statement, though not always with exact sense:

\[\text{u'tc}i\text{w}^a\text{ one has come from some place}\]

Two or more initial stems follow in a definite order:

\[\text{w}^{a}\text{p}^{a}\text{s}^{a}\text{i}^{a}\text{w}^a\text{ he begins to walk (w}^{a}\text{i}^{a}-\text{to begin [initial stem]; -us}^{a}\text{-to walk [secondary stem])}\]
\[\text{w}^{a}\text{p}^{a}\text{p}^{a}\text{y}^{a}\text{t}^{a}\text{s}^{a}\text{i}^{a}\text{w}^a\text{ he begins to approach on the walk (py}^{a}\text{-movement hither [initial stem between w}^{a}\text{pi}^{a}\text{- and -us}^{a}-; -t- § 8])}\]
\[\text{w}^{a}\text{p}^{a}\text{p}^{a}\text{y}^{a}\text{t}^{a}\text{c}^{a}\text{t}^{a}\text{e}^{a}\text{t}^{a}\text{e}^{a}\text{p}^{a}\text{us}^{a}\text{i}^{a}\text{w}^a\text{ he begins to approach walking in a circle (tet}^{a}\text{p}^{a}-\text{movement in a circle [new initial stem]); initial stem conveying the notion of movement in a circle}\]

The consecutive order of initial stems with reference to a secondary stem depends much on the sort of notions they convey. An initial stem takes its place next to a secondary stem because the notion it

§ 16
implies is of such a nature as to combine easily with the notion of a secondary stem to form an added sense of something more definite and restricted. It is as if both initial and secondary stems were modifiers of each other. An initial stem coming before another initial stem in combination with a secondary stem stands toward the group in much the same relation as if the group were a simple secondary stem. The place of an initial stem is at the point where the idea it expresses falls in most appropriately with the mental process of restricting and making more definite the sense of the whole group.

[Before proceeding to the examples of initial stems, it seems to me important to point out that a large proportion of them terminate in i. Thus owi- to be; api- to untie; agwi- to cover; anemi- way; api- to sit; cawi- to do; hanemi- to continue; kaski- ability; kici- completion; kiwi- (an extended form of kî) movement in an indefinite direction; må'kwi- future; måtci- to move; måwi- to go to; mecî- largeness; nagi- to halt; pemî- movement past; pyátiči- (an extended form of pyá) movement hither; etc. It is therefore likely that this i is a morphological element. But it would require a comparison with other Algonquian languages to determine its precise value. It may be added that -i also occurs with the function of -i, and that the two sometimes interchange. Apparently this -i always drops out before vowels.—T. M.]

Following is a selection of examples of initial stems which are quite numerous and express ideas of great variety:

aski- early, soon, first.
ä'askime'jug when it had first snowed 70.10 (ä- temporal augment; me- initial stem common with words for snow, ice, cold; me'pù- to snow; -g for -gi suffix with a location sense; -i lost before initial vowel of following word)
ähaskánwug while the snow was first on 70.10 (ä- as above; h glide; -i of aski- lost before vowel; -anw- secondary stem, denoting state, condition; -gi as above)

cà- freedom of movement, passage without friction or impediment.
cà'pawáwa he cries out sending his voice through space
càpu'nígå'ni a needle (literally, an instrument for piercing through with ease)

còsk- is used in several ways. In a special sense it denotes horizontality, straightness.
cò'ská'kusá'wa he walks erect [-usá §19]

§ 16
cōskā'pyāči'nuwā he lies at full length (-cīn- secondary connective stem [§ 20]; -wā [§ 28])
cō'skāpyā'wī is it straight (-wī § 28)

Another sense, closely related to straightness, is that of smoothness, lack of friction, ease of movement.
cō'skwa̱wī it is smooth, slippery
cō'skwicī'nuwā he slips and falls
cō'skonā'wā he slips hold of him
cō'skōskonātē he slips hold of him 182.11

Hānemi to continue to.

āhanemipyānātētī he continued to fetch them home 38.6 (ā- as above; pyā- initial stem meaning movement hither; -nā- inter-vocalic, instrumental [see § 21]; -ā- objective pronominal element; -tētī 3d person singular subject; the form is an aorist transitive conjunctive [see § 29])
āhaneminesātītī he continued to kill 38.5 (ā- as above; -nesā- initial stem to kill; -ā- objective pronoun; tētī 3d person singular subject)

wīhanemīcimesānētamuwātē they will continue to derive benefit from them 376.10 (wī —amuwātē [§ 29])
āhanemāmegwātētī they kept riding 192.7
āhanemāmuwātēci they continued to fly for their lives (-ā- [§ 19]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -wā- [§ 40]; ā—wātē [§ 29])
āhanemī’a’gōsipahōmī’ga’kītī he continued to climb up hurriedly 96.19

āhanemitete petcāsānitētī he continued to whirl over and over 288.14 (tetepe- [for tetepī-] allied with tetep- below; -tētī-[§ 8]; -āsā- from -āsā- [= -isā § 19]; -nitētī [§ 34])
pācāhanemīkwā’tamānitētī gradually the sound grew faint 348.22
āhanemīwāpupāwātētī then they continued to start off on a walk 108.8 (ā- as above; wāpī- initial stem, meaning to begin, loses terminal ī before vowel; -usā- secondary stem of second order, meaning locomotion by land with reference to foot and leg [§ 19]; -wātētī 3d person plural animate subject; the form is an aorist intransitive conjunctive [see § 29])

Kāsk(t)- implies potency, ability, efficiency, and gets the meaning of success, triumph, mastery.

kā’skīhā’wā he succeeds in buying him (-āwā [§ 28])
kā’skimenō’wā he is able to drink
kā’skini’mānā’mwā he can lift it (-amuwā [§ 28])
kā’skimā’wā he succeeds in persuading him (-m- [§ 21.6]; -āwā transitive independent mode, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person animate object [see § 28])
ka'kinawā'w a he can see him (nāw- to see, cf. anāwātc i then [the man] saw 174.13; ā'pōwāhināwugute i but he was not seen 158.1; anāwāwātcāp e they would see habitually 182.14)
ā'puwāwikaskimādanetc i on account of not being able to overtake him 168.12
ā'pōnikāske'tawāwātc i they could no longer hear their calls 192.6

kās(ł)- denotes the idea of obliteration, erasure, wiping.
ka'sihā'mu w a he erases it (-h- instrumental [§ 21]; -amw a transitive aorist, independent mode, 3rd person singular animate subject, 3rd person inanimate object [§ 28])
kāsi'guhāwōw a he wipes his own face
kāsi'gācī'nu w a he wipes his own foot

ki- indicates the general notion of indefinite movement round about, here and there.

Kiweškāwagāpe' e they are always off on a journey 272.14 (for kiwe- see § 17 end; -wag- for -wag e 3rd person plural animate, intransitive aorist, independent mode [§ 28]; -āpe e frequency of an act [§ 14 end])
ki'wīsāw w a it (a bird) flies round about (-isā- [§ 19])
ki'witcimā'w a he swims round about (-tcim- [§ 19])
ki'weskāw w a he goes a-journeying somewhere
ki'wāmōw w a he sought safety here and there (-ā- [§ 19]; -m- [§ 21, 37]; -ō- [§ 40]; -w a [§ 28])
kiwā'bamāw a he went about looking at one and then another (wāb a same as wāpa in kīmāwīwāpatāpen a let us go and look at it 284.8 [māwi- below; ki- āpena, § 28]; ā'kicicāgīwāpamātc i and after looking for all [his ducks] 286.16 [kici- p. 766; teāgi p. 771; ā- ātc i § 29; -m- § 21.6])

Kūc(ł)- expresses the completion, the fulfillment, of an act.
ki'cāwi'w a he has finished (a task, an undertaking)
ki'certāwi it is done cooking (tā- secondary connective stem, animate, signifying heat [§ 20]; -ōi [§ 28])
ki'ci'tōw a he has finished making it
ki'cipyāw a he has already arrived (pyā- [§ 16])
ki'cinepōhi'w a he has since died
ki'ciketcēp e'tawāwātc i after they had built a great fire 158.21 (-wātc i [§ 29])
ki'cikigānute after the feast is done 156.6
ki'cicāgīpyā'nite after their arrival 90.13 (teāgi all; pyā- to come: -nite i [§ 34])
ki'cicāgiketemīnāgute i after he had been blessed by them 184.4 (-gu- [§ 41])

§ 16
kícinyá' o'guniwpáwiwenítcí four days had passed since he had eaten 182.3 (for nyá:o' cf. nyáwí 4 [§ 50]; pwá for pyáwi not [§12]; -wísení eat; -tci [§29])

á'kícíitáagánámòvétcí after they have touched and tasted it 184.17 (á—amòvétcí same as á—amòwátcí [§29])
kícipyútómátcí after she had fetched home her burden 162.16 (pyá— initial stem movement hither; -t- [§ 8]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -á— secondary stem expressing conveyance; -á— pronominal animate object; -tc 3d person singular animate [§ 29])

kóg— refers to an activity with a fluid, most often with water, in which instance is derived the idea of washing.

kógé'níga'wá she is at work washing clothes (-gá- [§ 20])
kógí'netcá'wá he washes his own hands
kógéná'wá he washes him
kógi'ge'náñó'wá he washes his own forehead
kó'gíwá he mires (in the mud)

á'kógénátcí when she bathed her 300.15 (-n— instrumental; cf. also § 8; á—átcí [§ 29])

ná'kákógénátcí she also washed it 178.21 (for náká' ákógénátcí; á—átcí [§ 29])

kíwígátcikógénáwá you are to clean it (the dog) well with water 178.15 (kí—áwá [§ 28])

máwi— to go to.

kímáwícičá'pená let us go and hunt 90.9 (cícá initial stem to hunt; kí—pená we inclusive, future independent mode, intransitive, used as a mild imperative [see §§ 28, 35.8])
kímáwinepápená let us go and spend the night 90.10
ámáwinepávétcí they went to a place where they spent the night 30.5 (á—wátcí [§ 29])

ámáwí'ketahwátcí she went to dig for them 152.19 (-hwá— [§ 37]; á—átcí [§ 29])
ámáwiga'kenámíntítcí they started off to peel bark 150.15 (-nitétcí [§ 34])

ámáwíketetcítcí he went to look over the bank 182.9
ámáwinwápmátcí he went to have a look 182.7 (á— temporal particle; wápa— same as wába cited under kí—; -m— [§ 21]; -átc for -átcí transitive aorist conjunctive, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person animate object [§ 29])

ámáwinántítcí he ran to catch him 182.11 (ná— presumably the same as ná— [§ 21.8]; -n— [see 21])

me— snow, ice, cold.

á'a'skímé'pug when it had first snowed 70.10 (explained under askí—)

§ 16
mi'k - conveys the sense of occupation, employment in the performance of some activity.

mi'ke'tcəwi'wə he works, is busy
mi"kəta'məwə he is occupied with a piece of work (-t- [§ 21]; -mə [§ 28])
mi'kemə'kwəwəwə he goes a-wooing ('kwə [§ 18]; -w- [§ 37])
mi'ke'tcihə'wə he is engaged in an attempt to heal him
mi'kwə'nemə'wə she dozes upon it—her child

nəg(i) - denotes the change from an activity to a rest, and is best translated by words like halt, stop, pause.

na'giwə he stops moving
nagici'nuə he halts on the journey (-cin- [§ 20])
na'gipahə'wə he stops running (-pahə- secondary stem meaning rapid motion [§ 19]; -wə intransitive aorist, independent mode, 3d person animate subject [§ 28])
tcāgənagipəpəwətə they all came to a halt 50.24 (for tcāgi [all] -; -gipə- [§ 19]; -pəwətə [§ 29])
ənagiwətə they stood 50.7 (aorist intransitive conjunctive [§ 29])

nəgə. - to follow after.

āpitcināgənətə when he went in following after it 70.13 (piti- initial stem meaning movement into an enclosure; piti a collateral form [see below]; -n- intervocalic instrumental; ā- pronominal object; -tə 3d person singular animate subject)
ənagatətə and he followed it (ā- as before; -t- intervocalic element indicating that the object is inanimate, here simply that the verb is transitive; -tə 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person singular inanimate object [§ 29])

pəs(i) - implies the notion of swift, lively contact.

pə'si'ti'yəhwə'wə she spansk him
pə'si'gwə'hwə'wə he slaps him in the face
pə'sigu'məhwə'wə he barely grazes his nose (-gum- [§ 17])
pasimyə'so'wə it (an animate subject) fries (-sū- [§ 20])
pə'setə'wət it is hot (-tā- [§ 20]; -wə [§ 28])

pe'kwəi - density, thickness.

ā'pe'kwisəsaka'k when it was thick with growth 70.12

pem(i) - expresses the notion of movement by, past, alongside.

pe'me'kə'wə he passes by 278.1 (-'kə- [§ 20])
pe'məgə'wə he dances by 280.5 (-gə- secondary stem of second order, meaning movement of one in dancing [§ 19]; -wə 3d person singular animate, independent mode)
pe'minəgə'wə he passes by a-singing

§ 16
pe' mi pahō'wā he passes by on the run (-pahō- secondary stem of second order, denoting speed [§ 19])
pe' mūlū'i'wā he crawls past (-ūlū-, -ōlā- to crawl [§ 19])
ā' pemitepikickahugunitē they went swimming by side by side 184.3 (-hugu- same as -hōgō- [§ 19]; -nite[§ 34])
pemisāwā it [the swan] went flying past 80.7 (-isā- secondary stem of second order, expressing velocity and associated with motion through the air [§ 19])

It comes to have the force of an inchoative.
pe'musā'wā he started off on a walk (-usā- secondary stem to walk [§ 19])
pe' mwāgesī'i'wā she began to wail
ā' pemivīwāpuaētē then he started to begin to walk 194.19 (ā- and -tcī explained before; -wāp- for -wāpī- inception [§ 16]; -usā- secondary stem of second order, to walk [§ 19])

pyā- signifies movement hitherward.

pyā'wā he comes
pyā'tacē'i'wā he fetches home game
pyāte"'kwāwē'wā he brings home a wife (-'kwā- woman [§ 18]; -w- [§ 37])

pyā'tāskā'i'wā it falls this way
pyā'ticē'kwāwē'wā he comes driving them home (for pyātcī- cf. pītcī- under pīt-; -ne'ka- [§ 19]; -āwā [§ 28])
pyā'twāwēmīgā'wā it comes a-roaring (pyāt- collateral with pyā-; wāwā [§ 20]; āmīgātwā [§ 20]; -wē [§ 28])
pyānāwā he has brought home 58.5 (n- intervocalic; -ā- 3d person singular animate object; -wā as before)
ā' pyāte when he had come 68.25 (ā—tcī [§ 29])

pītcī(t) conveys the sense of movement into an enclosure.
pī' tāse'nwō it blows inside (-ā- [§ 19]; -sen- [§ 20]; -wō [§ 28])
pī'tcīwenā'wā he leads him within
pī'ta'hwā'wā he buries him (-hw- [§ 21]; -āwā [§ 28])
pī'tigā'wā he enters
ā' pītcī'kwānātī they trailed (a bear into woods) 70.12
ā' pīticātē as he entered 326.10 (-gā- [§ 20]; ā—tcī [=tcī [§ 29])
ā' pītigānātē then he took her inside 42.20 [-gā- variant of gā; n- instrumental [§ 21]; ā—ātcī [§ 29])
pītcisāwāg there came running into 142.10 (-isā- as in pemisāwā; -wāg for -wāgī 3d person plural animate, intransitive independent mode [§ 28])
pöṅ(t)- also expresses the notion of cessation, but with more of the idea of the negative temporal element no more, no longer.

pō'negā'wɔ he is no longer dancing (-egā- as before, p. 768)
pōne'nāgā'wɔ he has ceased singing
pōne' senyā'wɔ he has done eating
pō'nepyā'wɔ he is no longer a drunkard
pō'nimā'wɔ he has stopped talking to him (-m- [§ 21])
ā'pōninūtāvātāc they stopped hearing the sound 152.1
āgwipōnīkāgūwātācin' never shall they be left alone 186.2 (āgci—
n' not [§ 29]; -gu- [§ 41]; -wātci [§ 29])
ā'pōnōwātāc' they halted 164.13, 192.9

sāg(t)- implies the notion of exposure, manifestation, visibility.
sā'gise'nuw it sticks out (-sen- [§ 20]; -wɔ [§ 28])
sā'gitepāci'nuw he lies covered all over except at the head (-cin-
[§ 20]; tepā head; -wɔ [§ 28])
sā'giwānāgāpā'wɔ but for the tips of his horns, he stands shut off from view. [As winā- is a secondary stem of the first order
[§ 18] used to designate a horn, and -gāpā- is a secondary stem of the second order [§ 19] expressing perpendicularity, the literal translation would seem to be he stands with his horns exposed.—T. M.]
sā'gitepā'dhōgō'wɔ he floats with the head only out of the water
(-hōgō- [§ 19])
sā'gikumā'wɔ he exposes his nose to view (-kum- same as -gum-
[§ 18])

sAg(t)- has a transitive force with the meaning of seizing hold.
sagecānā'wɔ he holds him by the ear (-cā- ear [§ 18]; -n- instrumental [§ 21])
sage'kānā'wɔ he leads him by the hand (-ne'ka- [§ 19]; -n-
[§ 21])
sagī'pwā'wɔ he bites hold of him (-pw- [§ 21])
sagāne'kwāndā'wɔ he grabs hold of him by the hair (-'kwā- head
[§ 18])
ā'pe'kwiwsasaka'k' when it was thick with growth 70.12; (ā—'k'
[§ 29])
āsage'kānātc he then held her by the hand 134.13 (-n- [§ 21];
ā—ātc [= -ātc' § 29]; -ne'kā- as in āsage'kāskātc 214.10)
āsagikānātc' she grabbed hold of one by the leg 292.2

tā(w̥t)- has to do with the sensation of physical pain.
tā'wite'pōci'nuw he fell and hurt his head (tēpā- head; -cin- [§ 20];
-wɔ [§ 28])

§ 16
tä'witans'titāgāpā'wɔ it hurts his feet to stand (-gāpā- [§ 19])
tä'we'kwo'wɔ his head aches (-'kwā- head [§ 18])

āgi all, entirely.
tcāgiketens'g⁵ she took off all 224.1 (n- [§ 21]; ā- left out [§ 12]; ā—'g⁵ [§ 29])
kicicāgikypānitc after all had arrived 90.13 (kici- and pyā- initial stems [§ 16]; -nitalic for -nitalic 3d person plural, animate [§ 34])
īnātcāgikypānitc⁵ thus all had arrived 172.20 (īnā- thus)
kicicāgiketemināgutc⁴ after he had been blessed by all 184.5 (kici completion; gu [§ 41]; ā- omitted; -tc⁴ [§ 29])
ātcāgesutc⁴ then he was burnt all up 30.3 (sū- secondary stem meaning HEAT, animate [§ 20])
ātcāgihawātc⁴ they slew them all 8.16, 10.2 (-h- [§ 21]; ā—āwātc⁴ [§ 29])

lep- movement in a circle.
ātetepetcāsa'tōtc he started himself a-rolling 288.13
tetepusān* walk around in a circle 376.12 (see 158.1) (-usā- secondary stem of second order, meaning TO WALK [§ 19]; -n* 2d person singular imperative, intransitive [§ 31])
āwāpītetepeusātc⁴ he began to walk around in a circle 256.9 (wāpi- see next stem)

īp(t̪)- signifies the idea of COMMENCEMENT, INCEPTION, INCHOATION.
wāpina'husā'wɔ he is beginning to know how to walk (nah to know)
wāpike'miyā'wɔ the rain is beginning to fall
wā'piwèsents'wɔ he is starting to eat (compare niwēsents do let me eat 184.10)
āwāpā'kwamata'g⁴ he became sick 156.9
wōwāpimscāi'yāwicimegowātc⁴ they shall begin to have to put up with their insolence 184.18 (wī—wātc⁴ [§ 29])
āwāpusātc⁴ he started off on a walk 126.3, 23; 278.8; 280.2 (-usā- [§ 19]; ā—tc⁴ [§ 29])

cī- whence, away from.
wātcīcēśiyāgiciwāwā whence the cold came, then he speeds to 70.14 (change of vowel u to wā on account of participial form; analyzed in note 21, p. 869).
utcīwāp⁴ from this time on 34.14 (literally, beginning whence; wāpi- see preceding stem)

-i expresses the sense of ACCOMPANIMENT, ASSOCIATION, COMPANIONSHIP.
wī'dāma'wɔ he accompanies him (-d- for -t-; see below)
wī'tcāwā'wɔ he goes along, too

§ 16
wi’pämä’wa he sleeps with him
wi’pumä’wa he eats with him (pu-[$21]; -m-[$21, 37]; -aw[$21];
wi’kumä’wa he invites him to the feast
witámätōcin’i him whom he accompanied 70.14 (see text at end
wi’pumin‘a eat thou with me 266.19 (pu—act done with two
2d person singular subject, 1st person singular subject [$31];

pep— winter, snow, cold.
ä’pepög‘i in the winter-time 150.5 (ä’pepög 70.10; 136.3 is the same
form with elision of final vowel before initial vowel [see text
at end; also §§ 12, 42])

As the small number of initial stems given by Dr. Jones seems to
me to be rather out of proportion to their importance, I take the
liberty of inserting here a hundred odd new examples taken from his
Fox Texts, arranged in the order of the English alphabet. For this
purpose a, ä, å, ä, å, follow each other in this order. I would remind
the reader that there is considerable fluctuation in these vowels,
especially between a and å; ä and å. The variation of ä and å is
slight; that of ä and å does not seem to occur. The sound pro-
nounced was undoubtedly the same in any given fluctuation; Dr.
Jones simply has recorded the sounds as he heard them at a given
time. Examples follow:

a’tetçä— distant.
a’tetçikweskätc’i he went on a distant journey 74.5 (ä—te‘i [$29];
kiwë- [$17], allied to kivi- [see under kii—above]; -sk- [$21];
—ä— [$19])
a’tetçähätë she went far away 38.1 (ä—dropped [$12]; ä—te‘
[$29]; hä— from hâ— an initial stem meaning TO GO)
a’tetçäwigiwätë they lived far away 160.14 (ä—dropped [$12];
wigi is an initial stem, TO DWELL)

awî— to be.
awîntë they were 50.18 (ä—lost [$12]; -ni— [$34]; hence -te‘
[$29] may be used for a plural)
äwîtcig’i they who were 358.8 (participial; -tcig‘i [$33])
äwiyän’i where I am 366.2 (for ä—awiyän‘; ä—yän‘ [$29])

ämî— to move.
nä’kälämîwätë again they moved on 166.12 (for näk‘ä ä— [$10];
-h- a glide [$8]; ä—wätë [$29])

¹ From here to p. 793, addition by T. Michelson.
di to untie.

āpinahtamw* she unties it 162.2 (-amw* [§ 28])
āpinahtamwāpe'* she always unties it 162.3 (for hamw* ā- [§ 10];
-āpe'* [§ 14])
āhāpihāq then he untied it 334.16 (for ā—agh [§ 29]; -' lost before an initial vowel [§ 10]; āh- first time a glide [§ 8]; second time instrumental [§ 21])

See also 160.19; 170.4; 172.10, 14; 290.22, 25; 292.5

waw to carry away.

āwanawāg* they were carrying them away 198.5 (-n- [§ 21];
-wawāg* [§ 28])
āhāwante ti they were carried away 26.3 (ā—etc [§ 41]; āh- a glide [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])
āwāpiāwātōwātc they set to work carrying it 212.21 (ā—wātc [§ 29]; -' lost by contraction [§ 10]; wāpi- an initial stem, to begin; -tō- [§ 37])

wihawatōyan* I would have taken it with me 230.12 (for wih- with the subjunctive see my note [§ 29]; āh- [§ 8]; -tō- [§ 37]; -yan* [§ 29])
āhawanātc she took him 38.2 (for ā—atc [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -n- [§ 21])

See also 162.15; 164.7, 8, 9; 166.1; 224.18; 230.12; 246.24; 348.9, etc.

Agōsī to climb.

wihagōsīyan* I shall have to do the climbing 90.19 (wih—yān [§ 29]; āh- [§ 8])
āhagōstc he climbed up 94.16 (for ā—tc [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; āh- [§ 8])

See also 96.19; 274.24

AcAm to give to eat.

acami give it to him to eat 252.1 (-i [§ 31])
ā'acamegutc then he was given food to eat 70.2 (for ā—tc [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

See also 14.19; 106.1; 256.12

Agwi to cover.

agwika'ku cover him up 294.18 (-h- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -'ku [§ 31])

wihuagwitisnt for him to cover himself with 294.21 (evidently a participle; see § 34 near the end; āh- is a glide [§ 8]; wih- is irregular, as is its use with the subjunctive; see my note to § 29)

Amw to eat.

amwila he that eats me 272.19; 274.3, 7, 12 (for -īda [§ 33])
ā'ämwātec⁴ then he ate him 274.15 (ā—ātec⁴ [§ 29])
wihamwāgetc⁴ we (excl.) shall eat him 58.11 (wi—āgetc⁴ [§ 29];
-h— [§ 8])
kādamwj'ān⁴ don't eat me 96.4 (for kāt¬A—; -i¬kān⁴ [§ 30])
See also 26.10; 58.24; 96.10, 11, 17; 166.3; 266.20; 274.5:
330.22

Anemi— you way.
  anemicicāg⁴ go ahead and hunt for game 294.8 (cicā— from cicā—
to hunt for game; -g⁴ [§ 31])
āhanemapitc⁴ there he sat down 352.24 (ā—tc⁴ [§ 29]; Anem—for
Anemi— [§ 10]; apit— is an initial stem, to sit; -h— [§ 8])

Apti— to sit.
wihapitc⁴ he shall sit 16.18 (wi—tc⁴ [§ 29]; -h— [§ 8])
menemwapr I am content to sit down 370.12 (ne— [§ 28]; menp—
is an initial stem denoting PLEASURE)
hapitc⁴ let him be seated 370.11 (h— is glide [§ 8] after a final
vowel; -tc⁴ [§ 31])
ātcitabitec⁴ he sat down 172.15 (ā—tc⁴ [§ 29]; for confusion of b
and p see § 3)
See also 370.7, 8, 9; 316.16

Askwi— to save.
ā'askaachinesātc⁴ he saved them from killing 8.12 (ā—ātc⁴ [§ 29]; nev—
is an initial stem, TO KILL)
askunamān⁴ I saved it (for ā'askunamān⁴; ā—amān⁴ [§ 29]; -u—
for -wsi— [§ 12]; -n— [§ 21])

cāgw— to be unwilling.
ācāgwanemutc⁴ he was unwilling 24.22 (ā—tc⁴ [§ 29]; -ane— [§ 19];
-m— [§§ 21, 37]; -w— [§ 40])
cāgwānemōw⁴ she was unwilling 170.1 (ō— [§ 40]; -w⁴ [§ 28])
See also 14.4; 34.10; 144.11

cawj— to do.
cawiw⁴ he is doing 288.15 (-w⁴ [§ 28])
āçawinitc⁴ he was doing 322.1 (ā—nītc⁴ [§ 34])
āçawigwān⁴ what he did 342.4, 5, 8, 10 (ā—gwān⁴ [§ 32]; my transla-
tion is literal)
See also 16.16; 24.20; 66.7; 76.5, 7; 250.7, 9; 280.8, 11:
356.16

cidā— to hunt for game.
pyāticicāw⁴ he comes hitherward hunting for game 92.7 (pyātici—
is an extended form of pyā—, an initial stem denoting MOTION
HITHERWARD; -w⁴ [§ 28])

§ 16
cícágʷ go seek for game 296.2 (cíc- for cíc-, as pyá-γʷ come ye for pyá-; -γʷ [§ 31])
cícáltʰ he that was hunting for game 38.8 (-tʰ [§ 33])

See also 38.14; 78.15

cím to tell.
ácimegwátci what they were told 356.14 (ā—wátci [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8];
-gú- [§ 41])
ácimegtci what he was told 358.22 (ā—tc [§ 29])

há to go.
wiháwástl they shall go 338.10 (wi- [§ 28]; -wástl [§ 28])
kihʷ thou wilt go 284.21 (ki- [§ 28])
wihámigstwl it will start 224.4 (wi—w[l [§ 28]; -migst- [§ 20])
kihápwa you will go 20.20 (ki—pwá [§ 28]; -ā- for -ā-, as in
ki’pyápwa you will go 20.16)

See also 22.18; 122.11, 18; 170.20; 338.9, 10, 13; 356.15, 17

hawi- to dwell, to be (not the copula).
hawiwá she is 108.6 (-wá [§ 28])
áhawítc she remained 10.14 (ā—tc [§ 29])
áhawítc he was 10.18
hawikʷ remain ye 48.23 (-kʷ for -γʷ [§ 3]; -γʷ [§ 31])

See also 12.19; 22.20, 21; 68.9

hít- to speak (to).
hiwá he says 26.12, 14 (-wá [§ 28])
áhitc he said 26.19, 20, 21 (ā—tc [§ 29])
áhinetc he was told 26.11 (ā—etc [§ 41]; -n- [§ 21])
áhinítc he said to them 10.6 (ā— étc [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21])

See also 8.7, 11, 14, 18; 10.22; 14.6; 16.4; 96.8; 110.9; 216.6; 218.2

í- to say.
kaciwá what does he say 242.15 (for kací iwá [§ 10]; -wá [§ 28])

íci- thus.
wi’i’cinágwínítcí she wished to look thus 104.4 (wi—ncítc [§ 29];
-nágu- [§ 18]; -si- [§ 20])
á’i’cítáhítcí thus she thought in her heart 102.1 (ā—tcí [§ 29]; ic-
for íci- [§ 10]; -itá- [§ 18]; -há- [§ 20])

kátu- sorrow.
á’kátusigání I felt grieved 158.8 (ā—yání [§ 29]; -si- [§ 20])

káw’ét- to crunch.
á’kákáwatlag he crunched it 124.9 (for ā—gét [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -ká- reduplication [§ 25]; -t- [§ 21])
ōnā'kākawamegwite' then it [the possessed object, i.e., his head] crunched and ate him up 96.8 (for ōn'ā- [§ 10]; ā—te' [§ 29]; -kā- [§ 25]; -m- [§ 21]; -e [§ 8]; -gwi- [§ 34])

ā'kā'kāwatamowāte' then they crunched them (the bones) up 296.5 (ā—amowāte' [§ 29]; -t- [§ 21]; -kā- [§ 25])

See also 124.4, 15; 294.10

kanu to speak.

kanawinu speak thou 180.4 (-wi- [§ 20]; -nu [§ 31])

ā'kanōnete' he was addressed 8.5 (ā—etc' [§ 41])

See also 174.11, 13; 176.2, 20, 23; 180.6, 7, 11

ke'ko to find out.

wike'kānemāte' he desired to find out concerning her 46.9 (for wi—āte' [§§ 10, 29]; -āne- [§ 19]; -m- [§ 21])

āgwi ke'kānemagin I did not know concerning him 160.8 (āgwi not; -āgi [§ 29]; -n for -ni [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]: ā- omitted [§ 29])

āhanemike'kahuwāte' he continued to find them out 298.15 (literal translation; for ā—āte' [§§ 10, 29]; -a- [§ 8]; -hu- [§ 21]; āhanemi- an initial stem meaning to continue to)

See also 166.8, 9; 298.15; 326.20, 21; 328.1, 6, 7, 7, 8, 13, 15; 342.3, 7, 10, 15, 16; etc.

kep to enclose.

ā'kepetunānānite' she would close his mouth with her hand 324.9 (ā—ānite' [§ 34]; -e- [§ 8]; -tun- [§ 18]; -ā as -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

ā'kepōgwiwāte' after he had closed it by stitching it with cord 288.13, 18 (for ā—āg' [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -t- [§ 21])

See also 138.12; 142.7; 290.9; 332.10

ketci intensity.

ā'ke'tcipenute he went at top speed 168.5 (for ā—te' [§§ 10, 29]; penu- is an initial stem, to go)

ā'ke'tcimaiyōte' she then began to wail with sore distress 170.20 (ā—te' [§ 29]; maiyō- is an initial stem meaning to wail)

See also 186.8; 188.17; 200.5; 284.19; 310.22; 314.11

kick to cut off.

ā'kikīk'cēcēvwāte'pe' from them he would cut off both ears 8.13 (for -te' āpe' [§ 10]; ā—āte' [§ 29]; āpe' [§ 14]; -kīc- [§ 25]; -e- [§ 8]; -cē- [§ 18]; -cēv- [§ 21])

nāk'kīk'kimwēcēvwāte'pe' and he would cut off their noses 8.13 (for nākā- ā- [§ 10]; nākā again, and; -gum- [§ 18]; -ā- same as -e- [§ 8]; the rest as above)

See also 8.17, 18; 10.4, 5
Kéem- to feel gently.

$ā'kimenātc$ then he let his hand steal softly over her 322.21 (for $ā—ātc$ [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; $-e$- [§ 8]; $-n$- [§ 21])

wikimenat$'t$ wishing to pass his hand gently over her, he began to feel her 326.5 ($āt$ [§ 29]; for the use of $wī$- with the subjunctive see my note to §29)

Kīni- to sharpen.

wikinihāw$'a$ he shall sharpen it (a moose-antler in a sacred bundle; hence animate) 106.15 (a future form of a transitive 3d person subject with 3d person object; $wī—āw$ see my note [§ 28]; $-h$- [§ 21])

kī'kinihāw$'a$ you shall sharpen him (it) 108.2 (kī—āw$'a$ [§ 28]; $-h$- [§ 21])

$ā''kinihāte$'t$ then he sharpened him 108.3 ($ā—āte$ [§ 29])

vasikinikumāyāg$'t$ made sharp at the point 356.13 (-kum- same as $-gum-$ [§ 18])

Kip- to fall.

$ā'kipisānīte$'t$ then they fell through the air 332.4, 5 ($ā—nīte$ [§ 34]; $-isā-$ from $-isā-$ [§ 19])

Kisk- to cut up.

$ā'kisecute$'t$ then he was cut up 166.3 ($ā—ucte$ [§ 41]; $-e$- [§ 8]; $-c$- [§ 21])

kisecamw$'a$ he cut it off (amw$'a$ [§ 28])

Kiwū- to turn back.

kiwātaw$'i$ let us go back 72.3 (-taw$'i$ [§ 6] for -tewe [§ 31])

$ā'kiwāte$'t$ then he turned back 94.4 ($ā—te$ [§ 29])

$ā'pemikiwāte$ so he started to turn back 210.1 (for $ā—te$ by contraction [§ 10]; pemī- [§ 16])

kiwānū go back 208.15 (prolongation of $-nu$ [§ 31])

See also 166.9, 22

Ku- to fear.

kusegw$'a$ he was feared 56.14 (-s- [§ 21]; $-e$- [§ 8]; $-gw$ [§ 41])

ku'amw$'a$ he feared it 214.20 (-t- [§ 21]; -amw$'a$ [§ 28])

See also 120.8; 190.21; 214.1; 284.20

Kut- to feel of.

$ā'kutenāte$'t$ then he felt of her 46.9 ($ā—āte$ [§ 29]; $-e$- [§ 8]; $-n$- [§ 21])

maiyo-, maiyu- to weep.

maiymaiyōhāw$'a$ it was common for him to make them cry 16.9 (maiya- [§ 25]; $-h$- [§ 21]; $-āw$ [§ 28])

§ 16
äwāpimaiyute\(^i\) then he began to weep 330.14 (ā—

\[\text{[§ 29]; vāpi-} \\
\[\text{[§ 16]}\]

See also 12.13; 110.16

mā'kwī- futuere.

āmā'kwîte\(^i\) then he went into her 322.21

See also 56.17; 312.18, 24; 322.23; 324.7, 8, 16, 17

mānī- multitude.

mānāwag\(^i\) many 40.1

āwāpimanāwāte\(^i\) they began to be numerous 52.9 (ā—

\[\text{wāte } [\text{§ 21}]; \\
vāpi- to begin [§ 16]}\]

See also 52.1; 54.1, 18

mātu-, māto- to plead.

āmamātomegut\(^i\) then they began to be entreated 152.10 (for

ā—

\[\text{wāte } [\text{§§ 12, 29}]; mā- [§ 25]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41]}\]

āmamātomegut\(^i\) then he began to be pleaded with 162.12 (for ā—

\[\text{te } [\text{§§ 10, 29}]

āmamātumegut\(^i\) he was entreated 184.10

m.1- futuere.

nepyātcimanāw\(^a\) I have come to have sexual intercourse with her

44.24 (ne—āw\(^a\) [§ 28]; pyātc- an extended form of pyā- motion

hitherward [§ 16])

āhanemimianātc\(^i\) then he went first into one and then into another

56.14 (ā—

\[\text{ātc } [\text{§ 29}]; hānemī- to continue to [§ 16]; -n- [§ 21]}\]

āmanegut\(^i\) then she had sexual intercourse with 160.20 (really

a passive; ā—

\[\text{tc } [\text{§ 29}]; -n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41]}\]

m.1.1, m.1.1- to overtake.

āmamanegeut\(^i\) as he was overtaken 168.5 (ā—

\[\text{te } [\text{§ 29}]; -n- [§ 21]; \\
\[\text{-e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41]}\]

āpyātcimatanet\(^i\) they came and overtook him 196.4 (literally, he

was overtaken; ā—

\[\text{etc } [\text{§ 41}]; pyātc- an extended form of pyā- motion hither [§ 16]; -n- [§ 21}]

ātacimatanet\(^i\) as many as there were, were overtaken 12.3 (taci-

is an initial stem meaning as many as)

mec- to capture.

wikaskimecnat\(^i\) he would be able to capture him 24.6 (wi—

\[\text{ātc } [\text{§ 29}]; kaski- same as kaski- ability [§ 16]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]}\]

mācenemet\(^i\) they that had been taken 12.12 (participial [§ 33];

hence the change in the vowel stem [§ 11])

āmecnac\(^i\) then he was captured 14.9 (ā—

\[\text{etc } [\text{§ 41}]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21}]

[§ 16]
mecenasagoutc let us be captured 14.5
See also 14.7; 20.18; 182.11

meci- large.
mecime'tegw a large tree 162.6
ämeciketenânîtc how large she was at the vulva 46.10; 322.21
(ä—nitctc [§ 34])

mecu- to strike with a missile.
ämecugoutc when he was struck by a missile (ä—tc [§ 29]; -gu-
[§ 41])
mâcugwîncitc it hit him (-gwînî- [§ 34])
The construction at 94.18 is difficult.

megu- together.
ähanemimegusôgisowâtc they continued on their way bound
together 26.4 (for ä—wâtc [§ 29] in accordance with § 10;
hanemi- to continue to [§ 16]; sôgi- is an initial stem, to
bind; -so- [§ 40])

mek- to find out.
ämekawâtc then she found him 160.15 (ä—êtc [§ 29]; -a- [8 l];
-w- [§ 21])
 nemekavawg I have found them 94.13 (for ne—awg [§ 28] by
contraction [§ ‘10])
ämekawutc he was found 146.11 (for ä—utc [§ 41])
ämekameg it was found 146.13 (for ä—ameg [§ 41])
See also 122.7, 13, 20; 334.10

mekw- to remember.
memekwanemikant thou shalt think of me 188.8 (-âne- [§ 18]; -m-
[§ 21]; -i'kant [§ 30])
ämekwânemâtc then he remembered him 328.18 (for ä—êtc
[§ 29])
See also 76.19; 138.7; 352.12

menw- to take pleasure in.
menwanetamagw you may prefer it 32.15 (-âne- [§ 18]; -t- [§ 21];
-âmagw [§ 29])
 nemenwâp I like to sit 370.10 (ne- [§ 28]; âpi- to sit)
 nemenwânet I prefer it 136.3, 4 (ne—a [§ 28]; -t- [§ 21])
mânwânet he that preferred it 136.5
mânwânetâg he that preferred it 138.2 (participial; hence the
change of the stem-vowel [§ 12]; -âg [§ 33])
mânwânemâtecin she whom he loved 148.7 (participial; -m-[§ 21];
-âtecin [§ 33])
See also 66.17; 136.13; 138.3; 176.12; 336.4

§ 16
mes- to derive real benefit.

wîmesênetamâgw* ye shall derive real benefit from it 32.12

(wî—amâgw* [§ 29]; -âne- [§ 19]; -t- [§ 21])

metaawii- to sulk.

înâmetawawâtc' then they sulked 30.9 (for înî â- [§ 10]; â—wâtc'

§ 29])
mâtawatcig' they that sulk at him 30.12 (participial; hence the

vowel-change [§ 12]; -âtcig' [§ 33])

See also title 30; and 30.10

meta- to take pleasure in.

nemetatâneta I am pleased with it 324.16 (ne—a [§ 28]; -t- [§ 8];

-âne- [§ 18]; -t- [§ 21])

metatâneta'matíni' don't you take delight in it 324.15 (-amâni

[§ 29]; -nî [§ 29])

mî- to give.

mînenaqag'â'a I would give to thee 58.23 (-n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -nâqâ'â

[§ 30])
kîminewawâw' he shall give you 32.13 (kî—gwawâw[a [§ 28]; -n- [§ 21]:

-e- [§ 8])
mînegutcen' they (inan.) that were given to him 24.28 (-gu- [§ 41];

-tecin' [§ 34])

See also 24.23; 222.19, 20, 25

mîc- to give.

mîciyâqâgu'a you might give to him 32.11 (-iyâqâgu'a [§ 30])

mîgâ- to fight.

âmigâ'îte they fought with 14.4 (â—te' [§ 29]; -ti- [§ 38])

awâpimigâtiwâtc' when they began fighting with each other 22.18

(â— probably an error for â-; â—wâtc' [§ 29]; wâpi- [§ 16] to

begin; -ti- [§ 38])

wâpimigâtiwâtc' they began fighting with each 34.8 (â-

dropped [§ 12])

wîmigâ'îte he would fight with them 24.23 (for wî—te' [§ 29])

wîmigâiyân' you will fight 24.25 (wî—yân' [§ 29])

See also 24.26

mîsî- cacare.

âmisîte' when he eased himself 76.5 (â—te' [§ 29])

nîmîsî I am about to ease myself 274.15, 16 (nî- [§ 28])

mîsimîsi'sâ one would ease and keep on easing 272.20; 274.4. 8.

13 (reduplication [§ 25]; -sâ lengthened form of -sa [§ 30])

See also 274.20, 21; 276.10

§ 16
mítci- cacare.

ämítcinače t then he dunged on him 124.22 (mítci- is related to mísì- as pótcì- to pósi-; ä—átcé [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21])
kícimítcinače after he had dunged on him 124.22 (kící- for kící- completion; ä- dropped [§ 12]; -átc for -átcé [§ 10])

mítci- to eat.

kemítc’é thou hast eaten 122.3 (ke- [§ 28])
ämítcite’é then he ate 14.23
wímítcite’e she was on the point of eating 96.3 (-te’ [§ 29]; for the use of wí- with the subjunctive see my note, p. 823)
mítcin’a eat thou 174.18 (-n’a [§ 31])

See also 174.19; 184.16; 240.7, 18; 336.2; 374.18

musw- to suspect.

ämuswáneḿáwátcé t they suspected them 150.14 (ä—áwátcé [§ 29]; -né- [§ 18]; -n- [§ 21])
muswáneḿáw’a he suspects him (-m- [§ 21]; âw [§ 28])

nahí- to know how.

nahívíseníwátcín’é they did not know how to eat 76.3 (ä- omitted on account of the negative; -n’ [§ 29]; -wátci [§ 29]; wísení- to eat)

winahuwíwiyám’é I desire to know how to get a wife 334.13 (wí—yán’ [§ 29]; for the syntax see § 35; nahí- for nahi- by contraction [§ 10]; wíw’t- to marry)

See also 336.3

nawi- to visit.

ninawiháw’a I am going to visit him 228.1; 238.21; 244.12; 256.1; 262.20 (ní—áw’a [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21])

winawihétiáwägt’é they will go visiting one another 242.5 (wi- for wít- used with intransitive independent future [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -tí- [§ 38]; -wägt’é [§ 28])

ná- to fetch.

kepyátcínánen’é I have come to take you away 40.12; 42.18; 44.1 (ke—n’ [§ 28]; pyátcí- an extended form of pyá- motion hitherward; -n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8])

nepyátcínááw’a I have come to take her away 42.4 (ne—áw’ [§ 28]; -n- [§ 21])

nepyátcínáápén’a we have come to take him away 58.8 (ne—ápen’a [§ 28])

nálwú’k’u go and fetch him away 58.7 (-t- [§ 8]; awú- same as áwá-, awá- [?]; ’k’u [§ 31])

náne’k’u go fetch her 354.15 (-n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; ’k’u [§ 31])

See also 40.7; 42.1; 46.22; 58.8

§ 16
náci- to caress.

änácitépánâtcí he caressed her head with his hand 188.4, 9 (ā—átcí [§ 29]; tepá head; -n- [§ 21])

nágá-, nágá- to sing.

äcináágátcí thus he sang 110.18 (ā—te [§ 29]; ci for ici THUŚ)
änágámánitec he sang 110.16 (ā—nitci [§ 34])
änágámumticí then he sang 10.19; 110.18 (ā—te [§ 29]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -u- [§ 40])
pyáctínágamumnitec he came singing 350.6
äkiwínágámumnitecí he went about singing 350.15 (ā—nitcí [§ 34]; -m- [§§ 27, 31]; -u- [§ 40]; kiwi- an extended form of kī- [§ 16] movement in an indefinite direction; [Jones's translation is free])

See also 110.13

nágwá- to depart.

wínáágwáyagw* we (incl.) should depart 62.23 (for wí—yagw* [§ 29])
änágwáwácí then they started on 138.14 (ā—wácí [§ 29])
nágwágóna now depart 170.6
wínáágwáván (who) should depart 194.9 (wí—gúnmí [§ 32])
nágwávápe* he would go away 312.22 (for nágwává āpe* [§ 10]; -wá [§ 28]; nágwá- is presumably more original than nágwá-; cf. ápýávátcí when they came [from pyá-] and my note § 11)

See also 44.16; 138.9, 11; 170.8

ná- to see.

änástágí then he saw it, them 38.8; 202.11; 240.1; 266.5; 278.1 (ā—ágí [§ 29]; -t- [§ 21]; derived from nów-? [see § 12])

nilsíi- whole, well.

wínásáhágí I shall make them well, I shall heal them 356.5 (wí—ágí [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])
wínásáháwá she shall heal them 356.6 (-awá [§ 28]; note the irregular use of wí- as a sign of the future with the independent mode transitive; note further that this is a future with a 3d person subject and 3d person object; see my note to § 28; -h- [§ 21])
násáté* would that he were alive 12.14 (-te* [§ 29])

See also 116.17; 158.13, 16

nów-, nów- to see.

nówápí they are seen 72.15 (-ápí [§ 41])
änówávátcí they saw him 198.2 (for á—áwtécí [§ 29])

§ 16
näwagetcin' we have not seen them 198.7 (ä- omitted because of the negative; -agetci, -n' [$29])
näwägüwin did ye not see them 198.4 (for -güwin's by contraction [$10]; ä- dropped; -güwi for -güwe; -n' [$29])
äna'gute she was seen 162.22 (for ä—tc' [$29] by contraction [$10]; -gu- [$41])
näwütivitécin' whenever they see one another 276.16 (for nä'u;
-w' is a glide [$8]; -ti- [$38]; the form is a participial; ä is left out before wätcin' [-wätcitcin'] [$33] because -ti- really rep-
resents the objects exactly as in äwápimigätiwätcit [22.18 (for the
analysis see under míga-])

See also 38.11; 80.5, 16; 182.15; 276.14; 288.14; 340.6

nänä- ready.
nanähawigö* get ready 22.20 (hawi- to be; -gö* for -g* [$6];
-g* [$31])
nanähawinu get ready 44.1 (-nu [$31])

näto- nätu- to ask, summon.
änatomegutcit she was summoned 146.15 (ä—tc' [$29]; -m- [$21];
-e- [$8]; -gu- [$41])
tcägänätovätcit all asked each other 60.13 (for tcäg' ALL + ä-
[$10]; ä—wätcit [$29]; -ti- [$38])
nepyätícinatumäwö I have come to summon him 200.1 (ne—äwö
[$28]; pyätci- an extended form of pyä- [§16] MOTION HITH-
ERWARD; -m- [$21])
wätcinatomenäg* why we (excl.) asked thee 336.11 (wätcit- from
utci- [§16] WHENCE [see §11]; -m- [$21], -e- [$8]; -näg* [$29])

See also 40.5; 60.15; 240.7; 336.10, 13; 338.6, 7; 342.3, 6, 9;
366.19; 368.2, 13, 20, 22; 372.21

nemä-, nema- perpendicularity.
nemäs温州 su stand up 48.17 (-su- [$40]; -nu [$31])
nemäsöwö he is standing up (-sö- [$40]; -wö [$28]; the explana-
tion in §8 is wrong)
nemätönu hang (it) up 240.5; 242.12 (-t- [$8]; -ö- [$19]; -nu
[$31])
nemäsöwö he stood 216.9

See also 48.18; 50.1, 9; 52.5; 54.3; 112.21; 238.3; 278.2

nep- to die.

• nepetc' may he die 68.14 (-e- [$8]; -tc' [$31])
kinep' you shall die 68.17, 20 (kii- [$28])
nepege' had he died 158.16 (inanimate; for -'ke' [$29]; confusion
of g and k [$3])

§ 16
nepu⁵⁹ he dies 332.18, 20 (⁻w⁻ [§ 28])
nepeniwant she had died 208.20 (for ⁻niwan⁷ [§ 34] by contraction [§ 10])
See also 34.5; 114.16, 17, 20, 25, 26; 116.2, 3, 8; 158.15

nepē⁻, nepā⁻ to sleep.
ke'tcinēpāw⁵⁹ he is sound asleep 284.19 (ke'tcî- intensity: -c⁻ [§ 28])
nepāgwān⁷* he must have slept 306.11 (ā for ā, as in pyātc' let him come, etc.; -gwān* [§ 32])
ānepātc' he fell asleep 324.19 (ā—tc⁻ [§ 29])
kīnēpāpenā let you and I go to sleep 324.18 (prolongation by stress [§ 6] of kī—pena [§ 28])
See also 10.19; 284.3, 5, 24

nes⁻ to kill.
nesegu⁵⁹ he would have been slain 168.13 (⁻e⁻ [§ 8]; -gu⁻ [§ 41]; -s⁵ [§ 30])
kīnesāpena⁵⁹ let us (incl.) slay him 94.7 (ki—āpena [§ 28])
wihtcinesagw⁷* why we (incl.) should slay him 94.9 (wi—agw⁻ [§ 29]; -h⁻ [§ 8]; utcî- [§ 16] whence)
nāsāwātc'i they whom they had slain 196.15 (⁻awātc'i⁻ [§ 33]; participial; hence the change of the stem-vowel [§ 11])
See also 8.2, 3, 7, 12, 17; 10.3; 14.1; 26.13, 16; 350.2, 17

neski⁻ to loathe, feel contempt for.
neskimalu⁵⁹ he felt contempt for them 168.19 (⁻n⁻ [§ 21]; -mu⁵ [§ 28])
āneskinuwānitc' she loathed him on that account 66.17 (ā—ānite⁻ [§ 34])
neneskima⁵⁹ I loathe him on account of 68.14 (ne—āw⁻ [§ 28])
āneskima⁵⁹ because you loathe him 68.17, 20 (ā—tc' [§ 29])
kīneskima⁵⁹ you shall scold at him 284.4 (literally, you shall loathe him with your tongue; kī—āw⁻ [§ 28]; -m⁻ [§ 21])
āneskimugtutc' he was scolded 60.8 (ā—tc' [§ 29]; -m⁻ [§ 21]; t⁻ [§ 8]; -gu⁻ [§ 41])
See also 314.11; 330.23

nigi⁻ to be born.
ānigite' he was born 18.4

nīnī⁻ to dance.
nānimihetivātc' they had a great time dancing together 18.12 (nā- [§ 25]; -h⁻ [§ 21]; -e⁻ [§ 8]; ā- dropped [§ 12]; -vātc' [§ 29])
kīnīpēnā⁵⁹ let us (incl.) dance 132.29 (the form is peculiar: -penā⁵⁹ evidently comes from -penu [§ 6]; kī—penu is closely

§ 16
related to *kī—*pēna [§ 28]; perhaps the -a has been split into a diphthong [§ 6]  
*kīke’tcinimipə* ye shall dance 280.17 (*kī—*pwə [§ 28]; *ke’tci-*intensity)  
See also 134.17; 220.15; 282.1, 3, 12

**nīs-** to reach and take down.  
*ānisensg* he reached up and took it down 320.22 (*ā—*sg* [§ 29];  
-e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])  
See also 160.17; 352.15

**nōn-**, **nūn-** to suck.  
*wīnōn* it (animate) shall suck 106.12 (*wī- [§ 28])  
See also 104.9; 106.11, 14; 196.13

**nōta-**, **nōda-** to hear.  
*ānōtāwātc* when he heard him 110.16 (*ā—*ātc* [§ 29]; -w- [§ 21])  
nōdāgānītc* when he heard 146.14 (*gā—* [§ 20]; -nītc* [§ 34])

**nūcī-** to give birth to.  
*ānūcānītāc* she bore him 38.5 (*ā—*ātc* [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21])  
See also 38.4; 74.9, 10, 12, 15; 152.14

**nūwī-**, **nōwī-** out.  
*nūwī’kāg* don’t go out 12.4 (*’kāg* [§ 30])  
nūwīw* he went out 160.10  
*ānōwīne’kawātc* he drove them out 94.16 (for *ā—*ātc* [§ 29]; -ne’ka-*  
[§ 19]; -w- [§ 21])  
nōwīnōwīw* many a time he went out 160.10 (*nōwī- [§ 25]; -w*  
[§ 28])

*nwāwi’tāgāwātcināpe* they continually went out to fight 12.5  
(*nwāwī- for nuwī [§ 12]; -wātc* [§ 29]; -n- [§ 8]; -āpe* [§ 14])  
See also 10.25; 12.7; 38.13; 162.9, 10

**pa’k-** to pluck.  
*āpa’kenātc* then he plucked it 274.14 (*ā—*ātc* [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8]; -n-  
[§ 21])

**pana-** to miss.  
*ā’panapinātc* he failed to catch him 282.17  
*ātsčipanapinātc* where he failed to catch him 282.21  
pana’hwaw* he missed hitting him (*-hw- [§ 21]; -dw* [§ 28])  
panatākan* you must have let it fall astray 230.11 (*t- [§ 21];  
-kan* for *agan* [§ 30]; confusion of g and k [§ 3])  
See also 180.19; 382.7

§ 16

44877*—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—50
pagà-, pagà- to strike.

wípapágamáte 170.22 she was on the point of clubbing him to death (for wí—átci [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21]; pà- [§ 25])

d'papágamégutcí she was clubbed to death 164.2 (-m- [§ 21]; - [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41]; d— tcí [§ 29])

pagisenuí it struck (-sen- [§ 20]; -wí [§ 28])

indâpagicigí it alighted over there 282.19 (for iní d— [§ 10]; -gí for -kí [§ 3]; d—kí [§ 29]; ci- [§ 12] for -cin- [§ 20]; note the contradiction: -cin- is animate; -kí inanimate)

See also § 14 and 146.16; 228.11; 232.9; 292.13

pagà- ahead.

pagúsusagí walk on ahead 338.18, 340.1 (-s- [§ 8]; -usá- [§ 19]; -gí [§ 31])

pagúsusání walk thou on ahead 340.4 (-nì [§ 31])

pà'guhâdwà he makes him run (literally, he makes him go forward; -hù- [§ 21]; -awà [§ 28])

pemwà-, pemwù- to shoot.

d'pemwátci he shot him 22.23 (d—átci [§ 29])

d'pemwàgí when I am shooting at them 116.24 (d—wàgí [§ 29]; wí' pemwutamání I shall shoot at it 118.3, 5 (wí—amání [§ 29]; -t- [§ 21])

pemutamawiniñ shoot him for me 204.9 (-t- [§ 8]; -nì for -nì [§ 31] by prolongation [§ 6]; -amaw- is the same as amawi in nátamawáwà ò'sàní (literally, he saw him who was father to another; see § 34]; loss of -w- [§ 12])

See also 22.22; 118.8, 13; 204.1; 248.2, 5, 8, 14

penu-, peno- to go homeward, depart.

wí'penuyàní I am going home 232.23, 256.14 (wí—yàní [§ 29])

d'pyàticenututci then he came back home 18.1 (d—tcí [§ 29]; pyàtic an extended form of pyà- [§ 16] MOTION HITHERWARD)

nì'penô I am going home 260.20 (nì- [§ 28])

kì'penopení let us go home 304.18 (kì—pení [§ 28])

See also 68.24; 160.3; 168.11, 15; 220.9, 14; 224.9, 6, 15; 252.12

pesw- to smoke out.

kìpeswàpení let us smoke them out 142.10 (kì—ápení [§ 28])
pàswàtcí they whom he was smoking out 142.16 (-átcí [§ 33]; participial; hence the change of the stem-vowel)

pe'tawà- to kindle a fire.

d'pe'tawasuwátci they kindled a fire to warm themselves 138.10 (-su- [§ 40])

§ 16
āwāp\textsuperscript{e}pipe'tawātc then he set to work to kindle a fire 142.8 (for ā—te\textsuperscript{t} [§ 29]; wāpi-[§ 16] to begin)
āhanem\textsuperscript{i}pe'tawātc\textsuperscript{f} he kept on building the fire 142.13 (hanemi- same as hanemī-[§ 16])
pe'tawāl\textsuperscript{u} kindle a fire 158.20 (-k\textsuperscript{u} for -g\textsuperscript{u} [§ 31]; confusion of g and k [§ 3])
ōnāketcipetawāwātc\textsuperscript{f} accordingly they built a large fire 158.21 (for ūn\textsuperscript{n}-[§ 10]; ā—vātc\textsuperscript{f} [§ 29]; ketc- intensity)
See also 142.11; 146.4; 158.21

\textbf{rīn-} entrance into.

pīnah\textsuperscript{w}in\textsuperscript{u} put me into 96.13 (-a- [§ 8]; -hw- [§ 21]; -in\textsuperscript{u} [§ 31];
pīn- is allied to pī-(t) [§ 16])
pīnah\textsuperscript{mān} I put it in (ā- dropped [§ 12]; ā—smān\textsuperscript{f} [§ 29]; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])
ā'pīnah\textsuperscript{w}ātc\textsuperscript{f} he put him into 326.17 (ā—ātc\textsuperscript{f} [§ 29])

\textbf{pōg-} to fall.

ā'tecapōg\textsuperscript{i}sān\textsuperscript{t}c she fell far out there 102.17 (for -nic\textsuperscript{t} [§ 34]; ā'tec- probably is to be divided into ā- + 'tca-; 'tca- is tca- by reason of ā-; tca- is allied with a'tetcā- DISTANT; -isā- is from -isā- [§ 19] MOTION THROUGH THE AIR)

\textbf{pōku-, pōk-} to break.

ā'papōkus\textsuperscript{k}ah\textsuperscript{w}ātc\textsuperscript{t} he kept on breaking them with his foot 14.5 (for ā—ātc\textsuperscript{f} [§ 29 and § 10]; pa- [§ 25]; -sk- [§ 21]; -a- [§ 8]; -hw- [§ 21])
kepō'kah\textsuperscript{p}w\textsuperscript{u} you break it open 176.9 (ke—āpw\textsuperscript{a} [§ 28]; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21]).

wipō'kah\textsuperscript{ag} one shall break it open 176.8 (wī—\textsuperscript{Ag}[§ 29]; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])

See also 14.8; and compare ā'pwāwikak\textsuperscript{kip}pā'kun\textsuperscript{ag} HE WAS NOT ABLE TO BREAK IT 126.3 (ā—\textsuperscript{Ag}[§ 29]; pwāwi- NOT; kaski- same as kaski- [§ 16] ABILITY; pā- [§ 25]; -n- [§ 21])

\textbf{pōsi-} entrance into.

āpōsi'tōwāwātc they loaded it into 212.22 (for ā—āwātc\textsuperscript{f} [§ 29];
'tō- [§ 37]; -w- [§ 8])

kicicāgitpōsi'tōwātc after they had loaded it into 212.23 (ā- dropped [§ 12]; kici- [§ 16] completion; tcāgī-[§ 16] totality: 
-wātc\textsuperscript{f} [§ 29])

āpōsit\textsuperscript{c}t he got into it 214.2 (ā—te\textsuperscript{f} [§ 29])

See also 214.21; 224.12, 17

§ 16
pōtc(ā)- entrance into (allied to pōśi- [see § 8])
  ḏ'pōtcisahute then he leaped into 164.15 (ā—te' [§ 29]; -isahu-
same as -isahō [§ 19] to jump; -i of pōtc- lost [§ 10])
pōtcisahōwā he leaped into 164.16 (wā [§ 28])
ēpōtcisahowātc then they embarked into 214.15 (-isaho- same as
-isahō- [§ 19]; ā—wātc [§ 29])

Sana- difficult.
Sanagatwā it is difficult 280.8 (-gat- same as -gat-)
Sanagatwā it is difficult 280.12, 16; 332.17 (-gat- [§ 20]; -wā [§ 28])
Sanaga'kini it is not difficult 284.17 (-nī', -'ki [§ 29]; -ga- [cf. § 20])
See also 172.22

Sadē- fear.
Sadēswā he was afraid 168.14 (-śi- [§ 20]; -wā [§ 28])
Ūsūgēsiyāni I am scared 312.14 (ā—yāt [§ 29])
Sūgihiyā'kani you might frighten her 312.16 (-śi- [§ 21]; -iyā'kani
[§ 30])
See also 336.8, 12; 344.7, 17; 346.1, 10

Sigatci-, sigatci- to freeze.
Ūsūgatacītc when he froze to death 138.14
Kicisūgatacinītc after the other froze 138.15 (ā— dropped [§ 12];
kici- [§ 16] completion; ā-nītc [§ 34])

Sōgi- to bind.
Ūsūgisowātc they were bound with cords 26.3 (ā—wātc [§ 29]; -sv-
[§ 40])
Ūsūgihātc he bound her 140.7 (for ā—ātc [§ 29 and § 10]; -śi- [§ 21];
Sūgisūyāni where I am bound 106.17 (ā— dropped [§ 12]; -sv-
[§ 40]; -yān [§ 29])
Ūsūgītōtc he tied a knot 334.16 (ā—te' [§ 29]; -tū- [§ 37])
See also 26.22; 108.6; 146.2; 338.21

Tāg-, tāg- to touch.
Ūtāgenātc he touched her 46.2 (for ā—ātc [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])
Ūkicītāgatamowātc after they have touched it 184.18 (for ā—amo-
wātc [§ 29]; kici- [§ 16] completion; -a- same as -e- [§ 8];
-t- [§ 21])
Ūmāwitāgā'kwāhag then he went to touch it with a wooden pole
196.10 (ā—ag [§ 29]; māwi- [§ 16] to go to; -ā'kw- [§ 18]: ā—
for -a- [§ 8]; -śi- [§ 21])
Ūtāgeskag then he stamped on it 158.2 (ā—ag [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8];
-sk- [§ 21])
See also 158.5; 194.13; 194.19; 330.13

§ 16
As many as, number (cf. tawvi-).

medāswütaciwātc the number was ten 164.4 (for medāsw ten [§ 50] + ā- [§ 10]; ā—wātc [§ 29])

taciwātc as many as there were 166.3

Possibly in the following passages taci- is to be explained in the same way, though this is not apparent from Dr. Jones's somewhat free translation: 90.12; 108.6; 110.4; 150.17; 152.20; 164.4; 166.3; 244.13; 336.9; 346.21. It is quite clear that taci- is in some way connected with tawvi-, as is shown by āmedāciwātc they were ten 78.14, as compared with medāswütaciwātc the number was ten 164.4 (for medāsw ā- [§ 10]). The word for ten is medāsw [§ 50]. For the interchange of s and c, see § 9; and for the loss of the second member of a consonant-cluster, § 12.

tagwi- together.
tagwi 10.2 together with
ätagwimecenetc they were taken captive together 26.3 (ā—etc [§ 41]; mec- to capture; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])
tagwitepānetātiw the land was owned in common 34.1 (-āne- [§ 18]; -wātc [§ 28])
āttagwinatometic they were asked together 338.7 (ā—etc [§ 41]; nato- to ask; -m- [§ 21])
 witaguswage* that I should have put them together and cooked them 158.8 (wāt- irregularly used with the subjunctive; see my note to § 29; -age* [§ 29]; u for wi [§ 12]; -sw- for -sū- [§ 20])

See also 178.8; 372.17

tan-, tan- to engage in.
ki'tanetipena let us make a bet together 296.18 (literally, let us engage in an activity together; hence, by inference, gamble; ki—pena [§ 28]; -e- [§ 8]; -tī- [§ 38])
ā'tanetite he was gambling 314.6 (ā—tc [§ 29])
tanwāvāwāmāwā he quarrels with him (literally, he engages in repeated noise with him; -m- [§ 21] -āwātc [§ 28])
tanwāvāwātōwā he bangs away on it (ā-tō- [§§ 21, 37]; -wā [§ 28])
ā'tanwātaminitite cries were sounded 192.3 (ā—ni tc [§ 34]; wā- sound)
ā'tanenetīg in the thick of the fight 168.1 (ā- as ordinarily; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]; -tī- [§ 38]; -g- locative suffix [§ 42]; the context alone suggests the idea of fighting)
āhanemitanusittite as he continued to engage in walking 48.20 (ā—tc [§ 29]; hanemi- [§ 16] to continue to; -usā- [§ 19] to walk)

See also 190.13, 23

§ 16
\textit{tāp-} to place trust in.

\textit{netāpānem} I put my trust in 190.15 (\textit{ne-} [§ 28]; \textit{-āne-} [§ 18]; \textit{-m-} [§ 21]; \textit{-u} [§ 40])

\textit{tāswi-} as many as, as much as, number.

\textit{ātāswipyāniticin} as many as came 8.9 (why \textit{ā-} is used, is not clear: \textit{pyā-} from \textit{pyā-} [§ 16] \textit{motion hitherward}; \textit{-niticin} [§ 34])

\textit{inātāswihiceti} and hast thou included as many as there are 298.16 (for \textit{in} \textit{ā-} [§ 10]; \textit{in} [§ 47]; \textit{-h-} [§ 21]; \textit{ā—ātc} [§ 29])

\textit{tāswi} the number 20.7

\textit{tāswicōniyā} is the amount of money 34.16

\textit{inātāswi} that is the number 252.9 (\textit{inī} [§ 47])

See also 8.14, 18; 10.5; 20.11; 32.13; 76.16; 246.21; 312.17; 21; 358.6; 374.3

\textit{tāpwe-} to speak the truth.

\textit{kētāpwē} you were telling the truth 24.15; 322.9 (\textit{ke-} [§ 28])

\textit{wētāpwyān} I desire to speak the truth 324.13 (\textit{wē—yān} [§ 29])

See also 322.16

\textit{tōp-} to nudge softly.

\textit{ōwēpīcēpenātcē} then he began to nudge her softly with the finger 320.7 (\textit{ā—ātcē} [§ 29]; \textit{wēpī-} [§ 16] to begin; \textit{-e-} [§ 8]; \textit{-n-} [§ 21];

\textit{ōtcēcīpetcēanātcē} he gave her a nudge in the side 44.1 (\textit{ā—ātcē} [§ 29]; \textit{-tci-} [§ 25]; \textit{-e-} [§ 8]; \textit{-tcē-} [§ 18]; \textit{-n-} [§ 21])

\textit{tōg(i)-} edge.

\textit{tēgāskutē} on the edge of the prairie 126.7

\textit{tēgikētēgumōwē} at the shore of the sea 350.5 (\textit{ke’tci-} intensity; \textit{-gum-} = \textit{-kam-} [§ 18])

\textit{tēgikētēkikamōwē} on the shore of the sea 100.14 (\textit{ke’tci-} intensity; \textit{-kam-} [§ 18]; \textit{-ē-} same as \textit{-i-} [§ 20]; \textit{wē} for \textit{-wē} [§ 28];

literary translation, IT WAS THE EDGE OF THE GREAT EXPANSE)

See also 68.11; 110.7; 124.2

\textit{tōtē-} down.

\textit{ōtcētāpisahutē} there he sprang and crouched 188.15 (\textit{ā—ātcē} [§ 29];

\textit{-isahu-} same as \textit{-isahō-} [§ 19]; \textit{apisahu-} for \textit{api} + \textit{isahu-} [§ 10];

\textit{api-} to sit [THERE HE SPRANG AND SAT DOWN is literal])

\textit{ō’tētāpiwātcē} there they sat down 190.14 (\textit{ā—wātcē} [§ 29])

See also 332.13; 352.15

\textit{tē-} to say.

\textit{netēgōpē} I am called 12.19 (\textit{ne—gōpē} [§ 41])

\textit{netēgwō} I was told 108.7 (\textit{ne—gwō} [§ 41])

\textit{kētenē} I told thee 190.18 (\textit{ke—nē} [§ 28])

\textit{netēnāwō} I said to him 216.5 (\textit{ne—āwō} [§ 28]; \textit{-n-} [§ 21])

§ 16
netegög⁴ they call me 322.12 (ne—gög⁴ [§ 28])
Ketenepew⁴ I declared to you 346.2, 10; 358.23 (ke—nepw⁴ [§ 28])
Ketekuwaw⁴a he has told you 370.12 (ke—guwaw⁴ [§ 28]; confusion
of g and k [§ 3])
Keteneyaw⁴ I told thee before 110.5 (for keten⁴ iyow⁴; iyow⁴
aforetime)

tepa- to be fond of, to love.
Ketepanen⁴ I am fond of thee 314.4 (ke—n⁴ [§ 28]; -n- [§ 21]; -e-
[§ 8])
ätelpantsc⁴ thou art fond of them 276.19 (ä—Atc⁴ [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21])
Tepänaw⁴a she was fond of them 170.1 (-n- [§ 21]; -aw⁴ [§ 28])
Täpänatsc⁴ she whom you love 150.1 (-n- [§ 21]; -atsc⁴ [§ 33]; change
of the stem-vowel, as the form is a participial)
See also 148.2, 5; 190.18; 174.3

tepwa- to hold council.
Kicitepawatc⁴ after they had ended their council 338.5 (kici-
[§ 16] completion; ä- dropped [§ 12]; ä— vatc⁴ [§ 29]; it is likely
-wä- is identical with vä sound in § 20)
ätепинатс⁴ he was debated in council 338.4 (ä—etc⁴ [§ 41]; -n-
[§ 21]; -ä- for -ä- as in âciatc⁴ then he went off on a hunt;
âpyâtc⁴ when he came; etc.)
See also 336.8, 9

tes- to trap.
Kitesotaväpeta let us set a trap for it 78.3 (ki—äpeta [§ 28])
Tesotc⁴ trap (-otc- [§ 23])

tök(ï)- state of being awake.
Tökig⁴ wake up 46.15 (-g⁴ [§ 31])
Ätokiyan⁴ when I wake up 284.1
Tökitec⁴ he might wake up 284.18 (for Tökitec⁴ probably; -tec [§ 31])
Ätokitec⁴ then he woke up 126.1
Ämawitoktenâtc then he and woke him up 104.15 (ä—atc⁴
[§ 29]; mäwi [§ 16] to go; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])
See also 40.18; 44.6, 7; 104.18

uwîw(t)- to marry.
Uwîwiyanenh⁴ if it had been you who married 216.16 (-yanenh⁴,
really -yanenh⁴ [§ 29])
Älêuwîwitc⁴ then he married 216.20 (ä—itc⁴ [§ 29]; â- [§ 8])
Kihuwîwemen⁴ I shall marry you 148.19 (ki—n⁴ [§ 28]; â- [§ 8]; â-
[§ 8]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8])
Uwîwa⁴ wife

See also 42.4; 44.13; 82.2; 148.8; 200.13, 18; 216.13, 16, 20

§ 16
(u)wigį-, (u)wige- to dwell.

wigįr* he lives 220.22 (−w* [§ 28])
āwigįnte where he dwelt 160.15 (ā—nitc* [§ 34])
ā'kivi'u'-wigεwātε they went in an indefinite direction and lived there 66.15 (ā—wātε* [§ 29]; kivi motion in an indefinite direction; cf. kī- [§ 16])
wāwigįt* he who dwells 38.9 (from wigį-; the change of the stem-vowel is due to the fact that the form is a participial [§§ 12, 33]; -t* [§ 33])
wāwigįntein he who dwelt there 80.9, 20; 82.2, 10, 22; 84.10. 21, etc. (for the change of the stem-vowel see §§ 12, 33; −nitein [§ 34])
wāwigįteig* they who dwell here 194.7 (−teig* [§ 33])
āhuwigįnte where they were living 194.5, 18 (ā—nitec* [§ 34]; -hu- is not an accretion, it is to be divided into -h- + u- [see my note on this point, § 8])

See also 10.5; 38.7; 160.14; 320.3; etc.

wani- to lose.

āwanihātε he lost him 182.12 (ā—ātε* [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

watđ- to cook.

āwatcāhātε then she cooked a meal 240.12 (ā—ātε* [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])
wīwatcāhāgw* we (incl.) shall cook for him 256.8 (wī—āgw* [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])
wīwutcāhawawān* shall we cook for him 260.15 (indirect question; wī—āgwan* [§ 32]; confusion of * and t* unless wī- is used unusually with the subjunctive; −h- [§ 21]; -a- [§ 8])

See also 152.20, 21; 228.7; 232.3; 234.22; 244.7; 248.21; 262.8; 264.3; 266.1

wāpį- to look at.

kiwāpįtāpena* let us look into it 24.8 (kī—āpen* [§ 28]; -t* [§ 21])
āwāpįtamātε he looked at her 46.7 (ā—ātε* [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21])
wāpįminu* look at me 322.3 (−m- [§ 21]; -inu* [§ 31])

See also 104.13, 19; 146.7, 9; 250.8; 316.20; 338.7

wicđ- to implore.

āwicāmegute he was implored 182.5 (for ā—te* [§ 29, also § 10]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

wīnani- to flay and cut up.

wīnanih* cut it up 58.2, 3; 162.13 (−h- [§ 21]; -f* [§ 31])

§ 16
äuwínaníhate then she flayed and cut him up 162.14 (äu—üté [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])
kíciäuwínaníhate after she had flayed and cut it up 162.14 (äu- dropped [§ 12]; kíci- [§ 16] completion)

vínex— filthy.

wínesív she is filthy 292.15 (-sí- [§ 20]; -wa [§ 28])
See also 320.3

óiseni— to eat.

wuwíseniwág they shall eat 8.11 (-wág [§ 28]; wí- used because the form is intransitive [§ 28])
kíwísení thou wilt eat 26.7 (kí- [§ 28])
äuwísenítc then he ate 240.13 (äu—tct [§ 29])
See also 14.18; 196.16, 20

yá— to go.

áyáwáte* that they went 72.2 (äu- unexpected with the subjunctive, but see my note to § 29; -wáte* [§ 29])
áyámíga’kít went 224.17 (äu—kít[§29]; -míga- [§§ 33, 20; cf. § 28])
áyáwáte they went 166.5 (for à—wáte [§ 29])
See also 72.3; 176.20; 200.21; 262.2

SECONDARY STEMS (§§ 17-20)

§ 17. Types of Secondary Stems

These stems are not as numerous as initial stems, but still their number is quite considerable. They never occur alone, but are found usually between an initial member and a formative, or else, but much less often, in conjunction with only a formative. In a combination like tõ’wicí’nwa he fell and hurt himself, tõwí- is initial, and denotes pain; while -cin is secondary, and expresses the notion of coming to a state of rest. In the word tci’mán* canoe is a less frequent example of a secondary stem occupying first place. The stem tci or tci m comes from a secondary element indicating movement in water, and the rest of the word is a suffix denoting abstraction, both together referring to the object used for going through water.

Just as a regular system of arrangement determines the position of initial stems before secondary stems, so the same sort of order places the representatives of one group of secondary stems before those of another group. This peculiar method of arrangement rests largely

1 From p. 772 to here, addition by T. Michelson.
on the nature of the ideas expressed by the stems. It makes possible a further division of stems into secondary stems of the first order and secondary stems of the second order.

Secondary stems of the second class always stand nearest to the terminal pronominal signs: -usă- in wă'pusă'wă he begins to walk is a secondary stem of the second class. Some secondary stems of the first class, however, can occupy the same place, but only when a secondary stem of the second class is absent: tca'găn'a'getu'mă he has a small mouth contains two secondary stems of the first class—one is -nag-, which expresses the notion of cavity; the other is -wă- which refers to the idea of space round about a cavity, and is a term applied to the lips and mouth. A further division of secondary stems of the first class might be suggested, in which -nag- would represent one class, and -tun- the other: -nag- belongs to a more stationary type, which always stands next to initial stems when there are other secondary stems in composition; and -tun- belongs to a more mobile kind. The latter type is frequent in nominal form: wūwămouth (literally, his mouth). In kīwe'skwăpyă'wă he is drunk are illustrated two types of secondary stems: kīwe- is an initial stem meaning indefinite movement anywhere; -skwă- is a secondary stem of the first class, denoting the neck and back of the head; and -pyă- is a secondary stem of the second class, expressive of a subtle, attributive condition. [-pyă- belongs rather to the secondary nominal stems (§ 23); -skwă- apparently cognate with -kwa- (§ 18). But why can not -skwă- correspond to -nag-, and -pyă- to -tun-?] At any rate, this does not affect the statement made at the end of § 19.—T. M.

A fuller and more correct rendering of the combination would be something like he is in a state of aimless movement in the region about the neck and head.

§ 18. Secondary Stems of the First Order

-ă'kw- relates in a general way to matter at rest and in the form of linear dimension, together with an uncertain implication as to its state of hardness. The term is of frequent use, an example of which comes out in the notion of wood, tree, forest. pe'kwă''kwăwi'wă it is a place of clumps of trees pīwă''kwăwi'wă a grove stands dense in the distance păgă''kwici'numă he bumped against a tree, post, bar (păg- same as păg [§ 14]; -cin- [§ 20])
pe’cigwa’kwə’twə the log, tree, stick, is straight
paqə’kwitunäcinwə he bumps himself on the mouth (analysis § 14)

nAg- expresses the idea of an opening, as of a hole.
pə’kəna’getə’wə the hole gapes open
mə’gəna’getu’nwə he has a large mouth (-tun- mouth [p. 796])
kə’gwəna’gucə’wə he has holes pierced in his ears (-cə- ear [p. 796])

Tag- is another characteristic term of uncertain definition. It refers to the idea of color without having reference to light, shade, hue, or any quality attributive of color. It is simply the idea in the abstract.

kəta’gesi’wə its color is spotted (animate)
wəba’ta’gawə’wə its color is white (animate)
meckwa’ta’gawə’wə its color is red (animate, meckwa red)

-dəne- relates to mental operation.
ke’kə’nemə’wə he knows, understands him
muswə’nemə’wə he suspects him (musw- suspect; -m- [§ 37]; -əwə [§ 28])
menwə’nemə’wə he feels well disposed toward him
nə’gəlawə’nemə’wə he keeps him constantly in mind
pəna’nemə’wə he makes fun of him
äməncitəhətc for she felt shame within her heart 38.12 (compare 210.15)
ämuswəneməwətc’ they began to suspect something wrong with them 150.14 (musw- suspect; -m- [§ 37]; ə—əwətc’ [§ 29])

-itd- refers to subjective feeling, and so finds place for manifold application.
ici’təhə’wə thus he feels (i.e., thinks; for ici thus + itd; -hə- [§ 20]; wə [§ 28])
myəci’təhə’wə she is tearful, sad to weeping
mə’nceci’təhə’wə he is ashamed (-dane- above)
upi’təhə’wə he is joyful
kiwətc’i’təhə’wə he is lonely (kiwətc- lonely; see also § 20)
vəcitəhətc’ he thus thought in his heart 202.10

-nəgu- stands for the idea of LOOK, APPEARANCE, RESEMBLANCE.
pe’kina’gusi’wə he looks like a foreigner (-si- [§ 20])
əkwə’winəgusi’wə he has an angry look (ə’kwə anger)
kecə’tcina’gusi’wə he has a gentle appearance
kiwət’cina’gusi’wə he seems sad, lonely

§ 18
-kam- expresses the idea of indefinite space as applied to such terms as sweep, range, latitude, expanse.

ke’tci’kami’wā it is the sea; it is the great expanse
ta’kamisā’wā it flies over an expanse (-isā- [§ 19])
ta’’kami’wā he crosses an open space
ika’kami’wā he makes a short cut across

-ka- imprint, track.

ā’pūci’kawānīte they trailed (a bear into bushes) 70.12 (for pūci see under pū- [§ 16] and the analysis in text at end)

In the list of examples that follow immediately are stems relating to parts of the body. Their inherent sense is concerned with space, each form having to do with situation in a given relation.

-cā- carries the vague notion of something thin, as of a sheet, film, blade. It is an association with this spacial sense that makes it a term applied to the ear.

mama’gecā’wā he has big ears
ki’skecā’wā he has no ears (literally, he is cut-ear)
ka’gā’nocā’wā he has long ears
nā’kākīkickecācwācāpe* and he would cut off their ears 8.12 (reduplicated stem allied to kīsk; for -ātei [§ 29] āpe* [§ 14])

-kum- or -gum- conveys the intrinsic meaning of linear protrusion, projection out from a base. The use of the term for nose is a natural application.

wāgi’kumā’wā he has a crooked nose
pāgiku’maci’nwā he bumped his nose (pāgi- see under pag- [§ 14]; -cin- [§ 20])
tātōgi’kumā’wā his nose spreads at the nostrils (-gi locative suffix) kinigu’māyā’wā it is sharp at the point (kini- [§ 16]; -wā [§ 28])
nā’kākīkigumācwācāpe* and he would cut off their noses 8.13 (for nā’kā and ā-)

-tun- is used for the external space about the mouth.

mā’setun’wā he has a mustache (mās hair [§ 24])
kepa’getun’wā he has thick lips
pā’’ketun’wā he opens his mouth

-wind- gives the notion of linear dimension, round of form, and of limited circumference. It is a term for horn.

tca’kwī’wi’nā’wā he is short-horned
pō’kwiwi’nāci’nwā he fell and broke his horn (-cin- to fall [§ 20])
pa’kwi’winā’wā he is shedding his horns

§ 18
Kwá- is a spacial element expressive of the place back of the neck, of the hair on the head, and even of the head itself. The term has also a feminine meaning, taken, it seems, from the notion of hair. The four different expressions—neck, hair, head, and womankind—are thus shown in the order named.

nápe’kwá’hwa wá he lassoes him by the neck; compare 282.18 (hw [§ 21]; -áwá [§ 28])
ke’kite’kwáná wá he hugs her around the neck (-n- [§ 21]; +-áwá [§ 28])
pena’há’kwá wá she combs her hair
me’se’kwá wá she has long hair
til’we’kwá wá he has a headache (töwi- [§ 16])
matagú’kwá’hó wá he covers his (own) head
pyáte’kwává wá he brings home a wife (pyá- [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; -áwá [§ 28])
mí’keme’kwává wá he is wooing (mí’k- [§ 16])
nicó’kwává wá he has two wives (nicó- [§ 12])

-tcá- signifies a material body with volume more or less plump and distended. It is used with reference to the abdominal region.

upi’skwátcá wá he is big round the waist
páge’tcáci nwá he ran, and fell on the flat of his belly (the literal translation would seem to be HE FELL AND STRUCK HIS BELLY; see pág(i)- [§ 14] and pági- cited under -kum- [p. 796]; -cin- [§ 20])
ke’kite’tcáná wa he grabs him round the body (see ke’kite’-kwánáwá above)
mí’setcá wá he is afflicted with dropsy

§ 19. Secondary Stems of the Second Order

It is not always easy to determine the place of some secondary stems, whether they belong to the first or to the second order. In passing along the list, one should note that, in some respects, there is a general similarity in the groups of ideas expressed by secondary stems of the second class and by initial stems. There are, however, differences in the apparent similarities, the differences being chiefly of manner and degree. It is doubtful which of these two groups is the more numerous one.

ā in its naked form is so vague of sense that it is almost undefinable.

Its nature comes out well in the rôle of an assisting element, and as such often helps to convey the idea of motion. In
one instance its help brings about the definite notion of flight from danger.

ki'wāmāōwā he flees hither and thither (for kiw- see under ki- [§ 16]; -m- [§§ 8, 21, 37]; -ō animate middle voice [§ 40]; 3d person animate singular, intransitive aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

pe'māmāōwā he hurries past in flight (pem- [§ 16])

pyā'țāmōwā he comes fleeing hitherward (pyā- [§ 16]; -t- [§ 19]; -ō- [§ 40])

wīwāpāmōyanō you had better begin to flee 98.5 (wāp- [§ 16]; wī—yanō 2d person singular intransitive future, conjunctive [§ 29]; -m- [§§ 8, 21, 37]; -ō animate middle voice [§ 40])

pemāmōyanē in your flight 98.5 (pem- [§ 16]; -m-ō as in last example; -yanē 2d person singular intransitive present, subjunctive [§ 29])

āpītāmūteō and in she fled 98.15 (ā- temporal prefix; pīt- into [§ 16]; -m- as in last two examples; -u- animate passive [§ 40]; -teō 3d person singular animate intransitive aorist, conjunctive [§ 29])

kīcīpītāmūteō after she had fled inside 98.16 (kīcī- completion [§ 16])

wīwāpāmūtē'ē it was her purpose to flee for her life 218.14 (wāp- [§ 16]; the form is explained in § 29)

-egā- is for the movement of one in the dance.

upyā'negāwā he moves slowly in the dance

nīgā'negāwā he leads in the dance

ā'hā'wegāwā he dances the swan-dance

cā'wānō'ωegāwā he dances the Shawnee dance

dāyāpīwāwāpēgāyāgwē but before you begin dancing 280.21 (wāp- [§ 16]; -yāgwē 2d person plural intransitive, conjunctive [§ 29])

-īsā- conveys primarily the notion of VELOCITY, SPEED, and is associated with locomotion through the air.

hant'wisāwā he runs swiftly

myācisāwā it lacks a keen edge (-c- [§ 21.5])

nemā'swisāwā he alighted feet first

kugwā'trisāwā he tries to fly

pi'tisāwā it blew inside (pīt- inside [§ 16])

tcāpō'gisāwā he fell into the water (for spō cf. āpō [§ 24])

wūtikēśiyāgicisāwā whence the cold comes, there he is speeding to 70.14 (analysis note 21, p. 869)

pemisāwā it went flying past 80.6, 17 (pem- past [§ 16]; -wā 3d person singular animate aorist, intransitive, independent mode [§ 28])
änuwisātc so out he went on the run 254.15 (ā—tei [§ 29])
änünwusātc then she flew out 146.9 (see § 11)
ähānisānītc it flew away 282.17, 19 (-nītc [§ 34])
änūpemisānītc thereupon they went flying up 76.14

isahō- is swift locomotion through the air and of a kind that is limited as to space and duration. The idea of the motion is defined by such terms as JUMP, LEAP, BOUND.

pītcī'sahōw a he leaps into an enclosure (pīte- see under pīt- [§ 16]; w [§ 28])
pyuṭcīsahōw a he comes a-jumping (pyuṭe- see under pyā- [§ 16])
kwāskwīsahōw a he dismounts
nūwi'sahōw a he goes out on the jump (nuw- out; ānūwiwātc he then went out 38.13; ānūwiwātc and they went out 50.2)
ātcipahutetc she leaped with startled surprise 68.18

ō- implies conveyance, portage, transportation. It has acquired the specific meaning of CARRYING A BURDEN ON THE BACK.

kīyōmāw a she carries it (her child) about on her back (kī- [§ 16]; -y- a glide [§ 8]; -ō- [§ 19]; -m- instrumental, animate [§ 21]; -ōw 3d person singular animate subject and object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])
pe'mōta'mw a he passes by with a burden on his back (pem- to pass by [§ 16]; -t- instrumental inanimate [§ 21]; -mw 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person inanimate object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])
kepyātōnepw a I have brought you 90.1 (pyā- motion hither [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; -ō- [§ 19]; ke- nepw 1st person singular subject, 2d person plural object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

ōtā- is for locomotion along a surface, and attended with effort and retardation. It is tantamount to the notion expressed by the words to CRAWL.

ane'mōtāw a he crawls moving yon way
ta'kamōtāw a he crawls athwart
a'gōsī'ōtāw a he crawls upward (as up a tree) (compare onā'a'-gōsticī and then he climbed up 274.24; āhanemī'a'gōstihōmigakī climbed hurriedly up the hill 96.19; wihihōsīyān I shall have to do the climbing 90.19)
ke'tāsī'ōtāw a he crawls upward (as up a hill)
pī'tōtāw a he crawls inside (pīt- [§ 16])
āhagwāyūtāwātc they creep forth 352.5 (-ūtā- same as -ōtā-)
ā'pemagwāyutānītc they started to crawl out 352.11 (pem [§ 16]; -nītc [§ 34])
nä'käpitötäte then again he crawled into 290.4 (nä'k- again; ä-temporal prefix; pit- into [§ 16]; tc for tc 3d person singular animate aorist, conjunctive mode [§ 29])

-usä- has to do with locomotion by land, with particular reference to that of the foot and leg, and of such nature as to imply lack of speed. The combination of ideas involved is synonymous with the word walk.

cöska''kusä'wa he walks straight, erect (cösök- [§ 16])
wä'pusä'wa he starts off on a walk (wàp- to begin [§ 16])
nàhusä'wa he learns how to walk (compare nahitcimäxwän knows how to swim under -tcim- [p. 801])
tet'pusä'wa he walks round in a circle (tete- in a circle [§ 16])
pyä'tusä'wa he comes a-walking (pyä- motion hither [§ 16]; + intervocalic [§ 8])
ä'pemiviwpusäte then he started to walk 194.19 (ä-temporal prefix; pem- wäp- [§ 16])
kiyusän'wa walk thou about 300.2 (kì- about [§ 16]; -y- a glide [§ 8]; -n 2d person singular imperative [§ 31])
wi'kiyusän'wa it [animate] shall walk about 300.1 (wi- future)
pagüsusan'wa walk thou on ahead 340.4
ä'kiwàpusäyägl after we proceeded on the way 342.13 (ä-temporal prefix; kici- wäp- [§ 16]; see § 12 for loss of ci; for the ending see § 29)

-hogö- is locomotion by water, and differs from -tcim- in having more of the sense of conveyance.

pyäta'hogö'wa he comes a-swimming (pyä- motion hither [§ 16])
kiwa'hogö'wa he swims about (kì- motion round about [§ 16])
â'nmëmahogö'wa he swims thitherward
sà'gitepâ'hogö'wa he swims with the head above water (sàgi-exposed [§ 16]; tepâ head)
ä'pemitepîkicahugunite they passed by swimming 184.2 (pemito pass [§ 16]; -hugu- same as -hogö-; -nite [§ 34])

-pahö- is of the nature of -usä-, differing from it only in the degree of locomotion. It denotes speed and swiftness, and is best translated by the term to run.

pe'mipahö'wa he runs past (pem- to pass [§ 16])
nâ'gipahö'wa he stops running (nagi- to stop [§ 16])
kv'wipahö'wa he runs around (kì- motion round about [§ 16])
nâ'gaskiphahö'wa he runs with back bent forward
pà'cipahö'wa he leaves a gentle touch as he flies past on the run

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öwápa-hówát’c then they set to work to paddle 214.3 (for öwápí-
-pahówát’c [§ 12]: ō-; wápi- [§ 16]; -wát’c [§ 29])
ä’pemí-pahut’c then he went running along 110.7 (pemí- [§ 16])
ä’pyú’pahut’c then he came on the run 254.19 (pyú- [§ 16])
ä’šanemi’a’gówstáphómì’k’ then (the head) climbed hurriedly up
the tree 96.19 (šanemi- [§ 16]; -a’gów see p. 799 under -őtė-
ätetepipahut’c and round in a circle he ran 312.6 (tetep- [§ 16])
ätetepipahonit’c then (his friend) was running around in a circle
(-nít’c [§ 34])
pyú’pahówag they came a-running 276.14 (pyú- [§ 16]; -wag for
-wág’ [§ 28])
-pugò- is another term for locomotion by water. It expresses passive
conveyance, the sense of which comes out well in the word
FLOAT.
pe’mítetepipu’gót’a’w’ it floats past a-whirling (pemí- tetep- [§ 16];
-w’ 3d person inanimate singular, aorist, independent mode
[§ 28])
nú’wipugò’w’a he came out a-floating (núwi- out, see under -isá-
[p. 798] and -isahó- [p. 799])
ná’ñoskwipu’gót’a’w’ it floats about at random
k’skipugò’w’a he is able to float (k’ski- ability [§ 16])
-ne’ka- to drive, to pursue.
pámi’ne’kawát’cig’ those who pursue, 70 TITLE (this form is partic-
cipial [§ 33], hence the vowel changes to pámi- from pemí-;
-áci’g’ pronominal form 3d person plural animate subject, 3d
person animate object)
-tcem- is locomotion through water. It is equivalent in meaning to
the word SWIM.
kíwi’tcemá’w’a he swims round about (see under kí- [p. 766])
pemí’tcemá’w’a he swims past
nahí’tcemá’w’a he knows how to swim (compare nahusów’a he
learns how to WALK under -usó- [p. 800])
nó’tawí’tcimá’w’a he gives out before swimming to the end of his
goal
önwápa-cówitctémát’c then he started to swim out to the shore
276.7 (wáp- [§ 16])
-gápá- is for perpendicularity, and its use is observed in situations of
rest with upright support. The term is rendered by the words
TO STAND.
ne’nigwi’gápá’w’a he stands trembling
ne’maswi’gápá’w’a he rose to his feet

§ 19

44877°—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—51
nagi'gāpā'wə he came to a standstill (nagi [§ 16])
pəni'gāpā'wə he ceased standing (pəni- [§ 16])
tcāgānagāgāpāwāte' all came to a standing halt (tcāgā- nagi- [§ 16])
ānāgākāpāwāte' and then they came to a standing halt 50.17
(kāpā- for -gāpā- [see § 3])

[To prove that any given stem is one of the second class of the second order, from the definition laid down in § 17, one must find it after a stem of the first class of the second order. Now, it will be noticed that not one of the stems given in this section as belonging to the second class of the second order in point of fact is found after a secondary stem of the first class; or, at any rate, no example of one has thus far been pointed out. Accordingly, it follows that at present there is no reason why the so-called second class of the second order should not be relegated to oblivion and the entire body merge with the stems of the first class of the second order. The proposed division of stems of the first class of the second order into two subdivisions strikes me as sound in principle: but too few secondary stems have been thus far pointed out to make this division feasible at present.

The following remarks were written subsequent to the preceding comments. As it is admitted in § 14 as well as in § 17 that two secondary stems of the first class can occur in combination, there is no reason why ta'kamisāwə (under -kam- § 18) should not also fall into this class (-kam- + -isā-). It should be noted especially that ta- is initial: see § 17 and my note in § 14.—T.M.

§ 20. Secondary Co-ordinative Stems

There is yet another class of stems that occupy a place just preceding the terminal suffixed pronouns. They serve a double office,—one as co-ordinatives between preceding stems of a purely verbal nature, and following pronominal elements; the other as verbs signifying intransitive notions of existence, being, state, condition. Some express the notion feebly, others do it with more certainty. Many stand in an intimate relation with the subjective terminal pronouns, in a relation of concord, and one so close that they take on different forms; some to agree with the animate, others with the inanimate. Their nature and type are shown in the examples.

1. -cin- animate; -sen- inanimate.

-cin- is an animate term with much variety of use. Its essential meaning is CHANGE FROM MOTION TO REST. The length of
the pause can be long enough to indicate the idea of reclining, lying down.

sā'gici'nuw' he lies exposed (sāgi- [§ 16])  
āta'wāci'nuw' he lies on his back  
kicū'wici'nuw' he lies warm  
ācegicinit' when he lay 116.9  
āháp'e'kwähicinowātc' so they lay with a pillow under their heads 322.20  
ācegicinowātc as they lay there together 324.8  
ācegicinig where he lay 326.1

The cessation may be only momentary, like the instant respite of the foot on the ground during the act of walking. The term is translated into step, walk, in the following examples:

pe'niwā'wāci'nuw' it is the sound of his footstep as he passes by (pemi- [§ 16])  
pyātucwā'wāci'nuw' it is the sound of his walk coming home (pyā [§ 16]; -t- [§ 83])  
ānemwā'wāci'nuw' it is the sound of his step going away

Again, the rest may be sudden, and indefinite as to duration. The meaning in this light comes out in words expressive of descent, as fall, drop.

pa'gici'nuw' (the bird) lights (see pag- [§ 14])  
ā'pyātcipāgicinit' then the bird came and alighted 98.3 (pyātci- see pyā- [§ 16]; -nit' [§ 34])  
pī'tāci'nuw' he dropped inside (pīt- [§ 16])  
cō'skwici'nuw' he slips and falls (cōsk- [§ 16])

-sen- is inanimate, and corresponds to -cin-. It is of wide use, too. It can be applied in the examples illustrating some of the uses of -cin-. To indicate rest in place -sen- is used in the following examples:

sā'gise'nuw' it lies exposed (sāgi- [§ 16])  
āta'wāse'nuw' it lies wrong side up  
kicū'wīse'nuw' it lies in a state of warmth

It likewise expresses the notion of instant change coming from rapid contact between two bodies. As in the illustrations for -cin-, so in the following, the idea for sound is represented by the reduplicated form of wā. The idea of contact and the idea of interval between one contact and another are expressed by -sen-.

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pe’miwä’wäsē’nuw⁴ it passes by a-jingling (pemi- [§ 16]; -w⁴ [§ 2]; pyātkwä’wäsē’nuw⁴ it comes a-ring ̃ing (pyūt- see pyū- [§ 16]) anemwū’wäsē’nuw⁴ it goes yon way a-tinkling

Some of its uses to express DESCENT are—

pa’gise’nuw⁴ it struck, hit, fell, alighted (pāg- [§ 14])
pī’täsē’nuw⁴ it dropped inside (pūt- [§ 16]; -ā- [§ 19])
cō’skwise’nuw⁴ it slid and fell (cōsk- [§ 16])

[Apparently -sen- can be used also with an animate subject:
ā’pāgisentec⁵ 160.1.—T. M.]

2. -si- animate; -ā- inanimate.

-si- implies in a general way the attribute of being animate. It can almost always be rendered in English by an adjective used with the verb TO BE:

mō’wesī’w⁴ he is untidy (-w⁴ [§ 28])
kā’wesī’w⁴ he is rough, uneven, on the skin
cā’wesī’w⁴ he is hungry (i.e., feeble, faint by reason of being famished)
kepa’gesī’w⁴ he is thick of skin

-ā- is the inanimate correspondent of si:

mō’wēw⁴ it is soiled, stained (w⁴ [§ 28])
kā’wēw⁴ it is rough, unpolished, prickly
cā’cawēw⁴ it is pliant, yielding
ke’pāgyā’w⁴ it is thick

3. -sū- heat, animate; -tā- heat, inanimate.

-sū- signifies that the animate subject is in a state of heat, fire, warmth:

wī’cāsū’w⁴ he is sweating
a’’kasū’w⁴ he is burned to a crisp
pa’’sesū’w⁴ he is burned
kī’cesū’w⁴ he is cooked done (kīci- [§ 16])
ā’ā’kasute⁵ he was burned alive 160.1
kīcitcāgesute⁵ after he was all burned up 160.2 (kīci-, tcāgi- [§ 16])

-tā- is the inanimate equivalent of sū:

wī’catā’w⁴ (weather) is warm
a’’katā’w⁴ it burned to ashes
pa’’setā’w⁴ it is hot, heated (pas- [§ 16])
kī’cātā’w⁴ it is done cooking (kīci- [§ 16])

(-ā-).—The ā of tā in the last illustration has been met before in combinations like usā TO WALK, isā FLIGHT, ōtā TO CRAWL.

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egā to dance, and some others. In the form of kā, 'kā, and sometimes gū, it helps to express activity, occupation, exercise, industry. It admits of a wide range of use with the three forms, but everywhere is distinguished the idea of doing, performing.

nenu'su'kā'wā he is on a buffalo-hunt
kepi'hi'kā'wā he is making a fence (i.e., an enclosure). [kep- is an initial stem denoting enclosure.—T. M.]
koge'ni'gā'wā she is washing clothes (i.e., doing work with water [kog- § 16])

Here is no precise notion expressed by the vowel ā in such augmented forms as -hā- and -wā-. It is an empty sign so far as standing for an idea goes; yet the vowel, like some others in its class, plays an important function. It helps to define the preceding stems and to connect them with the terminal pronouns. A copula might be an apt term for it, for such is its office. The following show some of its uses:
kī'wātci'tāhā'wā he is melancholy (-itā- [§ 18])
ā'kwī'tāhā'wā he is sullen
kī'yāwā'wā he is jealous
ā''kwāwā he is angry

The inanimate retains ā in -āmigat-. As in the animate, so in the inanimate, the rendering is usually with some form of the verb to be. The inanimate admits of a further meaning, implying something of the notion of vague extension, like prevalent tone, pervading temper, dominant state of things. Such is the essential idea that comes from the substitution of -āmigat- for the animate in the forms that have just been given:

ne'nusu'kā'migā'twā the buffalo-hunt is the all-absorbing topic ke'pihikā'migā'twā everything is given over to the building of enclosures
ko'genigā'migā'twā the place is astir with the washing of clothes kī'wātci'tāhā'migā'twā the place is sad, dolefully sad
ā''kwitāhā'migā'twā the air is all in a spleen kīyāwā'migā'twā the place is mad with jealousy ā'kwā'migā'twā it is aflame with anger

It is well to mention at this point an inanimate use of -gat-, a component element of -āmigat-. The form is sometimes -gwat-, -kwat-, or -kwa-. In function it is not unlike the inanimate

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-ă-, shown a little way back as an equivalent of the animate
-si-. Furthermore, it has a very common use of expressing
ideas of vague existence in space of such things as odor, fra-
grance, atmospheric states of the weather.

peci'gwá'kwa'twí (tree, log, stick) is straight
mí'cägä'twí it is fuzzy
me'nägwá'twí it smells, stinks
mi'cätc'i'yägwá'twí it is fragrant
me'ca'kwa'twí it is a clear day or starry night (literally, it is a
state of immensity)
neqwá'na'kwa'twí it is cloudy (more literally, a process of cover-
ing is going on above)
pösa'na'kwa'twí clouds hang heavy, look angry (literally, a con-
dition of enlargement, expansion, is taking place overhead)

(-le).—The vowel i, in the forms -wi- and -hi-, is another element with
the office of a link auxiliary. It is a common characteristic
of i, in one or the other form, to increase or to retain the
quantity of the vowel in the preceding syllable. It frequently
lends emphasis to the meaning of a whole combination.

kiwâte'sihi'wa he is so lonely (for kiwâte beside kiwátci, cf. pyát
beside pyátcí [pyá- § 16]; -si- = -si-, above)
sanage'sihi'wa he is positively unyielding, incorrigible

The inanimate of the same is—

kiwâte'tcáhi'wí the place is so lonely (-ă- inanimate of -si-)
sanaga'tóhi'wí it is certainly tough, formidable

Some instances show that the use of i is not always in agreement
with the principle of strict pronominal concord; in other words, that
it is not a peculiarity of one or the other gender.

me'tosänë'nihi'wí he is mortal, exists as a mortal
wáwáñë'skahì'wí he is bad, lives an evil life
me'tosänë'nihi'wí it is in nature mortal
wáwáñë'skahì'wí it has the stamp of evil on it

A common use of i conveys the idea of entrance into a state, or of
becoming a part of a condition.

ma'neto'wi'wa he takes on the essence of supernatural power, is
supernatural power itself (personified)
ugi'mäwi'wa he becomes chief
ma'neto'wi'wí it is charged with, is possessed of, supernatural
power; it becomes the supernatural power itself
ugi'mäwi'wí it partakes of the nature of sovereignty

§ 20
21. INSTRUMENTAL PARTICLES

A set of elements denoting different notions of instrumentality incorporate after initial stems and after secondary stems of the first class. They introduce a causal relation, and render verbs transitive. Their nature and type come out in the illustrations.

1. -h- is for instrumentality in general.
   \( k\acute{\mu}'sk\acute{\mu}h\acute{\mu}m\w^a \) he accomplishes an act with the aid of means
   \( p\acute{\mu}'nah\acute{\mu}m\w^a \) he failed to hit it with what he used
   \( h\acute{\mu}'pi'nah\acute{\mu}m\w^a \) he unloosed it by means of something

-\( h- \) often gets so far away from its instrumental significance as to be absorbed by a general causal idea.

   \( k\acute{\imath}w\acute{\imath}'moh\acute{\imath}w^a \) he puts them to wild flight (\( k\acute{\imath}- \) [§ 16]; -\( \ddot{a}- \) [§ 19]; -\( \ddot{\imath}w^a \) [§ 28])
   \( m\acute{\alpha}ne'cih\acute{\imath}w^a \) he disgraces him
   \( n\acute{\imath}'cuw\acute{\imath}h\acute{\imath}w^a \) he owns two (animate objects)

The instrumental form is frequently -\( h\)-\( w- \) instead of -\( h- \).

   \( p\acute{\imath}'tuw\acute{\imath}w^a \) he buries him (\( p\acute{\imath}- \) [§ 16]; -\( \ddot{a}w^a \) [§ 28])
   \( p\acute{\imath}'guhw\acute{\imath}w^a \) he makes him run
   \( p\acute{\imath}e'ciw\acute{\imath}w^a \) he pierced him in the eye with something

2. -n- refers to the instrumentality of the hand.

   \( n\acute{\imath}'t\acute{\imath}n\acute{\imath}m\w^a \) he falls short of reaching it with his hand (\( am\w^a \) [§ 28])
   \( p\acute{\imath}'nen\acute{\imath}m\w^a \) he failed to hold it with the hand
   \( n\acute{\imath}'pen\acute{\imath}m\w^a \) he takes hold of it with the hand

The use of -\( n- \) is so common that its symbolism gets pretty far from its original meaning. In some instances -\( n- \) refers just as much to mechanical means in general as it does to hand.

   \( n\acute{\imath}'m\w^a \) he goes to fetch him
   \( \ddot{a}'w\acute{\imath}n\acute{\imath}w^a \) he carries him away
   \( m\acute{\imath}'cen\acute{\imath}w^a \) he catches him

And in other instances the notion of hand becomes obscure.

   \( m\acute{\alpha}ne'w\acute{\imath}n\acute{\imath}w^a \) he loves her as a lover
   \( t\acute{\imath}'p\acute{\imath}n\acute{\imath}w^a \) he is fond of her as a lover, friend, or relative
   \( k\acute{\imath}'n\acute{\imath}n\acute{\imath}w^a \) he talks to her (\( kn- \) [§ 24])

3. -sk- expresses the doing of an act with the foot or leg.

   \( t\acute{\imath}'gesk\acute{\imath}m\w^a \) he kicks it
   \( t\acute{\imath}'gesk\acute{\imath}m\w^a \) he touches it with the foot
   \( p\acute{\imath}a't\acute{\imath}'k\acute{\imath}t\acute{\imath}'skaw\acute{\imath}w^a \) he spurs him in the side (literally, he pierces him in the side with the foot)
4. -p-, -pu-, or -pw- denotes an act done with the mouth.

\( s\acute{a}'gi'\text{pw}\acute{a}w^a \) he bites him (i.e., he takes hold of him with the mouth \([s\acute{a}gi'- \S 16]; -\acute{a}w^a \,[\S 28])

\( s\acute{a}gi''\text{put}o\acute{a}w^a \) he bit it \((-t\acute{a}- \,[\S 37])\)

\( k\acute{i}'c\acute{i}ku'm\acute{a}'\text{pw}\acute{a}w^a \) he bites off his nose \((k\acute{i}ck-\text{cut}; -k\acute{u}m-\text{nose} \,[\S 18]; -\acute{a}w^a \,[\S 28])\)

\( p\acute{o}'t\acute{e}tu'n\acute{a}'\text{pw}\acute{a}w^a \) he kisses her \((-t\acute{u}n- \,[\S 18]; -\acute{a}w^a \,[\S 28])\)

5. -c-, -cw-, or -sw- signifies an act done with something sharp.

\( pe'\text{tec}o\acute{a}w^a \) he cuts himself accidentally (with a knife)

\( k\acute{i}sk\acute{a}n\acute{o}'\text{w}\acute{a}\acute{c}w\acute{a}w^a \) he cut off the (animal's) tail

\( k\acute{i}'sk\acute{e}c\acute{a}'\text{m}w^a \) he cut it off

\( k\acute{i}sk\acute{e}'\text{c}\acute{a}\acute{w}\acute{a}\acute{c}w\acute{a}w^a \) he cut off (another's) ear \((-c\acute{a}-\text{ear} \,[\S 18])\)

The association of the two ideas of something sharp, and something thin and film-like, affords an explanation of why \(c\) refers not only to the ear, but also to the notion of the ear as an instrument; usually, however, in an intransitive sense.

\( pe'sec\acute{a}w^a \) he listens \((\text{compare}\ -c\acute{a}- \,[\S 18])\)

\( n\acute{a}n\acute{a}'\text{tuc}\acute{a}w^a \) he asks questions (i.e., he seeks with the ear)

6. -m-, -t-. Farther back were shown a number of attributive elements indicating activities with reference to one or the other gender. The elements were preceded by certain consonants, which had much to do with indicating the gender of what followed. There is an analogous process in causal relations. Certain consonants precede pronominal elements in much the same way as the instrumental particles that have just been shown. These consonants serve as intervocals, and at the same time point out the gender of what follows. A very common consonant is \(m\), which precedes incorporated animate pronominal elements in the objective case. It sometimes means \text{DOING SOMETHING WITH THE VOICE}, the act being done with reference to an animate object.

\( p\acute{o}'n\acute{a}m\acute{a}'\text{w}^a \) he stops talking to him \((p\acute{o}ni- \,[\S 16])\)

\( t\acute{a}n\acute{w}\acute{a}'\text{w}\acute{a}m\acute{a}'\text{w}^a \) he quarrels with him (literally, he engages in repeated noise with him; for \(\text{w}\acute{a}\text{w}\acute{a}\)- compare examples under \(-c\acute{i}n-, -s\acute{e}n- \,[\S 20])\)

\( k\acute{a}'\text{skim}m\acute{a}'\text{w}^a \) he gains her by persuasion \((k\acute{a}s\acute{e}ki- \,[\S 16])\)

Corresponding with \(m\) on the inanimate side is \(t\) or \('t\), but the use appears there in a different sense.

\( \S 21 \)
pō'ni'tō'wə he stops doing it (pōni- [§ 16])
tanwā'wā'tō'wə he bangs away on it (-ō- [§ 37])
kā'skī'tō'wə he gets it, he buys it (kā'skī- [§ 16])

It is not always certain if the symbol stands for a genuine instrumental. Its causal force is so indefinite at times as to represent no other function than to make an animate verb transitive.
wā'bumā'wə he looks at him (wābə same as wāpə to look at; -wə [§ 28])
pā'gamā'wə he hits him (pāg- [§ 14]; see also examples under -cin- -sen- [§ 20])
mī'kemā'wə he is occupied with (an animate object). It is the idiom for HE WOES HER, HE ATTENDS HIM (in sickness) (mī'k- [§ 16])

The parallel of the same thing with t and the inanimate would be—
wā'bata'mwə he looks at it (-amwə [§ 28])
pā'gata'mwə he hits it
mī'teta'mwə he is busy with it

7. -s-, -t-. Another frequent consonant, indicating that the following vowel represents an animate object, is s. In the inanimate, t replaces s.
kū'sıwə he fears him
ś'ısıwə he owns something animate
ku'tamwə he fears it
a'tōwə he has it (-ō- [§ 37]; -wə [§ 28])

8. -n-, -t-. It was shown that n referred to activity with the hand.

The reference was clear when the object was animate: as—
pyā'nıwə he fetches him (literally, he comes, bringing him with the hand [pyā- § 16])
nā'nıwə he goes to fetch him with the hand

The instrumental notion of the hand is sometimes lost when the object of the activity is inanimate. In that case t replaces n.
pyā'tıwə he fetches it (-ō- [§ 37])
nā'tıwə he goes to fetch it

Substantival Composition (§§ 22-24)

§ 22. CHARACTER OF SUBSTANTIVES

A pure substantive in the strict sense of the word is wanting in the Algonquian languages, but what is here termed a substantive is only part of that. The composition of a so-called substantive-group

§ 22
is not at all unlike that of a verb. Initial and secondary stems combine in the same kind of way; link-stems also fall in line; and the element to indicate the notion of a specifier is a sort of designating suffix that is susceptible of a comprehensive application. The suffix, in turn, ends with one or the other of the pronominal signs to show which gender the word is—α for the animate, and ι for the inanimate. Often there is no designative suffix at all, but merely a pronominal termination to mark the end of the word, and leaving the idea of a substantive to be inferred from the context. In the illustrations of noun-composition, only the absolute form of the nominative is given, and under the component parts of secondary stems and suffixes.

§ 23. SECONDARY STEMS

-α'kw- has been met with before in another connection, meaning mass, usually in linear dimension, and referring to wood, tree. It conveys much the same meaning in the noun.

me'ciwā'kwα dead fallen tree (meci- large [initial])
mα'gā'kwα'tι tree of large girth (mαg- large [initial])
mα'ckwā'kwιτι red stem (the name of a medicinal plant) (mαckw- blood or red [for meckw-])
pe'mitā'kwιτι collar-bone (pemi- spacial notion of side, by, lateral [§ 16])

-δtā- is probably akin to the same form met with in the verb, and denoting to crawl. It has no such specific meaning in the noun, but refers in a general way to human interests, especially in an objective relation.

me'gō'tāwe'nι dress (of a woman) (meg- cover [initial])
me'sōtā'wι rain, wind, rumor, news, the whole world (mes- totality [initial]; -wι [§ 28])
u'tōtā'mα or utō'tāmα'nι his eldest brother, his guardian, his master, his clan tutelary, his giver of supernatural power (u- mαnι [§ 45])
δ'tāwe'nι town probably belongs to this class

-na'k- refers to the spacial notion of top, crest, apex.

kā'watā'na'kiτι brittle-top (the name of a medicinal plant) (kār- roughness, asperity)
mαckwα'na'kiτι red-top (the name of a plant used for medicine) (mαckw- red)
-ötc- or -öt- conveys the idea of latency, and refers to something used for a purpose. The -ö- is the same as that met with before, denoting the notion of passive conveyance.

te'sötc’i trap (tes- to entrap [initial stem])
acamötc’i bait (acam- to give to eat)
nä’neskwaputci’i dart (näne- to poise; näneskwä to poise by the neck; näneskwäp to poise by a notch in the neck [done by a knot at the end of a string used in throwing the dart]; for -ötc- : -öt-, cf. pîtc(i) : pît [§ 16])

-yyä-, a term incapable of specific definition, denotes something of the vagueness implied in words like essence, quality, condition.

ki’wâpyä’i crawling vine (kiw- indefinite movement or space [literally, a something with the attribute of movement almost anywhere about])

kicö’pyâtä’gyi hot water (kic- [initial] and tă- [cf. -tă- warmth [§ 20]). The objective idea of water is transferred to the acquired condition; and the term signifying the new state stands for water, although it does not mean water—a common process peculiar to the psychology of the language

-gi- or -ge- expresses the idea of similarity, resemblance. With the connective ä, as -ägi- or -äge-, it is used to represent the idea for some kinds of cloth.

ma’netöväge’ni like the mysterious (the name of an expensive broadcloth used for leggings and breech-clout)
me’ckwäge’nuvi like the red (the name of a red woolen broadcloth with white edge)
co’skwägi’i like the smooth (a fine woolen broadcloth used for garments by women on ceremonial occasions) (cök [§ 16])

-pa’k- refers to the external structure of a dwelling.

pe’mitöpa’kwö side (of a lodge) (for pemî- cf. under -ä’kwö- above)
tca’pa’kwä’nö wall (of a lodge) (tcä-[initial] refers to interlocation)
a’kwi’tapa’kwö roof (of a lodge) (a’’kwö on top, surface)

§ 24. NOMINAL SUFFIXES

The examples from this point on to the end contain formatives that make a combination take on more of the character of a substantive. The stems that precede the formatives stand in a kind of attributive relation.

§ 24
-ask- is a generic term for plants and herbs, and is common in the names for medicines.

\(\text{tané}'\text{íwa}'\text{skw}^{i}\) gambling-medicine (\(\text{tané}^{i}\) mutal activity, by inference gambling; -\(\text{t}^{i}\) [§ 38])

\(\text{micá}^{i}\text{cíne}'\text{níwa}'\text{skw}^{i}\) perfume (\(\text{mic}^{i}\) large; \(\text{micá}^{i}\) state of largeness; \(\text{micá}^{i}\text{cíne}^{i}\) man in a feeling of largeness)

\(\text{wá}^{i}\text{baskw}^{i}\) white medicine (\(\text{wá}^{i}\) white; also to look at)

-\(\text{ap}^{i}\) appears in combinations denoting cord, string.

\(\text{me}^{i}'\text{tegwá}^{i}'\text{pi}\) bow-string (\(\text{me}^{i}'\) tegw\(\text{i}\) wood, stick)

\(\text{ásti}'\text{stá}'\text{pi}\) mocassin-string (-\(\text{ásti}\) is related to the stem -\(\text{usá}\) to walk)

\(\text{ásapá}^{i}\text{pi}\) string, thread, cord

-\(\text{mín}\) is a collective term for fruit, grain, berry.

\(\text{me}^{i}'\text{cími}'\text{n}^{a}\) apple (literally, large fruit; \(\text{me}^{i}\) initial stem)

\(\text{s}^{i}\text{dámi}'\text{n}^{a}\) corn

\(\text{wá}^{i}\text{bimi}'\text{n}^{i}\) white corn

\(\text{a}^{i}\text{dá}'\text{ámi}'\text{n}^{i}\) strawberry (literally, heart-berry)

\(\text{ká}'\text{wimi}'\text{n}^{a}\) gooseberry (literally, prickly, rough, or thorny berry; cf. \(\text{káwesiew}^{a}\) he is rough [§ 20])

-\(\text{pó}\) or -\(\text{ápó}\) refers to fluid, liquid.

\(\text{ne}^{i}'\text{pó}^{i}\) soup (\(\text{ne}^{i}'\) \(\text{pó}^{i}\) water)

\(\text{ma}^{i}'\text{ciski}'\text{wápó}^{i}\text{w}^{i}\) tea (literally, herb-drink or herb-fluid)

\(\text{wicku}'\text{pápo}^{i}\text{w}^{i}\) wine (literally, sweet fluid)

\(\text{maskutó}'\text{wápó}^{i}\text{w}^{i}\) whisky, rum, alcohol (literally, fire-fluid; -\(\text{tá}\) [§ 20])

\(\text{wimeckwápógateniwiw}^{i}\) there shall be a red fluid 184.19 (\(\text{meckw}^{i}\) red [initial stem]; -\(\text{gat}^{i}\) [§ 20]; \(\text{w}^{i}\) sign of intransitive future [§ 28]; -\(\text{w}^{i}\) [§ 28]; -\(\text{mi}\) [§ 34]; -\(\text{e}\) to prevent the cluster -\(\text{tn}\) [§ 8])

-\(\text{mutá}\) is a general term for receptacle as the notion is expressed in pocket, pouch, bag.

\(\text{mic}^{i}'\text{mutá}^{i}\) paunch (\(\text{mic}^{i}\) littleness, shortness, as in fuzz, and so fuzzy pouch)

\(\text{maski}'\text{mutá}^{i}\) bag, sack (\(\text{maski}^{i}\) as in \(\text{ma}^{i}'\text{skiski}'\text{w}^{i}\) grass, reed, and so reed bag, grass bag)

\(\text{ká}'\text{ki}'\text{mutá}^{i}\) bag made from linn-wood bark (\(\text{ká}'\text{k}^{i}\) to dry, season, and so a bag of seasoned material)

\(\text{pícá}'\text{ganimutá}^{i}\) parflèche (\(\text{pí}'\text{cágá}'\text{n}^{i}\) rawhide, and so rawhide pouch)

-\(\text{g}^{i}\text{An}\) is a comprehensive term expressive of instrumentality.

\(\text{kepanó}'\text{higa}'\text{n}^{i}\) lid (for a bucket, basket) (\(\text{kep}^{i}\) to enclose; -\(\text{An}\) opening, and so an object for closing an opening)

§ 24
ke'páti'higa'n' lid, cork for small opening, as in a bottle
kepi'higa'n' fence (kep- to enclose)
ká'wipu'tciga'n' file (káwi- rough, serrated; -pu- or -put- [see § 21; cf. pítcí- beside pít-] bite, and so an indented tool for taking hold)
apwá'tciga'n' scaffold for roasting and drying meat on (apwá- to roast, and so a thing for roasting)

-gán- is a common element for many nouns denoting parts of the body.
mís'etu'nágga'nn' mustache, beard (mís- hair, fuzz; -tun- mouth [§ 18], lips, and so the hair or thread-like arrangement about the mouth)
wi'píga'n' marrow (-wíp- form, length, and roundness vaguely implied)
u'kwá'gga'n' neck (-kwá- the space back of the neck [§ 18])

-ná- refers in a general way to place, and is used to denote an inhabited region or community.
Cá'wánó'íná'w' Shawnee village (Cá'wánó'w' a Shawnee)
Wacá'ciná'w' Osage town (acáca an Osage)
O'tcipwá'híná'w' Ojibwa country (O'tcipwá'w' a Ojibwa)

With the locative ending -g', as -nág', the meaning becomes more that of COUNTRY, LAND.

ác'hiná'g' in the country of the Sioux (ác'á a Sioux)
kí'gápó'híná'g' in the Kickapoo country (Kí'gápó'w' a Kickapoo)

-gán- is another collective term for place. It refers especially to enclosures.
adá'wágga'n' store (adáwá- to sell, and so selling-place)
ase'nígga'n' stone house (a'sen' stone)
pa'kwáigga'n' flag-reef lodge (pa'kwa' flag-reef or flag-reef mat)

-ín-, -win-, -wen-, -án-, -wá'n-, -ón-. There is one suffix that imparts an abstract meaning to a combination; it is analogous in meaning to á'wáhí'n', a demonstrative pronoun with an indefinite sense of vague reference, allusion, and having a close parallel to the colloquial "What d'ye call it?" The suffix appears in slightly varying forms, as -ín-, -win-, -wen-, -án-, -wá'n-, -ón-.
ápapi'n' chair, seat (ap- to sit, and so something to sit on)
Ká'navi'n' word, talk, report (kan- to talk, and so something about talk)

§ 24
mi'tci'we'n food (mi- or mit- to eat, and so something to eat)  
p4'gän' hickory-nut (p4g- to hit, a slight [§ 14], and so something to drop and hit)  
p'tanwän'a quiver (p- or p-it- to put into [§ 16]; -än- receptacle.  
and so an object to contain something inside)  
wō'bamō'n mirror (wōbs- to look at [same as wōp4-]; -m- [§ 21];  
and so something to look at)

These few examples are perhaps enough to give an idea of noun-structure. As in the verb, so in the noun, there is much the same general character of vague implication in the component parts when they stand alone. They offer no definite meaning by themselves: it is only as they enter into combination that they convey specific sense to the mind. The moment they fall into composition, they acquire the force of precise statement, which they hold within definite limits. The method of procedure is to advance progressively from one general notion to another, each qualifying the other, with the result of a constant trend toward greater specialization.

§ 25. Reduplication

Reduplication is common, and occurs in the initial stem. Many initial stems have more than one syllable; and, when reduplication takes place, it may be with the first syllable only, or it may include the syllable immediately following. This phase of the process can be observed from the examples that are to be shown. In the examples the reduplicated syllable will appear in Roman type. The vowel of the reduplication is often unlike the vowel of the syllable reduplicated.

Reduplication expresses—

1. Intensity of action.
   kāgi'gänō'wa he held the clan ceremony with great solemnity  
tā'tageskawä'wa he stamped him under foot (cf. § 21.3)

2. Customary action.
   mā'micātesi'wa he always went well dressed (-si- [§ 20])  
wā'wi cāpenä'wa he is always hungry (-cā- allied to -cāwe-; see -si- [§ 20])

3. Continuity of action.
   pe'peskutcāskō'wa it (animate) keeps shedding hair of the body  
mayo'mayō'wa he kept on weeping

§ 25
4. Repetition.

\[na'negi'w^a\] he is constantly stopping on the way (\(na^gi\)– [§ 16]; \(-w^a\) [§ 28])

\[pa'ka'paa'kanoska'w^i\] it opens and closes alternately

5. Plurality, distribution.

\[ki'skeka'w^a\] he cut off both ears (\(-ca\)– [§ 18])

\[sa'saigica'nu^a\] he lay with both feet exposed (\(sa^gi\)– [§ 16]; \(-cin-\) [§ 20])

\[maanemanege\^a\] many a thing 112.11

\[sasaqiseg\^i\] they stick out 284.14

\[na'nesa'tc^i\] he killed many (animate objects) (\(nes-\) initial stem to kill; \(-atic\) [§ 29])

\[na'nuiwisawa'tc^i\] they came flying out one after the other (\(nuiwi-\) out; \(-saa-\) [§ 19]; \(-aa-\) lengthened before \(wac^i\) [§ 29]; \(-aa-\) lacking)

\[ma'metawitacwacg^i\] there were ten of them all together (\(metawwi-\) for \(medaw\) [§ 50]; \(tac\)– [§ 16]; \(-wac^i\) [§ 28])

6. Duration.

\[pa'po'nuiwa'g^i\] they made long stops on the journey (\(poo\)– [§ 16]; \(-wac^i\) [§ 28])

\[wa'pawapamata'c^i\] he looked at him a long time 116.6, cf. 278.2

\(-m-\) [§ 21]; \(-atic\) [§ 29]; \(-aa-\) lacking)

\[aha'pi'ahapite^i\] he sat there a long while 116.6 (\(-aa-\)– \(tc^i\) [§ 29]; \(-ha-\) glide [§ 8]; \(api-\) initial stem to sit; \(-ha-\) glide [§ 8])

7. Quantity, size.

\[ma'micinie'kaw^a\] he has a great deal of hair on the hand (\(mic-\) [§ 24 under \(-min-\)])

\[papa'gaa'enw^i\] it is thin (\(-w^i\) [§ 28])

8. Onomatopoeia.

\[ka'ka'saha'mw^a\] he files it, he scrapes it (\(-ha-\) [§ 21]; \(-anw^a\) [§ 28])

The Verb (§§ 26-41)

§ 26. Pronoun, Voice, and Mode

It has been stated before (§ 14) that animate and inanimate gender are strictly distinguished, that there is a singular and a plural, and that the exclusive and the inclusive first person plural are distinguished. The former is associated with the forms of the first person singular; the latter, with those of the second person. Since both subject and object are expressed by incorporated pronominal forms, the intransitive verb and the transitive verb must be treated separately. Active, middle, and passive voice occur. The pronouns § 26
take entirely different forms in different groups of modes. Three groups of modes may be distinguished,—the indicative, the subjunctive, and the potential,—to which may be added a fragmentary series of imperatives.

§ 27. Tense

The expression of tense by grammatical form is slightly developed. There is nothing in the simple form of the verb to mark the distinction between present and past time. It may express an act as in duration, as passing into a condition, or as momentary; but the time of the action, whether present or past, is to be inferred only from the context. This tense is referred to as aorist. It has its peculiar marks, which will be pointed out in the section on mode and pronominal forms. There may be said to be but one distinct grammatical tense, the future, which is indicated by the vowel i or the syllable wi. A fuller treatment of this tense will also be given further on.

The extreme lack of grammatical form to express tense must not be taken as an indication that the language is unable to make distinctions in the time of an action. On the contrary, stems of the initial class [§ 16] express great variety of temporal relations. Some of these relations are the notions of completion, with an implication of—

Past time.

ki'cipyä'w he has come (literally, he finishes the movement hither)

Frequency.

nahi'näwä'w he frequently sees him, he used to see him, he kept seeing him

Continuity.

anemitâ'pena'mw he is constantly taking it up with his hand

Incipiency.

wä'pipyä'w he began coming, he begins to come

Cessation.

pö'niopyä'w he no longer comes

Furthermore, temporal adverbs are used to express tense.

Present:

ne'py illust I come now, I came to-day

§ 27
future:

\[ n\tilde{e}''py^a w\tilde{a}bag^e I shall come to-morrow \]

past:

\[ ne'py^a A'n\tilde{a}g\tilde{o}w^e I came yesterday \]

Pronominal Forms (§§ 28-34)

§ 28. INDEPENDENT MODE

Aorist

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<th>we incl.</th>
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<th>ye</th>
<th>he [it]</th>
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<td>ke------</td>
<td>ke---</td>
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<td>pwa [----- wa]</td>
<td>wagi [----- -6ni]</td>
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</table>

In the line containing the intransitive verb the forms for animate subject, third person, are given in the first line; those for inanimate subject, in the second line. In the transitive verb no forms with inanimate subject occur.

The future forms have \( n\tilde{e} \) and \( k\tilde{i} \) as prefixes in place of \( ne \) and \( ke \). The future of the intransitive has the prefix \( wi \). No future forms of the transitive third person subject with third person object have been recorded.

Such a form is \( \text{winesaw}^a \) HE SHALL SLAY IT (HIS DOG) 178.2. Observe \( wi^- \) as prefix. It may be noted that intransitive futures occur without this prefix; for instance, \( n\tilde{e}''py^a \) (quoted § 27) I SHALL COME.—T. M.

The following examples illustrate the use of the intransitive forms:

\[ ne''py^a I come, I came (see py\tilde{a} [§ 16]) \]
\[ n\tilde{e}py^a I shall come 270.21 \]
\[ ke''py^a you come, you came \]
\[ 'py\tilde{a}w^a he comes, he came \]
\[ hiw^a he says, he said 26.12, 14 \]
\[ py\tilde{a}migaw^i it comes, it came (-migat- of the inanimate is a secondary stem of a connective, and is a peculiarity of gender [see § 20]) \]

§ 28

44877°—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—52
pyāwag⁴ they came 22.14
pyā' pahōwag⁴ they come a-running 276.13 (-pahō- [§ 19])

The following examples illustrate the transitive forms:

kewāpamen⁴ I look at thee (wāpa initial stem to look at; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; cf. also § 8 end)
kepyāticānānen⁴ I have come to fetch you away 50.1, 10 (pyāti: see under pyā [§ 16, also § 8]; -nā- to fetch; -n- instrumental particle [§ 21]; see also § 8)
kepyāticewāpamen⁴ I have come to visit thee 242.11
ketepānen⁴ I am fond of thee 314.4
kiwī'pumen⁴ I shall eat with you 252.4 (wī- [§ 16]; -pu- [§ 21]; -m- [§§ 21, 37])
kihavihen⁴ I shall lend it to thee 302.8
kepyātōnepwen⁴ I have brought to you 90.1 (pyā- [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; -ō- [§ 19])
kinatomenepwen⁴ I shall call you 356.16
nekusāwen⁴ I fear him 366.2 (-s- [§ 21])
newāpamāw⁴ I look at him (wāpa and m as above)
ninawihiaw⁴ I am going to visit him 258.1 (nawi- to see; h for kā [kīhā- pu you shall go 356.15], or -h- [§ 21])
nināwewiwpamāw⁴ I shall go and visit him 230.22 (māwi- [§ 16]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; nināwewpamāw⁴ at 260.12, 268.19 is the same form with loss of the syllable wi [cf. § 12])
nepyāticānānāwag⁴ I have come to take them away (pyāte for pyāti- [§ 16]; -ā [§ 19]; nā to fetch; -n- instrumental [§ 21])
netenāwag⁴ I call them 330.6
niwāpamāwag⁴ I shall see them 298.12 (a mild imperative, let me see them)
ne'wāpa⁴ I look at it (-t- [§§ 21, 37])
nepyāticānānen⁴ we (excl.) have come to take him 58.8 (pyāci [§§ 8, 16]; nā to fetch; -n- [§ 21])
nehenepen⁴ we (excl.) have slain him 160.4
kimāwewiwpatāpen⁴ we (incl.) shall go look at it 284.8 (māwi- [§ 16]; wāpa- as above; -t- [§§ 21, 37])
ki'kiwiwewpatapen⁴ we (incl.) are going on a journey to see it 338.7 (kiwī- an initial stem denoting indefinite motion; [cf. kī- [§ 16]])
ke'wāpa'mt⁴ thou lookest at me (-m- [§§ 21, 37])
kinesāpen⁴ we shall slay him 90.6 (a mild command)
kīwāwpamipenna-tcā⁴ thou wilt examine us (excl.) 290.23 (wāwpā a reduplicated form of wāpa-; -m- [§§ 21, 37]), a mild command
kewā'pamāwen⁴ thou lookest at him

§ 28
kineckimaw thou wilt scold at him 284.4 (mild imperative)
kipagwiwaw thou wilt run him off 284.5
kiihinaw thou wilt say to him 98.9, 382.12 (-n- is an inter-
vocalic particle [see §21])
kuwadamawagi thou wilt see them (animate) 246.15
kituipihiwag thou wilt make them happy 276.23
kewadapai thou lookest at it (-t- [§§ 21, 37])
newadamegwa he looked at me 368.19 (-me- [§§ 8, 21, 37])
kinaeganegunani he will leave us (incl. = thee and me) 178.18
pyanaw he brought (something alive) 58.5 (pya- [§ 16]; -n- [§ 21])
kiyoomaw she carries it (her child) about on her back (kii- [§ 16];
-y- a glide [§ 8]; -o- [§ 19]; -m- [§ 21])
kasximaw he succeeds in persuading him (kasxi- [§ 16]; -m- [§ 21])
wadatemaw he looks at it
kasihimaw he erases it (kasii- [§ 16]; -h- [§ 21])
netcaqimanihegogi they took everything I had 276.15 (tcagi- [§ 16];
-gogi for -gogi)
kipyamutagogi they shall come to thee 348.2
kivadepeshihenegodi they will set thee crazy 309.20
kihamwalamwukogoi they will often use thee for food 330.22
(reduplication to express frequency [§ 25]; -kogi for -gogi;
confusion of k and q [see § 3]; amw- initial stem to eat; h
[both times] a glide [§ 8]; -u- to prevent -wk-)
kihigogi they will call thee 110.9

When the initial stem of a verb begins with a vowel in the aorist,
an intervocalic consonant -t- is inserted between pronoun and stem;
in the future this insertion does not occur.

Aorist:
ne'taw I am, I remain; I was, I remained
ke'taw you are, you remain; you were, you remained
a'wiwi he is, he remains; he was, he remained
aowi'migatwo it is, it remains; it was, it remained (for -migat- cf.
§ 20)

Future:
ni'a'wi I shall be, I shall remain
k'i'a'wi you will be, you will remain
wi'a'wi'wi he will be, he will remain
wi'a'owi'migatwo it will be, it will remain

§ 28
### § 29. CONJUNCTIVE, AORIST AND FUTURE; SUBJUNCTIVE, PRESENT AND PAST

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The indicative negative has the same form as the conjunctive with the negative, which replaces á and wí. All the endings have i as terminal vowel (never e), and take the additional suffix -ni.

[It is likely that á and the i of wí are aspirated vowels. This would account for the regular conversion of k, p, t, to ’k, ’p, ’t, after them; and also for the insertion of h after them and before a vowel. The elements ni- and kí- have a similar effect (see § 28).—T. M.]

Intransitive forms:

winöwiyäní I shall go out 320.20 (conj. fut.)
wi’pyáyan1 I shall then come 296.21 (conj. fut.)
wi’penuyän1 I am going home 256.14, 258.23 (conj. fut.)
wināgwāyän1 I shall go (conj. fut.)
á’pyáyāg* when we (excl.) came (conj. aor.)
wi’i-cimenwipemātesiyāg* that we (excl.) may have good health (conj. fut.)
á’pyáyāgw* when we (incl.) came (conj. aor.)
äsāyiyan1 when thou saidst 116.20 (conj. aor.)
winepeyan1 thou wilt die 296.20 (conj. fut.)
wiwāpāmoyän1 thou hadst better flee for thy life 98.5 (conj. fut.; wāp- [§ 16]; -ā- [§ 19]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -o- [§ 40])
wi’a-tcimoyän1 that thou talkest 322.16 (conj. fut.; -m- -o- [§§ 21, 40])
wihināmoyän1 thou shouldst flee 98.8 (conj. fut.)
pemāmoyän* in thy flight 98.5 (subj. pres.)
kiçipyātöyan* when thou hast brought (it) here 320.20 (subj. pres.; kici- pyä- [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; -o- [§ 19])
wāpikāwuiçayän* start and take another step 128.18 (subj. pres.; wāpi- [§ 16]; -usā- [§ 19])
pyä’yan* if you should come 320.4 (subj. pres.)
á’semiwāpāmuts* then he started to begin to flee 154.10 (conj. aor.; semī- wāpi- [§ 16]; -ā-m-u- [§§ 19, 37, 40])
á’semuaatc* then he walked along 104.19 (conj. aor.; pem- for semī- [§ 16] before vowel; -usā- [§ 19])
äsāt* then he said 48.21; 58.26, 27; 114.2, 9; 118.21, 23 (conj. aor.)
á’kiyusāt* then he walked about 252.17 (conj. aor.; kí-y-usā- [§§ 16, 8, 19])
änāgwāt* then he started away 240.19 (conj. aor.)
áp약* then he came 326.22 (conj. aor.)
á’senuuc* then he went away 326.2 (conj. aor.)
pyānit* should he come 156.21 (subj. pres.)
pitiguáte* that he entered 18.4 (subj. past)
wi’pyānit* when he would come 298.11 (conj. fut.; -ni- [§ 34])

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ähanemiviwpusëiwätc1 they continued to start off on a walk 10¢ (conj. aor.; hanemiviwp-[wäpi-] -usë- [§§ 16, 19])
ä'kivusëiwätc1 they tramped about 136.14 (ki-y-usë- [§§ 16, 8, 19])
ä'pyäiwätc1 when they came 120.7, 166.22 (conj. aor.)
ä'pöniwätc1 they then halted to camp 166.13 (conj. aor.; pöni- [§ 16])
änagiiwätc1 they halted 166.7 (conj. aor.; nagi [§ 16])
ämepäiwätc1 they slept 334.19 (conj. aor.)
ä'penuwätc1 then they went away 334.19 (conj. aor.)
wi pemämuwätc1 then it was their purpose to begin to flee (conj. fut.; pem-ä-m-ù- [§§ 16, 19, 21, 37, 40])

Transitive forms:

witacinesag1 I shall kill her 102.1 (conj. fut.; nes- to kill)
ägwitei winesenäni I do not mean to kill thee 54.23 (conj. fut.; -n2 negative suffix)
äwàvälijaviyani1 when you (singular) taunted me about him 330.16 (conj. aor.)
ä'acamiyani1 you (singular) gave them to me to eat (conj. aor.)
wipäpaganenag6 we (excl.) shall now club you to death 160.6 (conj. fut.; pàpaga- reduplicated form of a stem allied to pàg[i]- [§§ 14, 20]; -me- [§§ 8, 21])
neciyani1 if thou slay me 54.21 (subj. pres.; nes-, nec- to slay [see §9])
wihäwänatc1 wilt thou carry them away? 54.21 (conj. fut.)
wiketeminaiwiyagw6 that ye will bless me 380.7 (conj. fut.)
äwàpämätc he looked at her 298.20 (conj. aor.; -tc for -tc before a vowel)
ä'kusätc1 he feared him 366.22 (conj. aor.; -s- [§ 21.7])
ähinätc1 he said to him (her) 240.16, 290.18 (conj. aor.; -n- [§ 21])
ä'kicinesätc1 after she had slain (an animate object) 254.19 (conj. aor.; kici- [§ 16]; nes- to slay)
äwi'pumätc1 he then ate with them 296.8 (conj. aor.; wi-pu-m- [§§ 16, 21, 37])
ä'kaskimätc she succeeded in persuading her 102.6 (conj. aor.; kaski -m- [§§ 16, 21]; -tc for -tc before a vowel)
äpyätohwätc1 he then fetched (an animate object) 266.15 (conj. aor.; pyä-t-ö-hw- [§§ 16, 8, 19, 21])
äwàpatag1 he then looked at (the inanimate thing) 222.22, 248.3 (conj. aor.; -t- [§§ 21, 37])
nä'kakogenag6 she also washed it 178.21 (conj. aor.; nà'ka also, again; -a lost before ä-; kög-n- [§§ 8, 16, 21])
äpemwutlag1 so he shot at (the inanimate object) 252.19 (conj. aor.; -t- [§§ 21, 37])
äwàpacimiwätc1 when they poke fun at me 322.12 (conj. aor.; wàpa to look 'at)
inácintutamü'k thus they begged of thee 382.14 (conj. aor.)
án săwâtc then they killed him 294.8, 296.2 (conj. aor.)
āhinâwâtc then they told him 32.5 (conj. aor.; -n- [§ 21])
nâwâwât should they see them 192.11 (subj. pres.)

It would seem that under some conditions - and wi- may be used
with the subjunctive (see § 35.4). Examples are:

ā'pônitwâte* when they had camped 96.2 (pronominal form of
subjunctive past)
wiwâpâmûte* it was his purpose to flee 218.14 (pronominal form
of subjunctive past; wâp-â-m-û- [§§ 16, 19, 21, and 37, 40])
wiîîtîcîte* she would have eaten 96.3
wipemwîçe I would have shot it 254.20

—T. M.
§ 30. POTENTIAL, POTENTIAL SUBJUNCTIVE, AND PROHIBITIVE

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>I</th>
<th>we excl.</th>
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</table>

1 The first form is the potential; the second, the potential subjunctive; the third, the prohibitive.
Apparently these forms are distantly related to the other dependent nodes. This appears clearly in the forms for the third person animate, exclusive, inclusive, and second person plural. The character of most of the potential forms is -'k-. Examples are—

naša'kap⁴ you (sing.) would have come back to life 116.17 (potential)
mañahiyäkap⁴ you (sing.) would have much of it (potential)
kiiyawa'kan¹ you (sing.) might be jealous of me 216.15 (kiiyawa jealous; -m- §[21]; potential)
inenagä'a I should have said to thee 314.3 (potential)
ugimäwis⁴ he would have become chief 26.16 (potential subjunctive)
nesegus⁴ he would have been killed 168.13 (nes- initial stem to kill; -e- §[8]; -gu- §[41]; potential subjunctive)
miciyagagu⁴ you (pl.) might give to him (potential subjunctive) 32.11
kät⁴ aiyapami 'ai'yohipyä'kan¹ thou shalt not return to this place again 146.20 (prohibitive; -pyä- from pyä- §[16]); aiyö⁴ here; aiyapami back)
käta kuse'kya'kak⁴ be ye not afraid 190.21 (prohibitive; -'kak⁴ for -'kag⁴; confusion of -g- and k §[3]; -se- §§[8, 21])
käta nüwi'käg⁴ do not go out 12.4 (prohibitive; nüwi initial stem out)
käta, nesimähetigä, säpigwä'kaku don't, oh my little brothers, peep 282.4, 6, 8, 10 (prohibitive; -ku for -gu)
käta wina säpigwä'kitci let no one of you peep 280.25 (prohibitive)
käta natawapi'kan¹ thou shalt not try to peep at me 118.10 (prohibitive; -wäp- for wäpa look at)
käta, nü'ka'ne, aönihü'kan¹ don't, my friend, be too cruel with me 330.17 (prohibitive)
kät⁴ äucimi'käg⁴ ye shall not tell on us (excl.) 152.10 (prohibitive)
käta wina natawapi'kite wäyiya⁴ none of you shall try to look at me 280.19 (prohibitive; wäp for wäpa)
§ 31. IMPERATIVE

<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-netce</td>
<td>-wātce</td>
<td>-nātce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-nowetce</td>
<td>-wātce</td>
<td>-nātce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him, them, animate</td>
<td>-dāwue</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>wi-si</td>
<td>wi-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It, them, inanimate</td>
<td>-dāwue</td>
<td>-nā</td>
<td>-amuk'u</td>
<td>wi-agi</td>
<td>wi-si</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noted that in the third person these forms are similar to those of the subjunctive, except that -tce is found when the subjunctive substitutes -te.

*pyā'tāwë* let us come (from *pyā-* [§16])
*pyā'nu or pyānu' come thou 304.17
*tetepusān* walk thou in a circle 376.12 (*tetep-* [§16]; *-usā-* [§19])
*nwānu* out of doors withyou 292.15 (*nwē-* out)
*kiyusān* walk thou about 300.2 (*ki-* [§16]; *-y* [§8]; *-usā-* [§19])
*hawin* stay thou 42.21
*hapin* sit down 28.3 (*api-* initial stem to sit; *h-* really belongs to aiyō)
*pyā'gu or pyāgu' come ye
*hawik* remain ye 48.23 (confusion of k and g)
*nāgwēkū* begone 58.13
*māwinānegō* go ye in pursuit 358.24 (*māwi-* [§16]; *-n* [§21]; *-g* [§8]; *-go* for *-gu* [§6])
*pyāte* let him come
*pyāwāte* let them come
*wāpamin* look thou at me 322.3 (*wāpa-* to look at; *-m* [§21])
*pōnimi* speak thou no more to him 56.3 (*pōni-* [§16]; *-m* [§21])
*māwinatum* ask him to come 366.19, 368.2 (*māwi-* [§16])
*wāpame'kū* look ye at him 242.19 (*wāpa-*; *-m* [§21]; *-r* [§8])

[In āpinahwināge open it and set us (excl.) FREE 290.22 -nāge
is a palpable error for -nāge, for the subject is thou.—T. M.]

§ 32. THE INTERROGATIVE MODE

There is an interrogative mode that plays the rôle of an indirect question. It has some points in common with the conjunctive mode; it is a subordinate mode; it makes use of the syllabic aug-
ments ū and wi to express indefinite and future tenses; it has a com-
§§ 31, 32
Set of pronominal forms from which, in turn, are derived forms that are used to express further degrees of subordination. Forms are as follows:

**Interrogative Conjunctive, Aorist and Future**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>ā- wi- (\text{wānāni})</td>
<td>Exclu. ā- wi- (\text{wāgāni})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Incl. ā- wi- (\text{wāgwāni})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>ā- wi- (\text{wānāni})</td>
<td>2d per. ā- wi- (\text{wāgwāni})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. an.</td>
<td>ā- wi- (\text{gāni})</td>
<td>3d per. an. ā- wi- (\text{gāhi(γ)})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. inan.</td>
<td>ā- wi- (\text{gāni})</td>
<td>3d per. inan. ā- wi- (\text{gāhīni})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms appear in various connections. An example of a ure is—

\(\text{wā\(\text{pēpēmūtūwāgwāni}\)}\) when we shall begin shooting at each other 20.12 (indirect question; \(\text{wāpī-}\) [§ 16]; \(\text{pēmū-}\) in \(\text{āwāpī-pēmūtūwātē}\) then they began shooting at each other 20.14; cf. \(\text{ni\'pēmōwā}\) I am going to shoot at him 248.14; -\(\text{ti-}\) reciprocal [§ 38])

Three of those used for the aorist will be shown. One is an indirect question after an imperative statement.

\(\text{ki\(\text{nātūcāpu\) ā\(\text{\'cisenogwān\(n\)}\) you should inquire how the affair stood}

Another is in an indirect question after a declarative, negative atement.

\(\text{āgwōnōgāyānin\(t\) ćisōwānān\(n\)}\) I did not learn what their name was

A third use is in the salutation of a first meeting after a long cence.

\(\text{ā\(\text{\'pyāwānān\(t\)}\) and so thou hast come!}

Without ā, this interrogative appears in

\(\text{āgwī meckwādāwō nāwāgwōtū}\) did you not see a red swan 80.5, 16; 82.6 (nā- to see [§ 16]; -\(\text{wāgwī}\) [§ 32]; -\(\text{nī}\) [§ 29])

[No transitive forms are given in the above table for the interrogative subjunctive. Note, however,

\(\text{nesāgwāni (somebody)}\) must have killed him 66.7

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This is a form of this class; -ä corresponds to å of -Å in this independent mode; -gwän as in the table; but ä- is lacking.—T. M.]

The subjunctive of the indirect question omits the temporal prefix and has throughout final -e instead of -i (wänñë, wähine, etc.).

[näsägwän somebody slew him 26.15 (the change of the stem vowel e to å as in the participial näsäi he that slew him 26.13; should be noted.—T. M.]

### § 33. PARTICIPIALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>we excl.</th>
<th>we incl.</th>
<th>thou</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>-yäni</td>
<td>-yäge</td>
<td>-yägve</td>
<td>-yäni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us excl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us incl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>-näni</td>
<td>-näge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>-nägve</td>
<td>-näge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td>-sga</td>
<td>-sgeta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them, an.</td>
<td>-sgigi</td>
<td>-sgetigi</td>
<td>-sgivi</td>
<td>-sgivi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>-smäni</td>
<td>-smäge</td>
<td>-smägve</td>
<td>-smägve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them, inan.</td>
<td>-smägini</td>
<td>-smägini</td>
<td>-smägivi</td>
<td>-smägivi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>ye</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>they, an.</th>
<th>lt</th>
<th>they, inan.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>-yägve</td>
<td>-ty</td>
<td>-ticgi</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us excl.</td>
<td>-yäge</td>
<td>-tyameta</td>
<td>-ticgi</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us incl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nägve</td>
<td>-nagse</td>
<td>-ticgi</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-nägvi</td>
<td>-ticgi</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nägve</td>
<td>-nägvi</td>
<td>-ticgi</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td>-sgva</td>
<td>-dia</td>
<td>-ticgi</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them, an.</td>
<td>-sgivi</td>
<td>-dia</td>
<td>-ticgi</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>-smägve</td>
<td>-sga</td>
<td>-ticgi</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them, inan.</td>
<td>-smägini</td>
<td>-sgini</td>
<td>-ticgi</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
<td>-miga'kí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be well to point out here some of the differences between the participle and the conjunctive verb. In the first place, the participle lacks the temporal augment å to denote indefinite tense. In the second place, the vowel of the first syllable of the initial stem undergoes change; this, however, is not always maintained if the vowel be i, o, or u. Finally, as observed from the table, the singular of the third person animate intransitive ends in -ta, the plural of the same person and gender ends in -ticgi, and the ending of the plural of the third person inanimate is -miga'kí instead of -miga'kí. Some
f these differences can be seen from a comparison of a few participles with their related conjunctives:

ā'hanemihā'tcī when he went yon way
āne'mihā'ta he who went yon way
ā'nemihā'tcīg they who went yon way
ā'nemihāmīgā'kī'n they (the stones) that went yon way
ā'pe'me'kā'tcī when he passed by
pā'me'kā'ta he who passed by
ā'kūtcī'tcī when he came from thence
wā'tcīt they who came from thence
wā'tcīmīgā'kī'n they (the things) that came from thence
ā'kī'wītā'tcī when he staid around them
kiwi'tātcīg they who staid about them
kiwi'tāmīgā'kī'n they (the things) that remained about
pā'mine'kā'wātcīg they that chase 70 TITLE (stem-vowel e)
mā'kādāwīt he who was fasting 186 TITLE (stem-vowel a)
mānwānētag he who preferred it 136.5 (stem-vowel e) [ending -agō for -agə—T. M.]
wāpināgwīt the white-eyed one 150.1 (stem-vowel ā)
tāpānāt the one whom you love 150.1 (stem-vowel e)
wānimāt the one whom he had forsaken 150.7 (stem-vowel i)
nāsāt he that slew him 26.13, 17 (stem-vowel e)
tcāgānātōtātcīg they of every language 22.14 (tcāg for tcāgi [§ 16])
mī'kemātātcīg they who had been making love to her 46.5 (mī'k-

The transitive pronominal forms differ most widely where the third person is involved in the subject. The transitive participle of the third person sometimes has the force of a possessive construction combined with that of an objective. Its sense is then more of the nature of a noun. Its pronominal endings are slightly different, as can be seen from the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>he</th>
<th>they</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td>-ā'cīni</td>
<td>-ā'cīni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>-ā'cī'</td>
<td>-ā'cī'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>-ā'gī</td>
<td>-amō'cī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>-ā'gīni</td>
<td>-amō'cīni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms occur in situations like these:
tcīnawā'mātcī'n his relative; viz., one to whom he is related

(ā'm- [§ 21])

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teina'wō'ta'g1 his object of relation; viz., a thing to which he is bound by a tie (-t- [§ 21])
teiawōdāmā'wātci'n1 their relative
teiawōtā'mowā'tc1 their object of relation
wāpamā'wātće1" the animate objects of his view; viz., the animate objects at which he is looking (wāpa- to see; -m- [§ 21])
wāpā'tagī'n1 the inanimate objects of his view (-t- [§ 21])
wiίmā'wātci"1 their companions; viz., ones with whom they were in company (wi- [§ 16])
wiit'tamowātci'n1 their accompaniments
wiitmaićc1 he who accompanied him 70.14 (full analysis, note 23, p. 869; translation in Fox Texts not accurate)
pyanētci1 she whom he had brought
pāgamemec1 he who was being hit 26.25 (from pag- [§ 14])

§ 34. THIRD PERSON ANIMATE

The third person animate, singular and plural, has two forms. The first of these forms is -tci for the singular, -wātci for the plural; the second is -nitci for both singular and plural. The latter form is used in two cases. One is syntactic, and occurs when the dependent verb is subordinate to a principal verb. The other is psychological, and occurs when the subject of the dependent verb plays a less important role than the subject of another verb; it is a frequent construction in narration. The subjective noun of the dependent verb takes on an objective ending -wāni for the singular, and -wā'o or ha'i for the plural.

ā'pyātc1 ā'pyāni'tc1 when he came the other was arriving
ō'ni ne'gu'tenw1 ā'nāgwā'tc1 . . . kā'geyā"1 ā'pyāni'tc1 so then once went he away . . . then by and by here came another ite'pihā'uaw āha'wāni'tc1 i'kwāwān1 he went over to the place where the woman was
ugimāwōg1 ā'pić'gōwā'tc1, ō'ni uskina'wāhā"1 ānū'wāni'tc1 the chiefs then went inside, and thereupon the youths came on out

The same thing happens to a transitive verb in the same relation. The change takes place with the form representing the subject, but the form representing the object remains unchanged. The change occurs when the subject of a dependent verb becomes the object of a principal verb. The subjective noun of the dependent verb has the objective ending -ānī in the singular, and -ā'i in the plural. In the following examples, the first two show the construction with an intransitive dependent verb, and the next two show the construction with a transitive verb.

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He watched the man come...

In the third example, in the fourth example, the object that was slain. In the fourth example, the object looked at by the plural, in the turn, becomes the subject of and the object.

[Dr. Jones is slightly mistaken regarding -niti in transitive forms. From the Fox Texts I can make two deductions: namely, that when the object is the third person animate, the form is -niti (as Dr. Jones also saw); when third person inanimate, the form is -ninitei (with -mineiti as a variant). The -d of -niti is the same pronominal element to be seen in -woti [§ 29], etc.; while -mi is related to in -amwa [§ 28]; amo in -amowiti [§ 29]; -am-o -amow of the double object, etc. Contrast a-tcogamwiti then they ate it all (animate 294.10 (a -niti [§ 29]; tcog - for tcog - totality [§ 16] by contraction [§ 10]; am - for am - to eat [§ 16] by elision [§ 29]) with ka-kawamamwiti they crunched them (bones: inanimate) 294.10 (ka-reduplication [§ 25]; kawa - to crunch [§ 16]; -t- [§ 21]; a - dropped [§ 12]). And observe na'kawamimwiti again they ate it (animate all 296.3 (for na'ka again a-[§ 10]; a-awamwiti [§ 29]) and akawamamwiti then they crunched them (bones: inanimate) 296.5 (a -amowiti [§ 29]), where no change in the third person subject occurs. Note also ameniamamwiti then they vomited them (inanimate) 294.13 (for on-t'a, but ameniamamwiti then they vomited them (inanimate) 296.6 (for a-amowiti [§ 29]). Further compare a'ta'penamamwiti 172.19, a'a'da'penamamwiti 172.16; then he took it in his hand (a'dap-, a'tap- initial stem; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]) with a'a'da'penag then he took it 172.5 (a-ag [§ 29]; a'a'tapenag 172.15 is a variant; ina'a'dap- penag 172.12 is for in-1'). See also 22.23; 68.13; 150.15, 17; 160.18; 166.19; 172.14, 17; 174.8; 188.21; 244.14; 348.18, 22, 23. This am is also to be seen in an interrogative verbal form (§ 32); namely, idamamiohvain 340.11, 17. The inserted -ni- is also noteworthy. The analysis of this is a-gvain (§ 32); la- to engage in (§ 16); va sound (§ 20). He sounded it (i. e., his voice) out is a close rendering.

It should be observed that the same device of inserting -ni- is used in the subjunctive; e. g., pyanite 156.21 should he chance to come.—T. M.]
Use of the Possessed Noun as Subject of a Verb

An independent verb with the possessed noun of the third person used as the subject changes the form of its pronominal ending from -wɑ́ to -niwɑ́n in the singular and from -wag in the plural. The change is one of concord between the subject and the verb.

utanemō'he'ma'ná ní pyā'niwɑ́n his dog comes
utanemō'he'muwa'ná ní pyā'niwɑ́n their dog comes
utanemō'he'ma' ní pyā'niwɑ́ their dogs come
utanemō'he'muwa' ní pyā'niwɑ́ their dogs come

The next set of examples are of the independent transitive verb. It is to be noted that the change of the pronominal ending concerns only the one representing the subject; the one standing for the object remains the same.

utanemō'he'ma'ná ní wá'pamāniwɑ́n má'hwɑ́wɑ́n his dog looked at the wolf (á in wá'pamāniwɑ́n is an objective sign, and refers to má'hwɑ́wɑ́n, the object of the verb)
utanemō'he'ma' ní wá'pamāniwɑ́ má'hwɑ́wɑ́ his dogs watched the wolves

If the object of the verb become in turn the subject of a dependent clause, it will still keep its objective form; but its verb will be of the dependent group. The object of the main verb will be represented as subject of the dependent verb by -nitci (ni in -nitci is the same as ni in -niwɑ́n). As in the case of the independent verb, so in that of the dependent verb, the sign of the object is unmodified.

utanemō'he'muwa' ní wá'pamāniwɑ́ ní ene'niwɑ́ ní ānē'sānī te má'hwɑ́wɑ́n his dog looked at the man who was killing the wolf (á in ānē'sānī te refers to má'hwɑ́wɑ́n, the object that was killed; and nitci in the same verb refers to ene'niwɑ́ ní, the subject who did the killing; the verb is of the conjunctive mode).

If the verb of the possessed subject contain a dependent clause with object, it will keep the singular -niwɑ́n, even though the possessed subject be plural.

utanemō'he'muwa' ní wá'pamāniwɑ́ ní ma'hwɑ́wɑ́ ní á pemini- ka'wanī te kō'kō'cāhɑ́n their dogs looked at the wolf chasing the pig
utanemō'he'muwa' ní wá'pamāniwɑ́ ní ma'hwɑ́wɑ́ ní á pemini- ka'wanī te kō'kō'cāhɑ́ their dogs watched the wolves chasing the pigs

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There is also a peculiarity of construction belonging to the preposed inanimate noun of the third person when used as the subject an intransitive verb. The pronominal ending representing the object of the independent verb is changed from -w to -niw in the gular, and from -ön to -niwan in the plural. These peculiarities may be observed from an illustration of an independent intransitive -b.

\[ \text{utseni}^m \text{ pyd} \text{ migten}^w \text{ his stone comes this way} \\
\text{utsen}^m \text{ niwan}^n \text{ pyd} \text{ mig} \text{ niw}^n \text{ his stones come hitherward} \]

The construction is not so simple with a transitive verb. If the -b takes an object which in turn becomes the subject of a subordinate clause, then its pronominal subject becomes -niwan for both singular and the plural.

\[ \text{utseni}^m \text{ mecugwi} \text{ niwan}^n \text{ ne} \text{ niw}^n \text{ a} \text{ pemine} \text{ ka} \text{ wani}^n \text{ i'kwow}^n \text{ his stone hit the man who was chasing the woman} \\
\text{utsen}^m \text{ mecugwi} \text{ niwan}^n \text{ ne} \text{ niw}^n \text{ a} \text{ pemine} \text{ ka} \text{ wani}^n \text{ i'kwow}^n \text{ his stones hit the men who were in pursuit of the women} \]

If there be only the subject, verb, and object, then the verb assumes dependent form. The ending of the pronominal element presenting the subject of an assertive verb is -nitci, which at once looks like an animate form of the conjunctive. But there are three peculiarities which point toward a passive participial. One is the presence of -gni- before -nitci. This -gni- seems to be the same as -g- or -u-, which, occurring in the same place, expresses a passive relation. Another peculiarity is that the first vowel of the initial stem undergoes change. Finally, the syllabic augment a is wanting. Change the vowel of an initial stem, and the absence of the augment a, are peculiar characteristics of a participial.

\[ \text{utseni}^m \text{ macu} \text{ gwi} \text{ niwan}^n \text{ his stone hit the man} \\
\text{utsen}^m \text{ macu} \text{ gwi} \text{ niwan}^n \text{ his stones struck the man} \]

The active transitive form of the verb is -me'cwow -he hit him with a missile. The animate passive conjunctive is ãme'cugu tc when he was struck by a missile.

[Here should be mentioned the peculiar treatment of a possessed animate noun of the first person with a transitive verb taking an animate object. In this case the form of the verb is precisely the same as in the passive [§ 41], but the incorporated pronominal object

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immediately precedes the final termination. An example is nipi’-netawatagw* my arrow was carrying it away (from me) 80.19; 82.8, 21; nipiku’i netawatagw* my arrow was carrying it away (from me) 80.8. The analysis of the last is n- my; m-suffix omitted (§ 45): i’pi arrow; -ku’i verily; ne—guw* I am (§ 41); the -a- before the -guw* is the same objective incorporated third person pronoun met in §§ 28.29 (e.g., ënesält4 then he slew him). The t after ne- is inserted according to § 28; ëwa-ëwa- is an initial stem (§ 16) meaning to carry away; the following t seems to be a reflex of the inanimate subject (see § 21). I may add, nipi-k* is merely a reduction of nipi-ku’i by stress (§ 6).—T. M.)

Use of the Possessed Noun of the Third Person as the Object of a Verb

Ambiguity is likely to arise when a possessed noun of the third person, like ësant* his father, becomes the object of a verb. In a sentence like nàwàw* ësant* he saw his father there are two possible fathers: one is the father of the subject, and the other is the father of somebody else. The sentence, however, implies but a single father, but which one is meant is not made positive by any special form. As the sentence stands, the reference is rather to the father of the subject. But if the father of another be in mind, and there be a desire to avoid ambiguity, then one of two methods is employed. In the one the name of the son appears before the possessed noun, the name ending with the sign of the objective:

nàwàw* Pàwà’niwa’n* ësant* he saw Running-Wolf’s father

In the other, use is made of an incorporated dative construction.

nàta’mawàw* ësant*, the literal rendering of which is he saw it for him his father; and the sense of which is he saw him who was father to another. The vowel ë after t is an inanimate pronominal element. It is objective, while ë of the penult is animate and in a dative relation. [nà* is an initial stem, to see; –t* is an intervocalic (§ 8); –aw* (§ 28).—T. M.]

The* -amaw* of nàt-amanaw* is identical with the -amaw* of apì’amanaw* nàti this for me 312.12 (apì- untie [§ 16]; in* (§ 31)); ë’apì’amanawatè* then he untied the thing and took it off from him 312.13 (ë—ätc* [§ 29]); pemutamanaw* shoot him for me 202.18; 204.9 (pemut- for pemamu- [§ 12]; t- [§ 21]; in*, a prolongation of in* (§ 31); sigahamanaw* pour it out for him (me!) 236.8 (a- [§ 8]; h- [§ 21]; in for in* [§ 31] by contraction [§ 10] and stress [§ 6]).

1 From here to p. 838, addition by T. Michelson.
The question of the double object in Algonquian is not raised by Dr. v. de. It surely is found, but I have been unable to gather more than agumentary series from the Fox Texts. The pronominal form of third person object, singular or plural, animate or inanimate, is -an- before vowels, -am- (-am-) before consonants. This occurs mediately before the other suffixal pronominal elements. It is clear: -amaw- and -am- are related to the -am- in -amw- of the in- dent mode (§ 28), -amaw-, -amaw-, -amaw-, -amaw-, etc., of conjunctive subjunctive (§ 29); -amaw-, -amaw-, -amaw-, -amaw-, etc., of the antial, potential subjunctive, prohibitive (§ 30); -amaw-, -amaw-, -amaw-, -amaw-, -amaw-, etc., of the participial (§ 33); -amaw-, -amaw-, -amaw-, etc., of the imperative (§ 31). Following are examples:

**Kesa'kahamönê** I burn him for you (sing.) 380.1 (ke- [§ 28]; sâk- initial stem; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])

**Kesa'kahamönêpêwô** I burn him for you (pl.) 380.6 (ke- [§ 28]; the rest as above)

**Pemutamawinû** shoot him for me 202.18 (pemu- for pemwo- to shoot; -t- [§ 8]; -ini for -inw- [§ 31] by prolongation [§ 5])

Ahawesamawâtc then he handed it to him 348.8 (with she as subj. 174.17) (for â-âtc- [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -h- [§ 8]; ama for âma, an initial stem [§ 16]; -te- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]); see also 348.10, 12, 14

**Ki'sa'kahamawâpôwê** ye will burn him for them 180.14 (ki- [§ 28]; sâk- an initial stem; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])

**Apâ'âmawinû** untie it for me 312.12 (apâ- [apâ-] to untie [§ 16]; -inw- [§ 31])

â'âpî 'âmawâtc then he untied it for him 312.13 (â-âtc- [§ 29])

â'pyâtemawâwîwâtc then they brought it to me 376.9 (â-îwâtc- [§ 29]; pyâ- motion hitherward [§ 16]; -te- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

**Pyâtemawâwîyâwô** when you (pl.) brought me it 376.1 (â- dropped [§ 12]; â-îyâwôwê [§ 29])

**Anâgonamawâtc** then he shoved it into them 358.1 (â-âtc- [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21]; the initial stem is nägo- [nâgu- 358.3] to shove)

**Pyâtemawinû** hand me them 242.13 (graphic variant for pyâtemawinû; pyâ- [§ 16]; -te- [§ 8]; -inw- [§ 31])

**Nimawîniutawâwî** I shall go and ask him for it 252.20 (ni- aâwê [§ 28]; mâwi- to go [§ 16]; natu- [nato-] to ask [§ 16]);

**Kenatotamönê** I ask it of you 380.2, 4 (ke- [nêe- [§ 29])

**Usa'kahamawâtc** when he burns him for him TITLE 380 (â-âtc- [§ 29]; sa'-k- initial stem to BURN as an OFFERING; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])

§ 34
āsa'kahamawāwōči when they burn him for them title 3-
(ā—āwōči [§ 29])
ketecinatutamōmō such is what I ask of thee 380.5 (graphic variant for ketecinatutamōne; ke—ne [§ 28]; taci- initial stem meaning number)
īnacinatutamu'k' is what they beg of thee 382.14 (for in' ą-ici;
in' [§ 47]; ā—'k' [§ 29]; ąci thus)
woitsmanwē tell them to me 350.19 (the stem is wōit- [or wōi-; -t as in § 8?]; -in' [§ 31])
kewitamōn I told it to you 114.22 (for ke—ne [§ 28] by contraction [§ 8])
kiwitamawāwē thou wilt tell it to him 178.1 (ki—āwō [§ 28])
āwitamōnān' I tell it to thee 314.1 (ā—nān' [§ 29])
kiwitemōne-mā' go ahead and tell it to me 112.15 (ki—ne [§ 28]; -emō- variant of -amō-)
kiwitemōnepca I will tell it to you (pl.) 356.6 (ki—nepca [§ 28])
wo'iciciwitamōnagōwē what I should tell you (pl.) 280.13 (wici-
nagōnē [§ 29]; wici- initial stem thus; -amō- variant of -amō-
āwawitamawiyan' when you tauntedst me about him 330.16
(ā—iyan' [§ 29]; wā— [§ 25])
wo'iwitiwitamawiyagō what we (excl.) would you (sing.) declare to us
364.20 (wōi—iyagō [§ 29])
ākiciwitamōnān' I have nothing more to say to thee 330.13 (ā—nān'
[§ 29]; kici- an initial stem denoting completion [§ 16]; an excellent example to show that kici- in Algonquian is not a-
is assumed in some purely practical grammars) merely a tense-
prefix to form the perfect)
kiwitamawi-tečameg' I should merely like you to tell it to me
328.14 (ki—i [§ 28])

I do not understand awitameg' witi(amānagō'ē I ought not to
have told you 314.2. It is clear that nagō'ē belongs in § 30; -amō-
also needs no elucidation. The -ne- is a puzzle; I wonder if it stands
for -ni- and is the same as the negative suffix -ni in § 29?

According to Dr. Jones, ā'keteminawiyāgo 374.14 (and similarly
īnacinākakketeminawiyāgo 374.9) means, not in that you have
blessed them for my sake,—which the analysis would require,—but
in that you have done the blessing for me.

wo'iwitiwitawagě at 350.17 is clear enough in structure (wōi—ag'̌
[§§ 29, 35]), but certainly does not fit well with Dr. Jones’s explanation
(Fox Texts, p. 351, footnote 3). I suspect that the real sense is:
meant to have told (you) about them for his sake.

This -amaw- is also to be seen in indefinite passives, conjunctive
mode [§ 41]. Examples are:

§ 34
ä'ke'kahamawig' when I was pointed it out 374.16 (ä—ig'; ke'k-an initial stem, to know, to find out; -a- [§ 8]; 'h- [§ 21])
a'ke'kahamawutc' it was pointed out for him 62.8 (ä—utc'; -amaw-represents the inanimate object)

kícemasamawutc' it was done cooking for him 14.18, 21 (kíce-kíci- completion [§ 16]; -amaw- variant of -amav-; ä- dropped [§ 12]; ä—utc')
apapakenamawutc' then it was taken away and torn off him 158.19 (ä—utc'; pā- [§ 25]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]; pa'k- to separate)
a' a'kassamawutc' they deprived him of it and burnt it up 158.19 (ä—utc'; contrast with this a' a'kasutc' he was burnt up 160.1)
a'pā'kvočamawutc' then it was sliced away for him 14.22 (o- [§ 21]; contrast 14.23 āhanemisa'kvōcutc'; āhanem- [§ 16])

Also this -amaw- is to be seen in the pronominal termination a transitive verb with possessed noun of the third person as object 34:

āne'tamawagwu osimān' because we slew his younger brother 344.10 (ä—agw' [§ 29]; ne't- a variant of nes- to kill [§§ 9, 16]; osimān'; o for u; u—man' [§ 45]).

The -amö- is certainly also to be seen in a transitive form of the tergogative mode, which, though not given by Dr. Jones, nevertheless existed:

keke'känetamōwänän' you knew all about it 288.5 (ke- [§ 25]; ke'-initial stem; -äne- [§ 18]; -t- [§ 8 or § 21]; ä- dropped [§ 12]; ä—wänän' [§ 32])
natavānetamōwänän' what you desire in your own mind 180.9 (nätav[č]- to desire; -wänän' [§ 32])

In this connection the peculiar use of -amä- in certain cases should be mentioned:

ä'kicivitamāgutc' when he was told about them 54.13 (ä—tc' [§ 29]; kici- completion; vit- to tell; -gu- [§ 41])
önäsiga'gahamugutc' then she poured it for her 316.23 (for ön'äsiga'gahamugutc' by contraction [§ 10]; ä—tc' [§ 29]; sīg-an initial stem meaning to pour; -a- [§ 8]; 'h- [§ 21]; the English idiom prevents this being translated as a passive)
pyätamāgutc' she was fetched it 318.1 (pyā- [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; -a- variant of -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]; -ä—tc' [§ 29]; -gu- [§ 41])
kenstavānetamāgōgi they ask it of you 382.12 (ke-gōgi' [§ 28]; natsaw-a by-form of nstu- to ask; -äne- [§ 18]; -t- [§ 21])
nivitamāgwa-mā of course he will tell me it 328.21 (nī—gwa [§ 28]; vit- to tell)

§ 34
ōnā‘pāpākahamāgute then it was tapped on by him 346.15 (for ōnā‘
apāpākahamāgute; ā—te [§ 29]; -gu- [§ 41]; pā- [§ 25]; pā- [cf. ā‘pāpāgepyāhaminite 68.13] to tap; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21]; note that the subject grammatically must be animate).

A double object is clearly to be seen in 344.5, 7, 15, 24; 346.8: but unfortunately I can not completely analyze the form; pāpākātsamuṣ- is a variant for pāpākatsamaw-, and the double object is clear (pā- [§ 25]; pāga- [pāgi-] to strike with a club).

A couple of examples where the subject is the third person plural and the direct object third person singular (or plural), with the second person singular as indirect object, are—

kīpyātaṅgōd they will bring them to you 348.3 (kī—gōd [§ 28]; pā- motion hitherward [§ 16]; -t- [§ 21] and kīhawatāṅgōd they will fetch them to you 348.4 (for kī—gōd [§ 28] by contraction [§ 10]; -h- [§ 8]; āwā- variant of āwā- TO FETCH [§ 16]; -t- [§§ 8, 21]). The ā- is the same objective pronominal element seen in ne—āwā, ke—āpoe, etc. [§ 28]; ā—āteci, ā—āvadi etc. [§ 29]; āwā, āwāsa [§ 30]; āta, āteći, āteći, āwāteći, etc. [§ 33].

Allied to the double object is the treatment of a possessed noun as the object of a transitive verb. Dr. Jones has treated the possessed noun of the third person as the object of a transitive verb of the third person [§ 34]. But there are other cases.

Thus nemīcāma netāwɔstawiṅwā she carried my sacred bundle away 326.24; 328.5, 14; 330.2 (ne- [§ 45]; ne—gāu [§ 28]; ā- as above; t- [§ 28]; āwā- [awā-] TO CARRY AWAY; -t- [§ 8 or § 21]). As far as the verb is concerned, the structure is the same as in neka‘kītāwɔwā she has hidden it from me 326.17 (ka‘kī- is an initial stem meaning to conceal). Furthermore, it should be noted that although the noun is inanimate, ā- is animate. An example of where the possessed noun is the first person plural (incl.) and the subject is the second person singular is keta‘ko‘konānī kīhawoanawā she will take our (incl.) drum along 348.9 (kē—nānī [§ 45]; -t- [§ 45]; kī—āwā [§ 28]; -h- [§ 8]; āwā- a variant of āwā-; -n- [§ 21]). Observe that a‘ko‘konī (348.10, 17) drum is inanimate, as shown by the termination 4 (§ 42); and that the pronominal elements of keta‘ko‘konānī are inanimate; nevertheless the pronominal elements incorporated in the verb are animate.

Two kinds of participles drop the final sign of the subject, and take on a lengthened termination when it becomes necessary for them to enter into a relation involving the use of -n4 as a final ending. One is the transitive participle with an animate subject and an inanimate object; the nominative ending of this participle is -gā.

§ 34

1 From p. 834 to here, addition by T. Michelson.
pāmiwā'sūskā'gā one who passes by flashing a light
nā'wāwā pāmiwāsū'eskaminítcī'nī he saw him that went past
flashing a light

The same ending with similar change occurs with an intransitive
participle.

pā'waci'gā one who shakes his (own) body while lying down
wā'pamā'wā pāwacímitcī'nī he looked at him who lay shaking
his own body

The other kind of participle is with the subject ending in -tā.
The dropping of -tā is common with the indefinite passive participle.
mī'netā one to whom he was given
āhigútcī mīnē'metcī'nī and so he was told by the one to whom he
was given (-m- [§ 21]; see also § 8)

§ 35. Syntactic Use of Modes and Tenses

1. Future.—The future sometimes denotes expectation, desire, and
exhortation.

ni'pyā I hope to come
kī'pyā may you come
wī'pyāwā let him come

2. Conjunctive.—Tense for the present and past is indicated by the
syllabic augment ā-. If the conjunctive preserves its purely sub-
ordinate character, as when it stands in an indirect relation to an
idea previously expressed or to an independent statement, then the
augment ā- is more likely to refer to an action as past. Thus:

ā'skatscī ā''pyātcī in course of time he came (cf. 38.14)
ne'pyā ā''pyāya'nī I came when you arrived

But if the conjunctive departs from its subordinate function, then
the syllabic ā- may, according to context, refer to an occurrence as
past, or as extending up to, and as taking place during, the present.
This is the same indefinite tense of the independent verb.

āne'pāya'nī I slept; I am sleeping
āne'pāya'nī you slept; you are sleeping
ā'nepā'tcī he slept; he sleeps

It is to be observed that the translations are finite assertions, and
are in the indicative mode, as would be the case for an independent
verb of the same tense. They illustrate a peculiar use of the con-

§ 35
junctive,—a use that belongs to all narrative discourse, as in the language of myth, legend, tradition.

This finite use is parallel to that found in the Latin construction of accusative with infinitive.

The conjunctive has a future tense, which is indicated by the prefix wi-. The temporal prefix also occurs with the third person of animate and inanimate independent forms. [See my note to § 28.—T. M.]

As in the independent series, so here, the future can be used to express vague anticipation and desire.

\[\text{wil'h\text{ä}y\text{ä}'n\text{ï}, dost thou expect to go?}\]
\[\text{wil'h\text{ä}tc, he wants to go}\]

3. Dependent Character of the Pronominal Forms of the Negative Independent Verb.—It is convenient at this point to make mention of the negative forms of the independent intransitive verb. The negative adverb is \(\text{agw}{\text{i}}\) NO, NOT. Its position is before the verb, and its use involves a modification of the conjunctive. In the first place, the temporal vowel \(\text{ä-}\) drops out, and so there is no sign to indicate indefinite tense. In the second place, all the pronominal elements take on a terminal \(-\text{ni}\), all the terminal vowels of the conjunctive being e.

The following examples show some of the forms with stem:

\[\text{\text{\text{ä}'gwi py\text{ä}'y\text{ä}ni'n\text{ï} I do not come; I did not come}\}\]
\[\text{\text{\text{ä}'gwi py\text{ä}'y\text{ä}ni'n\text{ï} thou dost not come; thou didst not come}\}\]
\[\text{\text{\text{ä}'gwi py\text{ä}'tcin't does not come; he did not come}\}\]
\[\text{\text{\text{ä}'gwi py\text{ä}mi'ga'ki'n\text{ï} it does not come; it did not come}\}\]
\[\text{\text{\text{ä}'gwi py\text{ä}'y\text{ä}gi'ni they and I do not come; they and I did not come}\}\]

For the future, the negative independent verb has the prefix wi-.

The negative of the conjunctive verb is indicated by \(\text{puwâ'wi.}\) Its use brings about no change in the form of the verb. It stands between the tense particles \(\text{ä-}\) and wi- and the verbal stems.

\[\text{\text{\text{ä}'pwâwipy\text{ä}'n\text{ï} when I did not come}\}\]
\[\text{\text{\text{wi'}pwâwipy\text{ä}'tc while he has no desire to come}\}\]

4. The Subjunctive.—The subjunctive has a variety of uses. In one it is used to express an unfulfilled wish.

\[\text{\text{n\text{ä}'s\text{ä}t* may he get well}\}\]
\[\text{\text{p\text{ö}'nep\text{ä}'t* would that he ceased from drunkenness}\}\]

In another it is employed to express a wish, as of a prayer. In § 35
its use, it occurs with an adverb tai'yaña, which conveys the desiderative sense of would that! oh, if!

tai'yaña pyä't! oh, if he would only come!

The subjunctive is also used to express the possibility of an action.

pe'musä't* he might pass by on foot
tetepu'säya'än* thou shouldst walk around in a circle

The same subjunctive is employed to express two kinds of conditions. In the one, where the condition is assumed as possible, the subjunctive stands in the protasis; while the future indicative of an independent verb is in the conclusion. The tense of the subjunctive is implied, and is that of the future.

wī-u'pi'tähā'wō pyā'miga''k* he will be pleased if it should come

In the other, where the condition is assumed as contrary to fact, both clauses stand in the subjunctive. The tense of both clauses is implied; that of the protasis is past, and that of the conclusion is present.

upi'tähā't* pyā'miga''k* he would be pleased if it had come

The forms of this subjunctive are connected with past action. The idea of relative time is gathered more from implication of the context than from the actual expression of some distinctive element calling for past time. Some of the uses to which this subjunctive is put are the following:

It is used to express an unattained desire. It occurs with taiyāna.

tai'yaña ki'wāte''*! oh, if he only had turned and come back!

It is used as a potential.

ta'kamusā'yane''* thou mightest have gone by a short way in your walk across country

It frequently has the force of an indicative, and, when so used, the verb makes use of the tense particles ā and wī. [See my note to § 29.—T. M.] But the action is always represented with reference to an event in the past.

ī'ni te'pe'kwā' ā''pemāmude''* it was on that night when he fled for his life (pem- [§ 16]; -āmu- [see -ā- § 19])

In this connection it often occurs with an adverb, ke'yūha'pā, which has such meanings as it was true; it was a fact; why, as a matter of fact.

§ 35
ke'yuha'p wi'a cenowate now, as a matter of fact, it was their intention to be absent

5. The Potential.—The potential is used to express a possibility.

nahinä'gä'ki'tc' he might learn how to sing
pyä'kä'a I am likely to come

The potential subjunctive is used in a verb that stands in the conclusion of a past condition contrary to fact, while in the protasis stands a verb in the past subjunctive.

nahinä'gäte"e. ëte'pihäs had he known how to sing, he would have gone to the place

6. The negative of the verb in the protasis is pwa'w', and the negative of the verb in the conclusion is a'wite.

pwa'w' nahinä'gäte"e a'wite ëte'pihäs if he had not known how to sing, he would not have gone to the place

7. The prohibitive imperative is introduced by kä'ta, a negative adverb with the meaning NOT OR DO NOT.

8. The Imperative.—It was observed how the future independent was used as a mild imperative. There is still another light imperative, one that is used in connection with the third person animate. It is almost like a subjunctive (see § 31). The forms of this imperative have a passive sense, and are best rendered by some such word as LET.

Pre-pronominal Elements (§§ 36-41)

§ 36. FORMAL VALUE OF PRE-PRONOMINAL ELEMENTS

In §§ 20-21 a number of stems have been described which precede the pronouns, and which have in some cases the meaning of a noun, or less clearly defined instrumentality; in others, a classificatory value relating to animate and inanimate objects; while in many cases their significance is quite evanescent. Many of these elements have more or less formal values, and correspond to the voices of the verbs of other languages; while still others seem to be purely formal in character. For this reason these elements, so far as they are formal in character, will be treated here again.

§ 37. CAUSAL PARTICLES

-m- animate, -t- inanimate. (See § 21)

As has been stated before, these particles sometimes imply that something is done with the voice, but ordinarily they simply

§§ 36, 37
indicate the transitive character of the verb. The animate -m-
immediately precedes an animate, pronominal element. When
the object is animate, it comes before the form that represents
an objective relation; but when the object is inanimate, then
it stands preceding the sign that represents the animate sub-
ject. The intervocalic t stands in front of the vowel that rep-
resents the inanimate object. (See examples in § 21.)

The consonant t often has a whispered continuant before articu-
lation (’t). With one form or the other, the consonant has
an inanimate use which is peculiar to itself alone. It often
conveys the idea of work; of the display of energy; of activity
which implies the use of some agency, but without expressing
any particular form of instrumentality. This use of the inter-
vocalic consonant involves a difference in the form of the
objective pronominal sign. In the examples that were just
cited, the sign of the objective inanimate pronoun was a
or s. With this other use of t or ’t, the inanimate sign of the
objective pronoun is o or ő.

pōni’tdōw⁴^ he no longer works at it; he no longer makes it (pōni-
[§ 16])
nesd’nasg’v⁴ I had a hard time with it; I had trouble making it
h, hw, w.

There is one group of causal particles which have a common func-
tion of reference to instrumentality in general. They are h,
hw, and w. Comparing the use of one of these with that
of t or ’t brings out clearly the difference between causal par-
ticles with the instrumental sense limited and t or ’t that has
the instrumental function unlimited. With h, for example,
the emphasis is rather upon the connection of the action of the
verb and the means taken to act upon the object. On the
other hand, with t or ’t the connection is closer between the
action of the verb and the object of the verb. The idea of
instrumentality is so vague as to be left wholly to inference.

ka’skahα’mw⁴ he accomplished the work (by the help of some
kind of agency) (kašk- [§ 16]; -αmw⁴ [§ 28])
ka’ski’tōw⁴ he accomplished the work
āpyätōhwātc⁴ he then fetched it 266.15 (pyät-ō- [§§ 16, 8, 19];
-ātc⁴ [§ 29])

§ 37
One more comparison will perhaps suffice upon this point.
There is a causal particle *m* which has already been men-
tioned. It has a common use associated with the instrument-
tality of the mouth, more particularly with that of speech.

\[ pō'nimāw^a \] no longer does he speak to him
\[ pō'ni'tōw^a \] no longer does he do it

§ 38. THE RECIPROCAL VERB

Now that the tables of the transitive pronominal elements have
been shown, it will be convenient to take up the other two classes of
transitive verbs; viz., the reciprocals and reflexives. They can be
dismissed with a few remarks. Both have much the character of an
intransitive verb; in fact, their form is that of an intransitive. The
reciprocal expresses mutual participation on the part of two or more
subjects, and so the verb does not occur except in plural form or
with a plural sense. The reciprocal notion is expressed by *ti* incor-
porated between the stem of the verb and the final, pronominal sign.
[It should be noted that in all the examples given, *-ti* is the incor-
porated element, not *-ti*.—T. M.] The reciprocal has a reflexive sense,
in that it represents the subjects as objects of the action. Its force
as a transitive is gathered from the context.

\[ mīgā'tīwa^a'g^i \] they fought together; they fought with one another
\[ ne'wāpātīpe'n^a \] he and I looked at each other
\[ ke'nīmihi'tīpw^a \] you danced together
\[ ā'tanetīg^i \] at a place where gambling one with another is going on
\[ navihetiwa'gāpe\* \] they always visit one another 238.23
\[ āhitinitic^i \] they said one to another 76.14 (\(-nīc^i \) [§ 34])
\[ ānāwutūvātic^i \] as one was eyeing the other 112.8
\[ māneticig^i \] they who played the harlot with each other 150 TITLE
[so text; error for \(-tic^i\)]
\[ ā'kakanōnetic^i \] she and he talked together a great deal 176.21
\[ (kan- reduplicated) \]
\[ mamātiwa'gāpe \] they are always taking things from each other
\[ 276.16 \(-ag- for \(-agi \) before \(-āpe) \]
\[ ki'tanetipen^a \] let us make a bet with each other 296.18
\[ āhišiwc^i \] they said one to another 358.25
\[ ā'pōnikanōnetiwātic^i \] so with no further words to each other 62.6
\[ nīmīgūtipen\*a \] he and I shall fight against each other 60.6
\[ tcāgūhēlotiwātic^i \] then an invitation was extended to all, everyone
asking everyone else 60.13 (tcāg- for tcāgi- ALL)

§ 38
§ 39. The Reflexive Verb

In the reflexive verb the action refers back to the subject. The sign of the reflexive is -tisu- or -tiso- with the u or o vowel in either case sometimes long. The reflexive sign occurs in the same place as the reciprocal; viz., between the stem and the final pronoun. The difference of meaning between the two signs is, that -tisu- represents the subject solely as the object of the action, and does not, like -ti-, convey the reciprocal relation which two or more subjects bear to one another. Reflexive -ti- in -tisu- is plainly the same element as the reciprocal -ti-.

wâba'tisô'wa he looked at himself (wâba- same as wâpa)
paga'tisô'wa he hit himself (paga allied with pâgi to strike)
dhitisute' he then said to himself 286.22 (hi to say)

§ 40. The Middle Voice

Thus far the description has been of verbs in the active voice. Two other voices are yet to be mentioned,—the middle and the passive. The middle voice represents the subject in close relation with the action of the verb. It is a form of construction of which the dialect is especially fond. The form of the verb is active, and mainly of a predicative intransitive character; but the meaning is passive. The voice is distinguished by animate and inanimate signs. Only two sets of signs will be taken up, the two most frequently met with. The animate sign is o and u long and short, and the inanimate is ō. These vowels are immediately preceded by intervocalic consonants, among which are s for the animate and t for the inanimate. It is perhaps better to refer to the combinations of so and sō, su and sū, and tū, as some of the signs of the middle voice. These forms are incorporated between the stem and the pronominal ending. The combinations of sū and tū were met with before in the section on secondary connective stems (§ 20). They appeared there in the rôle of co-ordinative stems, and the sense they conveyed was that of heat and warmth. They were used with reference to an existence or condition of the subject, and occurred among verbs of an intransitive nature. The same verbs used in the examples there can all be classed in the middle voice. The same signs can be used without the meaning of heat and warmth.

§§ 39, 40
"wawapisu'tc" when he swung
"witō'kásoysa'n" if thou shouldst help
"ka'kisaw" he is in hiding
"ne'töw" he killed himself 66.8 (-'t- [§ 9])
"kiwō'qoatä" it lies on the ground
"ane'mipugotä" it floats your way; it moves away, carried by the
water (anemi- [§ 16]; -pugô- [§ 19]; -wö- [§ 28])

The middle voice sometimes represents an animate subject as
acting upon itself in an indirect object relation. The action of the
verb refers back to the subject in something like a reflexive sense.
In this use of the middle voice appears the instrumental particle, and
it stands in the place of s.

"kō'qitepänū" he washes his own head (with the help of his hand)
(kög- [§ 16]; -n- [§ 21])
"kā'sitepänō" he wipes his own head (with something) (kās-
[§ 16]; -h- [§ 21])
"pe'tecwö" he accidentally cut himself (with something sharp)
(-c- [§ 21])

The subject of a verb in the middle voice is often expressed as if
acted upon in a passive sense.

"tagva'hösō" he is caught in a trap
"pemi'pugō" he floats by (more literally, he is carried past by
the water; pemī- pugō- [§§ 16, 19])
"kiyō'megō" he rides about on horseback (literally, he is carried
about; ki- [§ 16]; -y- a glide [§ 8]; -ō- [§ 19]; -m- [§ 21; also
§ 8])

§ 41. THE PASSIVE VOICE

The use of the passive voice proper is confined to an agent in the
third person. The sign of the passive is g or gu; it occurs between the
stem and the final pronominal ending. The sign with pronominal
element can be seen in the tables of transitive forms. It is to be
observed that the sign occurs more frequently with independent
than with dependent forms.

The Passive with Subject and Object

A peculiarity of the passive construction is the difference of the
form of the animate agent when the action of the verb is directed
against the first or second person, and the form of the animate agent
when the action is directed against a third person. If the action of
the verb be directed against a first or second person, then the agent
§ 41
The normal form of the nominative; but if the action of the verb be directed against the third person, then there is a change in the form of the agent: -ni is added to the nominative singular to mark the singular agent, and 'i is added to the same to mark the plural agent. Furthermore, if the object of the action be singular and the agent plural, the form of the verb will be singular. If the object of the action be plural, then the form of the verb will be plural. A few examples will illustrate the use of the passive forms with an animate agent.

*nëva’d’pame’gw* ne’niw* I am seen by the man
*kevëd’pame’gw* ne’niw* thou art seen by the man
*wä’d’pame’gw* ne’niwa’ni he is seen by the man. [In this and the next case, -w* is the pronominal termination; -g* the passive sign; i. e., -gw*, not -gu* (for gu + a), as in the first two examples.—T. M.]
*wä’d’pame’gw* ne’niwa’ni he is seen by the men
*wäp’a’megö’g* ne’niwa’ni they are seen by the man
*wäp’a’megö’g* ne’niwa’ni they are seen by the men

The same examples turned into the conjunctive mode would be—
*äwäp’a’megwa’g* ne’niw* when I was seen by the man
*äwäp’a’megwa’tc* ne’niw* when thou wert seen by the man
*ä’wäp’a’megü’tc* ne’niwa’ni when he was seen by the man
*ä’wäp’a’megü’tc* ne’niwa’ni when he was seen by the men
*äwäp’a’meguwa’tc* ne’niwa’ni when they were seen by the man
*äwäp’a’meguwa’tc* ne’niwa’ni when they were seen by the men

The Indefinite Passive

There is an indefinite passive—indeterminate in the sense that the agent is referred to in an indefinite way. The forms of two modes will be shown,—one of the indefinite tense of the independent mode, and another of the same tense of the conjunctive mode.

**INDEFINITE PASSIVE INDEPENDENT MODE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st per.</th>
<th>Excl.</th>
<th>2d per.</th>
<th>Incl.</th>
<th>3d per.</th>
<th>3d per. inan.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ne-göpi</td>
<td></td>
<td>ke-göpi</td>
<td></td>
<td>-äpi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne-göpena</td>
<td></td>
<td>ke-göpena</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ke-göpwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is to be observed that some of the independent forms end with a final -pi, which may have some relation with i’pi, a quotative with § 41
such meanings as they say, it is said. The quotative sometimes occurs alone, but is most frequently met with as a suffix. Some of the forms just shown are the same as the ones seen in the independent transitive list; viz., the forms of the plural of the first and second persons. The following examples illustrate some of the uses of this passive:

ne'võpamegõ'p! I am looked at (-me- [§§ 8, 21])
ke'võpamegõ'pw* you are looked at
vä'pamõ'p! he is looked at; they are looked at
vä'patõ'p! it is looked at; they are looked at
kenstomemõp! you are asked 368.4 (-me- [§§ 8, 21])

The conjunctive forms show the passive sign in the plural. The first and second persons singular end in -gi,—a suffix denoting location when attached to substantives, and indicating plurality of the third person of the independent mode. It is possible that there may be some connection between this ending and the passive sign; but it has not yet been made clear. The following are the indefinite passive forms of the conjunctive of indefinite tense:

**INDEFINITE PASSIVE, CONJUNCTIVE MODE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>ä-igi</td>
<td>Excl. ä-gwiyâge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Incl. ä-gwiyâgwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>ä-negi</td>
<td>2d per. ä-gwiyâgwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. an.</td>
<td>ä-(u)tci</td>
<td>3d per. an. ä-gwiwâtri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. inan.</td>
<td>ä-amegi</td>
<td>3d per. inan. ä-amegi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

änatumene'k! when you were asked 372.12 (k for g, as in -kâpî- for -gâpâ- and in other similar cases)
nätumik I being asked 374.1 (-m- [§ 21])
äha'kasamegâ they (inan.) were set on fire 16.1

The third person animate singular of the indefinite passive can refer to four different relations. The form is the same, whatever may be the number of the object and the agent. The number of the object and the agent is often inferred from the context, but in the two examples to be shown each passive expression will appear with agents. If the agent be singular, then the ending will be -ni; if plural, then the noun ends in -i. It will be observed that this construction is much like that of the passive with g and gu. The object § 41
the action of the verb will be omitted; if expressed, it would be in nominative.

ā'kine'tci ne'niwa'n̂i he was told by the man
ā'kine'tci ne'niwa''i he was told by the man
ā'kine'tci ne'niwa'n̂i they were told by the man
ā'kine'tci ne'niwa''i they were told by the man
ā'näw'u'tci i''kwäwa'n̂i she was seen by the woman
ā'näw'u'tci i''kwäwa''i she was seen by the woman
ā'näw'u'tci i''kwäwa'n̂i they were seen by the woman
ā'näw'u'tci i''kwäwa''i they were seen by the woman

§ 42. Syntactic Forms of the Substantive

Substantives have forms to distinguish gender, number, and four se-relations. The case-relations are the nominative, the vocative, locative, which is the case of spacial and temporal relations, and objective. All these forms are expressed by suffixes. They are us shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animate.</th>
<th>Inanimate.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minative</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cative</td>
<td>-r, -i</td>
<td>-l̂î</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cative</td>
<td>-r</td>
<td>-nipi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>objective</td>
<td>-a, -ni</td>
<td>-pi, -i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms will be shown with two nouns,—A'ñâgw̃ star, and señ stone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Star.</th>
<th>Stone.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minative</td>
<td>A'ñâgw̃</td>
<td>A'ñâgw̃̃i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cative</td>
<td>A'ñâgw̃̃i</td>
<td>A'ñâgw̃̃ĩ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cative</td>
<td>A'ñâgw̃̃i</td>
<td>A'ñâgw̃̃ĩ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cative</td>
<td>A'ñâgw̃̃i</td>
<td>A'ñâgw̃̃ĩ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>objective</td>
<td>A'ñâgw̃</td>
<td>A'ñâgw̃̃i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no difference of form between the objective and some forms f the possessive. Thus:

ō'isîñ his father (animate)
ū'wič̃ his head (inanimate)

§ 42
The ending -gi to express animate plurality is no doubt the same as the one denoting location, thus suggesting the probability of a common origin.

§ 43. The Adjective

The attributive relation is expressed by a form analogous to an inanimate construction, which does not inflect for number or case. There are primary and derived adjectives. The former contains the descriptive notion in the stem; as, ke'tci great, tcag'gi small. The derived adjective is one that comes from a noun; as, ma'nêto'w* (from ma'nêto'wa mystery being), A'câ'î (from A'câ'â a Sioux). Both kinds of inanimate adjectives agree in form and function; they have a singular, inanimate ending, and they occur in an attributive relation.

ke'tci ma'nêto'wa a great mysterious being
tcag'gi wigiyápâ'î a little dwelling
ma'nêto'wî a'kî' a mysterious country
A'câ'î ne'nîwa a Sioux man

As has been said, such adjectives do not change their form to agree with nouns for number and case.

ke'tci ma'nêto'w*! O great mystery!
ma'nêto'wî a'kî'mî' mysterious lands
A'câ'î hi ne'nîwa'gî Sioux men

By virtue of its position, the adjective of inanimate forms takes on the function of an initial stem, and as such it enters into combinations with secondary elements to form—

Nouns:
tcag'î'nâgâ'î small bowl
me'cîmi'nî apple (literally, large fruit)
ase'nîgâ'nî stone dwelling
Acâ'hinâ'w* Sioux country

Verbs:
tca'gâhenuhî'wî pîcâgâ'î' it is a tiny buckskin string
ne'nîwâ me'cinâgusi'wâ the man looked big (-nâgu- [§ 18]; -si- [§ 20])

Adjectives, when used as predicates, have the form of an intransitive verb. The verb is built up on the regular order of stem-formation with the qualifying notion of the combination resting mainly in the initial member. The sense of the stem undergoes restriction by other elements, and concord of gender and pronoun

§ 43
is maintained. Such a combination agrees with a noun in gender and number. It stands before or after the noun it modifies.

me'cawi si'pow' large is the river (mec-large; -ā- [§20]; -wi [§28])
i''kwāwāg' the women are tall (-si- [§ 20]; -wag' [§ 28])

Pronouns (§§ 44-49)

§ 44. The Independent Personal Pronoun

The incorporated forms of the personal pronoun have been treated §§ 28-34. The independent pronoun is closely related to the pronouns of the independent mode of the intransitive verb (§ 28).

I nin'a
we (exclusive) ni'nān'a
we (inclusive) ki'nān'a
thou kin'a
ye ki'nuwāw'

he (an.) in'a
it (inan.) in'i
they (an.) i'nig'i
they (inan.) i'nin'i

§ 45. The Possessive Pronoun

Possession is expressed by prefixes and suffixes which are related the pronouns of the independent mode. The suffixes differ for the animate and for those of the inanimate class, and for singular and plural of the object possessed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECT POSSESSED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne-mendāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-mendāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-mudwā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-mani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-mudwāni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne-mendāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-mendānini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-mudwānini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-ma'iti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-mudwānini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few examples will serve to illustrate the use of the forms. The ord for dog is a'nemō'wa, a noun of animate gender. [The inserted - in the following examples is presumably the same as in ne'tawām (§ 28).—T. M.] The forms of the three persons of the singular used with the noun in the same number would be—

ne'tanemōhe'ma my dog (-t- [§ 8])
ek'tanemōhe'ma thy dog
u'ta'nemōhemen' his dog

§§ 44, 45
Let the same persons remain in the singular, and let the noun be in the plural, and the forms would be—

nets' nemohem's'g' my dogs
keta's' nemohem's' g' thy dogs
uts' nemohema's'1 his dogs

The word for rock is a'sen'i, a noun of inanimate gender. The forms of the three persons of the singular used with the noun in the singular would be—

nets' seni'm'1 my rock
keta's' seni'm'1 thy rock
uts' seni'm'1 his rock

The forms with the same persons in the singular and the noun in the plural would be—

ne'tasenima'n'1 my rocks
ke'tasenima'n'1 thy rocks
ute'senima'n'1 his rocks

The consonant m of the suffix is often omitted with certain classes of substantives: as—

In terms denoting relationship.

no's'a my father
ke'gy'a thy mother
ute'aiy'a'n'1 his pet (referring to a horse or dog)

In words expressing parts of the body.

ne'ta'1 my heart
ke'gak'1 thy chest
ute'wic'1 his head

In some names of tools.

nets' 'pwaga'n'1 my pipe
ke'me'ta'1 thy bow
ute'wip'a'n'1 his arrow

[It should be observed that under special stress the vowel of the suffix is split into two vowels (§ 6); likewise it should be noticed that under unknown conditions t is not inserted after no, ke, u, before initial vowels: then the terminal e of ne and ke is elided, while a glide u (§ 8) is inserted after u.

Examples of possessives with the m of the suffix, from the Texts are—

nesima' my younger brother 330.16
nete'kwam'a my sister 84.2, 12, etc.
nesimahag'1 my little brothers 282.13

§ 45
necicipemag\(^1\) my ducks 284.2
nesimâhenan\(^a\) our (excl.) younger brother 90.12; 96.1
noçisemenan\(^1\) our (excl.) grandchild (obj. case) 160.9
keesimâhenan\(^a\) our (incl.) little brother 90.6; 96.7
kêmenunan\(^a\) our (incl.) sister-in-law 92.16 (-\(u\) = -\(e\))
ketõgimâmenan our (incl.) chief 300.24 (\(t\) inserted)
keesimâhenanag\(^1\) our (incl.) younger brothers 122.5, 11, 18
ketõgimâmenanag\(^1\) our (incl.) chiefs 62.22 (\(t\) inserted)
kendapäm\(^a\) thy husband 162.15, 23; 178.1
kocisem\(^a\) thy grandson 290.24
keesim\(^a\) thy little brother 252.1
kete'kumag\(^1\) thy foods 314.14
unâpûman\(^1\) her husband 162.23, 24
usâman his younger brother 314.17
usâmahâ\(^1\) his younger brothers 90.14, 15
usâma\(^1\) his younger brothers 90.10
ucisema\(^1\) her grandchildren 160.11
utâlaman\(^1\) his sisters 208.15
uwôineman\(^1\) his sisters-in-law 96.11 (\(w\) a glide)
uto'kâmeman\(^1\) his bones 16.5
utukâmeman his bones 16.1
utahineman\(^1\) his garments 274.20
usâmahawâwan\(^1\) their younger brother 156.13, 16; 160.2
usâmahawa\(^1\) their younger brother 94.19
uwôinemowâwan\(^1\) their sister-in-law 92.8 (\(w\) a glide; -\(w\) - inserted)

Examples from the Texts, of possessives without the \(m\) of the suffix, are—

negui\(^1\) my son 182.4; 184.8
nemecômes\(^a\) my grandfather 206.6
niciâ\(^a\) my uncle 12.14
negi\(^a\) my mother 38.15 (for negii\(^a\); cf. ugiwawân\(^1\) their mother)
nî'kân\(^a\) my friend 14.12; 26.17
nip\(^1\) my arrow 84.20
nipan\(^1\) my arrows 290.20
nemecômesenân\(^a\) our (excl.) grandfather 160.5
kenatawinônenân\(^1\) our (incl.) medicine 308.22
ketâiy\(^a\) thy pet 178.14
ketõlaven\(^1\) thy town 16.4 (contrasted with 16.18)
kegroisag\(^1\) thy sons 172.6
kesesâhâwa your elder brother 294.18
ucemisan\(^1\) his niece 12.17, 20
ugrois\(^1\) her sons 170.1; 228.6
uwîlâna\(^1\) his comrades 14.5, 6, 8; 20.1; 24.4 (\(w\) a glide)
uwítcimáskótáwa' his people 16.6
ugwiwáwan their mother 154.9
ugwiwáwan their son 172.17
ugwísíwíwa their sons 172.20
unítcéesíwáwa their children 160.13

It should be observed that in certain terms of relationship, u- of the third person is not used. Contrast ócisémwáw” their grandchildren 154.18 with kóciemá thy grandson 290.24; óšaná his father 203.15 with kóswáwaná your father 232.5 (owing to the exigency of English grammar, Dr. Jones is forced not to be strictly literal in his translation); ókómesáná his grandmother 234.4, 6 and ókúmesíwáwaná their grandmother 160.7 with kókómesenána our (incl.) grandmother 262.3.—T. M.]

§ 46. The Reflexive Pronoun

What stands for the reflexive pronoun in the absolute form is in reality an inanimate, possessive combination. The thing possessed is designated by a-, which has an essential meaning of existence. The forms are—

ni’yawú myself
ki’yawú myself
uwyíya’wú his self
ki’yáná’ni’ ourselves (I and thou)
ni’yáná’ni’ ourselves (I and he)
ki’yáwá’wú yourselves
uwi’yáwá’wú their selves

These forms appear frequently as the object of a transitive verb; and when so used, the combination of both pronoun and verb is best rendered by an intransitive form.

netú’páne’ta ni’yawú I am independent (literally, I own my own bodily self)
wá’páci’tówe’ta uwi’yáwá’wú they are bad, sinful (literally, they defame their own bodily selves)

§ 47. The Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns occur in absolute form, and number and gender are distinguished. Some of the forms are slightly irregular in passing from singular to plural and from one gender to another. Three of the pronouns point to an object present in time and space with much the same force as English this, that, yonder.

§§ 46, 47
The demonstrative īna is also the third person, personal pronoun. These demonstratives are used in the following relations:

$mā'na ne'niwⁿa$ this man (who is in the presence of both speaker and person addressed, but not necessarily within the immediate presence of both, or within their hearing)

$i'na ne'niwⁿa$ that man (who is farther removed, or who is subordinate in point of interest)

$i'nāga ne'niwⁿa$ yonder man (who is farther still removed, and who can be out of hearing, but not out of sight)

One demonstrative is used in answer to a question, and corresponds to English THAT, YONDER, when both are used in a weak, indefinite sense. The object referred to is present and visible.

This pronoun is used when reference is made to a particular object selected from a list; as, $i'nāma ne'niwⁿa$ THAT MAN, as in the question, Which of the men do you wish to see?

Another pronoun has a temporal force, and refers to an object as invisible and in the past.

$Iniya ne'niwⁿa$ THAT MAN refers to a man known to both speaker and person addressed, but who is at present absent, or is no longer alive.

§ 47
A demonstrative performs the function of an adjective; and when one is used alone without some noun, it still retains the force of a qualifier.

ma'ni ä'i·cinägä'te¹ this is the kind of song he sang
ini ä'i·ciseg¹ that is how the affair stands

§ 48. Indefinite Pronouns, Positive and Negative

There are three sets of indefinite pronouns. One inflects for number and gender, and means other. The second inflects for number, but has separate forms for each gender; the animate answers to somebody, some one, and is used of persons; while the inanimate refers to something, and is used of things without life. The third expresses the negative side of the second set, as nobody, no one, nothing. The negatives are compound forms of the second set with the adverb ägwî no, not, occupying initial place. The three sets of demonstratives stand in the table in the order named.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>ku'täga</td>
<td>ku'täga'gi¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somebody, something</td>
<td>q'wiyä'v</td>
<td>uwi'yëka'gi¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nobody, nothing</td>
<td>ägwü'wiyä'v</td>
<td>ägwü'wiyä'gi¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first of these forms usually plays the part of an adjective, while the others often stand alone and appear as nouns.

ku'täga ne'niv⁰ the other man
u'wiyä'v'⁰ pyä'w a somebody is coming
ägwü'wiyä'v'⁰ ai'yor'⁰ nobody is here
ägwü'kägo'⁰ ai'tägi'⁰ nothing is left

§ 49. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronoun asks about the quality of a noun, and inflects for number and gender. There are two pronouns used absolutely.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who, what</td>
<td>wänd'³</td>
<td>wändäki¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which</td>
<td>làni²</td>
<td>làniği</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 48, 49
The first pronoun asks of quality without reference to limitation.

\[\text{wōnūa tca' ina ne'niw̱a}\] who is that man?
\[\text{wōgunā pycūtōyanī}\] what dost thou bring?

The second pronoun expresses quality with more of a partitive sense.

\[\text{tā'na ticā ū'na ne'niw̱a}\] which is the man? where is that man?
\[\text{tā'ni pycūtōyaṉṉī}\] which didst thou bring? where is the thing that thou broughtest?

The examples show the predicate use of the pronouns. The pronouns have also an attributive function.

\[\text{wōnūa ne'niw̱a}\] what man? also, who is the man?
\[\text{tā'na ne'niw̱a}\] which man? also, which man of several?

**Numerals (§§ 50-52)**

**§ 50. Cardinal Numbers**

The numeral system as exemplified in the form of the cardinals starts with a quinary basis. The cardinals in their successive order are as follows:

- ne'guṯ one
- ni'cw̱ two
- ne'sw̱ three
- nyā'w̱ four
- nyā'nanw̱ five
- ne'gutwāci'g̱a six
- nō'hig̱a seven
- ne'cwāci'g̱a eight
- cā'g̱a nine
- me'dāsw̱[ ten
- kwī'tc̱
- medāswi'negu'ṯ
- medāswinegutinesiw̱
- medāswinīcw̱
- medāswinicwi'nesi'w̱
- medā'swine'sw̱
- medāswineswi'nesi'w̱
- medā'swinyā'w̱
- medāswinyāwi'nesi'w̱
- medāswi'nyānanw̱
- medāswi'nyānanwi'nesi'w̱
- medāswinegu'twācī'g̱a
- medāswinegu'twācīg̱a'nesi'w̱

§ 50
seventeen
eighteen
nineteen
twenty
twenty-one
thirty
thirty-two
forty
forty-three
fifty
fifty-four
sixty
sixty-five
seventy
seventy-six
eighty
eighty-seven
ninety
ninety-eight
one hundred
one hundred and one
one hundred and two
one hundred and twelve
three hundred
three hundred and twenty-three
six hundred
seven hundred
eight hundred
nine hundred
ten hundred
one thousand

§ 50
The cardinals from one to five terminate with the inanimate ending -i. They begin with the consonant n, a symbol that has already been shown to be intimately associated with the hand. The symbol is valuable for the suggestion it throws upon the probable origin of the numeral system. It has some connection, no doubt, with the method of counting with the fingers. Furthermore, it will be noticed that within the quinary series (viz., within one and five, inclusive) there are four different vowels standing immediately after n. What part and how much vowel-change may have played in the formation of the system is yet uncertain.

Negu'twāci'gə, the cardinal for six, contains three elements. The first is negu-, and stands for one. The second is probably an initial stem āc-, and means over, across, movement across.

ā'cōwə over, beyond, an obstruction or expanse
ā'cowi'wə he wades across a stream
ā'ci'li'mə again, in turn, by way of repetition or continuity

The third element is the ending -gə; it is a frequent termination for words expressing quantity. It is to be found in all the series that six, seven, eight, and nine enter; and its vowel sometimes lengthens to ā when another element is added.

medāswinegutwācigā'nesi'wə sixteen

But the vowel does not lengthen in negutwacigاتswā'kwə six hundred.

Nō'higə, the cardinal for seven, does not yet admit complete analysis. Initial n- and final -gə are the only intelligible elements that can be reduced at the present.

Ne'cwāci'gə, the cardinal for eight, has three parts, as in the case of the cardinal for six. The first is nec-, and stands for three; the second is āc-, and is the same as the one in the word for six; the third is the numeral ending -gə.

Cā'gə, the cardinal for nine, is difficult to analyze. The numeral ending -gə is clear, but cā- is doubtful. It is possible that cā- may be the same as cā-, an initial stem conveying the idea of freedom of movement, passage without friction, without obstruction, without impediment.

§ 50
cā'powā'wā he cries out, sending his voice through space
cāpu'nigā'ni a needle (that is, an instrument for piercing through
an obstacle with ease). This explanation is offered for the
reason that, in counting hurriedly from one to ten, an adverb
kwôt'čě is given for ten. The adverb means the end, and čě
may possibly express the idea of an easy flow of the count
up to the adverb kwôt'čě, which marks the end of the series.

Me'dāswi', the word for ten, is in the form of an intransitive verb
of the third person singular inanimate. Its middle part -dās- may
be the same thing as tás-, which signifies quantity, usually with the
notion of as many as, as much as. An explanation of initial me-
is as yet impossible. [The element tás- occurs always in the form tāśi,
which is an initial stem. See § 16. — T. M.]

With the cardinal ten the numeration apparently changes over to
a decimal system. After every new decimal, the cardinals take one
or the other of two forms. One is a cumulative compound, wherein
the part indicating the decimal comes first, and the smaller number
second.

medāswinegu'ti ten one (meaning eleven)
nicwābitagine'swi twenty-three
negutwā'kwenenegu'ti one hundred one (meaning one hundred and
one)

The other is also cumulative, but in the form of an intransitive verb of the third person singular inanimate. Furthermore, the com-
bination incorporates nesi-, an element used in the word for finger,
between the pronominal ending and the part expressing the numeral.

me'dāswi' it is ten
medāswinyäwineši'wi it is ten four

The initial member indicating the decimal can be omitted, if the
numeration is clear from the context. For example, negutinesi'wi
can mean ELEVEN, TWENTY-ONE, THIRTY-ONE, FORTY-ONE, and so on
up to and including NINETY-ONE. It jumps such numbers as a
hundred and one and a thousand and one; but it can be used to
express a hundred and eleven, and a thousand and eleven, and all the
rest of the one-series, as in the instances just cited. In the same
way nicwinesi'wi can be used to express a two-series; neswinesi'wi, a
three-series; and so on up to and including cāganesi'wi, a nine-series.

§ 50
The element expressing HUNDRED is -ā'kwέ, the same thing, probably, as the collective suffix used to indicate things which are wooden:

- cegā'kwα pine [literally, skunk-tree.—T. M.]
- ma'kwα'kwα bear-tree
- pα'sigā'kwα board

The suffix ends with e, which is characteristic of an adverb. Numeration in the hundreds is expressed with the smaller number coming after the higher. There are two forms,—one with simply the combination of high and low number:

- nεcwα'kwε 'kwε two hundred two (for two hundred and two)

The other with this combination terminated by the local demonstrative adverb t'naε THERE, IN OR AT THAT PLACE:

- nεcwε'kwε 'nεcwε'kwε two hundred two there

The suffixed adverb has very nearly the force of ALSO, TOO, as used thus with numerals. In the series between six and nine, inclusive, where the numeral ending is -ga, the quantitative element -tas-[taswi-], see § 16. —T. M.] comes in between the cardinal and the sign for the hundred.

- negutwαcigatawsε'kwε six times hundred (for six hundred)
- cαgα'tawsε'kwε nine times hundred (for nine hundred)

It takes the same place in hundreds after a thousand.

- medαswinegutiatsawsε'kwε ten one times hundred
- medαswinegutinesiwitasawsε'kwε one ten times hundred

Both of the preceding examples MEAN ELEVEN HUNDRED.

THOUSAND is expressed in two ways,—one by the combination of TEN and the sign for HUNDRED, medαswε'kwε; the other, and the one more usual, by a compound expressing ONE BOX, negutima'ka'kwε. The word for BOX is ma'ka'kwε, of inanimate gender. With the meaning A THOUSAND, it takes the form of an adverb by ending with e. The term is of recent origin. In some of their earlier sales of land to the government, the people received payment partly in cash. This money was brought in boxes, each box containing a thousand dollars. From that circumstance the term for ONE BOX passed in numeration as an expression for A THOUSAND. The term is now a fixture, even though its form is less simple than the more logical word.

§ 50
The psychological reason for the preference is not altogether clear. The fact that the word for one box stood as a single term for a definite high number may have had something to do with its adaptation. The word for ten hundred, on the other hand, represents ten groups of high numbers, each group having the value of a distinct number of units. To use one word that would stand for a high decimal number may have seemed easier than to express the same thing by the use of smaller integers in multiple form. As a matter of fact, very little is done with numerations that extend far into the thousands; yet, in spite of the little effort to count with high numbers, it is within the power of the language to express any number desired. To express ten thousand, and have it generally understood, is to say—

ne'gutima'ka''kw* me'dâse'nw* ini'tase'nw*, which is, in the order as the words come, one box, it is taken ten times, that is its sum.

A number like forty thousand two hundred and thirteen would be—

ne'gutima'ka''kw* nyâ'wâbitasgits'swima'ka''kw* ni'cwâ'kwa'n* medâ'swineswi'n*. The words in their order mean one box, forty is the number of times the box is taken, two hundred plus, ten three also [Tâswi is the same as the initial stem Tâswi.—T. M.]

The more intelligent express such high numbers in shorter terms.

Cardinals occupy initial place in composition when they stand in an adjective relation: as—

ne'gutim'neni'w* one man
ni'cwâ'kwâ'g* two women
negu'tihi'w* he is alone
ni'ciwa'g* they are two

Cardinals are used freely as nouns, and it will be observed that in this connection they do not inflict for number or gender.

ne'nâwâ'w* ne'gut* I saw one animate (object)
ne'nâti* ne'gut* I saw one inanimate (object)
nepyâ'nâwa'g* nyâ'w* I fetched four animate (objects)
ne'pyâti* nyâ'w* I fetched four inanimate (objects)

§ 51. Ordinals

The ordinals are combinations with the initial parts derived from cardinals; but the first ordinal has a separate, distinct word. Begin—

§ 51
The second ordinal is an incorporated -ónameg' or -ánameg', the final ending of which is the suffix -g', met with so frequently in a cative relation; that is the sense of it here. With the eleventh ordinal, and every other after, occurs the numeral element tas between the cardinal and the compound ending -ónameg' or -ánameg'. Ordinals do not reflect for number or gender. They are as follows:

me'ne'ta first
nícó'nomeg'g't second
nesó'nomeg'g't third
nyáó'nomeg'g't fourth
nyánánónameg'g't fifth
negutwácigá'nomeg'g't sixth
nóhigánameg'g't seventh
necávácigánameg'g't eighth
cágá'nomeg'g't ninth
medásó'nomeg'g't tenth
medáswinegutítasónameg'g'televen
medáswinegut'nesiwitásónameg'gtwentieth
nicwábilgsítasónameg'ghundredth
medáswik'wétasónameg'g'thousandth

§ 52. Iteratives and Distributives

Iteratives indicate repetition in point of time, as once, twice, thrice. They are derived from cardinals, and take the form of an inanimate, intransitive verb. With the sixth iterative occurs the numeral element -tas-, denoting quantity; it is incorporated after the cardinal elements, and is found with all the rest of the iteratives.

The iteratives follow thus in order:

ne'gute'nw't first time
ni'cenw't second time
ne'senw't third time
nyá'wen't fourth time
nyá'nomeg'g'n fifth time
negutwácigatase'nw't sixth time
nó'higatase'nw't seventh time
ne'cávácigatase'nw't eighth time
cá'gatase'nw't ninth time
medáse'nwi tenth time
medáswinegutíatase'nw'televen
medáswinegutíinesiwitase'nw'televenth time

§ 52
nícwâbitâgitâse'nwâ' twentieth time
negutwâ'kwetâse'nwâ' hundredth time
nícwâ kwenseswâbitâginyâwinesiwitâse'nwâ' two hundred and thirty-fourth time
negutima'kaîkwetâse'nwâ'} thousandth time

Distributives express the number of things taken at a time, as each one, two at a time, every third one, four apiece. The distributive idea is expressed by reduplication of the first numeral syllable. In the following are some distributive cardinals:

nâ'negu'tâ' each one
nâ'nicwâ' each two
nâneswâ' or nâ'neswâ' each three
nâ'nyâwâ' or nâ'nyâwâ' each four
nâ'nyâna'nwâ' each five
nânegutwâcî'gâ' each six
nâ'nôhî'gâ' each seven
nâ'ncecwâcî'gâ' each eight
câ'cagâ' each nine
mâ'medâ'swâ' each ten
mâm medâ'swineguyâ'tâ'
mâ'medâ'swinegutini'swâ'} each eleven
nâ'nicwâbitâ'gâ' each twenty
nâ'nicwâbitâgini'cwâ'} each twenty-two
nâ'neswâbitâ'gâ' each thirty
nâ'nyâwâbitâ'gâ' each forty
nâ'nyâna'nwâbitâ'gâ' each fifty
nâ'negutwâcigâbitâ'gâ' each sixty
nâ'nôhigâbitâ'gâ' each seventy
nâ'ncecwâcigâbitâ'gâ' each eighty
câ'câgâbitâ'gâ' each ninety
nâ'negutwâ'kwâ' each hundred
mâ'medâ'swâ'kwâ'} each thousand
nâ'negutima'kâ'kwâ'} each thousandth

Examples of distributive ordinals are—
mâmene'tâ' every first
nâ'nicôname'gî' every second
nânesônamegî' every third
mâ'medâsôname'gî' every tenth
nâ'negutwâ'kwetasôname'gî' every hundredth

Distributive iteratives are expressed in a similar way.

nâ'negute'nwâ' it is once at a time

§ 52
nā'nice'nw⁴ it is twice at a time
nā'nes'e'nw⁴ it is thrice at a time

These distributives are often followed by the local demonstrative adverb i'c⁴, denoting TOWARD, MOVEMENT AWAY TOWARD SOMETHING. The adverb adds to the distributive notion the idea of movement by groups.

nā'nīcwi'c⁴ two at a time
nā'neswi'c⁴ three at a time
mā'medāswinīcwinēswi'c⁴ thirteen at a time
nā'nīcwābitsgitasōnamegi'c⁴ every twentieth
nā'nōhigatāsenwi'c⁴ every seventh time

In the multiplication of two numbers, the cardinal is the multiplicand, and the iterative the multiplier.

ne'guti nā'negute'nw⁴ one is taken once at a time
ni'cwi nā'nīc'nw⁴ two is taken twice at a time
ne'swi nā'nes'e'nw⁴ three is taken thrice at a time

Note.—Half and fourth are the only fractions made use of by the dialect. The word for HALF is expressed absolutely by a'pe'ta'w⁴, an adverb denoting half. It forms the denominator, while a cardinal is used in the numerator.

negūtā'pe'ta'w⁴ one half
nićwā'pe'ta'w⁴ two halves, two parts

The word for FOURTH is a'sepā'n⁵, an adverbial form of a'sepā'n⁶ RACCOON. The term comes from the fourth of a dollar, which was the price paid for a raccoon-skin at the trading-store. It is the denominator, while the cardinal is the numerator.

negūtā'sepā'n⁵ one-fourth, quarter of a dollar
neswā'sepā'n⁶ three-fourths, seventy-five cents

There is a demonstrative adverb ɪna⁴ with the meaning usually of THERE, AT THAT PLACE. When it comes after such phrases as have been given, it has the meaning of PLUS; the fraction is partly broken, and the terms then express addition.

negūtāpe'ta'wina⁴ one and a half
gnegūtāsepa'nina⁴ plus a fourth

§ 53. Adverbs

There are numerous adverbs that express great variety of relationship. By far the greater number of them are used as adjuncts. As

44877⁵—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—55
adjuncts, some have great freedom of position, and others have not that freedom. Among the adverbs of free position are those expressing time.

v'nuq[^4] a'pyāyā'n[^4] to-day was when I came pyā'w[^a] a'cava'i'y[^*] he came long while ago aska'tcimā'[^i] nī'py[^a] by and by I will come

Other adverbs are less free as to position. Such are those that do the double office of prepositions and conjunctions.

ne'kani pe'pōn[^4] during the whole year ne'kani a'pemātes[i]tc[^i] during all the time that he lived ā'yā'pwar[^w] nā'wa'kwā'g[^i] before noon; before mid-day ā'yā'pwar[^w] pya'tc[^i] before he came

These limited adverbs occurring in first position really perform the office of initial stems. The following examples show adverbs in composition with secondary stems:

tci'gepyā'g[^i] at the edge of the water a'kwitap'a'kwi on top of the lodge

Some adverbs express a modal sense, and have the force of either a clause or a sentence.

kaci'wāto'w[^i] of course it is true (said in answer to a question) kaci'wi'to'w[^i] I don't care what happens; it makes no difference ma'sātc[i] pya'w[^a] he had a hard time getting here

The qualifying force of some adverbs is so extensive as to make them into conjunctives. Amongst their many values as conjunctives are—

General connectives:

nā'[^a]k[^a] and, as—

kī'na nā'kani'n[^a] thou and I
cēwān[^a] but, in which an objection is implied, as—

āti'c moyā'[^p] cē'wānā wā'ni'kā'w[^a] he was told, but he forgot

Introductives:

nahi' well, I say, as—

nahi', nātesō'kānā'w[^a] well, I will tell the story of him—

kaho', with much the same meaning and use as nahi'

ka'cinā'[^i] why! how now! as—

ka'cinā'[^i], a'gwināgwai'yan[i]n[^i] why, thou hast not gone yet!

ka'cinā'gw[^a] is much like ka'cinā'[^i]

§ 53
§ 54. Interjections

There are also numerous interjections. Naturally most of them are to do with the expression of subjective states of the mind. There are two interjections of very common use, and they will be only ones to be mentioned. One is *tai'yāna* "would that I.* MY WISH! It is used with the subjunctive to express a prayer.

*Tai'yāna*" "pyā' té! oh, I wish he would come!

The other interjection is *tcei*, expressing wonder. It can and often occur alone, but it is more common as a suffix.

*a' pyā'tcicî! when, lo, here he came!*

§ 55. CONCLUSION

On account of the limitation of space, the description of the grammatical processes of this Algonquian dialect is to be taken rather as a general summary. A good deal of matter has been lightly touched on, and much has been wholly left out. It has been the plan to intersperse the text with such features as would give an intelligible idea of what the grammar of this one Algonquian dialect like. The description will close with the text of a myth that was purposely abbreviated in the telling. It is told in a straightforward way without any attempt at rhetorical emphasis, which often goes with the language of myths. The translation keeps close to the order the ideas expressed in the text. There is also a short analysis of the ideas expressed in the text. There is also a short analysis of its morphology and syntax.

§§ 54, 55
Ma'kwăn
Bear
they who are in pursuit of him.

Inipi
It is said
acawayē long ago
neguténw it was once
ā'pepôg when it was winter
ā'A'skînem'pu when first it has snowed

ā'A'skânwîg while the first
neswi nine
neniwâg men
ācícâwâgé early
mâmaiyî early
kegiceyâp in the morning

Apátâ'kig On the hillside
ā'pê'kwisasâgâ'k where it was thick
kî with growth
ma'kwân bear
ā'pîtcî'kâwânîte trail

1 ma'kwân object of the following participle (ma'kwâ animate noun, nominative singular -n at animate singular suffix [§ 42]).
2 pâmîne'ka'wâdi'q'î third person plural, animate, transitive participle (pâmî- for pemi- [initial second denoting movement past]; ê of pemi- becomes â in the participle, [33]); -n'ka- a secondary stem marker to drive, to pursue [§ 19]; -q'- [21 (4)]; -q' refers to the animate object ma'kwân; -q'i'g'â animate, third person, participial plural [§ 33]).
3 Inipi combination of an interrogative and a quotation (I'nî [§ 47] singular, inanimate, demonstrative pronoun used as an interrogative; 'î'pî'q' impersonal quotation, occurring usually as a suffix [§ 41]).
4 a'câwâ'kê' temporal adverb expressing remote time in the past [§ 53].
5 né'gu'ê'nu'ì'q'â animate singular, third person, singular, inanimate, intransitive verb of the independent series (§ 28).
6 d'ær'pepôq'î third person singular inanimate intransitive verb of the indefinite conjunctive mode; temporal augment; pep- initial stem used to express notions of winter, cold, snow [§ 16]; -ê suffix being a locative sense [§ 42]).
7 ā'á'skî'mê'pu'yî same kind of verb as in note 6 (ask- initial stem signifying early, soon, first [§ 17]; me-initial stem common with words for snow, cold, me'pu'-to snow).
8 ā'A'askânwî'q'î an impersonal verb of the intransitive conjunctive mode (ask- same as in note 7; -q'- second stem denoting state, condition; -q' suffix with locative sense).
9 né'nu'ì cardinal used as an adjective to the following noun.
10 né'nîne'q'î animate, plural, subject of the following verb (né'nîne'q'î animate singular; -q' suffix denoting plurality [§ 42]).
11 'î'cê'câ'ì'cì'cì'cì initial stem to hunt; third person plural, animate, intransitive verb of the conjunctive mode [§ 29].
12 má'mâ'îgi temporal adverb expressing relative time.
13 kegî'cê'p'a temporal adverb referring to that part of the morning just before and immediately after sunrise.
14 apa'tâ'kî'q'î independent, intransitive, verbal combination used like a noun (apa- akin to d'pe'na'w'w' signifying half, part of; -kî- akin to a'kî meaning earth, ground, land; -q' locative suffix).
15 d'ê'kwisasâgâ'kî same kind of verb as in note 6 (ê- vowel augment same as in note 6, but used here as in other places of the text, with a relative force; pe'kwî- initial stem denoting density, texture [§16]; sâgâ- reduplicated form of the initial stem sâgâ- see sâgâ- §16], which has taken on the sense of taking hold of, kî third person, animate, nominal ending of the conjunctive mode [§ 29].
16 ma'kwân objective form of an animate noun used as the subject of the conjunctive verb that follows.
17 Â'pîtcî'kâwânîte'q'î third person singular, animate, intransitive verb of the conjunctive mode, used with a subordinate subject in the objective relation (pit-' initial stem denoting movement into an enclosure [§ 16]; for the ê'- of pîtcî- cf. pûdî'- under pûdâ-, also § 8; ka- secondary stem expressing the notion of making an imprint, sign, track, and of moving, going [§ 18]; -q'- second stem denoting an incorporated representative of an objective relation, and parallel in construction to -ê at ma'kwân. It belongs with -ê- in siici, and so enters into a subjective relation [§ 34]).

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eguti 18 a'pitcinąganątę 19 a'ci'kahwátę. 20 "Wàtcik-siyągicisåwål!" 21
One he went in following after him he set him to going.  "To the place whence the source of cold is he going fast!"

hinatę 22 wítamátci, 23 said he to him whom he accompanied.

Wàtcikesi'yągí 24 wàše'kagę 25 "Wàtcinåwå kwągicisåwål!" 26 áhıtę. 27
From the place he who went where it is cold round by way of day is he hurrying:

Ini 28 nà ką 29 wàtcinåwå kwągí 30 wàše'kagę 31 "A'pągicimugicisåwål!" 31
And another to the place whence he who went "towards the place of the round by way of falling down is he hastening!"

ihıtę. 27 said he.

Aiyăcô'ká 32 ak'iwínàmòtåtiwåtę. 33 Askatci 33 petegipyayåtå. 34
To and fro long did they together keep him in flight from them. Later it is said behind he who was coming

r'kīgahłıpíte 35 a'ak'skipagăme'kwisenígictle 36 keyåhapa'yå 37 a'pemeg 37
on the ground as he looked, it lay with a green surface to, it was the fact to a place above

18 ne'guti cardinal (§ 50) used as an adjective modifying a noun understood.
19 a'pitcinąganąte' third person singular, animate, transitive verb of the conjunctive mode (pit- same as in note 17; nąga'- initial stem meaning to follow after [§ 16]; -n- an interlocutive causal particle [§§ 8, 21]; -a'- objective animate pronoun element referring to the hearer; -ci' nominal sign standing for the third person singular subject, conjunctive (§ 29)).
20 a'ci'kahwåtę same kind of verb as in note 19 ('ka'- secondary stem, same as in note 17; kwå- causal particle [§ 37]; -tę same as in note 19; -tę as in note 19).
21 wàtcikesi'yągicisåwål' third person, singular, animate intransitive verb of the independent series (wàtcikesi'yągí stem from wàtcikesi'yągí, a locative adverb meaning whence, source from, away from [§ 16]; kwągicisåwål' initial combination expressing cold; -gw locative suffix denoting place where [§ 42]; wàtcikesi'yągí whence comes the cold is an inanimate participial construction; tę a locative adverb denoting thither, away, toward; it often occurs as a suffix [§ 52]; wàtcikesi'yągicisåwål' toward the place where comes the cold takes the place of an initial stem to the rest of the combination; -tę secondary stem expressing mvt movement (§ 19); -tę third person singular, pronominal sign representing an independent animate subject, lengthened from wà [§ 6. 28]).
22 ñhàn dłnutę same kind of verb as in notes 19 and 20 ('n- as in note 15; hu- initial stem meaning to say [§ 16]; -n- as in note 19; -tę as in note 19; -tę as in note 19).
23 wítamátci third person singular, animate, transitive participle (u- initial stem denoting companionship [§ 16]; -u- secondary stem denoting condition; -m- animate causal particle [§§ 21, 37].
24 a- animate objective sign; -ci contains both subject and object, being a possessive, transitive participial (§ 33)).
26 Participial (§ 33). Intransitive animate: hence the termination -po, not to (see § 34); -kà- a secondary stem meaning track, imprint (§ 18).
27 wàtcikesi'yągí as in note 21; nànså'kwągí (§ 53); the final i elided (§ 12) before ci'- (§ 16), the final i of which is likewise lost; -så as in note 21.
28 Hu an initial stem as in ñhàn dłnutę (note 22); the form is the third person singular animate intransitive of the conjunctive mode (§ 29).
29 See note 3.
30 An adverb (§ 53).
31 See note 26.
32 a- prefix; pàgi- an initial stem meaning to strike (§ 14); -ci'ci'ci' as in notes 21, 26; gw locative suffix.
33 ñhàn a- initial stem cognate with kí- (§ 16); -m- interlocutive (§ 8); -a- a secondary stem often used to indicate flight (§ 19); -m- instrumental particle (§§ 21, 37); -g- sign of middle voice (§ 40); -t- an interlocutive (§ 8); -a- is not clear; -ti- sign of reciprocity (§ 38); -ci ci sign of third plural animate intransitive conjunctive mode (§ 29).

For askatci-i-hipi; askatci cognate with aski- (§ 16); hipi as in note 3.

34 petepi- an adverb; gw locative suffix, as in notes 7, 8, 14; pydåyå contains pydå a initial stem denoting movement hither (§ 16); pya- an initial stem meaning the same (see below ayìwåtåte', note 41); from the analogy of pydåyå (from pydå) it is likely that the true stem is pya; -a- termination of the animate intransitive participial, third person singular (§ 33).

For a'kígi + ñhànpići; a'kígi on the ground; -pì locative suffix (§ 42); ñhànpići (a- -tę [§ 29]); -h- (§ 8); -h- for ci' ci thus (§ 12); -n- (§ 8); -pì to see.

-ə-n- a connective stem meaning reclining, lying down (§ 20); -da- as in note 6; -ci to see.

I have altered a'pemeg of Dr. Jones to a'pemeg. The first can not be analyzed; the second can, and is supported by a'pemeg of the Fox Texts (72.1). The a'pemeg of the Fox Texts at 72.2 apparently is a typographical error. The analysis is -a- -pì, as in note 6.
ä'i-ciweneguwațe 128 ma'kwăn 1 1
Sasaganic' 39  a'tetepine'kawâwațe'
was the way along which
the bear,
Agat the thick
while round in a circle they
drove him
keyâhapaįy 37
a'pemeg 37
âyâwâte 41
was really the
time
when they went.
Ini a'köwepeyâyâte 43 aköwâtcin 43 akwâgohomâtc 44
"Matâpýa 6
There-
upon
bf came next
him
he who was
then did he cry out to
"O Rivers-
River,
kiwâtâwe 46 Ak'pemegiku 47 ketciecenogenonâl 48
ahinâtc 22 Matâpýa-
let us turn
Into the sky truly
he is leading you and
said he to
Union-of-Rivers
he me away!"
hani 49 cewâna 40 a'pwawipemete'ngute 51
him,
but
not a reply did he get from him.
Matâpýa'tcâwine 1
kamipahut 53 wisanaguhâhan 1 ahutânihe 1
Union-of-
the middle
he who ran past
little Hold-Tight
did he have for
Rivers
his pet.
Tâgwâginig 55 amatanâwâtc 56 ma'kwân 1 1—anâsâwâtc 47
in the fall of the year
then they overtook him
bear-him;
then they killed him
kicinesâwâtc 58 me'tegumici u'te'kunânt a'kickkicahamowâtc 30
after they had slain him
boughs
much did they cut them
nâ'ka 50 ma'komicyânl 1 a'hapackinahâwâtc 60 ma'kwân 1 1 kicimâ-
likewise
sumachs;
then they put him to lie on
bear-him;
when they

did not move

1 icí initial stem THUS (§ 16); -we- variant of TE (from ñeÁëÁ [§ 16] by § 12); -ñ- (§ 21): -ñ- (§ 3): -ñ-
sign of the passive (§ 41); -ñ- (§ 29).
2 sasâ-g re-duplicated form of sâ-g; an initial stem (§ 16), as in note 15; -a- as in paga- beside papa-
strike; -ni- (§ 34); -ñ- locative suffix (§ 29).
3 a-temporal particle; tetepi- a collateral form of tetep- (§ 16), an initial stem denoting movement in a
circle (cf. pemí-and pem-); ne'ka- (§ 19) as in note 2; -e- apparently a glide (§ 8); dawâtc- termination of
the conjunctive mode (§ 29), showing that the subject is the third person plural animate, and the object
the third person animate, singular or plural.
4 Third person plural animate past subjunctive intransitive (§ 29).
5 Compare d'k'wâcêtc-t note 43; pyabâs- as in note 34.
6 A participial (see § 33).
7 -ñ- (§ 29); -ñ- (§ 21, 37).
8 For dp cf. d'pó (§ 24); the form is a vocative singular animate (§ 42); see also § 6.
9 For kâwâdawâtc-t; kîwi- initial stem to turn back (§ 16): dawâtc-t for dawâte (§ 6) sign for first person
plural (excl.) intransitive imperative (§ 16).
10 o'pemígi, explained in note 37; -u- VERILY.
11 For ke-gumânâ with the prolongation of the final vowel as in -nàwád (see note 21); ke-gumânâ is the
pronominal sign showing that the subject is the third person singular animate, and the object the first
person plural inclusive independent mode (§ 28); teci- variant of tâcit- (§ 16); -êe- as in note 38.
12 An' sign of the singular objective case singular animate (§ 42).
13 See § 53.
14 puch- the negative of the conjunctive verb; it stands following the particles ñ- and â-., and before
the verbal stems (see § 35.3); -u- sign of the passive (§ 41); -ñ- (§ 29).
15 A participial (§ 33); pâmi- for pemí- by reason of the change of vowel in the participle; pemí- in pah-;
puhu-same as pHâ- (§ 19).
16 -ñ- as in note 49; ñ- (§ 16).
17 -ñ- (§ 29); -ñ- a glide (§ 8); -ñ- possessive pronoun his (§ 45); for the omission of the suffix see
p. 452.
18 o' locative suffix; -ni- as in note 39.
19 a-temporal prefix; -ñ- an instrumental particle (§ 21); dawâtc- pronominal sign showing the subject
to be the third person plural animate, and the object the third person, singular or plural, animate,
conjunctive mode (§ 29); mata TO OVERTAKE (§ 16).
20 ñeÁ- an initial stem meaning to Slay (§ 16); -ñ- (§ 29); as in note 56.
21 Kici- an initial stem denoting completion (§ 16).
22 ñ- (§ 29); as in note 91.
nihāwātē 61 āwāpinenyāskwā kāwātē 62 Wātāpāgic 63 āhina kāwātē 61 finished skinning then began they to throw them Eastward was where they threw and cutting them up everywhere.

uwič 64 pāpōgin 65 ākatawipāg 66 anāgwā 67 ketcwagāpe 67 their head; in the winter time when nearly morning stars are they accustomed to rise;

Inipiyōw 69 ini ma'kōwic 70 Nā'ka 29 uta' tagāgwan 71 a'eg 72 it is said in times that bear-head and his back-bone also past

wātāpāg 62 āhina kāwātē 61 ā'egāpe 74 pēpōg 75 nāwpā 76 anāgwā 67 the east was where they threw. Also it is said in the winter time they are seen stars

asipiōcig 77 Inipiyōw 69 ini uta' tagāgwan 71 they that lie close and it is said of old that his back-bone. together.

Inipi 3 nāka 29 iyōwe wīnwāw 82 Inigi 79 nīgāni nyāwi anāgwā 86 It is said also in the past they these in front four stars

ina ma'kwa 80 nā'ka 29 petegi neswi inipiıyōw 81 ma'kwa 81 that bear and behind three they are said in bear-him the past

pāmine kāwātcig 3 Tcāwine' kitcā 83 Ina 1 tcagi anāgo 83 acitā kwagō they who are in pursuit Truly in the middle there little tiny star near to does

tcinw 84 Inapi 85 anemōhā 86 utaiyān 87 Mātāpyā' Lwisagenōhan 53 It hang. It is said little dog. his pet Union-of-Rivers Hold-Tight.

tagwāgīgin 88 me'tegumicyān 89 nā'ka 29 ma'kumicyān 89 wāticmeck-

Every autumn

- oaks and

- sumachs why they are

61 Hci- as in note 58; -dēdic- pronominal termination of conjunctive mode (§ 29), as in notes 56, 57; -h- (§ 21); -wān- (§ 16).
62 For ā- -dēdic-: wāpi- an initial stem denoting inception (§ 10).
63 wātāpāg: for wātāpāgci (note 73); -icic (§ 10, 52).
64 w.-ins; for the absence of the m suffix see § 45; -i (§ 42).
65 Compare -pēpōg (note 6) and pēpōg (note 73); the form is a locative (§ 42).
66 A locative; cf. pācē kātawipānig until nearly morning 298.2; -wāpa- is the same as the initial stem wāpa- to see; note, too, wādānig at break of day 222.15, with the common fluctuation of o and p (see § 3).
67 Noun, animate plural (§ 42).
68 For ketcwagci-åpe' for åpe' see § 14; ketcwagci (-wagi is the sign for the third person plural inanimate intransitive of the independent mode (§ 28)).
69 For ini- -ipi- iyōwe; see note 3 and iyōwe next paragraph.
70 ma'kwa+wicic (see § 12).
71 u- -an' (§ 45).
72 See § 10; -at- as in note 6.
73 A locative.
74 See §§ 10, 14.
75 See note 6.
76 nā-de- an initial stem meaning to see; cf. nāwādēdic(-i) they beheld him 198.2; -āp- the termination of the third person plural indefinite passive, independent mode (§ 41).
77 See -cīn- (§ 20) and also § 12.
78 Accidentally omitted in § 44.
79 Animate plural of fsa (§ 47).
80 I have altered ini ma'kwa'n of Dr. Jones to ina ma'kwa (see 72.8), as is required by the analysis (cf. §§ 42, 47).
81 For inipi -ipi iyōwe see notes 69 and 79.
82 -tic verbily.
83 See § 12 for the formation of the diminutive formation of anāgus.
84 -cīn- (§ 20f); -wān- (§ 28).
85 For fsa- -ipi see notes 3 and 80.
86 A shows that the noun is animate singular (§ 42).
87 See § 45.
88 -gī termination of the locative plural (§ 42).
89 Inanimate plural (§ 72).
They who are in Pursuit of the Bear

It is said that once on a time long ago when it was winter, when it had snowed for the first time, while yet the first fall of snow lay on the ground, there were three men who went forth to hunt for game early in the morning. At a place on the side of a hill where there was a thick growth of shrub did a bear enter in, as was shown by the sign of his trail. One (man) went in after him and started him going in flight. "Away toward the place from whence comes the cold is he making fast!" called he to his companion.

He who had gone round by way of the place from whence comes the cold, "In the direction from whence comes the source of the mid-day time is he hastening away!" he said.

Then another who had gone round by way of the place from whence comes the noon-time, "Toward the place where (the Sun) falls down is he hastening away!" said he.

Back and forth for a long while did they keep the bear fleeing from one and then another. After a while, according to the story, as one that was coming behind looked down at the earth, lo! the surface of it was green. For it is really the truth that up into the sky were they led away by the bear. While about the place of the dense growth of shrub they were chasing him, then was surely the time that into the sky they went.

Thereupon he who came behind cried out to him who was next. "O Union-of-Rivers, let us turn back! Verily, into the sky is he leading us away!" said he to Union-of-Rivers, but no reply did he get from him.

Union-of-Rivers, who went running between (the man ahead and the man behind), had Hold-Tight (a little puppy) for a pet.
In the fall they overtook the bear; then they slew him; after they had slain him, then many boughs of an oak did they cut, likewise sumachs; then with the bear lying on top (of the boughs) they skinned him and cut up his meat; after they had skinned him and cut up his meat, then they began to scatter (the parts) in all directions. Toward the place from whence the dawn of day hurled they the head; in the winter time when the dawn is nearly breaking, (certain) stars were wont to appear; it has been said that they were that head. And his back-bone toward the east did they also fling. It is also common in the winter time for (certain) stars to be seen lying close together. It has been said that they were that back-bone.

And it has also been told of them (viz., the bear and the hunters) that the (group of) four stars in front was the bear, and that the three behind were they who were in pursuit of the bear. There in between (the star in front and the star behind) a tiny little star hangs. They say that was a little dog, Hold-Tight, which was pet to Union-of-Rivers.

As often as it is autumn the oaks and sumachs redden at the leaf for the reason that when they (the hunters) place (the bear) on top of (the boughs), then stained become the leaves with blood. That is why every autumn the leaves of the oaks and sumachs redden.

That is the end of the story.
SIOUAN

DAKOTA (TETON AND Santee Dialects)

WITH REMARKS ON THE PONCA AND WINNEBAGO

BY

FRANZ BOAS AND JOHN R. SWANTON

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SIOUAN

DAKOTA (TETON AND SANTEE DIALECTS)

WITH REMARKS ON THE PONCA AND WINNEBAGO

By FRANZ BOAS and JOHN R. SWANTON

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

The Siouan languages are spoken in a considerable number of dialects. One group of tribes speaking Siouan languages lived on the western plains, extending from the northern border of the United States far to the south. Another group of dialects was spoken by tribes inhabiting the southern Appalachian region; and two isolated dialects belonged to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, east of the Mississippi river and the lower Yazoo river, respectively. At present the last two groups are on the verge of extinction.

The following sketch of Siouan grammar is based mainly on the Santee and Teton dialects of the Dakota language, which embraces four dialects—Santee, Yankton, Teton, and Assiniboin. Santee and Yankton are spoken by the eastern Dakota bands, Teton by the western bands, and Assiniboin by those of the northwest. The material for the present sketch is contained mainly in the grammar, texts, and dictionary of the Santee, published by S. R. Riggs (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vols. vii, ix). This account has been the basis of Dr. John R. Swanton’s studies of a series of Teton Texts, in possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology, written by George Bushotter, a Teton Dakota. In the summer of 1899 Doctor Swanton revised these texts on the Rosebud Indian reservation with the help of Mr. Joseph Estes, a Yankton Dakota, who had been long resident among the Teton; and who was at that time teacher in one of the Government schools. Doctor Swanton’s notes, contained in the present account, refer to the Teton dialect, while the material based on Riggs’s published Santee material has been discussed by F. Boas.
The Ponca material has been gleaned from a study of J. Owen Dorsey's work, The Ėegiha Language (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. vi1). The Winnebago material is based on the unpublished collections of Mr. Paul Radin. The notes on both of these dialects have been written by F. Boas. Page references in the sections describing Santee and Ponca refer to the publications by Riggs and Dorsey referred to before.

**PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)**

§ 2. System of Sounds

Since Riggs, in his grammar and dictionary, does not distinguish the aspirates and surd stops, which were first discovered by J. Owen Dorsey and which are of such frequent occurrence in American languages, we give here the description of the Teton as obtained by Doctor Swanton. In order to preserve as nearly as possible the usage employed in printing Dakota books, Riggs's alphabet has been adhered to; but p', k', t', and ṭ' have been added to designate the aspirates of the corresponding surds. Doctor Swanton also distinguishes a fortis š and ș; ḥ is an obscure vowel, related to short ĕ and ě.

**TABLE OF SOUNDS OF TETON**

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<td>— — — z s š ş</td>
<td>— — — — — — —</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palatal . . . . . .</td>
<td>g k k' k</td>
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<tr>
<td>Velar . . . . . . .</td>
<td>ĝ — — (ţ) — h</td>
<td>— — — — — — —</td>
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<td>Open breathing . . .</td>
<td>— — — h — — — — — — —</td>
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<td>ăn eń ań oń ŏń</td>
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The affricatives have been placed in the group of stops because they are closely associated with them. It is doubtful whether the tis velar occurs.

The affricative ɕ series corresponds to the English ch in church; ɣ Constraints series to z in azure and to sh in shore; k to the velar ch inerman.

The phonetic system of Santee is quite similar to that of Teton, except that l is absent and is replaced by d and n. Teton n is either tial or follows k or g.

In Ponca, y of the series of sounds enumerated before is absent, and is throughout replaced by ʃ (English sonant thi). According to Dorsey, this sound approaches the l and r of other dialects; i.e., it is pronounced slightly laterally and with a tendency to a trill. The sonant of the affricative series, ʃ, occurs in Ponca, and l is absent. In Kansas, which is closely related to Ponca, the Teton y is replaced by l.

In Winnebago the Teton y is replaced by a weakly trilled linguoapical r. Two n sounds are found, one, n, more strongly sonant than the other n. In the velar series the sonant continued sound r occurs besides the surd k.

In the printed Ponca texts published by Dorsey an alphabet is used it does not conform to the Dakota alphabet used by Riggs and in er publications based on Riggs. Dorsey’s alphabet agrees in many spect better with the systems of transcription used in rendering nemic languages than Riggs’s alphabet. Nevertheless we have hered here to the Riggs system and have avoided the awkward erted letters used by Dorsey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Riggs</th>
<th>Dorsey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p, t, k</td>
<td>ɗ, Ʌ, y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s, ʃ</td>
<td>s, o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ɇ</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p', t', k'</td>
<td>p, t, k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ɉ</td>
<td>(?, )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ɇ'</td>
<td>tc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b, t, k</td>
<td>p', t', k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ʉ'</td>
<td>tc'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ɇ'</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>dj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ʌ</td>
<td>q(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ʉ</td>
<td>x(?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Supplementary symbols used in this sketch.
We are not quite certain whether the sounds ʂ and ʂ occur in Ponca. The sounds s and c of Ponca have been rendered here by analogy by ʂ and ʂ', but their character has not been definitely ascertained.

In Santee consonantic clusters in initial position are common, while they are absent in terminal position. In these consonantic clusters three groups may be distinguished,—clusters with initial surd stops; those with initial n and h; and those with initial s, ʂ, k. The first of these groups never occurs in Ponca, the second shows a remarkable variability in different dialects, while the third seems to be common to Dakota, Ponca, and Winnebago.

The following table illustrates these three groups of consonantic clusters:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial consonant</th>
<th>Second consonant of cluster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p, t, k, s, ʂ, c</td>
<td>d, n, b, m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p̄t, p̄s, p̄c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t̄p, t̄k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k̄p, k̄t, k̄s, k̄c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m̄d, m̄n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h̄d, h̄n, h̄b, h̄m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s, ʂ, k</td>
<td>s̄p, s̄t, s̄k, ʂ̄c, k̄c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h̄p, h̄t, h̄k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides these clusters which belong to the stem, or to pronominal forms, others are admissible. These originate by composition of a stem ending in a consonant with another stem beginning with a consonant. We have found in this series

\[ t̄k \]
\[ m̄t, m̄k, m̄s \]
\[ s̄k \]
\[ ʂ̄k \]
\[ ḡs, ḡt, ḡb \]

and it is likely that others occur.

It will be noticed that in the stem, sonants, affricatives, and n do not occur as the first sound of a consonantic cluster; that sonants, except d and b, and h, do not appear at the end of a consonantic cluster. Fortes occur neither in initial nor in terminal position. No sound except § 2
and š occurs with another one of the same class. Clusters of three consonants may occur when a stem beginning with a biconsonantic cluster follows a stem with terminal consonant, but these combinations are rare.

In Ponca and Winnebago stems the following consonantic clusters occur, which, however, are never terminal.

### Ponca

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial consonant</th>
<th>Second consonant of cluster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>bě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>gě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>hn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š', š</td>
<td>š'p', š'k', š'č'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>šp', šk', šč'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>hš', hč'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>hč'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Winnebago

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial consonant</th>
<th>Second consonant of cluster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>čg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>ks, ks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>sd, sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>šg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>hš, hč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>hč</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 3. Syllables and Accent: Teton

Syllables of Teton may consist of single vowels, a consonant followed by a vowel, or two consonants followed by a vowel. In the first case the first consonant is never a sonant or fortis (see p. 882). In other instances an obscure vowel-sound is heard between the two consonants, which may either be inserted for euphony or be a sign of composition. On the other hand, such stems may be considered as having been originally dissyllabic.¹

¹This view, expressed by Doctor Swanton, does not seem to be supported by the phonetic characteristics of other dialects. It has been pointed out before that the consonantic clusters beginning with voiceless stops, p, t, k, do not occur in Ponca and Winnebago; while those with initial s, š, š, are quite common in these dialects. Winnebago has a strong tendency to repeat the vowel of a syllable between certain consonantic clusters (see pp. 888, 923), but it does not seem probable that this is an original condition from which the consonantic clusters of Dakota and Ponca have originated.—F. B.
The sounds ś and ṭ are almost the only consonants found closing a syllable in which no contraction is known to have taken place, although it seems significant that both these sounds result from supposed contraction of syllables.

The placing of the accent is said sometimes to constitute the only difference between words, but it is possible that other vocalic modifications, not hitherto observed, may be involved.

§ 4. Phonetic Changes

In this section we give a summary of the phonetic changes occurring in Teton, Ponca, and Winnebago.

**TETON**

1. After a nasalized vowel or the syllable ni there is a strong tendency for the following vowel to be nasalized; and this tendency is particularly marked in the causative auxiliary ya, as in the following cases:

   - *kiṃ*yaⁿ to fly
   - *tohaⁿ*huⁿniⁿyaⁿ as long as
   - *icetehaⁿ*yaⁿ far apart
   - *taⁿ*yaⁿ well
   - *woćiⁿ*yaⁿpi they trusted to him
   - *niyanʷ* he cures him (literally, causes him to live)
   - *wiyṉskiʷ*yaⁿ in a holy manner
   - *kpaⁿ*yaⁿpi they caused it to be softened with water
   - *teuwⁿ*yaⁿpi we caused him to die

Ya to go sometimes changes similarly, as—

   - *uʷyanⁿpi we go.

2. After o, u, oⁿ, wⁿ, the semivocalic y is apt to change to w, especially in the imperative forms, as—

   - *uⁿći, u wo* be coming, O grandmother!
   - *taⁿyaⁿ* ed'nuⁿ we well have you done

Here may belong forms like—

   - *nowⁿran* he swims
   - *lowanⁿpi* they sing

3. The final a of most verbs is changed into aⁿ when followed by na and, or k'tu (the future particle).

   - *e'eyaʷ*puⁿna you roast and— (instead of *e'eyaʷ*paʷ*na*)
   - *yuⁿ*kán na he sat and— (instead of *yaʷ*ku na)

§ 4
keya'w na he says that and— (instead of keya' na)
yu'zi'k.ta he will take her (instead of yu'za k.ta)

Final a is usually treated similarly.
hec'o'v hi v na she was doing that and— (instead of hec'o'v ha v na)
ed'to'mi v na he looks at and— (instead of ed'to'mi v na)

4. Terminal a very often changes to e, but it is not certain that this
ange is of a purely phonetic character. It occurs before the sounds
the s and š series:
slolaya' šni he knew not (for slolaya' šni)
yuzi'k te šni he will not take her (for yuzin k.ta šni)
ki'v k te se c'še he will revive perhaps (for kini' k.ta se c'še)
ki'v ye ge it flew, as it were (for ki'n ya se)
ye ūchea"w he went just then (for ya ūchea"

This change also occurs when the following word begins with e:
w'yi'v k te eči'ya she said to him, "We will go" (for w'yi'v k.ta eči'ya)
ki'v k te eči'v" I will [travel]," he thought (for k.ta eči'v"
le eha"w taš if you go (for la eha"w taš)

It occurs before the articles ki"n and ko"n, and before the conjunction
ya's. In all these cases it is connected with a change of the initial
sounds of these verbs into the corresponding affricative. Examples
e given under 5.

Since verbs change into nouns by a transformation of final a to e
r by change of suffix a to suffix e), it is not certain that these
omena can be considered as purely phonetic in character.

The change from a to e usually accompanies word composition.
amples are:
tuva'ni whoever (for tuva' ni)
tuva'wak'a"n what is holy (for tuva' wak'a"
hoea" just then (for hoa-ha"

d'k'ap'eya to throw beyond the bounds (from d'k'ap'a the outside)
ak'ad'ap'a and ak'ad'ap'eya to be provoked

The rules relating to terminal a suffer many exceptions. The verbal
em hu TO HAVE, and some verbal stems, like va and ta, seem to be
variable:
baluha' šni I have not
witi'd'ya k'v'va k te you will treat them (witi'a them; ya thou)
iya'kita šni he did not cause him to behave

§ 4
5. The palatals \( k, k', \) and \( k' \), when preceded by \( e \) or \( i \), change to \( k' \):

- \( le'c'o'n' \) he did this
- \( le'c'a \) this sort
- \( kak'o'n' \) he did that
- \( to'k'a \) that sort

This happens most frequently in the case of the articles \( ki^n \) and \( ki^n' \) and the conjunction \( keya's \) even, though.

- \( ista'gamuzu \) the eyes closed (instead of \( ista'gamuzu \) \( ki^n \))
- \( k'te \) \( ci^n'ha^n' \) if he will (for \( k'ta \) \( ki^n'ha^n' \))
- \( yu'ka'he \) \( ci^on' \) he was lying in the past (for \( yu'ka'ha \) \( ko^n' \))
- \( hi'yuye \) \( co^n'ha^n' \) he caused it to come forth (for \( hi'yuya \) \( ko^n'ha^n' \))
- \( ya'ke ' \) \( taya's \) although he sat (for \( ya'ka' \) \( taya's \))

This change is regular only when the preceding \( e \) stands in place of \( a \) of the independent forms of the verb; but the change also takes place at times, although not regularly, when the verb ends in \( e \).

\( k'te \) \( ci^n \) kill the (for \( k'te \) \( ki^n \))

According to Riggs, the same change takes place after \( i \), in verbs when the \( k \) is followed by a vowel.

- \( i'ca lu \) fan (from \( i' \), prepositional prefix [see §12]; \( kulu' \) to blow away with hand)
- \( i'ca'sla' \) a scythe (from \( i' \); \( ka'sla' \) to cut off)
- \( ki'cable'ca \) to break for one by striking (from \( ki- \) for; \( kable'ca \) break by striking)

The analogous changes occur throughout in Santee.

6. Contraction. Words ending in certain consonants followed by \( a \), when compounded with other words that follow them, and when duplicated, lose their final \( a \) and change their consonants as follows:

- \( p' \) to \( b \) or \( m \)
- \( ē, t \) to \( l \)
- \( k \) to \( g \)
- \( ū \) to \( ū \)
- \( ū \) to \( ū \)

Examples:

- \( to'p'asala'tapi \) they stick four into the ground (for \( to'p'a \))
- \( wala'q-icila' \) he thought himself strong (for \( wala'ka \))
- \( kah-ur'i'asi \) he told them to make (for \( ka'ga \))
- \( yus-ige'yin' \) holding him, he sent him (for \( yu'za \))
- \( p'an'k'an'za \) soft (re duplicated from \( p'an'za \))
- \( ap'si' \) and \( ap'si'ca \) to jump on
- \( ouy'ul' \) and \( ouy'ta \) to eat

§ 4
When a word ending in one vowel is compounded with another one beginning with the same vowel, the two vowels are generally contracted.

hiyotaŋka to come and sit down (for hi iyotaŋka)

Terminal a before the particle lo (see p. 933) changes to e because it requires a preceding particle ye, which with a is contracted into e.

balu'he lo I am going

PONCA AND WINNEBAGO

Ponca and Winnebago have vocalic changes analogous to those of Dakota.

The negative auxiliary, the future, the quotative, and the plural of Ponca change terminal e and ai to a.

ik'ágeniŋai I have you for friends 711.13
ik'ágenawá-múži I do not have them for my friends 711.13
sk'áž̬e thou dost
śi ská'ąga-báži thou dost it not 711.19
né t'ai you will go 689.6
ná-báži you (plural) do not go 689.3

The same change takes place in verbs followed by -bi, -biama

IT IS SAID.

ai he said 60.8
á-biamá he said, they say 60.7
iŋešk'áje thou makest for me 640.1
gajá-biamá he made, they say 60.5
ačé he went 9.1
ačíb he went, it is said 9.10
zugže with him
zugže-bi he with her, they say 331.18
da'ñbái-gá see him! 60.6
da'ñbái-biamá they saw, they say 58.10

The change of terminal e to a occurs also in Winnebago in the plural, when the verb is followed by the negative and is in the present tense, and when followed by á'naŋga AND.

de I go
dáwí we go (-wi plural ending)
rahe thou buryest
raha'vi ye bury

In Winnebago, r changes regularly to n when following a nasalized vowel. This n differs in the strength of its nasal aspiration from the ordinary n.

hinu'gas he tears me by pulling (for hin-ru-gas)
The dialects here treated demonstrate a close relationship between certain groups of sounds. These are notably—

\[
\begin{align*}
m & \quad b & \quad p \\
y & \quad s & \quad t & \quad n & \quad l \\
g & \quad h & \quad t & \quad \acute{c} & \quad \acute{e} & \quad \acute{i} & \quad n
\end{align*}
\]

These relationships appear partly in consonant changes required by the rules of euphony of each dialect. It has been shown before that, in cases of contraction in Teton, \(p\) may change to \(m\), \(t\) and \(\acute{c}\) to \(n\); and that \(k\) and \(\acute{k}\) after a transformed into \(e\), and in a few other cases, change to \(\acute{c}\) and \(\acute{e}\).

When discussing consonant clusters, we called attention to the peculiar groups of clusters which occur in Santee, beginning with \(m\) and \(h\). These show a great variability in different, closely related dialects, and exhibit some of the relationships of sounds to which attention has been called. Thus we find the corresponding groups in Santee, Yankton, and Teton:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Santee</th>
<th>Yankton</th>
<th>Teton</th>
<th>Ponca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(md)</td>
<td>(mn)</td>
<td>(bl^1)</td>
<td>(br)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hd)</td>
<td>(hn)</td>
<td>(kl)</td>
<td>(gn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kb)</td>
<td>(hm)</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>(km)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The close relationship between \(t\) and \(k\) appears in Santee whenever the sound precedes \(p\). Thus we find—

\(i^*kpa\) and \(i^*tpa\) end of a thing
\(wakpa\) and \(watpa\) river

The relations between \(n\) and \(l\) in Santee and Teton, and those between \(y\), \(\acute{c}\), \(r\), \(l\), in Santee, Ponca, Winnebago, and Kansas, have been mentioned before.

An important phonetic law relating to the Winnebago was formulated in 1883 by J. Owen Dorsey in the following words:¹

"A triliteral monosyllable in \(j\)iwere (and often the corresponding ones: Dakota and \(\varsigma\)iwha) is changed into a quadriliteral disyllable in Hotcañgara (Winnebago), when the first letter of the monosyllable is a mute, a palatal spirant or a spirant sibilant, and the second consonant is a labial or dental mute, or else a dental spirant; and each consonant (in Hotcañgara) must be followed by the same vowel sound. In no case, as far as examples have been gained, can a mute stand next to one of the same order; e. g., a labial can not precede a labial."

¹ Swanton hears here an indistinct vowel between the consonants of the cluster. This is true of great many groups of two consonants.


§ 4
Examples illustrating this law are:

*bTa'raBii* thou breakest with mouth (*k*- equals Ponca *kn*.; *ra*- Winnebago with the mouth)

*khur'Biis* thou breakest by pulling (*k*- equals Ponca *kn*.; *ru*- Winnebago by pulling)

*hakUr'uga* I tear my own (*k*- one’s own, followed by the vowel of the first syllable of the verb; *ru*- by pulling)

*hakUr'abis* I break my own with mouth

Compare also—

*bawd'naBo* for *kewd' a'naBo* and he entered

*bht'at'a'naBo* for *hit'et' a'naBo* and he spoke

§ 5. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

Grammatical relations are expressed by juxtaposition, composition, and reduplication. The limits between juxtaposition of words in a fixed order and of word composition are ill defined, since the independent words that enter into the sentence are liable to considerable phonetic modification, which is due entirely to the closeness of the connection of the adjoining elements. The phonetic decay of different words, under these conditions, is not the same everywhere; and certain elements appear exclusively in combinations, so that they may be considered as affixes. Prefixes, suffixes, and in some cases infixes, occur, although the latter may have been originally prefixes which appear now as incorporated in a compound, the parts of which are no longer discernible. The total number of affixes, however, is small, the entire number not reaching thirty-five. Composition of independent words is resorted to with great frequency. In these compounds the subordinated element is usually modified by the elision of the terminal vowel and the correlated modification of the preceding consonant, so that the component parts form a very firm unit. Modifications of terminal sound of one word and initial sound of the following word occur in many cases, and express the syntactic relations of parts of the sentence. Phonetic modification of prefixes and of suffixes, particularly of the pronominal elements, and irregularities of their positions, make the verbal forms of the Siouan languages very irregular in appearance. Far-reaching substitutions in the labial and dental series occur in all dialects.

Duplication of stems occurs in verbs and in some nouns derived from them. It is almost always confined to the principal stem. The final

§ 5
consonants, which in the unduplicated word are followed by termina-
a, are modified as in other types of composition (see § 4).

The syntactic relation of words is often expressed by position. On
the whole, there is a strong tendency to place particles indicating
the function and relationships of groups of words following those groups.

§ 6. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The categories of noun and verb are clearly distinct, although in
some cases the same word may be used both as a noun and as a verb.
In other cases there is at least a slight modification of form, which
consists in a change of suffixes. In the Dakota dialects there is no
classification of nouns, except in so far as verbs of existence imply
form; but in Ponca the classification, which is expressed by particle,
is elaborate. Animate and inanimate—the former at rest and mov-
ing; the latter as round, upright, horizontal, etc.—are distinguished.
Plurality of the noun is expressed, not by means of a nominal
plural, but rather by a device which expresses the plural idea of the
whole sentence. In the possessive pronoun the ideas of inalienable
and alienable possession are distinguished. Distributive forms of
verbs expressing states or conditions are often expressed by redupli-
cation.

The subjective and objective personal pronouns are clearly distin-
guished. The former are the subjects of all verbs expressing activi-
ties; the latter are the objects of transitive verbs, and the subjects of
verbs expressing conditions. The Siouan languages have the tendency
to include in the former class all declarative terms, even those that
imply only a slight amount of action.

The pronouns are not well developed. There are only three funda-
mental forms,—I, THOU, THOU AND I. Forms with incorporated
object are generally composed of the subjective and objective forms
of these elements, but a few cases occur of combinations that can
not now be explained as compounds of subjective and objective pro-
nouns. The pronominal forms give rise to new combinations, owing
to the marked exactness with which the action directed toward an
object possessed by the subject is differentiated from other actions
directed toward objects not so possessed.

In the verbal stem a few instrumentalities and locatives are ex-
pressed. Complex ideas are expressed very frequently by means of
composition. Some of the elements entering into such composition
§ 6
appear with great frequency, and might be called auxiliaries. To these belong verbs like to cause, to become, and nominal classifiers like ruminant. Temporal and modal ideas are almost wholly rendered by means of enclitic particles.

Demonstratives seem to have designated originally four distinct positions, but these are no longer clearly recognizable. The demonstrative ideas are very closely associated with some verbs with which they enter into composition.

While in Dakota there is no indication of the existence of a grammatical distinction of the nominal subject and object, the Ponca differentiates these forms through the use of distinct particles.

The local relations of nouns are expressed with great nicety by means of post-positions, in which Doctor Swanton finds the ideas of rest and motion clearly and sharply distinguished.

Adverbs of various kinds, and a few special adjectival ideas, are expressed by means of suffixes.

**DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 7-47)**

**Juxtaposition and Composition: Santee (§§ 7-10)**

**§ 7. Verbs**

In the Dakota sentence the component elements are often placed side by side without any connective elements, but so closely connected that two successive elements influence each other phonetically. Compositions of this type appear with great frequency when a number of predicative terms enter into combination. Whenever an element of such a series, that is followed by another element, ends in the vowel a, preceded by one of the consonants p, t, č, k, ḣ, z, ž, contraction (see § 4, no. 6) takes place.

snayęči yundėn iyęyə it snapped and broke suddenly IX\(^1\) 88.9

*(sna ringing sound; yundęča to break to pieces; iyęyə to do suddenly)*

wašed ti he lived and was rich IX 95.1 *(wašęča rich)*

ikpıhnag u he came putting them in his blanket IX 88.14 *(ikpi'-hńaka to put in blanket)*

ikpıhnag u* it was in the blanket IX 88.26

waⁿyag nabi* to stand and see *(waⁿyęča to see)*

---

\(^1\) These references indicate page and line in Vol. IX of the Contributions to North American Ethnology.
When the first verb ends in a syllable that can not be contracted, the two verbs stand simply side by side.

*iitimani hi* to come and visit IX 87.22 (*iitimani* to visit; *hi* to come)

*ode' i* he went hunting IX 117.2 (*ode'* to hunt; *i* to go)

*ape ya*ka he stayed and waited IX 117.3 (*ape'* to wait)

*keya wina*ko'za she cried and wailed IX 117.16

When the first and second verb end in the same vowel, contraction may take place.

*hi*diyota*ka* to come home and sit down (*hi* to come home; *i*jo-

ta*ka* to sit down)

*hihu*nì to come to the shore (*hi* to arrive; *ihu*nì to land)

While ordinarily the terminal *a* in verbs that can not form contractions remains, and the two verbs appear simply in juxtaposition, a few verbs, which otherwise do not differ in their usage from those discussed heretofore, require the change from *a* to *e*, and thus indicate a more intimate association of the component elements of the group. These are *iyeya suddenly; ya* (*ya*a) *to cause; kìya* to cause: *u*a *to be; *i* to go; *u* to come.

The following forms are analogous to the preceding groups, and show contraction:

*kaptu*ku *iyeya* to put down (from *kaptu*ku)

*yuoh*do*k*og *iyeya* to open out IX 83.15 (from *yuoh*do*ka*)

*ka*kiya to cause to do (from *ka*ga)

*sa*ma ya to blacken (from *sa*pa)

*pu*sa ya to dry (from *pu*za)

*wa*ya'g ya to cause to see (from *wa*ya*ka*)

No change of the first verb occurs; for instance, in—

*nabìa* kiya to cause to stand

Changes of *a* to *e* in words in which contraction is impossible are found in—

*te ko*a* to wish one dead

*ye kiya* to cause to go (from *ya*)

*niw*ca kiya to cause to swim (from *niw*a*)

*niw*ca *u*a he is swimming

*bakse i* he went to cut (from *bakse*) IX 115.10

*wa*na*se aya* they went buffalo-hunting IX 88.11

*hihnay*e au* they came to marry him IX 144.3

*aniçe wa*ci*a* to forbid he intended IX 111.17 (this should be, according to analogy, *anin wa*ci*a*)

§ 7
Judging from the published texts, the usage is not quite regular, and some verbs seem to take both forms.

§ 8. Verbs and Nouns

In many compounds of this group an intimate phonetic relation of the noun and verb exists, so much so that the noun sometimes appears in a fragmentary form which never occurs alone, or, at least, with a termination that has undergone far-reaching modifications.

*bante* heart. From this word are formed—
*bantii*za to have courage (with *ti*za staff)
*banze* to be troubled (with ze disturbed)
*bano*tlhanka to love (with ohna'ka to push in)

The complete word appears in—
*bante*nsi to recover one's mind (with nsi' to recover)

*hane*tu night
*hane*mani to walk in the night (with mani to walk)
*hane*wa'ka to remain over night (with wa'ka to be)

*men*ya female
*men*hadalka to strike one's wife (hadalka to strike one's own)
*men*inahma to conceal a woman (with inahma to hide)
*wen*kideya to molest a woman (with kideya to molest)
*wen*nsa a virgin (nsa alone)

The terminal a of the noun does not change to e, but contraction takes place in compounds of this type.

*makiki*toya to till a field (from *mu* field; *kiki*ya to cultivate)
*makiku*puskiça to lie on the ground (from maka' ground; *puski* to press on; with contraction of a-i to i)

Still other cases the noun modifies the initial sound of the verb.

*tica*ja to pitch a tent (from ti dwelling; *kaja* to make)
*mici*ničapi a well (from mici'ni water; *ka* to dig)

The transition between these forms and others consisting of object and verb, or subject and intransitive predicate, is quite gradual. A number of nouns are used like classifiers, when the sense of the sentence does not require the noun. Thus we find, from—

*bana* wood
*ba*ka'ska to tie wood together
*ba*ba'sdeca to saw wood

*wical* human being

*wicata*n'sna bachelor (compare the true compound *wita*n'sna virgin)

§ 8
At the other end of the series we have forms like—

*hihna* to have a husband (*hihna* husband; *to* to have)

*hihna* ya to have for a husband.

In the latter form the same verb that forms the causative compound appears combined with a noun.

§ 9. Nouns

Nouns enter into composition in the same way as nouns and verbs, and presumably there is no fundamental difference between these groups. We find here also abbreviated or contracted forms, more probably stems. These nouns often have a classificatory function.

*tA* RUMINANT

*tapa* deer-head

tate*bi* buffalito-tongue

taha* deer-skin

*hojA*fish appears in the form *ho*

*hovA*ma*du*ka* eel (literally, fish-snake)

*hovA*pe* fin (literally, fish-leaf)

*ho*dp*pA* fish-scales (literally, fish-warts)

*buw*ki* DOMESTICATED ANIMAL appears in the form *buw*

*buw*qu*w*ye* mare

*buw*gi*ka* bridle (literally, horse-rope)

*wI*CA* HUMAN BEING

*wI*CA*nA* brain of a man

*wI*CA*pi liver of a man

*wI*nyA*FEMALE appears in the form *wI*

*wI*CA*w* vagina

*wI*CA*ka* a female captive

*CA* WOOD

*CA*ha* bark (literally, wood-skin)

*CA*ha*pa* shoes (literally, wood moccasins)

*CA*ha*su* cinnamon-bark (literally, wood-skin red)

*ti* DWELLING

*tipA*tk* rear part of tent

*tihA*ha framework of tent (literally, tent skeleton)

§ 10. Note on Certain Verbal Compounds

Compositions similar to those here described occur in other Siouan dialects. Perhaps the most peculiar ones are the Winnebago verbal compounds, in which the position of the subject is described as sitting, lying, or standing. Following are a few examples.

§§ 9, 10
ra'ísiz-nd'úksēnaⁿ he breaks it with the mouth, sitting (ra- with mouth, sis to break, nd'úksēnaⁿ he is sitting, only in compounds)
ra'ísējēnāⁿ he breaks it with the mouth, standing (jēnāⁿ he is standing, only in compounds)
rā'ísiz'úksēnaⁿ he breaks it with the mouth, lying or walking (from wa'úksēnaⁿ he is lying, walking, only in compounds)

Similar forms are not quite absent in other dialects, but they are much less developed. In Dakota we have, for instance,

†a waⁿka to be dead IX 111.19
ya waⁿka he went (literally, going he reclined) IX 110.1
ia haⁿ to speak (literally, speaking to stand)
wawoⁿyaka haⁿ en i looking on standing in he came IX 86.12
iyēšā yanka it is shining (literally, shining he sits)¹

§ 11. Reduplication

SANTEE

Reduplication in Dakota consists essentially in the doubling of the principal theme of a word. In the process, all monosyllabic words ending in a vowel, pure or nasalized, are doubled.

teh
tetē blue

bu
bubu' to make a noise

pe
pepe' prickly, jagged

do
dodō soft, damp

ji
jiği' brown

ju
juju' to burn

kə
kaka' curling

ko
koko' to whistle

hu
huhu' made of bone

ko
ko'ko quick

pa (Santee)
papa' (Teton) to bark

po
po'po foggy

(s0)
soso' to cut into strings

−
kaⁿkaⁿ uneven

paⁿ
paⁿpaⁿ to yell

−
poⁿpoⁿ' rotten

mdu
mdumdu' pulverized

hbu
hbuhibu' to make a crunching noise

(šta)
štašta' weak, brittle

¹The form haⁿ has been classed by Dorsey with the articles (IX, p. 25, footnote), while Swanton classes it as a continuative suffix, because it occurs not only with verbs, as stated before, but also after other parts of speech, especially after demonstratives; as, e'haⁿ then, tohaⁿ' when. These uses, however, agree with the use of articles.—F. Boas.
Bisyllabic words ending in a lose this ending in the reduplicated syllable and modify their last consonant in accordance with the rules described in § 4.

- ko'ka
- kēza
- ko'za
- ki'za
- keja
- ye'ga
- te'pa
- go'pa
- kapa
- sa'pa
- sa'pa
- be'pa
- kota
- (ya) po'ta

When the terminal consonant and the initial consonant form immissible clusters, the former is omitted.

- dopa
- (ya) ku'za
- ku'ka
- ku'ka

In bisyllabic words beginning with a consonant cluster the consonant of the terminal syllable is not repeated:

- (yu) hida'ta
- (ka) hide'ća
- ndeća
- pse'ća
- psa'ka
- hdo'ka
- tku'ga
- ptu'za
- snu'ka
- kse'za

- (yu) hida'hdata to scratch
- (ka) hide'ća to tear
- ndeća broken
- pse'ća jumping
- psa'ka(ha*) broken
- hdo'ko'ka to make a hole
- tku'ga to cut short
- ptu'za cracked
- snu'snu*ka indistinct
- kse'za to double up
An exception to this rule is—

(ya)ma'ka (ya)ma'gema'ka to indent (with teeth)

When the consonant of the second syllable is a dental or affricative or č) and the first consonant a sibilant (z, s, ž, ʒ), the dental or affricative is transformed into a k (g).

sot'a sokso'ta clear
suta' sukso'ta hard
žata zaga'ta forked
kiža sikkš'za bad
(waži' one waški'gži some)

In compounds, only the stem is reduplicated; prefixes and suffixes main unaffected.

'a in sight kas'in kas'in's'in to appear in sight
du pulverized abo'mdu abo'mdu'mdu to bubble up (a-on; bo-by blowing)
: to burn águ águ'gu to burn out something
le to plan ičiyahde ičiyahdehde to reach one to another
red ai'deba ai'deba in the red flames
(a-on; iče to blaze)
*a to give forth aho'to*tö to cry out (ho-voice)
tan) to roll po'pta*ptan to shake head ([po] head)

The following examples illustrate the use of reduplication of words ith suffixes:

to'keta tokto'keta different
yukta*nkiya yuktat*nkiya to cause to bend
yupta*n'ya n yupta*n'pta*ya* to roll over

It would seem that in a limited number of cases the component elements have lost their independence—both the reduplicated stem and e prefix. Instances of stems that do not seem to occur alone will be found in the preceding list. The following cases illustrate the occurrence of prefixed elements that have apparently now no independent meaning:

ko'ška koškaškapi youth
ju*n'ga ju'n'gaša proud

§ 11
Reduplicated numerals show very clearly these principles of reduplication:

- woŋki' a few
- yo' mni by threes
- za'pta' by fives
- sa' kpepe by sixes
- bako'wi' by sevens
- saḵə'go' by eights
- napki'wa'ka by nines
- wiktə'mna by tens

In Ponca, monosyllabic words ending in a vowel, pure or nasalized, are doubled:

- ʔaŋ' 207.10
- sna'ma' level 25.3
- ʔiṭišė spotted 315.11
- ʔaŋ' each time 264.12
- huhi' fish 280.8

Apparently most stems ending in a consonant are reduplicated without the terminal consonant:

- bihi'ht'a blowing on 260.15
- ufa'v'ude he bit holes in them 267.7
- pu'puhḏi' drawn up much 282.16
- gagiqiqe coiled up 282.16 (gagiqiqe 320.3)
- u φə'hehe'one after another 307.9
- a' ʔa' ʔa'dema' shake me repeatedly 310.3
- jijë' little ones
- waši' sige active 9.14
- kihi' to crush often 20.3
- bič'ič'iže to break in by pressing 20.4
- na'jájəe kicking out with the legs 24.1
- naqiqiqę made people afraid to carry 756.5
- wąqeqeqa sick ones (wąqeqeqa sick)

Since the suffixes of Ponca are not well known to me, it is quite likely that some of these stems may be monosyllabic. We find also examples of reduplication, including the terminal stem-consonant:

- wąqeqeqa 267.6
- wąqeqeqa 267.13

§11
In compounds, only the stem is reduplicated; prefixes and suffixes remain unaffected:

- *i+cw*`ta* suddenly and regularly 9.5
- *wi+n*`ta* one by one 314.7
- *fis*p`ap`a* pulled to pieces 17.3
- *uk*`ih*ahis* they run unequal distances 756.16
- *us*k`aw*`s*`k`a* in a line with 261.4
- *dik`ig*`ih*`ga* sitting on one another 320.4
- *i+risk`i*`sk`i* much tangled 591.16
- *uga`haha* floating in little waves 279.5 (see *uga`ha* 282.4)
- *xa`x*`ap*k`i* without stopping 261.8
- *pipi`ap`j* bad ones (*pi* good)
- *u*`ig*`iha*`sa* he turned round and round 260.8.

**WINNEBAGO**

Monosyllabic stems with terminal vowel are doubled:

- stem **t`e**
  - **`p`o**
  - **`k`o**
  - **`ri**
  - **`k`i**
  - **zi**
  - **`re**
  - **`kg`a**

  **hit`e`e** to talk
  **rap`ap`u`a`na`ga to puff**
  **hin`ok`o`o** to skip about
  **wai`a`r`apa the ball**
  **na`hip`i`ga** to walk over something
  **ruk`ik`i** to disturb
  **ru`zi** to point at
  **`pe`**
  **`pe` earring**
  **na`hip`o`ha`** to hear often

Bisyllabic stems with repeated stem vowel (see p. 388) are treated in the same manner as monosyllabic stems:

- stem **kiri**
  - **poni**
  - **bara**
  - **pono**
  - **poro**

  **kirikiri** he comes again and again
  **rupinipini to turn**
  **bara`bara** bald
  **woruponopono** to smell
  **poroporo** round

Almost all stems ending in a consonant do not repeat the terminal sound:

- stem **hu**
  - **`yak**
  - **`zi`c**
  - **gas**
  - **ks`u**
  - **b**
  - **`siz**
  - **s`i**
  - **ri**

  **horuhu`hu** he looked again and again
  **yar`a`k`e** to shriek
  **hozi`s`ic** to strain one's eyes
  **ruga`gas** to tear in pieces
  **ruk`u**`zu**`c`e** to shake
  **hiraca** to chatter
  **bobisiz** to shoot
  **str`ic** to sweep
  **ri`i** to squeak
stem ʿkap
   “ jih
   “ sak
   “ ḫud

In the same way is treated
stem ʿurutetı

In the following the terminal consonant is repeated:
stem ʿiḥ

Prefixes (§§ 12-14)

§ 12. Prepositional Prefixes

There are three prefixes, consisting of the pure vowels a, i, and o, which have very general meanings of prepositional or adverbial character. Since these elements have no influence upon the structure of the following word to which they are attached, they might be considered as proclitic particles.

1. a signifies on. It is also employed to indicate that one thing is accompanied by another, and therefore becomes a kind of plural.

   awo*pi they put on (many sticks)
   wi*kauyutá he looked at them
   ana*tan she ran (thither)
   ake*tí he put on the fire
   awa*k'eya he covered it (with a robe)
   awi*bač wa- u I bring them
   ake*sta*pi they poured on him

2. i indicates that an action has taken place with some definite object in view, and therefore often occurs in words denominating instruments; it also forms ordinals. Sometimes it may be translated by for.

   ipa’t’a sewed with
   iya’haŋ he was-going to (a hill)
   iye’wiča’k’iya’ he passed it to them
   ilonoa’m pi they sing of it
   ina’ziŋ he stood there (to look into the lodge)
   iya’kakkapi they hid it there
   ia’pe thing that they strike fire with
   ika*slohe stone balls

§ 12
iza'p'ta⁴ the fifth time
ito'pa the fourth
iyu'ha all
iwan'kab above it

3. O signifies in, within, inside of. It is frequently employed with verbs signifying to speak; and also when indefinite actions are to be expressed, when it becomes partly antithetical to i.

Osal'o he coasting (into the water)
op'a'vik'ai'la she packed them up
oma'hin'kpa'ya I fall into
a'onavíčít'a'ka he closed them in
oha'n'hepi night-time
obu'ha place for a certain article (bag)
ogy' te people
oya'si⁴ all
ohu'nu'kaka⁴ myth
g'g'le coat
obsala'ye level place
oma'ni he walked (about)

PONCA

The corresponding elements are also found in Ponca:

1. a (Dakota a) on
    áte to glue on 84.19
    áq'ίn to sit on 84.6
    áč'ýá to drop on 234.18
    áqig'ča'ńh'á he poured on his own 234.19

2. i (Dakota i) from, with, out of, by means of
    íqągá to make of it 97.22
    it'i⁴ to hit with 433.3
    ík'iđe to shoot with 369.10
    ite to die from 690.11.

3. o (Dakota o) in, into
    ubągá⁴ to push into 232.6
    udąg'ıđe I broke a hole in it 96.17
    ugasne split inside by hitting 81.18
    ubąsna⁴ to push into 75.8
    ug'ı⁴ to sit inside 85.17

¹ Probably in oma'ni one is represented as traveling about within a certain area, for the word for prairie or level place is obsala'ye.
§ 13. Instrumental Prefixes

Teton

1. na- to do a thing by means of the foot.
   *naka'tka* he kicked (the ground)
   *naho'to* he made it cry by stepping on it
   *nata'pi* they trampled her to death
   *nda'tapi* they stood
   *nahu'bu* stamping often

2. wa- (Santee *ba*) to accomplish by cutting.
   *waba'zapi* they cut it open
   *wahu'hu* she cut it in many places
   *wa'pi* she cut it out (i.e., the ground)
   *wak'ba* she cut it off

3. wo- to accomplish by shooting or punching, also by blowing, and
   derivatively by the falling of rain.
   *wogala'ki*ya* to cause to glance (as a bullet)
   *wahi'kipaya* to make fall by shooting
   *woko'kela* to make rattle by shooting

   This prefix seems to be used less often in Teton than does its corresponding form *bo* in Santee.

4. pa- to push with the hands.
   *passala'tapi* they drove it into the ground
   *o'panci'tka* she packed them up
   *pakalo'kapi* they punch a hole
   *epata* he cut it up or butchered it
   *pan'kapi* they pushed it down

5. ka- to accomplish by striking; also applied to other actions by
   derivation.
   *kahw'hu'pi* they gashed it in many places
   *kahni'ga* he broke it up
   *ka'po'ga* he made a grating noise
   *kapo'ga* it puffed out.

6. ya- to accomplish by means of the mouth.
   *aya'sta* he stopped singing
   *a'yapi* they talk about it
   *iya'kas'kapi* they tied it there by means of the mouth
   *iwo'qalakapi* they spoke about their own (here the *y* of *ya* has either been omitted before *l* or changed into it)
1. **yu-** to accomplish by any means, but more especially by handling.

   *yu'za* she took hold
   *yuu'kap* they pulled him down
   *yu'ha* he had him
   *ayu'sta* she let him alone
   *yuu'iku* he pulled apart
   *tiyu'ta* I chose you to death

Most of these have come to have uses varying considerably from the significations given above, which seem to be the original meanings.

**Ponca**

In Ponca have been found nine instrumental prefixes, all of which form transitive verbs, like the analogous Dakota prefixes:

1. **na-** (Santee *na-*) by pressing with the foot.

   *na'há* he kicked 314.16
   *wana'et* stepping on them 235.19
   *wana'hitjge* crushing them with the foot 235.19
   *na'knáha* he slipped in walking 97.14
   *na'yáge* to make cry by kicking 96.11

2. **ma-** (Santee *ba-*) by cutting.

   *ma'ga* he cuts head off 11.1
   *wémañázaí-ga* rend it for us with a knife 76.6
   *umásnai-ga* split it with a knife 318.14

3. **mu-** (Santee *bo-*) by shooting.

   *múšinge* to exterminate by shooting 628.6
   *umúšlta* to remain from shooting 399.14

4. **ba-** (Santee *pa-*) by pressing with the hand.

   *basní* he pushed along 318.3
   *bahíaťá* he pushed down 80.14
   *ubámen* to push (a tail) into (a tree) 75.8
   *bašőbe* he forced a way out 369.13
   *bahicheša* he pushed it away 331.3
   *baštúta* to make straight by pushing 234.14

5. **ga-** (Santee *ka-*) by striking (and by action of wind and water).

   *gašé* to die by falling 163.9
   *ugásne* he split by hitting 81.13
   *ugdik'iba* he made a crack by hitting 81.12
   *gašáfu* to strike a rattle 315.10
   *gasní* wind blows 324.7
   *gamí* to empty by pouring out 17.11
   *gap'uk'i* to make sound by hitting 266.10

§13
6. **ea-** (Santee *ya-*) with the mouth, by blowing.
   ṣahú to drink 266.18
   ṣasnú to swallow 79.12
   ṣakek’iše he made him put it in his mouth 99.7
   ṣodek’básá he bit and tore them in many places 267.13
   ṣutébá he made it emerge by biting 124.9

7. **φt-** by pulling.
   ṣísù to drag 306.3
   ṣisp’ás’ai he pulled pieces apart 17.7
   ṣipán’dé he shook by pulling 318.8
   ṣidan’-qa pull on it! 96.9
   ṣihúda he pulled it out 131.5

8. **na-** by heat.
   náfe to die by heat 222.7
   nášade blackened by fire 259.5
   náziŋá made yellow by heat 237.2
   nátiŋge it is consumed by fire 673.6
   nádiŋá it burns brightly 235.15
   nádadáže fire sends out sparks 234.18
   nátrubováfe he cooked them to pieces 232.19

9. **bi-** by pressure.
   bič’iče to break in by pressing 20.4
   bihúhut’a blowing on 260.15

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**WINNEBAGO**

In Winnebago eight instrumental prefixes have been found:

1. **na**- (Santee *na-, Ponca na*-.) by pressing with the foot.
   našiš he breaks by pressing with the foot
   naŋa’s he tears with the foot
   naŋaš to accomplish with the foot (to dance)
   naŋa to push with the foot.

2. **ma**- (Santee *ba-, Ponca ma-*) by cutting.
   mašiš he breaks by cutting
   maŋa’s he tears by cutting
   maŋa to cut to pieces

3. **bo**- (Santee *bo-, Ponca mu-*) by force, by blowing.
   bošiš he breaks by shooting
   bošiš he pushes

4. **wa**- (Santee *pa-, Ponca ba-*) by pushing with the hand.
   wašiš he breaks by pushing with the hand
   wašiš he saws

§13
5. gi- (Santee ka-, Ponca ga-) by striking.
   gišis to break by striking
   giša'k to kill by striking.
   giši's he cuts by striking

6. ra- (Santee ya-, Ponca əa-) with mouth.
   rašiš he breaks with the mouth
   raqgis he cuts with the mouth
   rašya' he accomplishes with the mouth (he sings).

7. ru- (Santee —, Ponca əi-) by pulling.
   rušiš he breaks by pulling
   ruga's he tears by pulling

8. da- (Santee —, Ponca na-) by heat.
   dasəp'i to blacken by heat
   dat'ekin to wither by heat

   The pronominal forms of all these prefixes show certain peculiarities, which will be treated in § 32.

§ 14. Modal Prefixes: Teton

Two elements may be mentioned here which are difficult to classify. The one (1) might seem to be better classed as a proclitic particle, while the other (2) is closely related to syntactic forms of the verb that will be found treated on p. 909.

1. hiš- indicates that an event happened suddenly, as—
   hišupa'ypı they dropped it at once
   hišna'pa he came out quickly
   hišgal' it became suddenly
   hišhaw'ni early in the morning
   hiš'yan'ka po now wait ye!

2. wa-. Verbs, especially when used with other verbs, sometimes take on a passive or infinitive form by prefixing wa-. It is probable that this prefix is equivalent to something or thing.

Thus we have—

waya'tapi k'ta you will have something (just referred to) to eat
tahu' aka'nl naħad'g waci'ni what he wanted was to kick on her neck
"mi'ye" t'oke'ya wanad'gi "wa'niw'cigənd'ki'k'to" eya' the ghost said, "You will have something put down for me first"
u'ma ssłohaw' wata'kpe hiya'ya the other went slipping along

Often this is used in the formation of nouns and adjectives, as—

wašté good, beautiful (from šte to esteem highly)
waki'n'ya the thunders (from ki'n'ya to fly)
wana'gi ghost (from na'gi soul, spirit)
wak'w a pack of goods (from ki* to carry)
wak'a* holy
wap'a'kta bundle
wap'a'ha war-bonnet (from p'a'ha human hair [f])

With the prefix o- it forms wo-:
wo'yuha property (from yuha' to have)
wo'ki'a cause of trouble (from ki'ca bad)
wo'koy'a*ke clothing

§ 15. Verbal Suffixes: Teton

Although the existence of verbal suffixes is not so readily recognized, a careful examination of the language renders it almost certain that several verbal elements exist which are analogous in form to the verbs kiya and ya, which will be referred to later (p. 931). These are ka, pa, ya, ta, za, and ća (or g, b, l, s, and š), and are identical with those referred to in the section on phonetics as undergoing certain morphological changes. The ća there mentioned I do not include, because it is nothing more than ka after a weak vowel. Of the remainder, I can only suggest the significance of the first two or three with any plausibility, and am obliged to infer that the others were of similar character merely from the similar manner in which they are used.

-ka (or ća) is practically equivalent to the English to be; as—

ya*'ka she sat
yu*'ka he lay
t'a*'ka it is large
ć'i*'ka (however) he did wish
ova'šakupi they have no strength
ova'šika poor
tau'kuwa whatever it is (tau'ku what)
ži*yži*'ca snorting
wana'čičala gentle
p'i'čičula they were real bison
ši'ča'ku it was bad (ši'ča bad)
oya'ka he told it (ya to say)
teh'ka difficult
niya'ka alive (niya caused to live)
æikvi'wicorni they scrambled for them
amo'p'ča*na to hinder or obstruct

§ 13
-pa probably means to go and do; or, at any rate, some sort of motion.

wók's'yuapapi we two take hold of you
t'æd'ya'pa the wind blows
ewí'ëau'pa'pi they lay them down (i.e., they go and lay them down)
kaní'ëawapa I excel them in it
yu'g'ipai it (branches) closed on his hand
waot'ipapi they paddled

-qa appears to mean to make or to do, although it is used so often in referring to a harsh noise or rough action that something of that sort may be connoted. Examples are—

ti'gja he grunted
nalu'lu'gja he broke it with his foot
yamenu'gja making a crunching noise
oma'go'gja I awoke
wao'g'ipapi they gashed it
ka'gja he made
ka'ke'gja to make a grating noise
wirw'gja he asked her a question
yakogaha'pi'pi they were gnawing the hard substance
oma'kahsunije sáni I did not understand
ig'slagasle'gapi they painted themselves in all styles
patkú'gja to break in two by striking

-ta is exemplified in the following:

paki's'ta he brushed it
pasla'hatapi they set the pole in the ground
nágal'gata he kicked out his feet
ogálwí's'eta he put his hand in his
ayú'ta he looked at it
wita'yukul'atapi they pinched them
yupó'ta she cut to pieces
kaski'ta to press
ool'tapi they borrowed
kaža'ta to make forked with an ax
kapó'ta to tear in pieces

-xa.

wobalu'za it burst
oi'yokpaza dark
wahlu'k'aza war-spear
kagwëzapi they painted in many lines
iyd'za he went to each one
bamsada'za to make burst by throwing down
ipi'co'za she determined for herself
akali'nyela caused to flow out rapidly (from akaluza)
ta'te tin'za brave heart
naič'ba'leza po stir yourselves by running

-za.
edw'eyktw'kapi you forget us
pe'sani'za a flash of fire (from pēta fire; san'i'za dried up)
o'ygalukši'za he tucked it around himself (from kši'za bent)
wač'aw'yeža children
kakši'za to bend up by striking (from kši'za bent)
ka'heža poor, distressed (from ka'n aged?)
kata'za to make waves as the wind does (from ta'za rough water)^

Personal Pronouns in Dakota (§§ 16-20)

§ 16. Subjective and Objective Pronouns

The development of the personal pronoun in the Siouan language is very weak. Distinct pronominal forms occur only for i, thou, thou and I. The first person is designated by a labial sound, the second person by a dental, and the inclusive by a nasalized vowel.

Subjective pronouns, which designate the subject of an activity, are differentiated from objective pronouns, which express the object of an action or the subject of a condition or state. In Santee these forms are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subjective pronouns</th>
<th>Objective pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>ma (mi or m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ni (or n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>u^n</td>
<td>u^n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no pronoun of the third person. The plural object of the transitive verb is expressed by wica. This term, however, is not a pronoun, but signifies person, as is evidenced by the occurrence of the terms wica male, human being, and wicasa man. The plurality of the pronoun is expressed by the suffix (or enclitic) pi, which will be discussed in § 39. Added to the inclusive, this element forms the inclusive and exclusive first plural.

^This attempt to reduce the bisyllabic words of Sioux to compounds of two monosyllabic elements, each ending with a vowel, does not seem to me quite successful. The unity of idea claimed for the groups in -ka, -ta, etc., is not convincing. It seems to me more plausible that we are dealing here with stems ending in a consonant which are amplified by the terminal vowel a, so that the so-called contracted forms are rather the stems. There is good evidence that -ka is a suffix of very weak meaning, since many words occur with and without it. I doubt, however, if this element occurs in la'ka, ya'ka, ya'ka.—F. Boas.
Examples in Teton are—

\[\text{t' i} \text{ he dwells} \]
\[\text{wo' t' i} \text{ I dwell} \]
\[\text{u' t' i} \text{ thou and I dwell} \]
\[\text{u' t' i} \text{pi} \text{ we (he and I, or plural) dwell} \]
\[\text{t' i} \text{pi} \text{ they dwell} \]
\[\text{ma} \text{k' i} \text{ca} \text{ I am bad} \]
\[\text{on} \text{m' h' i} \text{t' ka} \text{ya I fall into} \]
\[\text{n\text{i}t' a' w' kapi y} \text{e are large} \]
\[\text{m\text{n}a k' ka I lie} \]
\[\text{yu' w' ka he lies} \]
\[\text{e' \text{t' a' mo'} \text{n} \text{I do it} \]
\[\text{u' k' u\text{w} we live} \]

§ 17. Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs with pronominal subject and object form combined pronominal forms in which the first person always precedes the second. The combination I—thee is expressed by \(\text{t' i}\). The object \(\text{vo' ca}\), expressing the third person plural, precedes all pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Teton</th>
<th>Santee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>maya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>(\text{t' i})</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(\text{u' yu})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>(\text{wi' cuw' a})</td>
<td>(\text{wi' caya})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in Santee:

\(\text{k' te}\) to kill.

\[\text{ma} \text{y'a k' te} \text{ thou killest me} \]
\[\text{ma} \text{y'a k' tepi y} \text{e kill me} \]
\[\text{wi' ca k' teha' n} \text{ she . . . as killing them} \]
\[\text{ma} \text{y'a ka} \text{sa} \text{ thou tiest me (from ka} \text{sa} \text{ to tie} \]
\[\text{wi' cuw' ka} \text{sa} \text{you and I tie them} \]
\[\text{e' ca' ska I tie thee (ka} \text{sa} \text{ after i changed to ka} \text{sa} \text{ [see § 4.5])} \]

§ 18. Pronouns of Verbs in \(\text{y-}\)

Verbs beginning with \(\text{ya}\) or \(\text{yu}\) in the third person—with very few exceptions—have pronouns of a different form. These are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Teton</th>
<th>Santee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>(\text{b} \text{a} \text{l'-})</td>
<td>(\text{m} \text{d'-})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>(\text{l'-})</td>
<td>(\text{d'-})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>(\text{y'-})</td>
<td>(\text{y'-})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\| 17, 18\]
Examples are—

Teton:  
*yu'za* he takes  
*balu'za* I take  
*lul'za* thou takest  

*yawa* he counts  
*balad'wa* I count  
*lad'wa* thou countest  

*ya* he goes  
*balad' I go  
*la* thou goest  

Santee:  
*yubta'u* he finishes  
*mdupta'u* I finish  
*duhta'u* thou finishest  

*yaksa'u* he bites in two  
*mdaksa'u* I bite in two  
*daksa'u* thou bitest in two  

The most important exception is the verb *ya* to cause, which occurs in last position in compounds, and which has always the pronouns as described in § 16.

Santee:  
*napsi'nya* he makes jump  
*napsi'novaya* I make jump

§ 19. Other Exceptional Forms

Other exceptional forms may be grouped as active and neutral verbs. Irregular active verbs are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TO ARRIVE</th>
<th>TO GO (future)</th>
<th>TO START TO COME</th>
<th>TO SAY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teton</td>
<td>Santee (regular)</td>
<td>Teton (Rigge)</td>
<td>Santee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td><em>mani'</em></td>
<td><em>wahi</em></td>
<td><em>mni'kta</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person</td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
<td><em>yahi</em></td>
<td><em>ni kita</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person</td>
<td><em>hi</em></td>
<td><em>hi</em></td>
<td><em>yi'kta</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Santee verb *ya'u'ka* to weave basketry, to weave snowshoes, is analogous in its forms to Teton *mani'*:

1st person: *mna'nka*
2d person: *na'u'ka*

§ 19
It will be noticed that in all these forms, except in d'ha thou sayest, the labials and dentals, respectively, appear for the first and second person pronouns. In the forms in mn for the first person we have apparently verbs in y, in which for the regular l (Santee d) the nasal n is substituted; while in hidu' I start to come and d'pa I say, the dental element has been lost. Perhaps all the forms of the verbs in y may be explained as a transformation of the pronominal labial and the stem-dental into bal- (Santee md-) in the first person, and as a loss of one of the dentals in the second person, so that instead of yy-, l- (Santee d-) remains. As pointed out by J. Owen Dorsey,¹ this theory is substantiated by the correspondence of the following forms:

Santee: da- (2d person of verbs in ya-)
Ponca: ⁶na- hna-
Winnebago: cara-

All verbs beginning with yu- generally drop this prefix (see § 13) in the inclusive. yu'ta to eat drops it also in the first and second persons.

Two Santee verbs—yuka⁸ there is and yako⁸—are defective, and similar in their treatment to hiyu'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yuka⁸ there is</th>
<th>daku'no⁸ thou art</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>w'ka'pi we are</td>
<td>daku'no'pi ye are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duko'pi ye are</td>
<td>u'ya'ko⁸, u'ya'ko'pi we are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yako'pi they are</td>
<td>yako'pi they are</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the neutral verbs the following have to be noted: The verbs beginning with a vowel use m- and n- instead of ma- and ni-. The few neutral verbs beginning in y drop this sound in the first and second persons; those beginning in wo- and prefixing the pronoun change wo- to u- in the first and second persons. Examples in Santee are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person . . . .</th>
<th>2nd person . . . .</th>
<th>Inclusive . . . .</th>
<th>3d person . . . .</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwy</td>
<td>mwy'pa</td>
<td>mwy'ka</td>
<td>mwy'ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwy</td>
<td>nwy'pa</td>
<td>nwy'ka</td>
<td>nwy'ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w'kwu</td>
<td>w'kwu'pa</td>
<td>w'ya'ku</td>
<td>w'wa'ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wu</td>
<td>w'pa</td>
<td>y'ka</td>
<td>w'ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Comparative Phonology of Four Siouan Languages (Smithsonian Report for 1893, p. 924). See also §§ 21 et seq.

§ 19
Quite irregular are the following Santee verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>to do</th>
<th>to think</th>
<th>to wear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>-kamo</td>
<td>-ka'mi</td>
<td>hi'mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>-kono</td>
<td>-ka'nii</td>
<td>hi'nii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>-ko'ko</td>
<td>u-či'n</td>
<td>u'ki'n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 20. Verbs with Indirect Object and Reflexives

Whenever a verb takes an indirect object or when the object belongs to the subject, one of two peculiar forms is used. One of them is regular, and is characterized by the introduction of the element ki after the compound pronoun expressing subject and object. When the pronoun ends in an i, this form changes to ci. Thus we have—

bawa'kihsa I cut off my own
čicitonu'mpi I sing for you IX 110.14 (from donu'a to sing)

A second set of forms is irregular. The forms are in Santee—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>we</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to me</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>maye-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to thee</td>
<td>ci-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>u'ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to him</td>
<td>we-</td>
<td>ye-</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>u'ki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to us</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>u'ye-</td>
<td>u'ki-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The k of the third person seems to be characteristic of most Siouan dialects; but it seems doubtful whether it is justifiable to explain the forms we-, ye-, mi-, ni-, as originating through contraction of waki-, yaki-, maki-, niki-, as Riggs does. The Ponca forms are not in favor of this theory.

The uses of these two forms are peculiarly irregular. It seems that etymologically both must be considered as distinct, since their relation to the pronouns as well as to the stem is different. The ki which enters into regular composition with the pronouns forms exceptional forms with certain stems.

(1) Before stems beginning with k and y (and hi in Teton) it forms gal (Teton) and hdi (Santee).

---

1With the demonstratives e, he, ke, lo, this verb forms čo'om, heto'm, ke'ton, lo'kom (see § 43). It does not occur alone.

2With the demonstratives e, he, ke, and wa, awo, this verb forms či'n, he'cin, ke'cin, wa'cin, awo'cin (see § 43). It does not occur alone.
(2) Before stems beginning with *p*, it forms *kp*.

According to Riggs's Dictionary, these forms always indicate that the object belongs to the subject.

Swanton gives the following Teton examples of these forms before *u-*, *ya-*, and *hi*:

- *galuha* they had their own
- *galaška* he tied his own
- *galaška* he was going back
- *gali* he got back

The forms in *ki* which form an irregular pronominal series, according to Riggs, express sometimes the same relation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd Person</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kiča</em></td>
<td><em>weca</em></td>
<td>to mean one's own (from <em>ka</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kiča'ga</em></td>
<td><em>weca'ga</em></td>
<td>to make one's own (from <em>ka'ga</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kiča'kča</em></td>
<td><em>weca'kča</em></td>
<td>to count one's own (from <em>ka'kča</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kiču'oa</em></td>
<td><em>wecuwa</em></td>
<td>to follow one's own (from <em>ku'wa</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kičte</em></td>
<td><em>wekte</em></td>
<td>to kill one's own</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ordinarily these forms express an indirect object with the meaning of our preposition *to* or *for*:

- *kičahi* to rummage for one (from *kah*)
- *kihna'ka* to keep for one

There are, however, many cases in which the *ki* that does not form irregular pronomouns is used in this sense.

- *d'ya* to say
  - *d'iy'ya* to say to some one
  - *wacciy* I say to him
  - *emayaciya* you say to me

- *donoa* to sing
  - *wakiddona* I sing for him

In still other cases both forms are in use with the same meaning:

- *kito* to wear
  - *weto* and *wakito* I wear
- *kiso* to braid for one's self
  - *weso* and *wakiso* I braid
- *kihma* to look like
  - *wemna* and *wakihma* I look like

It would seem, therefore, that a considerable amount of confusion between these morphologically distinct forms has developed.

Related to the pronoun *ki*, which tends to become assimilated by *a* stem, is the reflexive *iči*, which, before verbs beginning with *k* and *y*, assumes the forms *igl* (Teton) and *ild* (Santee), while before verbs beginning with *p* it becomes *ik*. It will be seen that this form is simply the first *ki* with the prefix *i*.

§ 20
bai'tiksa to cut one's self in two (from ksa)
ikepa'pta to turn one's self over (from papa*)
ihda'ksa to cut one's self off

The following Teton examples are given by Swanton:

oitiya'pi they paint themselves
miti'çağa I have made myself
u'kifiyá' we two exchange between ourselves

These forms are neutral verbs, and take the objective pronouns.
Derived from the second ki is also the form kiti', meaning almost always for, which forms the pronominal forms wéti, yéti.

kiti'yukna to make a mistake for one
kiti'iso to braid for one

Another form kiti' means WITH, TOGETHER, and is generally followed by the pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2d person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiti'titida</td>
<td>kiti'owatida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiti'yuta</td>
<td>kiti'owata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Swanton considers COMPANIONSHIP as the original significance of the form, which occurs also as a post-positive meaning WITH, ACCOMPANIED BY. Teton examples are—

oko' lakitiye society (literally, friends to one another)
oki'tiyusita they two got into trouble with each other
kiti'k'tepi they killed each other

**Personal Pronouns in Ponca (§§ 21-29)**

**§ 21. Subjective and Objective Pronouns: First Class**

The two classes of pronouns, subjective and objective, occur here in the same way as in Dakota, but the modifications of their forms with various classes of verbs are more numerous. By far the majority of verbs may be combined in one group, which show what may be called the normal pronominal forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjective pronoun</th>
<th>Objective pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person singular</td>
<td>ə-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive dual</td>
<td>əʷ-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural of all these forms is made by the suffix -i, corresponding to the Dakota -pi. The inclusive, by addition of this suffix, is transformed into the first person plural. While the object, third
person plural, is expressed by *wa*, this form does not occur as subject of the neuter verb. Examples of verbs of this class are the following:

Subjective pronouns:

*and*A I heard it 670.2 (from nd'\*a\* to hear)
*at'i* I have arrived 671.6 (from t'\*i he arrives)
*at*A thou hast arrived 715.3
*\*and'\*a\* thou hearest it 665.1
*a\*ma\*\*i\*\*i we walk 718.5

Objective pronouns:

*a\*\*i\*\*i\*\*e\*\* ge I have none 715.2 (from \*i\*\*i\*\* ge he has none)
*a\*\*\*o\*\*k'\*a\*\*\*i\*\* I am poor 719.2 (from \*o\*\*k'\*a\*\*\*i\*\* poor)
\*\*i\*\*\*i\*\*\*\*e\*\* ge thou hast none 70.17
\*wawol'\*e\*\*a\*\*\* we have been sick 662.1 (from \*wawol'\*e\*\*a\*\* sick)

§ 22. Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs with incorporated object appear in the same forms as in Dakota. The object has the same form as the subject of the neutral verb. In the combinations of subject and object the first person precedes the second and third, and the third person precedes the second. As in Dakota, the combination of the first person subject and the second person object is expressed by a special form, *wi*-. The object of the third person plural after the inclusive dual and first person plural is always *wa*. The plurality of the object is expressed by the suffix -\*i\*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>me</th>
<th>thee</th>
<th>us</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>wi-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>a*wa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>a**a-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>a***i-</td>
<td>a***a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>wa*a-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

I—THEE:

\*\*wi\*\*a\*\*\*a\*\* I hear thee 87.14
\*\*wo\*\*t'\*\*i\*\*\*a\*\* I hit thee 62.3
\*\*wi\*\*\*i\*\*\*\*i\*\* I give you 706.10

I—THEM:

\*\*aw\*\*A\*\*\*\*a\*\* I have heard about them 676.1
\*\*aw\*\*\*i\*\*\*\* I gave them 652.14

THOU—ME:

\*\*\*\*wa\*\*t\*\*\*i\*\*\*a\*\* thou dost not remember me 652.6

§ 22
THOU—US:

\( \text{wakášiŋá-hi} \) it is said you remembered us 687.5
\( \text{úwakášaka'í} \) you have aided us 751.9

THOU—THEM:

\( \text{wakánta'na} \) thou hearest about them 692.7

WE—THEE:

\( \text{awáŋi'í} \) we give it to thee 439.3
\( \text{awáŋi'síéái} \) we remember you 687.4

WE—THEM:

\( \text{awá} \) we desire them 750.7
\( \text{awá} \) we saw them 705.10

§ 23. Pronouns of Verbs in ḗ: Second Class

Corresponding to the Dakota inflection of the verb beginning with \( y \), we have the following forms of the verb in ḗ:

1st person singular       ḗ-
2d person singular       ḗn-, ḗn-, n-
3d person singular       ḗ-
Inclusive dual           ḗn-

According to Dorsey, \( ḗn- \) is the oldest form of the second person, while \( ḗn- \) and \( n- \) are more modern forms. The sound \( ḗn- \) has not an oral \( h \), but expresses a very full breathing through the nose with a closure of the tongue.

Examples of these forms are the following:

\( hážiže \) I receive 670.1
\( kážíga' \) I wish 704.4
\( nážíga' \) I walk 706.2
\( kážígya' \) I hope 706.4
\( éžígya' \) I think that 706.6
\( šné \) you went 738.2
\( ušné \) thou tellest 58.17
\( škážína' \) thou wishest 741.10

\( níže \) thou receivest it 745.3
\( mažíwíz \) you walk 744.5
\( hništ'a'í \) ye finished 436.9
\( hnaí \) ye go 436.8
\( gažíta' \) he wishes 50.8
\( ežíge' \) he thinks that 757.13
\( awážíwí \) we were 727.5
\( awážíge' \) we think 727.8

§ 24. Pronouns of Verbs in b, d, g: Third Class

Verbs in \( b \), \( d \), and \( g \), provided the pronoun is not infixed, are treated in the following manner:

1st person singular       p-
2d person singular       p'-
3d person singular       b-
Inclusive dual           aṁ-

\( t- \)  \( \text{Double conjugation. See } § 24. \)
\( k' \)
\( i' \)
\( k' \)
\( d- \)
\( g- \)
\( aŋ- \)

1^See the ḏegiša Language, note on page 534.
2\(^{3}\) Infixed pronoun.
3\(^{4}\) Compound verb.

§§ 23, 24
The second persons of this group reveal their close relationship to the verbs in \( \epsilon \), a relationship which is still clearer in Winnebago (see § 32). Following are examples of this class:

\[
\begin{align*}
p\acute{a}gu & \quad \text{I write} \quad 488.8 \\
p\acute{i}g\acute{a} & \quad \text{I blow it} \quad 575.7 \\
\acute{i}k\acute{p}'aha & \quad \text{thou knowest} \quad 435.14 \\
\acute{s}t'a\nu'be & \quad \text{thou beholdest} \quad 635.10 \\
\acute{d}a\nu'be & \quad \text{he saw} \quad 116.3 \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
k'aw'\acute{b}\acute{t}a & \quad \text{I wish} \quad 704.4 \\
\acute{k}'a\acute{g}e & \quad \text{thou makest} \quad 582.14 \\
gan'\acute{f}a & \quad \text{he wishes} \quad 50.8 \\
gace & \quad \text{he made} \quad 10.13 \\
a\acute{ng}a\acute{g}a\acute{i} & \quad \text{we do} \quad 686.5 \\
a\acute{n}da\nu'be & \quad \text{we see} \quad 132.8 \\
\end{align*}
\]

In verbs beginning with \( \epsilon \), \( b \), \( \dot{a} \), \( g \), the objective form, and also the combined form \( ni \)---\( \text{THEE} \), are prefixed to the subjective forms, which take the pronominal subjective according to the second and third classes, as described before (p. 916).

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
wita\nu'be & \quad \text{I see thee} \quad 644.16 \\
wib\acute{d}a\acute{h}a\nu'\acute{i} & \quad \text{I pray to you} \quad 775.4 \quad \text{(from } \acute{c}a\nu'\text{ to pray} \quad 189.14) \\
wib\acute{d}\acute{a}gu & \quad \text{I write to thee} \quad 750.11 \\
wib\acute{d}bi\nu' & \quad \text{I have them} \quad 751.2 \\
wast'a\nu'be & \quad \text{you saw us} \quad 752.6 \\
wak'a\nu'\acute{b}\acute{t}a & \quad \text{I desire them} \quad 751.3 \\
\end{align*}
\]

§ 25. Pronouns of Verbs in \( \epsilon \): Fourth Class

In verbs beginning with \( \epsilon \) we find modified forms of the pronoun, due principally to the insertion of an intervocalic \( \epsilon \) in cases in which the inserted pronoun begins with a vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECTIVE PRONOUN</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE PRONOUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>( \epsilon\acute{a}' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive dual</td>
<td>( a\nu\acute{f}a\nu' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person plural</td>
<td>( a\nu\acute{f}a\nu' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person plural</td>
<td>( wea- )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All other persons are regular. Examples are—

\( \acute{i}\acute{c}\acute{a}\acute{m}\acute{a}\acute{g}e \) I ask him a question 737.5

\(^1\)Double conjugation.
isáp’aha1 I know 659.12
a*wa*wañk’égai I am sick on account of 714.8
a*wa*baha1 ke knows me 475.6
a*wa*baha1 we know it 657.9
weðbaha*i1 they know us 389.13
weðtañtai they hate us 679.19
weðmage he questioned them 40.5
weðtai they found them 440.14
weðta-máñt I do not find them 151.90
weðtañtai we found them 440.15

Other regular forms are—
iwip’aha I know thee 728.4
ibahaw*i they know him 728.8

§ 26. Pronouns of Verbs in u-: Fifth Class

In this class the following modifications occur:

Objective pronoun, 1st person singular . . . . a*wa*
Subjective pronoun, inclusive dual . . . . . añgu-

Examples are—
a*wa*bit’a he presses me down 23.15
a*wa*na’a he heard about me 39.19
añguñiñka*i we aided him 748.3

Other regular forms are—
ubit’a he pressed him down 23.15
unñ’i he heard about something 40.8

§ 27. Irregular Verbs

The following verbs are irregular:
p’i I arrive 453.6
ñ’t thou arrivest 555.7
ñt he arrives 555.7
manñ’a we who
nanñ’a 667.8 ye who
knanñ’a 231.5 they who
ññet’a they who 624.3
ññhe I say 665.6
ññe thou sayest 674.12
e he says 194.5

Here seems to belong the negation
máññt I not
báññt thou not
aññt he not

1 The stem takes at the same time the forms described in § 24.
Examples of its use are—

\[ i^k\text{á}ge\text{á}wā\text{-}mā\text{żt} \text{ I do not have them for my friends 711.13} \]

\[ i^k\text{á}\text{á}ga\text{-}bā\text{żt} \text{ thou dost not do it 711.19} \]

§ 28. Forms Expressing Object Possessed by Subject

Possession of the object by the subject is expressed by forms analogous to those of the Dakota.

1. In most verbs \( g^- \) is prefixed. Examples are—

\[ ^ei^n \text{ he carries 306.6} \]

\[ gi^i^n \text{ he carries his own 296.13} \]

\[ agi^i^n \text{ I carry mine 45.15} \]

\[ ^"agi^i^n \text{ thou carriest thine 45.11} \]

\[ ^kug\text{że} \text{ with him 305.5} \]

\[ i^kug\text{że} \text{ with his own 305.3} \]

\[ uh\text{á} \text{ he follows 289.4} \]

\[ i^kug\text{i}ha \text{ he follows his 306.14} \]

\[ ak^-\text{i}pa \text{ he met him 50.1} \]

\[ agik^-\text{i}pa \text{ he met his own 299.3} \]

\[ a^-\text{ṭa} \text{ he abandons 84.3} \]

\[ a^-\text{ṭa}^\text{b} \text{ I abandon it 50.5} \]

\[ agi\text{a}^\text{b} \text{ I abandon mine 756.2} \]

2. Verbs in \( g^- \) have the form \( g^- \).

\[ ^\text{ì}^\text{ziz} \text{e to take 298.3} \]

\[ g^\text{ì}^\text{ziz} \text{e he took his own 298.16} \]

\[ ^ei^n \text{ to have 288.15, 290.11} \]

\[ agpâ\text{bf} \text{I have my own 755.10} \]

3. Verbs in \( ga^- \) have probably also forms in \( g^- \), but I have not been able to discover examples illustrating this point.

4. Verbs in \( b^- \), \( d^- \), \( g^- \), have the forms \( gip^- \), \( git^- \), \( gik^- \).

\[ da^n\text{be he saw} \]

\[ agita^n\text{ba-mâżt} \text{ I do not look at mine 756.2} \]

\[ git\text{a}^\text{b} \text{ she saw her own 306.7} \]

\[ ^\text{ib} \text{aba}^n \text{ he knows} \]

\[ gi^\text{paha}^n \text{ he knew his own 295.1} \]

\[ i^\text{b} \text{gipaha}^n \text{ she knew them 289.3} \]

\[ ga^-\text{ğe} \text{ to make} \]

\[ gika^-\text{ğe} \text{ he made his own 299.9} \]

\[ ubet\text{a}^n \text{ he wrapped it} \]

\[ ugipet\text{a}^n \text{ he wrapped his own 208.4} \]

\[ uta^w \text{ to put on 47.3} \]

\[ ^\text{ú} \text{agita}^n \text{ I put on my own 43.9} \]
§ 29. Verbs with Indirect Objects

I give here only a series of the most important forms, since the total number of modifications and combinations is very large, and it is hardly possible to reconstruct from the texts each separate series.

1. The indirect object is ordinarily expressed by the following series of forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>we</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| _for me_ | _inťe-_
 | _in-__ | _--_
| _for thee_ | _wi-_
 | _či-__ | _inči-_
| _for him_ | _e-_
 | _če-__ | _gi-__ | _in-__
| _for us_ | _-_
 | _weče-__ | _we-__ | _-_
| _for them_ | _weč-e_
 | _weče-__ | _we-__ | _rea-_

Examples:

I FOR THEE:

*wigaję* I make for thee 723.10

*wik'anbže* I desire for thee 725.3

I FOR HIM:

*ek'anbže* I desire for him 778.3

I FOR THEM:

*ewébže'a* I fail for them 673.8

*ewék'anbže* I wish for them 663.8

THOU FOR ME:

*inťěšk'aje* thou dost it for me 726.2

*inťešwašk'ane* thou makest an effort for me 758.2

THOU FOR HIM:

*ēgańše'tan* thou dost so for him 439.5

THOU FOR US:

*weťěšk'aje* thou dost it for us 752.7

*weťěnši'ai* thou hast failed to do it for us 752.8

THOU FOR THEM:

*weč'ěšk'ane* thou desirest it for them 767.3

HE FOR ME:

*inťeši* it is difficult for me 755.4

*inťe* he dies for me 775.1

HE FOR THEE:

*čigąńšai* they work it for thee 741.11

*čičiń* he has it for thee 741.6

*čišči* it is difficult for thee 517.10

HE FOR HIM:

*git'či* it is difficult for him 729.4

*giuda* it is good for him 758.5
HE FOR US:  
\textit{wévudá} it is good for us 758.4  
\textit{wél'chi} it is difficult for us 752.12

HE FOR THEM:  
\textit{wegájai} they do it for them 767.3

WE FOR THEE:  
\textit{îñčihuka} we sing for thee 439.4  
\textit{îñčibágii} we wish for you 680.13

WE FOR HIM:  
\textit{în'ga'na} we wish for him 758.13

WE FOR THEM:  
\textit{weańgá'p'ai} we wait for them 454.16

2. Verbs in \textit{u}- have the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>we</th>
<th>they</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to me</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>\textit{inwín'fu}-</td>
<td>\textit{inwín'-}</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>\textit{aänwán'-}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to thee</td>
<td>\textit{wú}-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>\textit{uí}-</td>
<td>\textit{aänguí'-}</td>
<td>\textit{uí}-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to him</td>
<td>\textit{wé}-</td>
<td>\textit{út'-}</td>
<td>\textit{uí}-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>\textit{uí}-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to us</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>\textit{úwačáqi}-</td>
<td>\textit{úwáqi}-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>\textit{úwáqi}-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to them</td>
<td>\textit{úwák'í-}</td>
<td>\textit{úwačák'í-}</td>
<td>\textit{úwáqi}-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>\textit{úwáqi}-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

\textit{wúd'fu} I tell thee 755.10  
\textit{wéb'fu} I tell him 443.7  
\textit{úwák'í'a} I say to them 437.17  
\textit{îñwín'fá} thou sayest to me 671.1  
\textit{îñwín'čahná} thou sayest to me 500.6  
\textit{uíhna} thou sayest to him 497.8  
\textit{úwačágniá} thou sayest to us 633.1  
\textit{úwačágniá} thou sayest to them 507.4  
\textit{îñwín'sté} it remains to me 501.2 (from \textit{učté} 501.2)  
\textit{účik'áni} he helps you 508.3  
\textit{uíña} he says to him 656.8  
\textit{úwágiñé} he says to us 503.1  
\textit{aänwán'k'ie} they say to me 670.2  
\textit{uíítái} they say to thee 678.12

3. Verbs in \textit{g}- lose their \textit{g} after the pronominal forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>he</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to me</td>
<td>\textit{aän'äge} 39.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to thee</td>
<td>\textit{giágái} 735.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to him</td>
<td>\textit{giága} 152.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to us</td>
<td>\textit{vágái} 735.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 29
Personal Pronouns in Winnebago (§§ 30-34)

§ 30. Subjective and Objective Pronouns: First Class

The principles of classification of the verbs are the same as those found in the Ponca dialect. The most common forms of the subjective and objective pronouns are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun Type</th>
<th>Subjective Pronoun</th>
<th>Objective Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>hi'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person singular</td>
<td>ra-</td>
<td>ni'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive dual</td>
<td>hi'-</td>
<td>waŋga-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural of all these forms is made by the suffix -wi, except the third person plural, which has the suffix -ire. By addition of this suffix the inclusive dual is transformed into the first person plural. The third person plural object is wa-. This does not occur as subject of the neuter verb. Examples are:

hāke' I bury  
rake' thou buryest  
hi'-maŋgi's you and I tear with a knife  
hi'-sibre I am falling  
ni'-sibrē thou art falling  
wa'-ŋgasibra'wi we are falling

§ 31. Transitive Verbs

The transitive forms of the Winnebago verb resemble those of Ponca and Dakota in the development of the combined form 1—THEE, and the occurrence of the third person plural object. The forms for the first person plural subject has the same pronominal forms as the corresponding singular forms, from which they differ by the plural ending -wi. The forms he—THEM and 1—THEM differ in accent. 1—THEM, evidently originating from wa-ha-, is always accented wa', while the third person has the accent on the stem. wa'he 1 BURY THEM, but wahe' he buries them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>we</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>hi'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>ni'-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>hi'-woi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>wa'</td>
<td>wara—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

niŋ'he I bury thee  
hi'nahe' thou buryest me

§§ 30, 31
niňha'wi we bury thee
wa'rake thou buriest them
hiňha'ire they bury me
ha'nin³p'a I hit thee (from ha'p'a he hits)

§ 32. Pronouns of Verbs taking ʷ in the Second Person: Second Class

Verbs corresponding to the Dakota verbs in ʷ and to the Ponca verbs in ʲ, and those corresponding to the Ponca verbs in b, d, and g, are treated alike, thus suggesting a later differentiation of the second and third classes in Ponca. Verbs of this class begin in the third person with a vowel ʷ, ˠ, or with ʲ, ˠ or g. If we indicate the first vowel of the word by v, the pronominal forms may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>ʷv</th>
<th>ˠv</th>
<th>ʲv</th>
<th>ˠv</th>
<th>ʷv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>hv</td>
<td>p³v</td>
<td>dv</td>
<td>ēv</td>
<td>ēv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. sing.</td>
<td>ˢv</td>
<td>ˢvov</td>
<td>ˢvrv</td>
<td>ksv</td>
<td>ksv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. sing.</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>wv</td>
<td>rv</td>
<td>ĳv</td>
<td>t¾v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive dual.</td>
<td>hiⁿv</td>
<td>hiⁿov</td>
<td>hiⁿrv</td>
<td>hiⁿvolatile</td>
<td>hiⁿvolatile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plurals are formed as in the verbs belonging to the first class—by the suffix -wi in the first and second persons, by -ire in the third person. The first person plural, instead of being formed from the inclusive, as in the first class, is formed from the first person singular by suffixing -wi. The repetition of the vowel in the second person which is characteristic of the first three types of this class in Winnebago has been referred to before.

'-animation
ha'aw' I do
b³a'w' thou dost
waťgis he saws
p³aťgis I saw
ba'waťgis thou sawest
hiůsunt he is near
hip'ušunt I am near
hišunwununt thou art near
we'wun he thinks
p³e'wun I think
b³e'wun thou thinkest

ha'aw'wi we do
hiⁿaw'wi you and I do
p³atgizwi we saw
hiⁿwaťgis you and I saw
hiůsuntwi we are near
hiůsunfirti they are near
p³e'wun'wi we think
hiⁿe'wun'wi you and I think
rabiš he breaks with mouth
da'biš I break with the mouth
da'bišwi we break with the mouth
ba'rabiš thou breakest
with the mouth
hi'nabiš you and I break with the mouth
ru'gas he tears by pulling
du'gas I tear by pulling
du'gaswi we tear by pulling
bu'ugas thou tearest by pulling
hi'nu gas you and I tear by pulling
rê he goes
dê I go
dêwi we go
berê thou goest
hi'nê you and I go

Verbs belonging to the second division of this class are rather rare.

hapa' he sees
hata' I see
hata'wi we see
hakba' thou seest
hi'ya you and I see
cenaⁿ he is dead
cenaⁿ I am dead
cenaⁿ we are dead
cenaⁿ thou art dead
hi'cenaⁿ you and I are dead
gu'naⁿ he comes
gu'naⁿ I come
kuna'wi we come
ku'na'wi you and I come

To this class belong also the verbs expressing the position in which
the act is performed, as sitting or lying;¹ while standing belongs
to the first class of verbs.

rabiš TO BREAK WITH MOUTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To break with mouth</th>
<th>Sitting</th>
<th>Lying or walking</th>
<th>Standing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st p. sing. ...</td>
<td>dališena'ñkënaⁿ</td>
<td>dališena'ñkënaⁿ</td>
<td>dališaje'naⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d p. sing. ...</td>
<td>bârakba'ñnañkënaⁿ</td>
<td>bârakba'ñnañkënaⁿ</td>
<td>bârakba'ñjënaⁿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d p. sing. ...</td>
<td>rabišena'ñkënaⁿ</td>
<td>rabišena'ñkënaⁿ</td>
<td>rabišje'naⁿ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs of this class take their objects, including the composite
form nĩⁿ- thee, preceding the subjective pronoun, which is
treated as described before.

nĩⁿp'a'qiš I saw thee (from wajjis he saws)
hi'†waqgis he saws me
nĩⁿp'ëwiⁿ I think of thee (from wëwiⁿ he thinks)
hi'†bu'ugas thou tearest me by pulling (3d per. ru'gas)
hi'†bu'wusunì thou art near me (from hìwusunì he is near)

¹Occasionally the verbal forms expressing a lying position are formed with mi'kabé, which
belongs to the first class of verbs.

§ 32
§ 33. Contracted Pronominal Forms

In many cases the verb begins with a prefix which forms contractions with the pronominal forms here described. Contractions also occur with infixed pronouns. These may be grouped under the following rules:

1. Verbs in gi with preceding pronoun lose the g in the first and second persons.
   - ha-gi becomes hai
   - ra-gi becomes rai

   hai'gis I cut in two by striking
   rai'gis thou cuttest in two by striking
   gi'gis he cuts in two by striking
   hi'gigis you and I cut in two by striking

2. Verbs with prefixes ending in a or aⁿ and followed by a pronoun beginning with h lose the pronominal aspirate. At the same time two a's that are thus brought into contact form a single accented (or long ?) a, while a and i form a diphthong. When one of the vowels is nasalized, the contracted form is also nasalized.

   ma'ngas I tear with a knife
   maŋga's he tears with a knife
   ma'i'ngas he tears me
   main'a'gas thou tearest me

   naⁿbiš I break by pressure
   naⁿbiš' he breaks by pressure
   naiⁿbiš he breaks me by pressure
   naⁿnaⁿbiš thou breakest me by pressure

3. Verbs with prefixes ending in o (except ho- and wo-) also eliminate the h of the pronoun, but form no diphthongs.

   bod'lip I push down
   bo'lip he pushes down
   boîlip he pushes me down

   rood'gōⁿ I wish
   rogōⁿ he wishes
   roigōⁿ he wishes me

4. Words with the prefix ho- contract:

   1st person subjective . . . . . ho-ha- into wa-
   1st person objective . . . . . ho-hiⁿ into huⁿ-
   Dual inclusive . . . . . hiⁿ-ho- into ho'-
   3d person plural object . . . . . wa-ho- into wo-
   1st person plural object . . . . . waŋga-ho into waŋgo-

§ 33
wa'ji I strike
hoji' he strikes
ho'ji' you and I strike
hu'ji' he strikes me
vodji' he strikes them

5. Verbs with the prefix wo- contract:
First person subjective wo-ha- into wo-.
I have no example of the treatment of the first person objective.

wo'hi I win
wordhi' thou winnest
wo'hi he wins

6. Verbs in which the pronoun follows an initial hi form contraction illustrated by the following examples:
yape'rez I know (for hi-ha-peréz)
hi^npe'rez you and I know (for hó-hi-peréz)
ni^npe'rez I know thee (for ni^n-hiperéz)
hini'peréz thou knowest me (for hin-hiperéz)
hì'peréz he knows me (for hi^n-hi-peréz)
wi'peréz I know them (for wo-hi-ha-peréz)
wa'ñgiperél'zirè they know us (for waña-hi-perézire)

The third person plural object wa- is always contracted with hi to vi.

7. Verbs in which the pronoun follows an initial 'ôa- contract the first person 'ôa-ha into 'waax-:
'wawaâgi'gi I compel (for 'ôa-ha-gi'gi)
'uí'mñagi'gi thou compellest me (for 'ôa-hina-gi'gi)

8. The causative suffix hi has the forms ha and ra for the first and second persons, respectively.
t'ëha I killed him
t'ëra thou didst kill
t'ëhi he killed

The causative suffix gi'gi is regular.
red'gigi'na I send him
red'gigi'na thou sendest him
red'gigi'na he sends it

§ 34. Indirect Object and Reflexives

The indirect object is expressed by the same forms that are used to express the direct object, but the indirect object is indicated by the prefix gi which follows the pronoun. The initial g of this prefix is never elided.

§ 34
ni'ñke I bury thee  
nigìñke I bury for thee
hìnap'ègis thou cuttest me in  
hìnaigìgìs thou cuttest it in
two  
two for me
boìst*p he pushes me down  
boigìst*p he cut it down for me
hìnap'á thou hittest me  
hìna'gìp*a thou hittest for me
nì*p'èwi* I think of thee  
nìngìp'èwi* I think for thee

The reflexive forms take the regular subjective pronouns followed by the prefix ki-. In these forms the prefixes are contracted in the usual manner with the pronouns; ki- and the prefix gi- by striking combine to form ki-.

haki'he I bury myself  
haki'égis I cut myself (for ha-ki-gi-égis)
bo'ka'ìtìp I push myself (for bo-ha-ki-ìtìp)
mañki'gas I tear myself (for ma'-ha-ki-gas)
yakìp'ètìz I know myself (for hi-ha-ki-ìtìz)
waki'jì I strike myself (for ho-ha-ki-jì')
hakìp'a'égis I saw myself  
hakìdù'gas I tear myself

The last two examples show that in the reflexives of verbs of the second class the stem takes its pronominal forms in addition to the pronominal forms prefixed to ki-.

The forms indicating that the object belongs to the subject are formed by the prefix kara- in all verbs of the first class, while verbs of the second class take kv- when v indicates the first vowel of the stem. All these verbs have the ordinary subjective pronouns which are contracted with the pronouns in the usual way. The prefix kara- and gi- by striking combine to form karai-.

haka'rahe I bury my own  
hakara'ìtìgis I cut my own (for ha-kara-gi-ìtìgis)
bo'aka'ìtìp I push my own (for bo-ha-kara-ìtìp)
mañka'ragas I tear my own (for ma'-ha-kara-gas)
ha'karap*a I hit my own (for hi-ha-kara-p*a)
yà'karapètìz I know my own (for hi-ha-kara-perètìz)
waka'raji* I strike my own (for ho-ha-kara-ji*)

Examples of the second class are the following:

haka'wàcgis I saw my own (from wa'cgis he saws)
yakù'mushënc I am near my own (from hìvu'sënc he is near, for hi-ha-ka-mushënc)
haka'rasìs I break my own with mouth (for ha-ka-ra-bìs)
hakù'rugàs I tear my own (for ha-ka-ru-gas)
§ 35. Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronoun is derived from the objective forms of the pronoun. In Teton we find—

mi'ye I
ni'ye thou
i'ye he
u*ki'yé thou and I

The suffix -yi is added to express the plural. It stands either with the pronoun or with some following word. Emphatic pronouns are formed with the ending ó (see § 41): miók, níb, iók, and u*kiók or u*kiýók.

The independent personal pronouns in Ponca are:

wi I 736.3, 715.5
qi thou 711.18
 angi we

Position of Pronoun (§§ 36, 37)

§ 36. Position of Pronoun in Dakota

Ordinarily the pronouns are prefixed to the stem, other etymological prefixes preceding the pronouns; but there are a number of cases in which the pronoun precedes other prefixes. A number of verbs of more than one syllable that can not be reduced to compounds of an etymological prefix and a monosyllabic stem place the pronoun after the first syllable, so that it appears as a true infix.

According to Riggs's Grammar and the material contained in his dictionary and texts, the following groups of forms may be distinguished:

1. In monosyllabic words the pronouns are always prefixed. Examples of this class have been given before (§ 16).

2. Verbs of more than one syllable, that can not be shown to be compounds, prefix or infix the pronoun, the position being determined to a certain extent by the initial sound of the word.

Verbs beginning with l or k prefix the pronoun:

TETON EXAMPLES

laka to consider in a certain way
walaka I consider

lová to sing
walová I sing

ka'ga to make
yaka'ga thou makest

§§ 35, 36
Verbs beginning with č, š, m, or n, or a vowel, often infix the pronouns after the first syllable:

**Santee Examples**

čapa to stab
četi to build a fire
čopa to wade
buta to miss
mano* to steal
ma'ni to walk
opa* to follow
asni* to be well
čawa'pa I stab
čewati I build a fire
čew*tipi we build a fire
čowa'pa I wade
bun*lapi we miss
mayano* thou stealest
mawani I walk
owapa I follow
anišni thou art well

Although Riggs states that verbs with initial n belong to this class, I have not found a single instance of this kind. On the other hand, some verbs, apparently not compounds, beginning with other sounds, infix the pronoun.

**Santee Examples**

palita* to bind
tokku to transport
to*ha* to be
to*wa* to go to see
pawalita I bind
towakku I transport
to*nwa* I am
wato*wa* I go to see

Prefixed pronouns before the sounds here enumerated are, however, not rare:

**Santee Examples**

čeka to stagger
čeya to cry
škata to play
nuni to wander
mačeka I stagger
wačeya I cry
waškata I play
wanuni I wander

In verbs of this class the first person dual is often prefixed, even when the other persons are infixed.

v*kopapi or ov*papi we follow (from opa)

3. Verbs containing the prefixes ka- and pa- (see § 13), and Teton verbs in kpa- (tpa-), gla- (Santee hda-), and glu- (Santee hdu-) (see § 20), prefix the pronouns.

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*In this word the vowel is not a prefix.
*In this word, pa- is not a prefix (see § 13).
Santee Examples

kaksa to cut off
kalir'ga to break by striking
pa'ga* to part with a thing
pakipa to break off with the hand
kapaga* (tipa'ga*) to part with one's own
kapapuza to dry one's own by wiping
haduta to eat one's own

Wakaksa I cut off (from ksa)
Wakalir'ga I break by striking (from kuga)
Wapaga* I part with a thing (from ga*)
Wapakipa I break off with the hand (from tipa*)
Wakpaga* I part with my own (from ga*)
Wakpapuza I dry my own by wiping (from pu'za)
Wahduta I eat my own

Teton Example

gluketa* to form an opinion
Wagluketa* I form an opinion about my own (from keta*)

4. Verbs which take the prefixes a-, i-, o- (see § 12), and prefix the demonstrative e, have the pronouns in the same position in which they would be if the verb had no prefix.

Santee Examples

apakta to bind on
inalini to hurry

Apawakta I bind on (from paka)
Inawalini I hurry

5. Verbs with the prefixes wo- (Santee ba-), wo- (Santee bo-), and na- (see § 13) have the pronouns following the prefix.

Wak'sa (Teton) to cut off
Boksa (Santee) to shoot off

Wayak'sa thou cuttest off (from k'sa)
Boyaksa thou shootest off (from ksa)

6. Compound verbs consisting of two verbs of equal order either take their pronouns each independently of the other, or the second verb is used without pronoun.

Santee Examples

Hdiyotaka (contracted from hdi and iyotaka) to come home and sit down; but also
Iyovahpamda I alight in something

§ 36
hioihipaya to come and
alight in
hiyakapta to come over a
stream
iyaya to have gone
kiyu'ke to hate one
kiyu'ska (from yuska) to re-
lease

wahiyowahipamda I come and
alight in; also wahiyohipaya
wahiyawakapta I come over a
stream
imidamde I have gone
wakinduke I hate him
wakinduska and wakiyuska I
release

7. Compounds having the auxiliary verbs kiya, ya, ya\textsuperscript{n}, place the
pronoun preceding these, while the first verb is often used in contracted
form.

SANTER EXAMPLES

iya'pa\textsuperscript{ka} to be offended
iyamapaka I am offended
iya'pe to wait for
iya'wape I wait for
sdo\textsuperscript{da} to know
sdo\textsuperscript{nya} to know
sdo\textsuperscript{nyw}a I know
wa\textsuperscript{ya}'ka to see
wa\textsuperscript{y}nda\textsuperscript{ka} I see
wa\textsuperscript{ya}'ywa to come to see
wa\textsuperscript{y}ag\textsuperscript{w}aya I came to see

§ 37. Position of Pronoun in Ponca

The position of the pronoun in Ponca is quite similar to that found
in Dakota.

1. Most monosyllabic verbs prefix the pronoun.

\textipa{ti} he gave it to thee (\textipa{t}i to give) 739.9
wa'ti\textsuperscript{n} he carried them (\textipa{t}i\textsuperscript{n} to carry) 10.7
a\textsuperscript{te} I die (\textipa{te} to die) 630.9
a\textsuperscript{te} I have arrived 671.6

2. Verbs of more than one syllable, that can not be shown to be
compounds, prefix or infix the pronoun, the position being deter-
mined by the initial sound of the word.

Verbs beginning with \textipa{j}, \textipa{s}, \textipa{k}, \textipa{m}, or \textipa{n}, or a vowel, often infix the
pronoun after the first syllable.

jugfe to be with somebody
juwigfe I am with thee 739.6
305.5
jahe to stab
jiahe you stab
kigfe to unload
kiagfe I unload
nanpe to fear
nan\textipa{t}ipe you fear
ma\textsuperscript{ni}t\textsuperscript{i}n to walk
ma\textsuperscript{ni}t\textsuperscript{e}i\textsuperscript{n} I walk 706.2
uha to follow
uahe I follow
kuhe to be frightened
ku\textsuperscript{a}he I am frightened

§ 37
Modal Suffixes and Particles (§§ 38-40)

§ 38. General Characteristics

The Siouan languages have a large number of elements which may be in part considered as suffixes, while others are undoubtedly enclitic particles, which express modalities of the verb. These are evidently related to similar particles that appear with the noun and with adverbs, and which will be treated in §§ 41 and 42, and from which they cannot be sharply separated.

§ 39. Plurality

Teton

Plurality of animate objects is indicated in both verbs and nouns by a suffix, -pi.

\( \text{ta} \) he died
\( \text{ta'pi} \) they died
\( \text{slo'laya} \) he knows
\( \text{slo'layapi} \) they know
\( \text{k'okka'laka} \) young man
\( \text{k'okkalaka'pi} \) young men
\( \text{ka'p'a} \) a beaver
\( \text{kap'a'pi} \) beavers

There is, however, an evident disinclination to employ -pi with nouns, except possessives, and it is by preference placed upon a following adjective.

\( \text{k'okkalaka' yamanipi} \) three young men
\( \text{kap'a' ta'k'api} \) large beavers

This seems to indicate that the suffix is properly verbal, and that when it is employed with nouns the signification is THEY ARE YOUNG MEN OR THEY ARE BEAVERS. It might be said that this element pluralizes the whole sentence. Examples in Santee are—

\( \text{wikiska nom kupi} \) they gave him two maidens IX 86.6
\( \text{kiyo keya hiyaha'pi} \) grouse of that kind alighted IX 99.24

Ponca

The corresponding element in Ponca is -i.

\( \text{tiŋe-hnai} \) they have none regularly 335.12 (tiŋe there is none; hna\(^*\) regularly)

It is not used with nouns, since the articles (see § 42) express plurality.

§§ 38, 39
§ 40. Particles Expressing Tenses and Modalities

TETON

Temporal and modal relations are marked in Dakota by particles placed after the verb.

1. **Future.** For the future, *k’tu* is used.
   
   *bala’* I go  
   *bala’ k’ta* (Teton) I shall go.

   (According to Riggs, the Santee use *ke* instead of *kta* [the *a* of *kta* being changed to *e*] before *etin* and *epća*.

   “*ito de wa’ka ke,*” *etin’ “lo! this I will dig,” she thought IX 83.13
   “*mda ke,*” *epća “I will go,” thought I)

2. **Habitual.** Habitual action is indicated by *sa*.
   
   *iha’kab iyá’ya sa* he went after it habitually

3. **Regular repetition** is expressed by *šna*.

4. **Imperative.** The imperative is expressed by four elements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>yo</em></td>
<td><em>po</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ye</em></td>
<td><em>pe</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   *ye šni yo* go not thou!  
   *wakta’ya wpo’* on guard be ye!

   The forms *yo* and *po* are used by men; while *ye* and *pe*, which seem to express a milder form of request, are used by women.

   “*lend’ awa’w kiciyakapi ye,*” *eya’ “watch these for us, please,”* she said

   After *u* and *o*, *yo* and *ye* change to *wo* and *we*, respectively, in accordance with the phonetic tendencies mentioned in § 4. Probably *po* and *pe* contain the plural particle *pi*; and it is possible that *yo* and *ye* are derived from the pronominal prefix of the second person, *ya*.-

5. **Declarative Particle.** Declarative sentences in direct forms of address are generally closed by *lo*. This is usually preceded by *ye*.

   *wko’kiciyakapi k’te šni ye lo* we will not tell it to her
   *hobi’č’iča hi ye lo* I have come to tell you the news

   (In Santee this ending is generally used by young men without preceding *ye*.)

   *wahi kte do* I will come

   In this dialect, *ye* is sometimes used instead of *do* by women and older men.)

§ 40
6. **Interrogative.** The particle *ke* indicates the interrogative.

\[ \text{wa}^\ddagger \text{zi}^\ddagger \text{koh}^\ddagger \text{e}^\ddagger \text{upe}^\ddagger \text{mi}^\ddagger \text{o}^\ddagger \text{w}^\ddagger \text{kapi} \text{ he is there one with large marrow!} \]

When the person addressed is at a distance, *huoo* (compounded of *ke* and *woo*) is used.

\[ \text{to'}kiya la huoo whither do you go? \]

Riggs mentions also *to* in the same position in Santee.

\[ \text{duhe'} \text{ bni to? why dost thou not have it?} \]

The particle *ce* (Santee *ci*) is an interrogative particle, calling for an immediate reply.

7. **Negative.** The negative is expressed by the particle *bni*.

\[ \text{stolsye}' \text{ bni he knew it not} \]
\[ \text{tuwe'} \text{ ni do no we'} \text{ bni no one swims there} \]

8. **Optative.** The optative exclamation *toki^n* oh re requires a terminal *ni*, which in position and form is analogous to the other particles here discussed.

\[ \text{toki^n} \text{ paig}^\ddagger \text{ eta^n iye}^\ddagger \text{waya ni oh that I might find some sunflower roots! (iye'ya to find)} \]

9. A number of other particles appear in the same position. They seem to merge gradually into adverbial expressions and conjunctions.

\[ \text{se'ca} \text{ (Teton) evidently.} \]
\[ \text{tiyata'} \text{ne kpe'ya wahi'yu se'ta lo evidently I have come to an abandoned lodge (t'i lodge; ya'ta at; hiyu' to come to) } \]

\[ \text{na'e}^\ddagger \text{ce} \text{ (Teton) perhaps.} \]
\[ \text{onwe'} \text{ki^naha}s^\ddagger \text{ he nita'kuyepi na'e}^\ddagger \text{ce lo perhaps those are your relatives (onwe'ki^naha}s^\ddagger \text{ perhaps; he those; taku'ye relative) } \]

\[ \text{Ki'nca} \text{ very (see § 41.3).} \]

\[ \text{ki'nha}^\ddagger \text{ (Santee) when, if.} \]

\[ \text{yahi ki'nha}^\ddagger \text{ when thou comest} \]

\[ \text{ca, e}^\ddagger \text{a (Santee); ca'ra, ca'na}^\ddagger \text{ha}^\ddagger \text{a (Teton). According to Riggs, this particle is used "when a general rule or something customary is spoken of, and is generally followed by ce or et at the end of the sentence."} \]

\[ \text{yahi ca piroada ce when thou comest, I am glad} \]
\[ \text{waniyetu ca wapa ece when it is winter, it snows} \]

\[ \text{keha}^\ddagger \text{ (Santee), kor'ha}^\ddagger \text{ (Teton), when; according to Riggs, this particle always refers to past time.} \]

\[ \text{coh} \text{ (Santee) when.} \]

\[ \text{kes although.} \]

'40
The corresponding forms in Ponca are as follows:

**PONCA**

1. **Future.** *t'e* [t'a, t'ai] designates the future.
   
   *ga* t'e he will die from a fall 236.1
   
   *šné* t'e ha you will go 230.3
   
   *vol'at'e* *gśw* t'á ak'á he will be sitting eating them 235.16
   
   *užéti* šk'áje t'ai ye will make a hole for a pole 615.1
   
   *ša*šw*šś*áje t'ai áša indeed, ye will do enough 144.14
   
   *t'e* changes, according to a general phonetic rule, to *t'a* before the article and also before the plural -i. Thus *t'ai* is the regular plural future.

   By the use of a double future, *t'até* and *t'aišé*, the idea of futurity with certainty of the event happening is expressed.
   
   *ga*šw*šhit'i* t'até it will be that way 227.4
   
   *gśp'anaš* t'até you surely will gaze on me 230.5
   
   *iš'tá* šižide t'aišé ha your eyes will (shall) be red 578.2
   
   *agš'baži* šaš*ša*šn t'aišé they shall not come back continually 235.5

2. **Imperative.** *ga* and *a* express the imperative, *ga* being used by men, *a* by women.

   *iša-ša!* send it here! (said by a man) 702.15
   
   *išéšai-ša!* lay ye it down! (said by a man) 231.19
   
   *gigšai-a!* enter your lodge! (said by a woman) 614.1
   
   *gśw'k'εšai-a* hé cause ye him to sit! (said by a woman) 591.18

3. **Oral Stops.** A number of particles perform the function of oral stops. As in Dakota, some of these have distinct forms, according to the sex of the speaker. Their principal function seems to be to give a certain tone or modality to the predicate, and for this reason they might be more properly considered with the modal particles.

   *a* and *é* are used to mark emphasis. They occur either as stops or within the sentence.

   *ha* and *he* express the period.

   *áha* and *éha* express the exclamation.

   In all of these the *a*-forms are used by men, the *e*-forms by women.

   *a*šw*šś* ičánah'm* a! truly, I am fat (said by a man) 567.9
   
   *čıřafdočč* ičánah'm* i ét truly, you hateful one! (said by a woman) 152.2
   
   *ša*šn zaní wibčuhaši hé now I petition you all (said by a man) 690.1

§ 40
wak'anda wâjîgî šëowa' agîk'â' bîa-mâáí hë I do not desire to
take any mysterious power for my husband 614.12
gâ's šî i gan'naa' âha'â she has done that regularly! (said by
a man) 591.7
wanân'âfâgâdâtî eha'â! you do not loathe him! (said by a woman)
591.18

ha and he are frequently used following imperatives.
mañqîn'-gâ hâ begone! (said by a man) 620.17
gigîl-â hë enter your lodge! (said by a woman) 614.13

They are also used as interjections. Since hâ and hë are found
printed occasionally instead of ha and he, it seems justifiable
to consider the exclamations hâ and hë as the same particles.
hâ, tuq'â! ho, grandchild! (said by a man) 620.9
hë, gp'ââa'â! ho, grandchild! (said by a woman) 589.7

4. Interrogative. â asks the question.
gâsi'â edîga'â â? what does that one say? 233.1
'î â? has it come? 709.2
eât'â' tanâzînî â? why do ye stand? 23.4

âda'â (commonly translated therefore occurs also apparently
as an interrogative particle.
ësa'nî'it' i ëshni'â âda'â? what great (person) are you? 23.12
eât'a'â âda'â? why? 27.20
ëbëdî 'în' ëd'â â? to whose lodge does she go carrying it? 591.3

§ 41. Adverbial Suffixes: Teton

1. -â is an emphatic suffix. Its use with the personal pronoun has
been noted in § 35.

Very often emphasis is added to a word or clause by means of a
suffixed â, and this sometimes involves a change of meaning.

wa'nu now
ak'ë' again
kë'ya those or some
'to yes
tâku what

tk'a but
he'bol so or in that way
ëd'ânl as soon as, during

§ 41
mì'yə l (independent pronoun) mìk l (emphatic)
wəkə'yə we two wəki'yə or wəkə's we two
i'yə he iyə's he himself

2. -la is usually given as a diminutive suffix; but its use is very much broader, and sometimes it seems to be rather intensive than diminutive. The English adverb quite translates it best, though at different times it is found equivalent to almost or little. Possibly the independent adverb līla very is this same suffix doubled.

Examples:
woštula' kīla an old man iwoš'tela nicely, in good order
hok'bi'la a small boy išnala alone, or only
kita'w'la a little more išel yela exceedingly
hakel'la youngest t'oye'lala bluely
henal'la enough a'layela directly
wita'k'wala a girl itik'il yela near to each other

3. hēa, hēi*n. Although their proper meaning is real, true, or genuine, more often they have the force of very. Originally their difference in form was probably nothing more than a euphonic change, but it has now been seized upon to mark a distinction in use; hēa being always employed after nouns either expressed or understood, and hēi*n after adverbs and connectives. They occur independently or in composition. līla, which also means very, always depends directly on a verb, or an adjective used as such.

Examples of the use of hēa are the following:
a'p'waa' wən tən'kka a very large beaver (beaver, a, large, very)
wa educatee ti*n the very beautiful (beavers)
waazed hēaka' ki*n the real red paint

Examples of the use of hēi*n:
əhə'kəiti*n last
əkəhēi*n just in the same way
ənahēi*n right there
iwahtul'kəiti*n just then

waži'hēi*n whether there is one iye'kəiti*n just like
he'benal'kəi*n immediately hēka'nul as soon as

§ 41
4. -l. When it is desired to express motion to the situation which demonstrative adverbs and post-positions indicate, -l is suffixed: viz.,

\[ \text{aka}'\text{on} \quad \text{aka}'\text{on to} \]
\[ \text{eha}'\text{r} \quad \text{eha}'\text{r} \]
\[ \text{leha}'\text{nl} \quad \text{then something was done} \]
\[ \text{heha}'\text{nl} \quad \text{toha}'\text{nl} \quad \text{when (something is done; e.g., under one's own volition)} \]
\[ \text{toha}'\text{nl} \]
\[ \text{t'eha}'\text{nl} \quad \text{t'eha}'\text{nl into the middle} \]
\[ \text{a long space, more often the former} \quad \text{t'eha}'\text{nl over a long space somebody passed} \]
\[ \text{et'a}'\text{r} \quad \text{et'a}'\text{nl then (something was done)} \]

5. -na. Some adverbs appear to have a separate suffix, -na, for the stationary form, but it is probably only an adverb meaning there, which never occurs independently.

\[ \text{e}'\text{na} \quad \text{here (something was)} \]
\[ \text{le}'\text{na} \quad \text{et}\]
\[ \text{he}'\text{na} \quad \text{there (something was)} \]
\[ \text{ka}'\text{na} \quad \text{kal} \]
\[ \text{e'et'a}'\text{na} \quad \text{being in this condition} \]
\[ \text{le't}'\text{et'a}'\text{na} \quad \text{le't}'\text{etl} \quad \text{going along in this way} \]
\[ \text{he'ta}'\text{na} \quad \text{being in that condition} \]
\[ \text{ku'k'ena} \quad \text{going along in that way} \]
\[ \text{to'k'ena} \quad \text{being in an indefinite condition} \]
\[ \text{to'k'etl} \quad \text{going along in that indefinite way} \]

I have tried to translate these rather in accordance with the evident intent than in the most literal manner, they being among the hardest words in Dakota to render properly.

6. -ta to, at, or into, is possibly identical with the -l just considered, into which it would change according to the laws of euphony.

Examples:

\[ \text{mak'a}'\text{ta to the ground} \]
\[ \text{t'iy'a}'\text{ta to the lodge} \]
\[ \text{tok'a}'\text{ta in future} \]
\[ \text{wa}'\text{ka}?'\text{ta toward upward} \]
\[ \text{wan'a}'\text{giya}'\text{ta to the spirit land} \]
\[ \text{tok'a}'\text{ta to the middle} \]
\[ \text{wa}?'\text{yata at the north} \]
\[ \text{okla}'\text{teya under} \]

§ 41
7. -taⁿ from.

Examples:

\[\text{et}aⁿ'\text{ha}ⁿ \text{from}\]
\[\text{et}aⁿ'\text{ha}ⁿ \text{from that time}\]
\[\text{et}aⁿ'\text{ha}ⁿ \text{from that time on}\]
\[\text{ak}aⁿ'\text{ha}ⁿ \text{from on the outside}\]

Many independent post-positions appear to contain a suffix -kab; but this is probably nothing more than the verb ḫa'pa to excel, surpass, go beyond, contracted in composition.

\[\text{i}ha'kab \text{behind or after}\]
\[\text{i}wəⁿ'kab \text{above}\]
\[\text{i}t'əkab \text{before}\]
\[\text{ako'kab \text{before the time}}\]

§ 42. Articles

These important elements are only weakly developed in Dakota, while they are very important in Ponca.

In Dakota we find three articles—kiⁿ (after an a or aⁿ transformed, including the preceding vowels, into ećiⁿ); kọⁿ (after an a or aⁿ transformed into ećikoⁿ [Santee], ẓoⁿ [Teton]); and waⁿ. The following Santee examples illustrate their use:

\[\text{kiⁿ} \text{expresses the idea of the definite article.}\]
\[\text{wiçoⁿ'kiⁿ iye'ga waⁿ'ya'kapi they saw the stars shining IX 83.2}\]
\[\text{(wicoⁿ'kipi star; iye'ga to shine; waⁿ'ya'ka to see)}\]
\[\text{ki'.taⁿ'na iye'hiya yaⁿ'ke' čiⁿ the one that shines a little IX 83.4}\]
\[\text{(ki'ctaⁿ'na a little; iye'hiya to cause to shine; yaⁿ'ka' to be)}\]

\[\text{kọⁿ} \text{indicates the definite article in the past.}\]
\[\text{w'ma kọⁿ the other aforesaid one IX 83.8}\]
\[\text{n'iña iye'ge čikoⁿ the one aforesaid that shines much IX 83.7}\]

\[\text{waⁿ} \text{is the indefinite article.}\]
\[\text{oya'te waⁿ a people IX 83.1}\]
\[\text{mako'če waⁿ a country.}\]

The articles of Ponca are much more highly developed. We have to distinguish between inanimate and animate articles; and the latter are differentiated as subjective and objective, singular and plural.

Following is a general review of the forms that I have found:

I. Inanimate articles.

1. k'e horizontal objects.
2. t'e standing objects, collective terms.
3. qaⁿ rounded objects.
4. ge scattered objects.
II. Animate articles

A. Subject.
1. ak'á singular animate object at rest.
2. amá singular animate object in motion; plural.

B. Object.
1. t'á singular animate object standing.
2. ṣiá singular animate object moving.
3. ma plural animate objects.
4. ṣiík'á singular animate object sitting.
5. cañk'a' plural animate objects sitting.

III. Indefinite article.

\(\text{iin'}\)

Following are a number of examples of the use of these articles:

\(k\'e\) (I. 1) is used regularly of horizontal objects.

\(\begin{align*}
\text{t'a} & \text{n'de k'\vphantom{e} the ground 24.4} & \text{uhé k'\vphantom{e} the path 566.6} \\
\text{ma} & \text{w'ge k'\vphantom{e} the sky 26.4} & \text{tí k'\vphantom{e} a line of lodges 289.7} \\
\text{ní} & \text{k'\vphantom{e} the water (i. e., stream) 555.1} & \text{ma\vphantom{a} n' k'\vphantom{e} the arrow 50.6} \\
\text{ur'aw'} & \text{he k'\vphantom{e} the cradle 560.14} & \text{si k'\vphantom{e} the foot 35.3} \\
\text{wahí} & \text{k'\vphantom{e} the bone 564.8} & \text{ma\vphantom{a} ga k'\vphantom{e} the feather 52.8} \\
\text{pahí} & \text{k'\vphantom{e} the neck 564.10} & \text{pahé k'\vphantom{e} a long hill 28.11} \\
\text{zíbe} & \text{k'\vphantom{e} the leg 564.10} & \text{nia\vphantom{s}i'ga k'\vphantom{e} a line of dead persons 10.7}
\end{align*}\)

The following animate nouns appear used with the inanimate article \(k\'e\):

\(\begin{align*}
\text{wéš'a k'\vphantom{e} the snake 27.1} \\
\text{siŋga\vphantom{n}i'ga k'\vphantom{e} a child lying down 560.13\ (in this case, the child being dead, the article may refer to the body of the child stretched out)}
\end{align*}\)

The following expression is peculiar:

\(\text{a}w'ba k'\vphantom{e} the day 611.6\)

\(t'\vphantom{e}e\) (I. 2) is used with several classes of nouns.

(a) It denotes standing objects.

\(\begin{align*}
\text{tí} & \text{t'\vphantom{e} the lodge 555.17} \\
\text{k'\vphantom{e}abó} & \text{t'\vphantom{e} the tree 277.2} \\
\text{ti\vphantom{e}zobe} & \text{t'\vphantom{e} the door 46.12.}
\end{align*}\)

(b) It is used to express plurality and collectivity of inanimate terms. According to Dorsey, it expresses in this sense a single rectilinear collection of horizontal objects. This idea, however, is not brought out clearly in the examples.

\(\begin{align*}
\text{kande} & \text{t'\vphantom{e} the plums 559.4} & \text{pá t'\vphantom{e} the heads 123.12} \\
\text{te-ánit'a} & \text{t'\vphantom{e} animal limbs 565.1} & \text{ma\vphantom{a} ga k'\vphantom{e} the feathers 26.19}
\end{align*}\)
Hihi t'ë the feet 570.9  
guída t'ë that (pile) yonder  
šide t'ë the entrails 279.4  
račaša t'ë the clothing 559.12  
šesse t'ë the tongues 128.12  

(c) It denotes abstract nouns.

tëyš t'ë the killing 16.8.  
ɪwaiš' an t'ë strength 611.3  
rašin' t'ë disposition 583.2

(d) It denotes acts "as past and as seen by the speaker" (see Dorsey, The Çegha Language, note 246.6, p. 250).

gáje t'ë he did the (act) 554.13  
šu'jë an t'ë he lay for me 561.1  
ghost' an t'ë he did to him 583.7  
waín' t'ë he wore as a robe 246.6  

595.17

fa' (I. 3) denotes rounded objects and parts of objects.

(a) It denotes rounded objects.

ubína' së fa' the snare 13.12  
tii fa' the camp-circle 16.13  
mi' fa' the sun 13.12  
páhe fa' the (round) hill 15.3  
ict'á fa' the eye 171.7  
hirbut'á fa' the moccasin 279.12  
našk'i fa' the head 91.6  
maža' fa' the land 508.12  
wañ'ha fa' paper 773.1

(b) It denotes part of an object.

básan' fa' the bent part 598.8  
šindéhi fa' part of the rump-bone 611.5  
andé fa' face part 624.10  
wain' haháge fa' the part of a buffalo-hide towards the feet  

469.7

gé (I. 4) denotes a collection of scattered objects.

tenan'de gé buffalo-hearts 33.4  
waisn' gé pieces of fat 572.2  
tai'ge . . . gé (scattered) scum 593.9  
wahi gé bones 278.16  
mikahá gé raccoon-skins 559.3  

taw'za gé fences 735.7

ak'á (II. A. 1) denotes the animate singular subject at rest (see Dorsey, note 633.3, p. 634).

Iš'tiník'o ak'á ikišá-biamá Ishtínike awoke, it is said 549.4  
taknin'ge ak'á "tsi-tsí-tsí!" á-biamá the chipnunk said, "tsi-tsí-tsí," it is said 549.9  
wain' ak'á . . . agi-biamá the robe (considered as possessed of voluntary action) had returned 549.6  
á-biamá Uní ak'á the cold said 9.6

§ 42
pihe-wátabahuni aká íbaha'-biamá the hill that devours knew him, it is said 32.6

With numerals aká is used in a plural sense.

tábe aká, the three 164.14

amá (II. A. 2) denotes the animate singular subject in motion, or the plural subject, both at rest and in motion.

(a) It denotes the animate singular object in motion.

maźe'ín'ge-iw amá aťé amáma the rabbit was going, it is said 9.1
Iš't iník e amá aťá-bi Ishtínike went, it is said 549.1
žibe amá ničta aťá-bi beaver went to the water 553.9
ki voiuhe amá vaťú and the woman was following close behind 615.15

amá is also used when the predicate does not express motion, but when the subject is conceived as moving.

išádi amá igipaha'-biamá, it is said his father recognized him 610.18
á-biamá maźe'ín'ge-iw amá rabbit said, it is said 10.2

(b) amá denotes the animate plural subject, both at rest and in motion.

wakíŋ'ga amá gíaw aťá-biamá the birds went flying, it is said 588.3
e-na'-biamá níaši'ga amá the people said often, it is said 574.9
P'ańk'á amá aťii the Ponca have come back 723.2
Umáha amá uťúgígtaí the Omaha are sorrowful for their relations 772.4
ník'agáhi amá gípa-bažii the chiefs are sad 649.2

t'a (II. B. 1) denotes the animate singular object standing.

ník'íŋ'ga t'a e wāgik'á-bi the boy meant that his own 556.2
šiš'te, héga šeť an fie! this buzzard! 549.5
te-điže t'a ... nakiw a scabby buffalo was standing 582.5
šyí šeť an k'idá-gá shoot at this prairie-chicken 117.19

eť (II. B. 2) denotes the animate singular object moving.

dádań eťiń píjań eťiń āhan! I'll blow that into the air 575.7
kíči eťiń šeť an amá the eagle was that far, it is said 581.3
edádań eťiń šeť ewa'w teš-e-na'-biamá whatsoever he usually killed, it is said 586.6
witande eťiń aťiń qíga bring my son-in-law here 589.3
níaši'ga eťiń wašišige āhan! he is active! 9.14
níaši'ga eťiń išátabe hö I hate that person 13.9
káje eťiń čílihi the crow reached there 599.8

eťiń is sometimes used with generic or collective terms.

§ 42

bé t'á mink'ẽ I who will go 13.4
y'i t'á mink'ẽ I who will arrive there 496.2
Páei' ník'agáhi nañk'áše ye who are Pawnee chiefs 685.2

It would seem that these forms correspond to the Dakota verbs 
yañk'á, wañk'á.

wiⁿ (III) denotes the indefinite article.

šaaⁿ' wiⁿ a Dakota 367.8
nihaš'ga wiⁿ a person 267.1
wa'í' wiⁿ a woman 166.1
t'amañk'ẽna tąngáhi' t'i wiⁿ a very large village 166.14

§ 43. Demonstrative Pronouns

Teton

The demonstrative pronouns proper are e, le, he, ka, and to. The first of these always refers to something that has just been said, and its use is more syntactic than local; le corresponds very nearly to English this, and he to English that; but when an object is very remote, the proper form is ka. to indicates that what is referred to is indefinite; and it would not have been classed as a demonstrative had it not been employed in a manner absolutely parallel with that of the other demonstratives. Plurals are formed for all of these by suffixing -na.

The demonstratives are employed regularly as prefixes to the verbs meaning to say, to think, and to do.

to say e'yã le'yã he'yã ke'yã (not found)
to think eč' in' leč' in' heč' in' keč' in' tok' in'
to do eč' on' leč' on' heč' on' kak' on' tok' on'

The forms with e are used after the statement of what is said, thought, or done; and the forms with le or he, before. keya'pi they say is employed like a quotative, though there is a true quotative šk'ẽ. The element to occurs rarely with these verbs.

In addition to these forms, there is a syllable t'ẽ, meaning far in space or time, which is employed in an analogous manner.

t'ẽ'haⁿ a long time
t'ẽ'hanl far

The definite article k'ïⁿ is probably formed from the demonstrative ka by rendering the phonetic change to iⁿ permanent. To indicate something which happened in the past or some person or thing spoken of in the past, this article takes the form koⁿ or ti'koⁿ, but the latter rarely in Teton (see § 42).
In the plural, and when combined with certain particles, to performs the function of an interrogative pronoun.

\(\text{to'na how many}\)  
\(\text{to'khoci}^n\) however much

In fact, the regular interrogative and relative pronouns \(\text{tu'ra or tu'voe who, and ta'ku what, are properly indefinites, and so related to to; and from these, or parts of these, other relative and indefinite pronouns are compounded: viz.,}\

\(\text{tuwéni whoever (probably who lives)}\)  
\(\text{tuk'tél somewhere}\
\(\text{tuk'té'k'tél sometimes}\
\(\text{ta'ku kecé'yaš whatsoever}

\text{PONCA}

The most common demonstrative pronouns are \(\text{eé, şe, gá, and é. The first three of these are very often followed by the article; and in this case they are always printed in the texts as one word, although there is apparently no difference between the use of the article with the demonstrative and that with nouns. Demonstratives also take enclitic adverbial terms in the same way as nouns, and in these cases also the demonstrative and the adverb appear in print as one word. The demonstrative \(e\) does not seem to be followed by the article. As in Dakota, they form part of a few verbs.}

1. \(\text{še} \) refers to what is near the speaker.

\(\text{še égima}^n\) I do this 9.6  
\(\text{še aš'táam'bai t'é this (is) as you see me 26.14}\)

\(\text{šeak'á šábci*z zani tewašá-biamá it is said he killed all three of these 46.16}\)

\(\text{šeamá na'w šip'ai these fear thee 23.17}\)

\(\text{šeina júba these few! 28.9}\)

\(\text{ha^n šékhé'i agita*be k'aw'heu I desire to see mine this very night 367.5}\)

\(\text{šégo^n and, thus they say 35.2}\)

2. \(\text{šé} \) refers to what is near the person addressed.

\(\text{šé égija^n you do that 26.14}\)

\(\text{šé ušai you told him that 26.19}\)

\(\text{šé wiwitá that my own 89.4}\)

\(\text{šéak'á mašé'inge-in' ak'á páde wágazí that rabbit told us to cut it up 23.10}\)

\(\text{šéiňk'ę k'ida-gá shoot at that! 109.1}\)

\(\text{šéfu there where you are 640.4}\)

\(\text{maža'n šétu ča^n the land yonder by you 487.7}\)

\$ 43\)

44877”—Bull. 40, pt 1—10——60
3. gá refers to the unseen, also to what follows; it designates probably originally what is near the person spoken of.

gá taw'be t'á I shall see that 28.2
gágé hnat'e t'ai-éde you should have eaten those 28.10
gáníñke házi ςišade t'ai (that) you shall be called grapes 550.7
gátie Hájige is aŋ'ga țek' iéai that one Hájige killed his brother for him 235.8
gáta n'ẽtiŋ'gąn-gá put that on something for me 121.14

4. è refers to something referred to before.

è ní that water (referred to in line 2) 559.12
è giša-biamá it is said she rejoiced at that 21.1
è ši'ma'ma'mi t'e that too they stole 85.8
éga n gaša-bašii-gá há do not ye do thus! 618.8

5. du is a form which is comparatively rare, and seems to designate what is near the speaker.

duak'a this one here 58.5
ušp'é t'e duat'és the bowl on this side 574.1
diša this way 191.8, 192.15
dúdiha this way 553.3, 556.5

6. gu is also comparatively rare, and designates what is farther off than du.

gúdiha that way 587.15, 614.1, 630.20

§ 44. Possession

TETON

Inalienable or at least very intimate possession is indicated by prefixing the objective personal pronominal prefixes, and suffixing -pi for plural forms. The dual is distinguished in the same manner as in the subjective and reflexive pronominal prefixes.

Examples:

miči'm k'si my son
hu his leg
t'aške'ypí their sister
wéč'aw'le our two selves' two hearts
wéč'aw'teπí our hearts (more than two)

Sometimes ma is used instead of mi; and, according to Riggs, this is when those parts of the body are referred to which exhibit no independent action.

ma'p'a my head
mano'ge my ears

§ 44
Alienable or more distant possession is indicated by another prefix, \( t' a \), which occurs in conjunction with the prefixes above given.

\[ \begin{align*}
  t' awi' t'u & \text{ his wife} \\
  t' awo' w' a & \text{ his servant} \\
  nix' a' k' u & \text{ your horse}
\end{align*} \]

Often, however, these forms are prefixed to a syllable \( w a \) placed after the noun.

\[ \begin{align*}
  wo' k' oya' k' e & t' a' w a \text{ her clothing} \\
  w i o' w' ka' l a & t' a' w a \ k' i' n \ i y o' t a' n \ w a' a t e' \text{ the old woman’s was exceedingly good} \\
  n i t' a' v a p i & k' i' n \ i y o' t a' n \ l u' t a \text{ yours is exceedingly scarlet}
\end{align*} \]

Terms of relationship take in the third person a special suffix -\( k u \).

\[ \begin{align*}
  h u' n' k u & \text{ his mother} \\
  h i' g a n d' k u & \text{ her husband} \\
  a k u' k u p i & \text{ their father} \\
  su' n' k a' k u & \text{ her younger brother} \\
  t i b a l' k u & \text{ her elder brother} \\
  k u' n' k u & \text{ his mother-in-law} \\
  t a k' o' s k u & \text{ his son-in-law or daughter-in-law}
\end{align*} \]

This suffix is probably identical with the \( k u \) in \( t a k u \) \textit{what}, which is used entire in \( t' i t a' k u y e \) \textit{his relations} and \( t a k u' w i k a y e \) \textit{kindred}.

After \( i \) or \( e \), pure or nasalized, the \( k \) of this suffix either changes to \( c \) in conformity with the tendency already noted, or a \( t \) is inserted just before it.

\[ \begin{align*}
  t' a w i' t'u & \text{ his wife} \\
  k' w' n' k i t k u & \text{ his grandmother} \\
  lek's' t k u & \text{ his uncles} \\
  t i n' k i y e' t k u & \text{ his master}
\end{align*} \]

Many terms of relationship have a syllable \( s' i \), which evidently had once some special significance, though it is now impossible to say whether it is properly an affix or part of a descriptive term. Such are \( lek's' t k u \), \( k u' s' i t k u \), and probably \( t a k' o' s k u \), above given; as also—

\[ \begin{align*}
  n i c' n' s' i & \text{ my son} \\
  h o k' s' i & \text{ boy} \\
  t a n' k' s' i & \text{ younger sister} \\
  t a n' h a' s' i & \text{ my cousin (male)} \\
  h a' n' k a s i & \text{ female cousin} \\
  t u' n' k a s i l a & \text{ grandfather}
\end{align*} \]

**Ponca**

The following independent forms were observed in Ponca:

\[ \begin{align*}
  v i t a & \text{ my 633.11, 635.6} \\
  w i v o' c i t a & \text{ my own 477.9, 492.12, 493.1} \\
  \s i t a & \text{ thy 485.2, 635.4}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{§ 44} \]
tita thy own 455.5, 6, 492.9, 495.7
etá his 491.8, 642.2, 679.11
[ånguta thy and my]
ångutai our 16.19, 678.1, 679.9
ta'wángta'ånguta-ma our own gentes 502.12
[tiitai]
tiitai your own 495.8, 630.8
etai their 633.6, 675.3, 642.7, 523.5

The possessive pronoun appears without the suffix -ta as a prefix in terms of relationship.

wi- my  ti- thy  i- his

Examples:
voika' my grandmother 9.3
vitimi my father's sister 9.3
winégi my mother's brother 10.16
witani' de my daughter's husband 349.12
winiši my child 44.13
iñégi thy mother's brother 10.15
iha'w thy mother 348.3
iik'áge thy friend 487.4
iğak'wa' his wife 348.13
išiŋ'ge his son 345.2
ižan'ge his daughter 345.1

With the words father and mother the first person possessive has an exceptional form.

i'na'ha my mother 481.1, 638.1
i'dádi my father 26.5, 151.15

§ 45. Adverbs: Teton

Adverbs may be divided into several classes. Some are quite simple, and are used much like corresponding adverbs in English:

Wanda' now  hca and
ak'e' again  k'o also
li'la very  nak'o' also
ko'i very

while others are compounded from other parts of speech; notably, verbs and demonstratives. The former of these are usually changed into adverbs by using the auxiliary ya.

su'taya firmly  a'taya entirely
ha'ke'ya at last  kaa'beya in all directions
ta'ya' well  u'gana'ha'keya suddenly
wa'ka'takiya upward  ka'kiya there

§ 45
\( \text{uwa}^\text{b} \text{d}^\text{g} \) at once appears to be compounded of \( \text{uwa}^\text{b} \text{a} \) one and the auxiliary \( \text{ka} \).

Others take \( \text{la} \) either alone or in conjunction with \( \text{ya} \).

- \( \text{is} \text{na}^\text{b} \text{la} \) alone
- \( \text{u}^\text{g} \text{a}^\text{na}^\text{b} \text{ha}^\text{b}^\text{y} \text{ela} \) suddenly
- \( \text{ek} \text{b}^\text{la} \) only
- \( \text{i}^\text{le} \text{y} \text{ela} \) exceedingly
- \( \text{u}^\text{g} \text{a}^\text{na}^\text{b} \text{ha}^\text{b}^\text{y} \text{la} \) suddenly

Demonstratives are usually adverbalized by means of another particle, \( \text{a}^\text{c} \) (or \( \text{k}^\text{a} \)) sort of kind; as,

- \( \text{he}^\text{c}^\text{el} \) that sort
- \( \text{he}^\text{c}^\text{ena} \) right off
- \( \text{to}^\text{k}^\text{el} \) how
- \( \text{to}^\text{k}^\text{ek}^\text{e} \) in what way

\( \text{a}^\text{c} \) is also used after entire clauses, where it may almost equally well be described as an adverbial particle or a connective.

§ 46. Connectives: Teton

Connectives are so closely related to adverbs as to be at times indistinguishable. \( \text{yu}^\text{w}^\text{a}^\text{k}^\text{a}^\text{n} \) and then, and \( \text{e}^\text{a}^\text{n} \text{a}^\text{k}^\text{e}^\text{e} \) so, are most often used to introduce sentences; while \( \text{na} \) and, \( \text{na}^\text{iv}^\text{b} \) or, and \( \text{tk}^\text{a} \) but, are the ordinary co-ordinate conjunctions. Subordinating conjunctions, such as \( \text{e}^\text{a}^\text{n} \) or \( \text{e}^\text{a}^\text{m}^\text{n} \text{na} \) when, \( \text{k}^\text{e}^\text{b} \) or \( \text{k}^\text{ey}^\text{a}^\text{b} \) though, follow the subordinate clause, and are to be correlated with the post-positions like \( \text{o}^\text{a} \) on account of, for the purpose of; \( \text{ob} \) with; \( \text{mah}^\text{e}^\text{l} \) into. The definite articles \( \text{k}^\text{i}^\text{n} \) and \( \text{k}^\text{o}^\text{n} \), and the adverbial particle \( \text{e}^\text{a} \) sort of kind, are employed in such a way as to suggest a relationship to these.

Nearly all of the simple subordinating conjunctions and post-positions are given above. The rest—and there is a very large number of them—are principally compound. Some are formed by means of demonstratives; as,

- \( \text{e}^\text{c}^\text{a}^\text{m}^\text{l} \) during (from \( \text{e} \), \( \text{e}^\text{a}^\text{n} \), and \( \text{l} \)
- \( \text{e}^\text{t}^\text{a}^\text{m}^\text{n} \) from (from \( \text{e} \) and \( \text{ta}^\text{n} \)
- \( \text{e}^\text{h}^\text{a}^\text{m}^\text{n} \) then (from \( \text{e} \) and \( \text{ha}^\text{n} \)
- \( \text{e}^\text{k}^\text{e}^\text{a}^\text{m}^\text{a} \) to (from \( \text{e} \) and \( \text{ta} \)

Another long series contains the verbal prefixes \( \text{a} \), \( \text{i} \), and \( \text{o} \) (§ 12), and are in some cases, probably the majority, taken from verbs. Among these are—

- \( \text{a}^\text{i}^\text{n}^\text{am} \) on the other side of
- \( \text{a}^\text{k}^\text{a}^\text{n}^\text{m} \) on
- \( \text{i}^\text{t}^\text{e}^\text{h}^\text{a}^\text{n}^\text{l} \) far from
- \( \text{i}^\text{w}^\text{a}^\text{n} \text{k}^\text{a}^\text{b} \) above
- \( \text{i}^\text{y}^\text{e}^\text{t}^\text{e}^\text{e}^\text{e}^\text{l} \) like
- \( \text{ik}^\text{i}^\text{i}^\text{y}^\text{e}^\text{l} \) near to
okila'teya under  
o'p'ia across  
o'gana' in (a stream)

kiči' with or together (see § 20, p. 914) is also used as a post-position; while the suffix -l (see § 41. 4) appears in that rôle after t'i lodge; as, t'il into the lodge

From ni'ča to be destitute of is formed the post-position wani'ča without.

§ 47. Interjections: Teton

Ho is introduced when there comes a change in the thread of the narrative, and so may be said to mark a paragraph. The following are used quite frequently in Teton:

- i' o' suppose!
- iho' well!
- yu* oh! (indicating pain)

For a long list of Dakota interjections, see Riggs's Dakota Grammar, p. 54.

§ 48. VOCABULARY: Teton

The simplicity of grammatical forms in Dakota is necessarily accompanied by the use of great numbers of stems.

Verb-stems usually consist of single syllables such as the following:

t'i to dwell  
y'a to say  
k' to kill  
hi to arrive coming  
ha to have, possess  
zi'n to stand  
k'i'za'n to bend  
tu to eat  
ku to dig  
u to be on route coming  
to'n to cover  
wa to live, or be accustomed to  
y'a to go  
p'a to flee  
i to arrive going  
ki to command  
p'k'ra to break off  
i to live, exist  
p'ta to answer  
k'ra to break  
gi to rust  
o to wound

The stems with terminal a have been treated in § 15.
The causative ya may be placed after any of these, as also after nouns.

kpaya'pi they were caused to lie  
kaki'kyapi they made him suffer  
waste'ya to cause to be good

§§ 47, 48
wani'lya caused to be without
kahiya' caused to be made
kana'ya he had it for a robe (kana robe)
sa'wicaya he caused them to be red (sa red)
ci'cawic'api those that had for children
su'ga nap'eyapi they caused the horses to be frightened

Very naturally it is often used in the formation of adverbs.
sogya' thickly (literally, caused to be thick)
t'ayela bluey (literally, caused to be like blue)
kuli'kiya' caused to be down, or downward
to'kiya anywhere, or caused to be in an indefinite direction

A considerable number of substantives consist of but one syllable.

Such are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Chippewa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t'a general name for animals</td>
<td>p'bo bison; specifically, female bison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'a general name for animals</td>
<td>p'bo bison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho voice</td>
<td>t'i lodge, dwelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'a head</td>
<td>c'ana tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ana robe</td>
<td>hin fur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu leg</td>
<td>i mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we blood</td>
<td>mani' water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hin hair</td>
<td>wa snow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he horn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A much larger number, however, have two syllables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Chippewa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wi't'a male</td>
<td>wi't'a woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mak'a ground</td>
<td>sa'ha foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nos'ge ear</td>
<td>c'apa beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'za iron</td>
<td>p'aha' hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c'awed' heart</td>
<td>mat'or' grizzly bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'd'ta fire</td>
<td>an'p'a daylight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'yan stone</td>
<td>isa' eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si'tel tail</td>
<td>ma'ya cliff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi'k'ana rope</td>
<td>i'wun' small of back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti'upe' marrow</td>
<td>t'ahu' neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'agad' diaphragm</td>
<td>kiyod' prairie-chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'izi' grass</td>
<td>k'iun'ta plum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciw'co child</td>
<td>t'ate' wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi'la knife</td>
<td>e'oku' flesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo'wa smoke</td>
<td>t'o'ka foe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is quite possible that many or all of these were originally compounded from simpler words, as is still done in numerous cases.

p'ehin' hair of the head, or head-hair
c'abo'ti beaver-house (literally, in which dwell beaver)
ma'za wak'an' supernatural iron (i.e., gun)
ku'ka wak'an' supernatural dog (i.e., horse)
ma'za wahda' c'an'ka iron shield
wu'tegale'ga raccoon (literally, spotted face)
tat' an'ka buffalo bull (literally, big ta)
wić'd'ćala old man (very much of a male)
wić't'ćala girl (literally, female child)
kupa wakigualakela bat (literally, little leather wings)
p'amu' nose (literally, head-seed)
wić'ho human voice
mn'w wak'an' supernatural water (i.e., whisky)
ma'za wamhi' kosa'pi iron arrow-head fitted in (i.e., flintlock gun)
wić'd't'i many lodges (where people go after death [literally, in
them they live])
ta'k'ça deer (literally, true ta)
wo'k'hi' old woman (very much of a female)
he'k'ta elk (literally, branching [ha'ta] horns [he])

In those descriptive terms which contain a substantive and adjective,
the latter may be regarded equally well as a verb. Many other
nouns, however, are taken from verbs (or adjectives) in a much more
direct manner, as follows:

kahami' an inside corner, a bend; verb the same, meaning to
BEND BY STRIKING
old'wa' song (from lo'wo' to sing)
tel'i'ka hardship (from te'hi hard)
woć'a'tebiça sorrow (from c'a'te' heart, and bi'ča bad)
oi'yokpaza darkness (from kpa'za it is dark)
wama'k'aska' animals (from mak'a' earth, and ska to move; i.e.,
things moving on the earth)
wić'ganakapi or ganaka'pi burial-scaffold (from ganaka' to lay
up)
ohu'kak'an' myth (from hitu'n'kak'a' to tell tales)
hi'k'ala rattle or bell (from k'ala to rattle)
waki'n' a pack of goods (from k'ì to carry)
waki'n'ya' the thunder-bird (from kì'ya' to fly)

Verbs ending in a, when they become substantives, sometimes
change the a into e:

ak'a'hp'a' to cover
è'ya to say
wa'ncwa' to be observing
wosa'kapa' to stick on
a'p'a to strike
obsla'ya it is flat
k'oya'ka to have on

ak'a'hp'e covering
do'ye a saying, verse, sentence
wa'to'wne an observer
wosa'kapa' e a sticking-plaster
do'p'e strokes, beatings
obsla'ye a level place or prairie
wook'oye'ke clothing

§ 48
Stripped of their affixes, the terms of relationship are the following (see Riggs’s Grammar, pp. xviii–xx):

- $tu\cdot ka^n$ grandfather
- $ku^n$ grandmother
- $ko\cdot ka$ grandchild
- $ate$ father and father’s brother
- $hu^n$ mother and mother’s sister
- $tu\cdot vi^n$ father’s sister
- $le\cdot ki$ mother’s brother
- $bi\cdot ye$ man’s elder brother
- $ti\cdot mo$ woman’s elder brother
- $tu\cdot ke$ man’s elder sister
- $tu\cdot ve$ woman’s elder sister
- $su\cdot ka$ younger brother
- $ta\cdot kki$ man’s younger sister
- $ta\cdot ka$ woman’s younger sister
- $bi\cdot kki$ son
- $tu\cdot kki$ daughter
- $ha^n$ man’s brother-in-law
- $bi\cdot ce$ woman’s brother-in-law
- $ha\cdot ka$ man's sister-in-law
- $i\cdot ke\cdot pa^n$ woman’s sister-in-law
- $to\cdot nkja$ woman’s sister’s son
- $to\cdot kka$ woman’s brother’s son
- $tu\cdot za^n$ man’s sister’s daughter
- $to\cdot za^n$ woman’s brother’s daughter
- $ko\cdot s$ son-in-law and daughter-in-law
- $hi\cdot nka$ husband
- $wi^n$ wife or woman

In direct address several terms are used slightly different from the above; as, $u\cdot ti'\'$ GRANDMOTHER.
TETON TEXT

SPIDER’S ADVENTURE WITH THE WATER MONSTER

[Originally transcribed by George Busbottet, a Dakota]

Ik’t$$ he’c’êš 3 wana’$ ka’kenâ $ isna’la 5 oman’i-yâ’ha^6 8 $ sk’e
Spider it happened now in a certain place alone traveling was going it was.

Yun’ka no wana’ c’o’n’ôke 9 iya’za wol-ya’ha^no 8 $ Yun’ka 8 sk’e
And then now forest from one to another eating was And then.

wak’pa’la 11 o’huta 12 ell 13 ina’zi 14 na mani’ k’owa’kata 15 ha 15 ya’c’i 12
river shore or there he stood and water on the other side to go wished.

keya’s 17 to’k’ani 18 iya’ye 19 sni 20 na heya’ha 20 sk’e 7 “To’ki
although there was he might start not, and he was saying it is said. “Oh that.

kowa’kata 15 ma’ka 22 ni 23 ec’i’ê’c’i 24 nawa’zi 20 , 25 eya’ 28 $ Yun’k’s
on the other side I sit might thinking this often I stand,” she said. And then.

1 A shortened form of Ik’tomî (the Spider), who is the great trickster and charlatan among the Dakota.
2 he’c’êš he that; c’ê emphatic.
3 wana’ perhaps contains the passive prefix wau.-
4 ka demonstrative indicating something that happened at a remote time or in a remote place; c’êc’s sort or kind; na probably a locative particle used instead of -l to indicate that he was already at the place where the event happened.
5 -la diminutive suffix.
6 c’o’n’ an altered form of c’au; wood; ò’ka thick, the final vowel being altered in nominalizing.
7 wol we- something, and ya’wa to eat, contracted into f.
8 na- perhaps passive prefix; -la diminutive.
9 c’o prepositional prefix; â’wâ’ shore.
10 c’o demonstrative; -l motion to that place.
11 c’o prepositional prefix indicating purpose; na- instrumental prefix indicating action done with the foot; ë’s to stand.
12 k’oow’ka on the other side of the river; -ha continuing to be.
13 c’è a compound verb; c’ë to wish.
14 keya’u; ik’ya usually equivalent to something and the emphatic suffix -â.
15 to indefinite demonstrative; c’â sort or kind, which is altered to ã’â”” after c, and a syllable si often suffixed to adverbs of this kind when the verb is followed by the negative particle. It may be the stem of the verb ni to live.
16 This seems to contain the ordinary stem of the verb to go and the causative auxiliary. Final ã is altered to c before ìn.
17 he demonstrative referring to what follows; ya to go; -haâ continual.
18 to indefinite demonstrative; ã perhaps the definite article.
19 ma- objective pronominal prefix before ya’wa.
20 The sign of the optative.
21 c’ë demonstrative; c’ë to wish, duplicated to show repetition of the mental process.
22 na to do with the foot; òa- subjective personal pronominal prefix; ë’s to stand.
23 c’ë demonstrative; stem ya.

954
aheči'ya', "Ho! mani' ki le o'p'ta ač'i'yi'n k'ta, tk'a
and said to him, "Ho! water the this across I take you will, but
a'ku wa'zi'ni iwa'ltca'iyi'n k'te lo,' eč'i'ya'. eč'ak'e'n wana' eč'i'ya'.
so I do it will," said he. So now he said to him as follows,
'Ho! to'ha'ni p'a ta'ka'la hiyu'ye śni mani' ogan'a no'wa'z-
"Ho! whenever head outside send it not water in swimming
vau'n3 we lo. He'č'el wamiye'čikita' k'te lo," eya'.
I am indeed. So you be on the watch will," said he.
Ho he'č'es wana' "To," eya'.
So it happened now "Yes," said he.

27 Used indifferently as an interrogative pronoun meaning WHAT? and an indefinite pronoun mean-

28 The final syllable of ha'w'ka long is duplicated for the plural of he.

29 ya is probably the causative auxiliary ya altered to wana' after o's.

30 late' wind against the current, against the wind; ya causative; he perhaps a contraction of

31 hi to arrive at a place approaching one.

32 i- the prepositional prefix; c'aa conjunction; -i suffix indicating motion.

33 Definite article referring to ta'ku he ha'w'saska.

34 Alternate form with ül, indicating something already in place.

35 he demonstrative; ki- changed to ül after c, indicating that the verb takes an object; ya stem.

36 Post-position containing the prefix o- and referring to le.

37 a- prepositional prefix, which indicates here that the subject of the verb went in company; c'č'i-
you; ya to go, altered to yin before k'ta, the sign of the future.

38 i- prepositional prefix; wu'la to be on guard; c'č'i-you; causative, ya altered to yin before k'te.

39 Future participle k'ta altered to k'te by incorporating the ye of ye lo.

40 ye lo is usually employed in closing declarative sentences in direct address.

41 c demonstrative referring to what has just been said; ül for ki to of for; stem ya.

42 mi- possessive prefix, first person singular.

43 Probably the indefinite demonstrative lo.

44 c demonstrative; c'aa to do (probably compounded of a prefix c'aa and o's); ma-objective, first
person singular; ya-subjective, second person singular; ül to command, to bid.

45 It will be noticed that he is used referring to the entire preceding sentence.

46 c demonstrative; c'aa sort, kind; -i indicating motion.

47 c demonstrative; c'aa (see note 44); ma- first person objective; o's (?).

48 Conjunction introducing the next sentence.

49 Contraction of ta'ka'la.

50 hi to arrive coming; ü to be coming along with a continuous motion; ya causative, changed
ye before šni.

51- verbal prefix.

52- first person subjective; üs usual or customary condition or state.
C'a\k'\e\ wana\ leya\ "Toha'ni\ mahipi\ ya\ wa^nzi\ tuki'\.

So now he said this, "When the cloud one

\ci'kala\ tan'\i\ ya\ ye\ ke\ ec'\i\ oma'kiya'ka\ yo. He's

small visibly sits the in that case tell me thou. In

eci'na\ nawa'p'ia\ k'te\ na\ man\i\ sime\ e'ltkiya\ waki'ya\ k'ta\ e\.

in that I see will and water deep thither I go back to will

case
eya'. Yun\'k'a\ heya' "Misun\ hec'a\no\ k'ha\ mis\ to'kes\k's.

said he. And then he said as "My younger you do that if I

walia\ k'ta\ he\ ec'i\ ya. Yun\'k'a\ "to'kes\a\ tohan\ omayakila\k'

I undertake shall?" he said to. And then "in that when you tell it to me

ci'ha\ lec'el ehe' wa\'cag kipa's ibala'ba\le\ wi\ to'k'a

when in this you say when at once doubling I start to go so the by and

o'hu\a\ ek'\a\ iya'lipayin\ k'te\ lo\" eya'. "Misun\ nita\'n\ k'si\la.

shore at you fall then will."
said he. "My younger your grandad brother

u we lo; ehe' ec'i\he' wakin'ya\ ec'a\ hoto'pi k'ha

is coming in" you say when Thunders that roar when

hehin\ ec' k'te\ lo\" eya'.
you say will said he.

that
C'än'ke' wona' ka'k'ēl 81 mani' ki' o'p'ta he ki'n ak'a'nįł 88
So now in that way water the along horn the on

n'ki'n na ya. Yū'n'ka'n wona' mani' o'busta ik'i'yela 83 ye
se sat and and then now water shore near to was going.

n leha'nįł 84 malipi'ya sabye'la 85 au'. 86 C'än'ke' heya', "Misun',
ike at this time clouds blackly were going. So he said as "My younger

itun'k'a'si'la 87 u we lo'" eya'. C'än'ke' agana' mani'
our grandfather is com- indeed ', said he. So all at once water

roaringly moving about suddenly did. And then Spider the whither

(ina the past)

y'a'ye ciòn a'taya kik'su'ye 88 sni. Yū'n'ka'n ìteha'heha'nįł 84
e started the altogether remembered not. And then very long afterward

nani'o'hta ekt'a' le'ce mani' a'op'e'ya 86 hpa'ya he 86 eha'nįł 97
edge of water at beheld water partly in he was lying then

tik'su'ya. Yū'n'ka'n heha'nįł mani' ekta' e'to'wa'ya 86 Yū'n'ka'n mani'
temembered. And then then water at he looked. And (then) water

zin' wak'antkiya 99 holo'yela 100 hı'n na ta'ku he ha'n'ask'al ko'a
the upward grayish being and horns long the thing the

(long past)

wa'naya'ke 101 sni na el nakon'n wawi'yi'ya hoto'pi nali'n'.
he saw and there also Thunders roared he heard.

Ho lēl wona' Ikt'o' ki'n he'ta' 102 he'c'elēs 103 ak'e' oma'ni-
Now in this now Spider from that just as usual again was travel-

place

ha'n sk'e. Leha'n'yela 104 wek'su'ye. 106

ing is said. Only this far I remember.

81 ka demonstrative, indicating something distant; ća sort, changed to će; -l suffix indicating motion.
82 a- prepositional prefix; -l suffix indicating motion.
83 e- prepositional prefix; ya causative altered to ye; -la diminutive.
84 te demonstrative; -nas continuous particle; -e suffix indicating motion.
85 ća'pa (also ća'pa) DIRTY OR BLACKENED, contracted to ćab; ya causative; -la diminutive.
86 a- before w- indicates that a cloud was coming accompanied by others, and thus indirectly plurality.
87 ni- TUY; -la diminutive.
88 Amas TO BEZU OR HUM; ya causative; -la intensive auxiliary.
89 Duplicated to express the distributive.
90 His- indicates rapidity or suddenness of motion.
91 Article used in referring to some past action or aforesaid person.
92 to indefinite demonstrative.
93 Although kik'su'ye is now used as a whole, it is probably to be analyzed in kit- one's own; k'su
stem; ya causative.
94 i- prepositional prefix; te particle indicating something far off in time or space; -nas continuous
suffix; ke' or ke' REALLY, TRUELY; -nas continuous suffix employed a second time.
95 a- and o- prepositional prefixes; p'a TO FOLLOW OR PURSUE; ya auxiliary.
96 has changed before e.
97 e demonstrative; -nas continuous.
98 e demonstrative.
99 This word contains -ta to, contracted to -t; kit- the dative sign; ya causative.
100 hol contracted form of the adjective Ro'ta GRAY; ya causative; -la diminutive suff
101 was probably a prefix; ke an auxiliary.
102 he demonstrative; -daw FROM, AFTER.
103 he demonstrative; ća; -l suffix indicating motion; ć emphatic suffix.
104 te demonstrative; -nas continuous particle; ya causative; -la diminutive suffix.
105 we FOR ME.
Spider happened to be traveling along alone in a certain place, it is said. And he was going along through a forest, eating. Then he stood on the edge of a river; and, although he wanted to get across, there was no way; and he said, they say, "I stand thinking continually, 'Oh that I might sit on the other side!'" Then something with long horns came swimming up against the current. And he said again, "I stand thinking continually, 'Oh that I might sit on the other side!'"

Just then the creature with long horns stopped there, and said to him, "Ho! I will take you across this water, but I will have you be on the watch for a certain thing." Then the Spider said, "Come! my younger brother, I will do whatever you command me." So he said to him, "Well! I always swim in the water with my head not extended above it. So you shall be on the watch for me." Then he said, "Yes."

So he said, "When one small cloud becomes visible, tell me. Then I will flee and go back into deep water." Then he said, "My younger brother, what will become of me?" And he said, "In that case, when you tell it to me, and I double up and start off, you will fall close to the shore. When you say, 'Your grandfather is coming,' it will mean that the Thunders roar."

So he was going along in the water sitting upon the horn. And when he was going along near the shore, black clouds were coming. So he said, "My younger brother, your grandfather is coming." So all at once the water moved about roaringly. And whither the Spider went, he did not at all remember. And a long time afterward, lo! he came to himself lying partly in the water. Then he looked at the water. Then upward the water was grayish, and he did not see the thing with long horns, and he also heard Thunders roaring.

Now the Spider traveled on from this place just as usual, it is said. I remember only this far.
WINNEBAGO TEXT

By PAUL RADIN

Hid'ni'hi'wiri1 jag'2 haminan'figiresga'na'ik'4 hi'peresjina'nak'4;
Our father
 what
does he sit on, it seems
he came to, he knew;
ē'gi5 is'ja'niahon'jē6 ra'kē;7 e'gi kē s'y' wewi'ni;8 ha'kē'8 waja'nijan'9
and
 tears flowed
 he wept; and
not long he thought
not anything
of it;
hajani'jē;10 ha'kē'8 waja'nijan'9 kē'8 waja'nijan'9 nin'gena'ägenijē.11
he did not
not anything,
not anything
 was (there) anywhere.

Ja'gwamina'figiresga'na'ik'se gi'ji13 haminan'figena'aka, e'ja wajain'jat13
What he sat on it seemed
 he sat on that which,
 there
something
hanigu'jē, hanigu'na'aka14 ma'na'gerē15 ēja16 nin'geni'na'17
he took from, he took that which
the earth
there
a little piece
wa'gi'18 jē;18 ē'gi18 homina'figena'aka19 k'u'ha'nii'regi21 howahuh'i'jē.22
for them he
and
that which he sat on
below him
 towards he sent it.

made;

1 hi'ni'wiri FATHER; hi'wiri 1st plural of possessive pronoun of terms of relationship; č softens to j
when followed by any syllable.
2 jag' regular and relative pronoun.
3 Contraction for ha-mi'na'ak-hire'ge'na'ik'sa; ha on; mi'na'ak he sits; hire'ge it seems; -ge' a suffix
implying uncertainty; -na'ik suffix denoting sitting position; 'a he does, auxiliary verb (1st person
ha'‑na', 2d person 'a'‑a, 3d person 'a').
4 hi'peresji'na'ik'se; hi prefix generally meaning WITH; peres he knows; jē he comes; -na'ik suffix
denoting sitting position; -ē he or -ē temporal suffix denoting present completed action.
5 ē'gi conjunction, sometimes with the force of THEN. Composed of two elements,—e, the demonstrative
pronominal of 3d person; and -gi, an adverbial suffix. For the demonstrative expressing position
near the 1st person it is me'gi, and for that near the second person de'gi.
6 (h)ī'a-ni'ha'kon'jē EYE-WATER-IT FLOWED ON—present time.
7 ya'ka'kē he wept—present time.
8 we'wei he knows; ni negative particle following adverb ha'kē or kē not, and always inserted at
the end of the stem of the following verb.
9 wajain'jia indefinite pronoun composed of waj'ina, SOMETHING; and hi'ja'na ONE, a. The a
following the nasalization is a glide.
10 ha'na'ni'jē he sees; negative particle; present (1st person ha'na', 2d person ha'ja', 3d person ha'ja').
11 ni'figiresga'na'ik'se ANY (THING) sitting position; negative particle; present.
12 gi'jē an adverb generally meaning so. Often used as a stop.
13 Contraction for waj'ina hi'ja'na. The elision of the a, the union of two vowels to form a diphthong,
and the shifting of the nasalization, are very common in Winnebago; for example, na'as+hi'ja'as form
ma'na'as a TREE; ma'as+hi'ja'as form mai'na'as a YEAR.
14 hanu-gu-na'aka to HAVE, TO TAKE FROM; ha from (1st person ha'ni', 2d person ha'kt'ina, 3d person
han'li). This verb is used also as one of the possessive pronouns. gu it comes in direction towards
SUBJECT OF ACTION (1st person ha'ku', gu, gu); nha'k'ak, sitting form of demonstrative pronoun ga
that. Here used with force of relative pronoun.
15 ma'na'igere EARTH; demonstrative plural pronoun from ga; idiomatically used as the plural
definite article.
16 ē'ja adverb. Probably composed of demonstrative ē and hi'ja' THERE.
17 ni'figiresga'na'ik'se A PIECE, A LITTLE; ni'fig is the regular diminutive suffix. Sometimes used to express
an indefinite object.
18 wa'gi'jē plural objective personal pronoun; FOR; HE DID; present time. There are four ele-
ments of gi that have to be carefully distinguished,—the instrumental prefix, the preposition FOR
or to, the temporal suffix, and the verbal stem.
Hoku'rulijegaja\*33 mana'ñgèrè je'òegè\*34 jina'ñksè; e'gi
He looked at his own (to) this earth let similar it became; and
kè'wajan'ñia\*35 hayèbeni'je\*25 hu'sara'ñksè, \*36 e'gi kègise'weni
nothing appeared upon it bare it was, and not still it
nànkè\*37 mana'ñgèrè horup'ëninànkè; e'gi "mejegu" hagiji\*38
this earth turning it was; then "if this way I do
ligne'wë jina'ñk'janaga'ja, \*39 hirégij'i. \*40
quiet it will become,” he thought so.
E'gi bigi'ò'jè homina'ñgènañka; e'jà hi'awa'jiwa\*23 ru'zana'ògùa\*41
Then he made for that which he sat on; there a grass he took and
hi'gi'ò'jè ma'no'wahu'hije\*34 jegèn\*42 hi'a'ñàgùa\*35 hoku'rulijegaja\*1
he made toward the earth he and then he did he looked upon his own
sent
hànkè' gise'weni'ñànkè. . . . Jigí'jà\*36 'ùn'jà 'ùn'òebigi'jìi \*37 kecù'ñgègè\*2
not still it was. . . . Again one he did when he finished the torture
him

\*e'gi may begin a sentence. Its force is that of a conjunction connecting more or less independent sentences, as distinguished from d'nsàgòd, which connects closely related sentences. In translation and then is always inadequate.

\* ho-mina'ñk-ñànkè; ho is a nominalizing prefix. Nominalization, however, requires generally as only this prefix or its related wo, but also the suffixing of the definite article ra or some demonstrative, as in this case.

\* k'wàw-ha'hi'regi ñëho; hi auxiliary or causative (1st person ha, 2d person ra or š, 3d person ki:)

\* regi is an adverb with a prepositional force not very clearly shown in this case because the various elements in the word have been closely united to form a distinct preposition. In spite of the close union, however, the auxiliary is regularly conjugated for the 1st, 2d, and 3d persons; i.e., k'wàw-ha'hi'regi, k'wàw-ha'hi'regi, k'wàw-ha'hi'regi. The -regi denotes that it is immediately below the subject of action; ra is a demonstrative pronoun, which seems to denote immediate proximity, and is be stronger than me this (for the first person). But its exact meaning is uncertain.

\* hou'è-hahu-jè; hou'è adverb denoting toward, away from subject of action; ha'he' to send in person haua', 2d person haua', 3d hahu'). To send away from subject of action; for to send toward subject of action, the verb 1st person reha', 2d person rea', 3d person rekè', is used.

\* ho-kù-tulu'ç-gadja; ho preposition generally meaning in; ñu pronoun referring to what belongs to one's self, either of one's own person, property, or relations. Its vowel conforms with the following suffix vowel (see § 4); re'ùt; ra is in this case either the Instrumental prefix or part of the stem. If it is the prefix, its original meaning with the mouth has been entirely lost. A similar case is found in the verb dhu'ùraeg, du'ulu'raeg, du'ulu'raeg, to obtain, to accomplish; gar'dja= an adverb almost always used as a stop.

\* je'òegè an adverb meaning that kind, that way.

\* ha-je'òpmi-je; ha on; repr it pushes, it grows, appears; nd negative particle; je present tense.

\* ñu' skin; ña'ya bare, naked; na'ñkè sitting position.

\* hañkè or ñè not; gise'wè quiet; nd negative particle.

\* me this near me; jegùw an adverb meaning thus, indeed; ha causative 1st person; gi's conditional.

\* ji to come; nañf from nañf, which becomes lengthened in the future; ñjàme future particle. The simple future particle is jìga, but to express an indefinite future the particle nàw is always fixed. Without the nàw it has the force of a mild imperative. (Cf. also note 43.)

\* 1st person you'ra', 2d person ha'rai', 3d person hù're to think.

\* hi'um to do with; gi for.

\* ña'wèl weed, grass; ñà contraction for hìjè.

\* ru'a or rua (1st person dua, 2d person wa'ra, 3d person ru'a) to take; d'nañfàg, a conjunction connecting closely related sentences.

\* ma'wa'ho'wa-hahu'jè; ga for ra, the r of which changes to ñ after a nasalization (see note 22).

\* je'òjìi hìgì'ñagèd a common connective phrase; nd causative 3d person.

\* Contraction for jigí'hi'jà

\* Contraction of d'wèp to finish and the third person of the causative hì. Both elements of the verb are conjugated. Thus ho'wàwèbòhà'nàw, d'wàwèbòhà'nàw, d'wàwèbòhà'nàw; -gìjì is used here as a temporal particle.

\* ke'ñfìì or ke'ñgèd large species of turtles; ke alone is also found meaning turtle; ñd a regular possessive pronoun ending, used with terms of relationship, or for persons to whom respect is to be shown. It is always used in indirect address, somewhat in the sense of Mr. so and so. It is appended to all proper names; for instance, k'wàwañfàg eldést born, etc. But in direct address the ñd is dropped.
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hānā'ć duhurú'k'ána u'á'ňkségo-in'pa hidegwah'ra hidu'wih
all I have accomplished their life my uncles my sons
wiakaraki'sgę 'uinek'jane'ną. "'E'gi čā'anga no jasgér'niug
the same as myself they will be." And grandson how did ya
hidegwá'rága uá'ňkségo-in'pa wiraki'sgę jasgo'k'jéjë ngi jës'gę
our uncles their life make just as you how could you
that way our father indeed he created them that is so (but) not he made
nina hió'jihiwí'ra jegu'ną gůn'sgę jëgú'ną hańke jëgë
our father not that way am I thinking that is so
higí p'iní'ną. "'Kunišga wajàn wahigu'ni esgë haul
it thus could be." Grandmother something to them she for us
must be.
gıp'íníge wanakinu'nà t'ewágigí'ra. Hiran'a'ńkse. "'Hańka's
like it does she is saying that I killed them." He thought. "No. am
čů'ngá'no, hańke jë jeńse hawahanina'ňksána ngi čů'ngá'
grandson, not that way am I am thinking
hió'jihiwí'ra ro'tà hâk'ó'nà hîgó'nsána wa'ruč hîk'ir'mí
our father bodies the falling (to die) he made me eating
to fall short
k'ínekjë'nà they would make one because of that, another
hegë'jini. e'sgę hokó'pá čū'wahigí'gë wu'un
therefore death for them to have he made

---

"ČARÁK MEANS MALE HUMAN BEING; ČARÁK'K is generic name of HUMAN BEINGS, and secondary
for INDIANS. (A)-ńń-čá is the nominalized form of the verb 1st person a'čá, 2d person a'fá, 3rd person a', to act, to live.

"HIDEK UNCLE; -waahá'rd 1st person plural of possessive pronoun, used for terms of relationship.

"Contraction for wa-yo-ka'ra-ke'sgę; wa indefinite pronoun: ka' reflexive/possessive: 1st person yoki a'gę, 2d person h'ráaki a'gę, 3rd person hítka a'gę.

"See note 63.

"Ja'gę how; kje future; -je interrogative particle. The whole expression has acquired a force of
ordinary usage which makes it practically an exclamation.

"Jeńse hańima that is not my way; hańina is a possessive pronoun.

"Gůn' he created; -gę a causal suffix, because, for that reason.

"An expression similar to jegu'náhi'ência: -jë has adverbial force.

"P'í' to be good is often used as an auxiliary verb with the force of to be able, can.

"This means she must be related to them; she plural objective personal pronoun 3rd person: causative. It must not be forgotten that the causative is an auxiliary verb and is often used as such. -gú'ná a temporal suffix implying a probability that is almost a certainty. The other suffix denoting probability, -g'uvén, has no element of certainty in its meaning.

"Wó she báys changes to wó after a negative. The verb is irregular, 1st person báse, 2d person háte, 3rd person he. The h of he is always omitted. The w preceding indicates that the subject of the principal verb and of e is the same. If they had been different, the e would have remained unchanged; waahá'ná is a contraction for nańk'gú'ná, the suffix denoting sitting position and the

"K'úm'oká does not actually say the above words, but the supposition seems to true to Waahigę'pa, that it almost amounts to a certainty, and therefore -g'uvén is used instead of -gú'ná.

"Je dead; wó them; hóp'í I did (see note 48); -ta that (see note 46); 1st person -čà, 2d person -ču, 3rd person -čhi, to kill.

"The short e is changed to a on account of emphasis.

"See notes 74 and 43.

"1st person hháte, 2d person ha'rá-a'gę, 3rd person hâk'ágę, to fall.

"1st person gú' to make; -hána (see note 48).

"1st person dučé, 2d person wá'ruč, 3rd person wáč, to eat. The wá is indefinite.

"1st person hi'jínjíja, 2d person hi'níjíjíja, 3rd person hi'bíjíjíja.

"1st goes with the preceding verb. K'í'a auxiliary verb (from 1st person ha'čí'č, 2d person nań, 3rd person kí'č, to do, to make; -gö, j'gé, -č, -č, suffix used to indicate 3rd person plural of almost all verbs. It is really an auxiliary verb. When suffix to future, it makes the

"p'í'jini or heg'íjini conjunction. The latter form is rarely found.

"Dín many, really an adverb; wačí'më made them: -gę causal suffix.
First ki reflexive pronoun, referring to the fact that the people are regarded as related; ni is the egeticative particle. As I have never found another instance of ni appearing without hatke, I assume that I overheard the latter word. For -gejini see note 82.

*See notes 3 and 43.*

*Referring to the Winnebago ghost-village.*

*Higej truly; -ji is intensive suffix.*

*wii'ojik a hare* (see note 88).

*Verb 1st person hat'ip's, 2d person raf'ip's, 3d person p'ip's. The force of gi in verbs that elide it in the first and second persons is obscure, although it is generally the instrumental prefix. In this case it is the meaning for, to; it is pleasing to me. ni negative particle; ka'a, contracted for ma'ip-ga'ja (see notes 74 and 25).*

*The verb is found only in the reflexive form, 1st person wa'kar'a'ik, 2d person wa'aka'ra'tak, 3d person wa'aka'ra'it; we indefinite pronoun; kar reflexive pronoun; - is a glide.*

*This should be hi'rena'ak', the change from t to a being due to the presence of the negative.*

*An idiomatic expression with force of an exclamation. Probably a contraction of haga'w-waja't+ po'ja'ja+ mat'ja'; haga't is an exclamation employed by women (see note 115); mat'ja a year, time.*

*Na'se'ge heart.*

*1st person hi'wdek, 2d person ni'wdek, 3d person dek, to be sore; i'ja, hi'ja, one, a.*

*Conjunction, meaning in spite of, notwithstanding.*

*See note 12; i', concessive conjunction meaning if; -ji is often used with the same force.*

*1st person hi'pon'da'ka'ja'n's, 2d person ponda'ka'ja'n's, 3d person ponda'ka'jane'n's. The initial hi- in the first person is a contraction of the prefix hi- and the pronoun hin: -ir' personal pronoun 3d person plural (see note 81).*

*From t'ak to be old. The fact that it has the nominalizing prefix would indicate that t'ak is a verb.*

*1st person hi'ra'hi, 2d person hi'ra'ri, 3d person hi'ra'hi, to reach; -ki or -ji is superlative particle; for see note 81. The simple future -je is used because the limits of the action are conceived as having been set. The suffix -na would have made the future indefinite.*

*1st person wa'ge'j, 2d person wa'ge'j, 3d person wa'ge', to mean.*

*1st person na'jina, 2d person na'waja'in, 3d person na'jina', to stand. The -je or -je is the imperative. There are two kinds of imperatives, immediate and general. The immediate is -je, and the general is -a'je.*

*Contraction for hira'hi's-kona'ak'iwip'hi'nu'ki'jane'n's. Na'ja prefix meaning with, in sense of accomplishment; he prefix, meaning obscure here; his objective personal pronoun 1st person singular; ko'mafk stem of verb to follow; nih'e is an auxiliary verb and is used to imply repetition. It is regularly conjugated 1st person ha'nihe, 2d person ranhe, 3d person nih'e. It must not be confused with ni'je, which is not conjugated and appears as a suffix with the meaning of had; 'si'ne they do; for ne'sa'na see note 43.*

*ni objective personal pronoun 2d person singular. The stem appears either as na'ik or na'ik (hi)n'ihe (see note 101).*

*Adverb. The ending -affe would seem to indicate that it is really the imperative form of a verb.*

*Imperative form (see note 100); we indefinite pronoun.*

*From na'ik man, and na'ik't'nan to have, to possess (see note 14).*
As our father came to consciousness, he thought of the (substance he was sitting on). His tears flowed and he cried, (but not long did he think of it). He saw nothing. Indeed, nothing was there anywhere. He took something of the substance he was sitting on, and made little piece of earth for them (our ancestors), and from the place on which he sat (he) cast it down below. Then he looked at what he had made, and he saw that it had become very similar to our earth. But nothing grew upon it; bare it was, and not quiet, but revolving. "How shall I make it become quiet?" he (Earth-Maker) thought. Then (from what he was sitting on) he took some grass and cast it toward the earth; and he looked upon what he had made, but it was not quiet.
Again he made a man; and when he had finished him, he called him Tortoise. At the conclusion of his thinking (i.e., when he had the same to consciousness) he had made the two-legged walkers (human beings). (Then he spoke to him thus: "The evil spirits) are about to destroy (my creation), and you, Tortoise, are being sent to bring order into earthly things again." Then (Earth-Maker) gave him a knife. When he came on earth, he began to make war, and did not look after the creation of (Earth-Maker); indeed, he did not look after it; so (Earth-Maker) took him back. . . . There he (the Hare) went into the house.

"Say, grandmother, the work my father sent me to do I have now accomplished; his creation I have fixed for him, and (all that I was sent out for) I have accomplished. The lives of my uncles and my aunts (human beings) will be like mine (i.e., immortal)." (Then the grandmother answered,) "Grandson, how did you make the lives of your uncles and your aunts like your own, for how could you do something in a way our father had not (intended) it to be? He could not create them thus."—"My grandmother must be related to them (those I have killed); she does not like what I have done, for she is saying that I killed them (the evil spirits)." The Hare thought to himself. "No, grandson, I am not thinking of that, I am saying that our father made death, so that there should not be a dearth of food on earth for all, so death he made to prevent their overcrowding each other. He also made a spirit-world (in which they were to live after death)."

But the Hare did not like what she said. "Surely," he thought to himself, "grandmother (does not like it); she must be related to the (evil spirits), for she is taking their part."—"No, no, grandson, it is not so; but as you have been sore at heart for a long time, (to appease you) your uncles and aunts will obtain a sufficient number of years, and they will attain to old age." (Thus she spoke:) "Now, grandson, stand up, (you) they will follow me forever, and I shall follow you forever; so try, grandson, to do (what I tell you) with all your power; and (remember) that you are a man. Do not look back after you have started." Then they started to go around (this earth).

"Do not look back," she said. (Thought the Hare,) "(I wonder) why she said it!" And then he turned just the least little bit to the left; and as he looked back toward the place from which he had started, everything caved in (instantaneously). "Oh, my! oh, my!" (exclaimed the grandmother), "grandson, a man you are, but I thought you were a great man, so I greatly encouraged you. Now, grandson, even (if I wished to), I could not prevent death." This, it is said, she meant. Around the earth they went to the edge of the fire (that encircles the earth); that way they went, it is said.
ESKIMO

BY

WILLIAM THALBITZER
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ESKIMO

By WILLIAM THALBITZER

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

The Eskimo language is spoken by hardly forty thousand individuals, who live in small groups on the northernmost shores of America, from Alaska to East Greenland. Their territory extends south of Bering sea and includes the easternmost point of Asia. Since the main groups have been separated for at least six hundred years,¹ more likely for a thousand years or longer, it is but natural that their language should have split up into a number of dialects. It becomes evident, from a comparison of these widespread dialects² as recorded by different authorities, that their differentiation has developed largely through phonetic and sematological changes, and only to a slight degree through intercourse with Indians. The dialectic differences are important, although not so extensive as to obscure the identity of the Eskimo languages of Alaska and of Greenland. We even find dialectic deviations from fiord to fiord. Nowadays an East Greenlander does not understand a West Greenlander until both have become accustomed to each other’s speech; and the Greenlander has to learn the peculiarities of the dialect of the Baffin-land Eskimo to carry on conversation with him.³ The dialects of western Alaska differ fundamentally from the Greenland dialects, about as much as English and German or English and French differ from each other. Owing to lack of material, it is at present difficult to draw safe conclusions concerning the historical relations of these dialects as regards

¹The ancestors of the present Central and South Greenlanders (the Kalaallit tribe) appeared in Greenland in the fourteenth century, but they must have separated more than a hundred years before that time from their fellow-tribes on the opposite shores of Davis strait (G. Storm, Monumenta historica Norvegiae, 76, 206; Thalbitzer III, 111–112, and IV, 206).
²H. Rink, in his “Eskimo Tribes” (Meddelelser om Grønland, XI, 1887–91), was the first to undertake such a comparison; Thalbitzer, I, 181–289 (Phonetic differentiations in the Eskimo dialects).
³This was tested by a Greenlander who had an opportunity to meet with some Eskimos of Baffin land. See Atuagagdluutit (the Greenlandic periodical), No. 1, pp. 2–3 (Godthaab, 1861).
their common origin. All that can be done is to indicate some of the main lines of dialectic differentiation.

It is not known how many dialects there are. In Greenland at least five may be distinguished, three of which (those of Upernavik, Disco bay, and Ammassalik) have been closely examined by me. In this sketch I shall describe the dialect of the largest two fiords of West Greenland,—that of Disco bay (69°–70° N. lat.) and of the neighboring Oommannaq fiord (70°–71° N.). Of course this does not imply that that dialect is more typical than any of the others.

Notwithstanding the fact that the dialects of western Alaska differ essentially from the Eskimo dialect which is spoken at the mouth of the Mackenzie river, yet these dialects have certain peculiarities in common which show that genetically they belong together. We may speak of a western Eskimo group of dialects, comprising the many different dialects of Kadiak island, Bristol bay, the mouth of the Yukon river, Norton sound and Kotzebue sound, Point Barrow, and the mouth of the Mackenzie river, as opposed to the eastern Eskimo group of dialects; namely, those of Labrador, Baffin land, and Greenland. Within the eastern Eskimo branch I have presumed a closer relationship to exist between the dialects of Labrador and Central or South Greenland (from about 63° to 66° N. lat. on the western coast) than between those of the other parts of the group. The latter comprises the four northernmost dialects, which are now widespread, but which perhaps less than a thousand years ago were still a unit,—the dialects of Baffin land, Smith sound, Upernavik, and Ammassalik (East Greenland). It is probable that these Eskimo reached the shores of Davis strait at a later period than the Labrador and South Greenland Eskimo. Finally, I shall only touch on the group of dialects that are spoken on the western shores of Hudson bay, Southampton island, Melville and Boothia peninsulas, and in part of Baffin land,—properly the central dialects. It remains undecided as yet with which group these dialects must be classed.

It is fitting to add here that I feel indebted to Professor Franz Boas for his kind and valuable assistance in the revision and finishing of this grammar.

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1 The Danish Commission for the Direction of Geological and Geographical Explorations in Greenland arranged for two investigations of the Eskimo language in Greenland,—first, in 1900–01, in West Greenland (see Meddelelser om Grønland, XXXI, Copenhagen, 1904), and again, in 1906–08, in East Greenland.

2 Thalbitzer I, 237, 260, 262–265.

§ 1
The abbreviations Al., Gr., Láb., M., stand throughout for Alaska, Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river, respectively.

Authorities have been quoted as follows:


F. Barnum, Grammatical Fundamentals of the Inuit Language... of the Western Coast of Alaska. London 1901.


T. Bourquin, Grammatik der Eskimo-Sprache... an der Labradorküste. London 1891.


F. Erdmann, Eskimoisches Wörterbuch... in Labrador. Budissin 1864.


V. Henry, Esquisse d'une grammaire de la langue Innok. Paris 1878.


H. Rink: I. The Eskimo Language, etc. (The Eskimo Tribes I, in Meddelelser om Grønland XI). Copenhagen 1887.

§ 1
Schultz-Lorentzen, Kalâtdlit okuausñik okausilerissutit (Greenland grammar). Nüngme 1904.
C. Uhlenbeck: Ontwerp van een vergelijkende vormleer der Eskimotalen. Amsterdam 1907.

**PHONETICS (§§ 2–12)**

§ 2. Sounds and Sound-Symbols

Following is the system of sounds, or phones, of the dialect of Disco bay, West Greenland, symbolized by phonetic symbols:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stopped consonants</td>
<td>( p )</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( k )</td>
<td>( q )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( m )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( ɣ )</td>
<td>( \tilde{q} [ɣ] )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open consonants (fricatives)</td>
<td>( w[\tilde{k}] )</td>
<td>( l )</td>
<td>( ʃ )</td>
<td>( q )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( f )</td>
<td>( L s s )</td>
<td>( x )</td>
<td>( ë [l] )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS</th>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Uvularized, being followed by ( r ), ( z ), ( q ), or ( ň ).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Closed vowels</td>
<td>( i )</td>
<td>( ü )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-closed</td>
<td>( \ddot{i} )</td>
<td>( \ddot{u} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-open</td>
<td>( \ddot{a} )</td>
<td>( \ddot{a} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>( \ddot{a} )</td>
<td>( \ddot{a} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 2
The majority of the symbols here used are in accordance with the
signs employed by the Association phonétique internationale.\textsuperscript{1} I prefer
the simple \(r\) instead of the \(x\), and \(w\) instead of \(b\) of the Association,
that the Eskimo words may not look more difficult than necessary;
nevertheless, \(r\) and \(w\) in the Eskimo language mean something very
different from the English \(r\) and \(w\). The same is true of my signs for
the \(s\)- and \(a\)- sounds, and, of course, of all the uvularized vowels, all
of which only in part agree with sounds of any other language that
I know of.

: indicates length of the preceding vowel or consonant; e. g., \(a: = aa\)

or \(a\); \(m: = mm\) or \(\overline{m}\).

I prefer in ordinary orthography to double the sign to indicate
length of sound: thus, \(aa\), \(mm\), \(ee\), etc. A single consonant is
always to be considered short.

' stands before the stressed syllable of a word. Degrees of stress are
indicated thus: ' \(a\), strong stress; " \(a\), very strong stress; \(a\) or

\(a\), weak stress.

\(\sim\) indicates nasalization: \(\grave{a}\), \(\breve{q}\), \(\ddot{r}\).

' , " mean glides of the preceding vowel: \(a\)' [\(\alpha\)] or [\(\alpha\)], \(a\)" [\(\alpha\)] or [\(\alpha\)].

\(\wedge\), \(\'\) mean labialization and uvularization.

Following is a detailed description of these sounds:

\(\hat{a}\) uvularized \(a\), or followed by a uvular, in my ordinary\textsuperscript{2}
transcription

\(ar\), or pronounced with the soft palate (the velum) strained
and lifted. It is like \(a\) in English \textit{far}, followed by the Eskimo
fricative \(r\) (or \(q\)); see under \(r\).

\textit{ar\textsuperscript{3}taq} a ball

\(a\) as in French \textit{âme}, \textit{patte} (rarely like French \textit{pâte}, \textit{pas}, or English

\textit{father}).

\textit{ar\textsuperscript{2}naa} his woman, mother

\textit{at\textsuperscript{2}aa} beneath it

\(\acute{a}\) about as in \textit{man}; a short \(a\) modified by closed consonants and point-

consonants (or dentals) (Sweet, "A Primer of Phonetics," §§ 50
and 190).

\textit{qil\textsuperscript{2}ak} sky

\textit{nâ\textsuperscript{2}noq} bear

\textit{pi\textsuperscript{2}mi\textsuperscript{2}at} as he came

\textsuperscript{1}Le Maître phonétique, 1906: Exposé des principes de l'Association phonétique internationale.—

\textsuperscript{2}Cf. Paul Faesy, Petite Phonétique comparée (Leipsic et Berlin, 1906).

\textsuperscript{3}In my ordinary transcription I have tried to avoid diacritical marks.

\$2$
meergät children
aappaa his companion
ä about like the vowels in French lait, German denn; between e and
ä of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, “Petite
phonétique comparée,” §§ 241 and 248; Jespersen, “Lehrbuch
der Phonetik,” §§ 152 and 156), rather wide than narrow.

arnät [arnät] plural of arnaq woman
'nätt'eq a seal
kisäanne but

ό stopped front palatal, voiceless (Passy, l. c., § 187; Jespersen,
l. c., §§ 118 and 168); in ordinary transcription tj or kj. Com-
mon in some Eskimo dialects; for instance, Mackenzie river,
tqitamat [citamat] rour; also in the dialects of Upernavik and
Ammassalik in Greenland. (Thalbitzer I, 90, 190–191, 209,
221, 259.) ζ is the same sound very far forward.

g as in German ich.

ixxia [ixia] his throat (see under x).

o see after o.

ó more closed than e in French ètre, and a little more forward. When
it is used long, it sounds about like a long i.

qaane over it, on its surface
neeq [mni:aq] a porpoise

The “European” e, as in German see, may, however, occasionally
be heard. Notice the different pronunciations of my ee pure,
and eer which I use in my ordinary transcription for ear. The
first sound is about like a long i; the latter, rather like ã.

ē=ē, uvularized ā (cf. a and r).

erneq [ern:eg] son
meeq [me:raq] child, plural meeqat [me:ryat]

ē=ē uvularized, farther back than e, and sometimes like ā (Thal-
bitzer I, 107, 109) on account of the rounding of the innermost
part of the mouth.

peerpoq [pe:rpq] it is free, it is off

ē=œ uvularized, short mid-vowel.

f bilabial fricative.

sarraaq [sar:raq] a current (Central and South Greenland, Labrador)

g a j articulated as deep in the mouth as a k, voiced. It is usually
symbolized as g in North German regen, bogen, and in Danish

§ 2
DAGE, VIGE. Central and South Greenland, East Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river. $q$ occurs rarely in the northern part of West Greenland instead of $y$. The corresponding voiceless sound is $x$ or partly $q$.

$iga$ (South Greenland), $inya$ (North Greenland), a pot

$\text{h}$ is heard sometimes in interjections.

$\text{i}$ high narrow vowel (Bell and Sweet), as in French FINI.

$ittaq$ many years ago

$illit$ thou

$x$ between $i$ and $e$, especially before $n$, $m$, $y$.

$inaa$ [$ma:] its (the bird’s) nest

$j$ like $y$ in YARD, or like $j$ in German JA.

$ajaa$ his aunt

$pujoq$ smoke

$g$, $r$, $x$, and $n$ are uvular consonants, so called because they are articulated at the uvula. The posterior part of the velum and the root of the tongue are drawn back and up toward the back of the fauces, whereby the space in that part of the mouth seems to become larger. $q$ is a stopped voiceless consonant (TENUIUS), probably identical with the QOF of the Arab (Passy, l.c., §189).

$qaqqaq$ [$qaq:aq$] mountain

$arqa$ [$aq:a$] his name

$erqaane$ [$eqa:ne$] in the vicinity

$k$ as in French CAS without aspiration; only before $i$, $e$, and $u$, it may be heard aspirated.

$kaapoq$ he is hungry (pronounce $k$ like voiceless $g$), but

$keenwaq$ it bit him (more like [$kep:wa:]$)

$\text{l}$ and $\text{L}$ are articulated nearly alike, bilaterally, with the tip of the tongue against the back of the upper teeth. They have the latter feature in common with the Eskimo $t$ and $n$. The voiceless $l$ [$L$] is of rare occurrence in Indo-European languages, but it is well known from many other languages both in America ($\text{lh}$ of the Nahuatl, $l$ of Kwakiutl) and in Africa.

$ila$ certainly

$ulo$ woman’s knife

$illo$ house

$artuk$ grampus

$L$, see $l$.

§2
A sort of l, with the tip of the tongue bent up toward the alveolar arch, in some districts assuming the character of an untrilled palatal r, like the English r in Arab, but with a firmer pressure against the palate; for instance, in the southern part of Egedesminde district (Disco bay) aarpalaartoq instead of aarpalaartoq RED.

m as in English, but it is often long in Eskimo.

ammassat [am:as:at] capelans.

n articulated like t and l, at the lower edge of the upper teeth or at their posterior surface.

ŋ like ng in sing, singer (notice that the combination ng does not occur in Eskimo). Frequently this sound is so loosely articulated that it may be described rather as a nasalized g [ŋ] fricative.

ayakkoq shaman
eya pot
ayut man, father
paniqa or paniga my daughter

N see ñ.

o is a little more closed than the French o in rose.

sakko implement (used for hunting)
anore wind

oo is more like a long u (q. v.); but oor means, in ordinary transcription, uvulnärized o [o] or [u], which is more open.

ooneq [u:neq] a burn

o uvulnärized o rather closed like o in so, followed by the Eskimo fricative r or q.

qoog urine
ornippaa he comes to him

uo uvulnärized o, more open, like o in English more, or like a in all, followed by r or q. See o, o.

orrsoq [ors:øq] blubber

p as in French pas without aspiration.

paat mouth of a river

ñ uvular nasal = n (Passy, l. c., § 196).

ermit (dialect of Disco bay) lakes=ermit, singular imeq fresh water; in Oommannaq fiord also intervocalic: anone=anoq wind, instead of anore.

§ 2
r uvular fricative, voiced, is related to q as q is to k and w to p; usually articulated as far back in the mouth as q. It is quite another sound than the English r, but it has some resemblance to the French and German back -r, when untrilled, and especially to the Danish r, produced by friction right by the back of the fauces (Jespersen, "Lehrbuch der Phonetik," § 141; Passy, l. c., § 222). It is the ɣ of the Association phonétique internationale. Its articulation is especially tense when it is followed by q; e. g.,

sarpaq the sunny side
aargat gloves

rɣ is nothing but a modified form of long q [ɤː]; other combinations with r in Greenlandic are rt, rs, rf, rl, rɣ, rm, rn, ry, rn. A vowel preceding one of these sound-groups is always strongly uvularized. The r modifies the character of the vowel, and is anticipated in its pronunciation. The two sounds—the vowel + the r—in reality make up a phonetic whole (Thalbitzer I, pp. 110 and 152), and the following consonant is nearly always geminated (long). It might be symbolized thus:

arga his name = ʂqa [ʂːqːa]
orssoq blubber = [ɔrːsqːoq]
erneaq son = [ɛɾːnːeq]

When the r stands alone between vowels, its place of articulation is often somewhat advanced, and the friction not very tense; e. g., in nerivoq eats. In some districts (for instance, in the Oommannaq fiord) the outgoing air is apt to escape through the nose-passage, causing r to be nasalized, or [ɾ]; this nasal is related to ɣ [ŋ] as ɣ to ã or as w to m.

nerivoq (Oommannaq) eats

x indicates a voiceless r, short or long, = ξ of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, l. c., § 222). It is something like ch in German (Swiss) BACH.

marraq clay
erorpaaq washes it

έ see after l.

s is usually voiceless. In rs it resembles the English s, only that the articulation is a little looser and the aspiration stronger. In ts the articulation of s is tenser and it is farther forward than

§ 2
the English sound, because the \( t \) is nearly interdental. Therefore there is a difference between the \( s \)-sounds in *arsaq* a ball, and \( ñ ñ t ñ e q \) a seal. In other words, an \( s \) [\( s \)] is heard, which, although not quite identical with the \( s \) or \( ſ \) of the phoneticians, as in English she, bears some resemblance to it; e. g.,

\[ a a s e e t [a: s e: t] \] (West Greenland) of course
\[ a a ñ s a q [a: ñ s a q] \] summer
\[ s a a [s a:] \] its front

In the articulation of this \( s \), not only the blade, but the whole anterior portion of the surface, is raised; the blade of the tongue being a little retracted and formed like a shallow groove, through which the air escapes without any strong pressure.

\( t \) as in French, without aspiration, especially before the vowels \( a \) and \( o \).

\[ t ñ a ñ n a [t ñ a: ñ n a] \] that there
\[ t o o q [t ñ ñ o: q] \] a mattock

But before \( i \), \( e \), \( u \), often aspirated, especially when the \( t \) is long, as in the imperative plural \( - i t t e \) in Northwest Greenland (= \( - i t t e \) in Central and South Greenland). It might be symbolized as \( r \).

\[ a r e q \] a name
\[ n ñ t ñ e q \] the floor or bottom
\[ r ñ ñ e q \] forefinger
\[ a r e r p ñ ñ ñ q \] he goes down
\[ t ñ ñ t t \] the lakes (nearly like \( [t â t s i t] \))

The articulation of \( t \) is very different from that of the English \( t \), the tip of the tongue being stretched against the lower edge of the upper teeth. The Eskimo \( t \), like the \( n \), \( l \), \( ñ \), are alike in this respect, being sometimes nearly interdental.

\( r \) see \( t \); \( ñ \) see \( c \).

\( u \) like \( o u \) in French \( j o u r \), \( r o u g e \).

\[ ñ ñ ñ ñ f ñ ñ ñ ñ a \] there!
\[ ñ ñ ñ a \] he (she, it)

\( v \) between \( ñ \) and \( u \) stands for long \( u \) [\( u: \)]; e. g.,

\[ k o o k [k o ñ u ñ k] \] river
\[ o o m m ñ ñ ñ ñ n a ñ ñ ñ q [u: m: ñ ñ ñ a ñ ñ ñ q] \] common place-name

\( w \) is the voiced sound that corresponds to \( r \), articulated alike, the lips hardly touching each other; but in West Greenland often so that the under lip is slightly drawn toward the upper front teeth. It differs from the English \( w \) in that the lips are
not rounded and there is no raising of the back surface of the
tongue. \( w \) is the [\( o \)] of the Association phonétique interna-
tionale (Passy, l. c., § 210; Jespersen, l. c., § 125).

\( awaas \) the back part of the head

\( sawik \) iron, knife

\( x \) the \( c \) of the Association phonétique internationale, see under \( c \). It
stands also for the \( x \) of the Association (Passy, l. c., § 221;
Thalbitzer I, 86–87).

\( axxertoq \) (Central and South Greenland, Labrador) approaching

\( ù \) between [\( u \)] and [\( y \)] in French \( j o u r \) and \( r u e \), German \( f r ü h \); mid-
vowel with slight lip-rounding. Occurs especially between

\( s, n, j, t \); for example:

\( toyossùnnippoq \) it is sweet (to taste)
\( toossùt \) a beam of the house
\( nüjüüttoq \) tame, not shy
\( itüpppoq \) goes across

\( x \) is related to \( ù \) as \( i \) to \( i \), \( u \) to \( u \).

\( suna [x\text{rrna}] \) what
\( tuttut [trtrtr] \) reindeer

\( z \) voiced \( s \), occurs rarely, if ever, in the Eskimo dialects (Thalbitzer I,
209, 215).

§ 3. Accent and Quantity

In the Eskimo language two or more long sounds may follow each
other in a word without being shortened. Every sound of the lan-
guage, whether consonant or vowel, may be short or long (geminated),
 apart from the fact that the voiced consonants, in case they are length-
ened, become unvoiced (the nasals only excepted). The combination
of the sounds being thus entirely independent of their quantity, four
types of combinations are possible, and do occur (the same, e. g., as in
Finnish):

1. Short vowel + short consonant, as in \( nuna \) \text{land}.
2. Short vowel + long consonant, as in \( männa \) \text{this}.
3. Long vowel + short consonant, as in \( maane \) \text{here}.
4. Long vowel + long consonant, as in \( maanna \) \text{now}.

§ 3
The dynamic accent in a great many words is uncertain or only slightly differentiated. Examples are:

\[ pania \text{ his daughter} \]
\[ nulia \text{ his wife} \]
\[ acoyga \text{ toward the north} \]
\[ unnunmat as it became night \]
\[ ornippaa he comes to him \]

There is always a marked stress on the vowel before a long (geminated) consonant, or on a long vowel. Accordingly, all the syllables of the words just mentioned—unnunmat, ornippaa—are stressed. Besides, the final syllable has a tendency to attract the stress to itself: ti'keq, pami'eq, seqi'neg, in'ut'itaq, a'niga'me. Words of irregular form prove, if distinctly pronounced, to be very irregularly stressed: or the stress undulates through the syllables in varying degrees of strength, according to the psychic importance of each syllable or according to the traditional rhythmical formation of the language. But even the longest Eskimo word, in the flow of conversation, is kept together as a whole, or stamped as a unit, by means of a true word-stress concentrated on a single syllable, which in most instances will be found to be near the end of the word. In most words consisting of more than three syllables we may distinguish at least three, or even four, degrees of stress (1, weak; 2-3, middle; 4, strong); e.g.,

\[ Kaasaaronjouyuq allineq ajormat tiyumissaralwarlojoy attenuat igitar- \]
\[ 3 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 4 3 2 2 1 1 1 1 4 1 3 4 1 1 1 1 2 4 \]
\[ paut' ilaai tjiussaapput ujarraagiyittoq illut ayi- \]
\[ 4 1 1 3 1 2 1 1 4 2 \]
\[ sorsuit piniartunik ulikaartut. \]

According to their stress, we may distinguish between two kinds of primary words or word-stems,—oxytone, having strong stress on the last syllable; and paroxytone, having stress on the penultima.

Oxytone:

\[ tu'peq tent \]
\[ a'teq name \]
\[ a'gut man, male \]
\[ ti'pik smell \]
\[ sa'wik knife \]

\[ ti'keq forefinger \]
\[ a'put snow \]
\[ a'nua her elder brother \]
\[ ne'ge meat \]

Paroxytone:

\[ 'ovsoog blubber \]
\[ 'illo house \]
\[ 'erneq son \]

\[ 'tippik piece of the framework of a kayak \]
\[ 'sakko implement for hunting \]
It is noteworthy that in the development of the language, in a great many words a shift of stress has taken place, whereby oxytones have come paroxytones, or vice versa. This is shown by many inflected and derivations in the Greenland dialect here mentioned, and so by comparison of other dialects.

Greenland a’meg a skin > plural ’ammit skins
Greenland m’lik a wave > verbal ’ma’kerpoq the sea is rolling
Greenland ’illit thou < casus obl. ’ilinmut to thee
Greenland a’teq a name = Alaska ’at’eq (Barnum 325)
Greenland aku’taq bastard = Alaska a’kutak mixed dish
Greenland ilu’mut yes, truly = Alaska i’lumun (ibid. 336)
Greenland uki’og winter = Alaska ’ukshuk (ibid. 372)
Greenland ’tållimät five = Alaska tak’lemnin (ibid. 367)
Greenland a’taawseq one = Labrador attaawseq =’attaaawseq?
Labrador ’sittamat four = Alaska st’amun (ibid. 365)
Greenland n’a’teq bottom, floor = Alaska  ’nåtrok (ibid. 355) bootsole
Greenland ’w’llume to-day = Caribou lake¹ upélumi to-day
Greenland ’qallit the uppermost = Caribou lake kpalépit (superposés)
Greenland ’axxerpoq approaches = [Alaska agge’irtoa [ak:’irt:oa]
(Barnum 319) I draw near, come in view

§ 4. Changes of Palatal Consonants

The following instances show that shifting of consonants occur partly in connection with the shifting of stress and partly without such.

If the final syllable of a word that ends in q or k becomes penultima by the addition of a suffix, the syllable loses its stress and the consonant may assume an intervocalic position. In these cases the consonant becomes voiced, q shifting to the voiced r, and k to q, which, in turn, changes to y. The same changes of these sounds sometimes occur when the part added is not a suffix, but an independent word.

q>r. q becomes r in the plurals of many nouns; e. g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti’key</td>
<td>tikerit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’nerley</td>
<td>nerlerit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Mackenzie river, Petitot Vocabulaire, p. 7.

§ 4
For further examples see Thalbitzer I, 245.

\[ \text{g} \text{a'noq how; } \text{gano'rippa how is it; } \text{gano'runna how is that; } \text{gano'qarpa how did he say} \]

\( \text{'ern} \text{n'eq son; 'ernnrd} \text{ra (<erneq+a) his son} \]

\( \text{sooq why; 'sooruna yes, certainly (soog una why do you ask) } \]

\( \text{ogarpog (West Greenland) he says; orarpoq (East Greenland) } \]

\( \text{orarpoq (Mackenzie river, Petitot, p. xxxiv, opakluwartuark) } \]

\( \text{segineq (West Greenland); seriniktenqa (Baffin land, Boas I, } \]

\( \text{the sun} \]

\( \text{neq} \text{(West Greenland) meat; nerivoq (West Greenland) I eat} \]

(cf. Southwest Alaska nutrughà I eat)

\( g > r. \) The shift \( g > r \) in the Mackenzie-river dialect is doubtful: e.g.,

\( \text{in unaqut (Southwest Greenland) we, unarut (?) (Mackenzie } \]

\( \text{river, Petitot) we.} \]

\( q > q[\nu]. \) This shift is found in the terminal sound of many words

\( \text{of the Baffin-land, Smith-sound, and Ammassalik dialects, which } \]

\( \text{have their terminal sounds nasalized, whereas the other dialects } \]

\( \text{keep the oral tenuis } q. \) Also the dialect of the Mackenzie-river

\( \text{Eskimo bears evidence of a similar tendency, as shown by some } \]

\( \text{few examples of it; e.g.,} \]

Smith sound \( \text{tuluang [tuluan] raven} \]

Baffin land \( \text{serinirn [serinin] the sun} \]

Mackenzie river \( \text{ateh [aten] a name} \]

\( r > q \). This shift takes place in the dialect of Oommannaq fiord in

\( \text{North Greenland in those words in which } r \text{ occurs between } \]

\( \text{vowels; e.g., in—} \]

Oommannaq Fiord

\( \text{ nerivoq he eats} \]

\( \text{anoq wind} \]

\( k > q \). This shift appears in a comparison of some of the possessive

\( \text{and verbal endings of the Greenland and Southwest Alaska } \]

\( \text{dialects.} \]

Southwest Alaska

\( \text{my, I} \]

\( \text{atuk} \text{kà atórkà (Barnum 312),} \]

\( \text{my coat I put it on (atuk native fur coat)} \]

\( \text{-kù, -kê it, them} \]

\( \text{atorlùkù (Barnum 312)} \]

\( \text{atoryakönàkù (ibid.)} \]

\( \text{atoq'luke (ibid.)} \]

\( \text{§ 4} \]

South Greenland

\( \text{my, I} \]

\( \text{kapitåga atorîga my coat I} \]

\( \text{who use it (kapitak a kayaking coat)} \]

\( \text{-go, -git it, them} \]

\( \text{atorlugo he using it} \]

\( \text{atoqinago do not use it} \]

\( \text{atorlugo he using them} \]
\( k \rightarrow y \), probably through an intermediate \( g \), is a shift well known in the Greenland grammar; e.g.,

- **Singular**
  - Killik boundary
  - Toollik loon
  - Assik picture, portrait

- **Plural**
  - Killigit
  - Toolligit
  - Assigit

- **Pronominal**
  - Killiga its boundary
  - Assiya his portrait

The older \( g \), from which the \( y \) developed, may be traced in the long vowel in the plural of such words as *mannik* EGG, plural *mannneet*, probably < *mannigit* (Thalbitzer I, 250).

The shifting from terminal \( k \) to \( y \) is known in many other dialects. \( y \) appears as a final sound in nearly all the dialects, excepting those of West Greenland, Labrador, and Mackenzie river; but most of the dialects that present forms with \( y \) abound in examples of other words ending in \( k \). We get the impression that either the speakers' own pronunciation must have been somewhat fluctuating on this point, or else the recorders must have vacillated in their interpretation of the sounds heard.

Baffin land *saviy*; West Greenland and Labrador *savi'k* knife
Baffin land *inuy*; West Greenland and Labrador *inuk* man, etc.; *(y passim in Baffin land)*; but also—
Baffin land *ixaluk* (Boas IV, 47); West Greenland and Labrador *egaluk* salmon
Baffin land *qaxodluk* (ibid. III, 127); West Greenland and Labrador *qaqulluk* fulmar
Baffin land *kouk* (ibid. IV); West Greenland and Labrador *kook* river

[The differences in pronunciation in Baffin land are individual differences. In 1884 the old men from the east coast of Cumberland sound used throughout the oral stops; while women and young men used nasalized consonants. It seems that the nasalization is in this case due to an extension of the characteristic pronunciation of women to the male sex.—F. B.]

Smith Sound *gopanung* [gopanuy] Greenland *gupalu* (arsu) sparrow
Smith Sound *marluy* or *maggoy* Greenland *marluk* two
Point Barrow *madrilin* [-riy] Greenland *marlureek* twins
Point Barrow *ujarun* [ujaray] Greenland *ujaruk* a stone
Point Barrow -wiñ [-wiy] Greenland -vik place (suffix)
For examples of forms ending in \( y \) from Southwest Alaska, see Barnum, "Grammatical Fundamentals," the stories passim, e. g., p. 286; but in his vocabulary, and elsewhere in his grammar, the words end in \( k \) or \( q \).

\( q > y \). In most of the dialects the fricative \( q \) is frequently used; but in the northeastern group it is regularly replaced by \( y \), sometimes by \( \tilde{y} \). \( q \) is found also in Labrador and in the southern part of West Greenland, between Holstensborg and Julianehåb (61°–66° N. lat.); whereas north of Holstensborg the same words are pronounced with \( y \) instead of \( q \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southern West Greenland</th>
<th>North of Holstensborg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ajagaq</td>
<td>ajagaq cup and ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naalagaq</td>
<td>naalagaq master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igippaa</td>
<td>igippaa he throws it away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iqa</td>
<td>iqa (iqa) kettle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paniga</td>
<td>paniga my daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaqugo</td>
<td>qaqoyo when (in the future)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cf. the Labrador forms ajagaq, iqa, panniga, qaqugo, toogaq walrus-tusk

Another example is:

South Greenland ogarfiqaq he says to him; North Greenland ogarfiyaq (Upernavik ogarpiaq; Ammassalik orarpewaaq)

\( g \) and \( w \) shift in the Labrador and North Greenland forms; e. g., in—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labrador (and South Greenland)</th>
<th>Northwest Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tulugaq</td>
<td>tulugaq raven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oogaq</td>
<td>oonaq codfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inugaq</td>
<td>inuvak toe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interchange between \( y \) and \( q \) in uwaña 1, and uwaqut we, may also be appropriately mentioned here. It suggests that -\( qa \) in uwaña may have originated from -\( qa \), although at a very early period, since the Southwest Alaska form of this word is kuënga (Barnum 68); i. e., uweya.

§ 4
§ 5. Changes of Dental and Labial Consonants

> r as terminal sounds: e. g.,

West Greenland: iput
Baffin land ipun oar

West Greenland: aput
Smith sound apun snow on the ground

West Greenland: quitit
Smith sound qolin ten

West Greenland: qamutit
North Alaska qamotin (Thalbitzer I, 225) sledge

West Greenland: ayut
Mackenzie river ayun man, male

r takes the place of t at the end of words in all the dialects except those of Labrador and West Greenland, but including that of Smith sound, though terminal t may occur sporadically in most of the dialects. The n may have originated through the nasalization of t, corresponding with the shifting of k > y.

We see this shift in the Northwest Greenland dialect, too, in some instances:

kikkun uko who are they; soon u’ko what are they. Kikkun and soon are special forms of kikkut and soot (in the singular kina who, and suna what).

The same shift may have stamped the declension of nouns in the plural, since the suffixes in the oblique cases are added to a nominal plural stem ending in n instead of t; e. g.,

qaggat mountains; qagganut to the mountains; qaggane in, on, the mountains (but in the singular qaggamut, qaggame)

p > m. This shift is of rare occurrence now in Greenland. It may occasionally take place in the relative (or genitive) juxtaposition of two nouns, the latter of which begins with a vowel (cf. Egede, “Grammar,” p. 2, “B finale mutatur in M, sequente voce a vocali incipiente” [this B means p]; e. g.,

illum isertarfia the entrance of the house (instead of illup)

The same shift is attested by records from other dialects; e. g.,

West Greenland: aap yes; Ammassalik aam or eem in aamila, eemila yes, certainly; Cape York eem yes

---

1 In Baffin land the old pronunciation of men was t; that of women and of younger men is n (see p. 986).—F.B.

2 In some irregular plurals these suffixes -nu -nu, really seem to be added to the full plural form; e. g., kikka who, plural kikkunut (<kikkutnu) to whom, kikkune (<kikkune) in, at whom (plural). The above-mentioned regular endings may have been formed after the analogy of these “irregular” ones.
Southwest Alaska am'im kol'anun [amin goz . . . ] above the door (Nelson, tale from St. Michael, Norton sound, in "Eskimo of Bering Strait"); cf. Greenland amnip qulaanut above the skin
Southwest Alaska nunam of the land (Barnum, 9), cf. Greenland nunap

[In Baffin land both p and m occur in the same way as r > ž, k > y, t > n, are found. See p. 985, and note 1, p. 987.—F. B.]

\( m > w \) or \( v \).

- Labrador immag
- Baffin land taimna
- Baffin land imna (Boas II, 348)
- Baffin land uvmnule but to me (ibid.)
- North Alaska uðmnun [uamnun] (Ray 56)
- Southwest Alaska kümlök
- Southwest Alaska pêkâmkin mine thou art

\( p (f) > w \) or \( v \).

- Greenland (Egede, 1750) iblit
- Greenland (Egede, 1750) illîpse
- Labrador (nowadays) igvit
- Labrador uibvak
- Baffin land taipkoa
- Mackenzie river tapkoa
- North Alaska kabînun
- Greenland (Egede, 1750) kablo
- Greenland (Egede, 1750) kablnak
- Mackenzie river kpoptoi
- Southwest Alaska kafchin [gârcin]
- Southwest Alaska 'chupplu
- Southwest Alaska 'aprûn main trail, regular passage
- Mackenzie river (coast of Hudson bay) nippiakkiaq

\( G r. i'v•nag steep declivity \)
\( G r. taa"na that one \)
\( G r. i\text{"}na that \)
\( G r. uvâ"nnut to me \)
\( G r. uvâ"nnut to me \)
\( G r. ku"lloq thumb \)
\( G r. pîga"kkît I have thee \)
\( G r. (1900) 'ôlît thou \)
\( G r. (1900) 'i\text{"}lîsse you \)
\( G r. (1900) 'îllît thou \)
\( G r. (1900) u'îrfaq a fern \)
\( G r. kakûoa those \)
\( G r. gî"lloq or glîlloq eyebrow \)
\( G r. qâllunaq European \)
\( G r. qâ"ssit how many \)
\( G r. su"lloq tube \)
\( G r. aq'qut or âq'qut pathway \)
\( G r. niwîrsaq girl \)

§ 6. Shifting of Voiced and Voiceless Fricatives

It is a characteristic feature of the Greenland language, and probably of the Eskimo language as a whole, that no voiced consonant occurs which is long (geminated), with the sole exception of the nasal consonants, \( m (anmit skins), n (anneq the greatest one), y (igûit) \).
TOP OF A MOUNTAIN), \( n \) (ONNA ARMpit). The other voiced consonants of the language (\( w, l, j, g, r \)) are always short, and are found only between weak (unstressed) syllables or in the transition from a weak to a strongly stressed syllable. If the weak syllable has the stress owing to derivation or inflection of the word, the fricative consonant becomes unvoiced and long; e. g.,

\[ r > R.R. \]

West Greenland *ma'raluk* morass, swamp  
West Greenland *neriwoq* eats  
West Greenland *taaq* darkness, shadow  
Mackenzie river *tapapk* OMBRE  
Southwest Alaska *a'rifiqaka* I quarrel with him

Greenland *'marraq* clay  
Greenland *'nerriwik* eating-place (table, etc.)  
Greenland *'tarraq* shadow, reflection  
Greenland \{ *'arrivoq* hastens  
                      *'arrappioq* flies into a passion \}

\[ g > X.X. \]

Southwest Greenland *ni'gaq* a snare  
Southwest Greenland *i'ga* a pot  
Southwest Greenland *ni'geq* south wind  
Mackenzie river *niyeq* east wind

West Greenland *'nixxat* snares (plural)  
West Greenland *'ixxawik* the pot-place (kitchen, etc.)  
West Greenland *'niixxorpoq* it is south wind

\[ l > L.L. \]

West Greenland *a'loq* a sole  
West Greenland *i'linne* at, by thee

West Greenland allut soles (plural)  
West Greenland illit thou

\[ w > F.F. \]

West Greenland *i'wik* (a blade of) grass  
West Greenland *awa* north  
West Greenland *a'wippaa* divides it in two pieces  
Mackenzie river *avitoak* DIVORCER

West Greenland *'irfit* grass (plural)  
West Greenland *'affa* there in the north  
West Greenland *'affaq* the half part
In the evolution of the Greenland group of dialects the shift $j > s$ appears to have been of special importance. In a great many words the dialects west of Davis strait have $j$, which has grown into voiceless $s$ in Greenland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mackenzie River</th>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>puije</td>
<td>puise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>angmajet</td>
<td>ammassât</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iyik (pl. iyil)</td>
<td>ije (or ije)</td>
<td>i'se (pl. i'sit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or iyipk</td>
<td>nuvuja, pl.</td>
<td>'nuvi (pl. nu'issâl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nuvujat</td>
<td>nuvujet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpixuk</td>
<td>qejuk</td>
<td>qisuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mikiyopk</td>
<td>mikiqog</td>
<td>mikisorgq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**o (oc) $> ss$.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mackenzie River</th>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tamârja or madjia</td>
<td>tamârja (Bourquin §192) here it is massa here is; to wit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mac:a] VRAIMENT</td>
<td></td>
<td>qarsoq arrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CERTAINEMENT</td>
<td></td>
<td>ussuk seal (Phoca barbata)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpiroopk FLÈCHE</td>
<td>kargjok arrow</td>
<td>isse frost, cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugiuk = ogjuk [oc:uk]</td>
<td>uggjuk seal</td>
<td>toosaq beam of a house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHOQUE</td>
<td>itje frost</td>
<td>-ssuaq big, great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itjek [ic:ek] FROID</td>
<td>tootjaq beam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>todjiaopk [to:c:aq]</td>
<td>-djuaq big, great</td>
<td>-ssuaq big, great</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**i > s.**

**w > ts.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>North Alaska (Ray)</th>
<th>Mackenzie River</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tcitamat [ritamat]</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tcuna [zuna]</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nutjâ [nu3:i]</td>
<td>nutcep or nuadjât</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>netyâ</td>
<td>natcep or nadjêp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naityuâ</td>
<td>naitopk (FIN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akityuâ</td>
<td>apitopk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The original sound may still be traced in some words of the dialects of Ammassalik (Aijoomaj + ALONE; -kajik [suffix] BAD) and of Smith sound (Thalbitzer 1, 192, 215).
In Southwest Alaska the \( j \) seems to have changed to \( s \), too, in some few words; e.g.,

Southwest Alaska

\( 'ukšuk \) winter \( <*[ukju]<\)?

Greenland

\( uki'og \) winter

\( nesqog \) head \( <*[najqog]<\)?

Mackenzie River

\( kaypak \) ROBE DE POIL

\( 'kaspruq \) (Barnum 341) water-proof shirt

\( kasbruq \) (Schultze) storm-coat \( <*[kaj'ra]<\)

§ 7. Shifting of Voiceless Fricatives and Stopped Consonants

The \( r \), \( x \), and \( f \) do not exist in the dialects of Upernavik, Smith sound, and Ammassalik. In this “northeastern group” these sounds are replaced by \( q \), \( k \), and \( p \). In addition to this, the Ammassalik dialect has even carried this shifting of open and stopped consonants through in changing \( l \) to \( t \) (Thalbitzer I, 202).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central and South-west Greenland</th>
<th>Upernavik</th>
<th>Ammassalik</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>R-q.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>arrestumik</strong></td>
<td><strong>aqsesumik</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>errorlojo</strong></td>
<td><strong>eqqorlojo</strong></td>
<td><strong>eqqertinyo</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>X-k.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naaxxa</td>
<td>naakka</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axxerqoa</td>
<td>akkerqoq</td>
<td>akkerpoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sâxqaq</td>
<td>sâkkaq</td>
<td>sâkkaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F-p.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarfaq</td>
<td>sarpaq</td>
<td>sarpaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arraq</td>
<td>arpaq</td>
<td>arpaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oqarpiqaa</td>
<td>oqarpiqaa</td>
<td>oqarpoovaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>L-t.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iqqertlune</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><strong>iqertlune</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illua</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><strong>itiwa</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following words of the Baffin-land and Labrador dialects may be compared with those just mentioned:

North Labrador naa'kak (South: aukak) = Upernavik naakaka
Labrador mawjuk [marruk] Bourquin § 6 = Smith sound mawjuk =
Central West Greenland marruk two
Baffin land itirbing [itirpiq] Boas I, 660 = Ammassalik ierpiq =
West Greenland iserrik entrance-place
Baffin land majoartune, ingertune Boas II = Ammassalik -tine (ver-
bal ending) = West Greenland -łune

§ 8. The Greenlandic s Sounds

The Greenlandic s (ss) sounds may be traced to different sources. Some have originated from j, others from c, and others again from t. ss [s:] has in many cases originated from a consonant j (voiced or voiceless?).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greenland</th>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>Mackenzie River</th>
<th>Alaska</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s &lt; t.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisamat</td>
<td>sittamat</td>
<td>tōtamat [ci]</td>
<td>stamen four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisit</td>
<td>sitte lair of</td>
<td>tchi [cit] ANIRE</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a fox</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iserpoq</td>
<td>iiterpoq</td>
<td>itertoapk he enters</td>
<td>i'tratuk I bring it in with me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ss < tj [c].

timmissat     timmitjāt (sing. tinmiapk) (sing. tingmēiyak [tim : i'anjoq])

bird

s < ts [t].

apersuoot    appertsuuk lēeptčiôn (’āpprūn) question

ss [s:] < k.j, gj.

nāssuk   nakjuk antler nāgiuk or nakd-iūk [nač:uk] (?=nēshkōk head [Barnum 355] cf. §6)

sissaq    sijaq shore tčiqd),'apk rivage —

wss < pj, uj.

tiwsarluq    tipjarluq driftwood —

ss < rc.

issa'k    ɪyyak [ixsu:k] (itčipapk LU-
snow-goggles NETTES) (’ikchāun [irca:wn]

medicine for the eyes)

§ 8
The shift $t > s$ may be observed in those grammatical forms, in which a suffix the usual initial of which is $t$ has to be added after a word ending in $i$, since $t$ between two $i$'s will change to $s$; e. g., in the optative *takulisit* would he would see you, <*-li-tit* but *takulittit* would they would see you, <*-li-tit*. Likewise in *takopamisiit* as he saw you (cf. *takopamitit* as they saw you).

*aaw*laaisit your gun, the guns (<aaw*laad* a gun)
iliuisigut through his houses (<illuaitigut through his house)
kamisiit = kamitit (both in use) your boots
-sippaa = -tippaa (verbal suffix, causative)

The shift $j > s$ has left few traces only in the Greenland grammar; e. g., in the inflection of some few nouns.

kana'joq, plural ka'nassut (<*kanajjut* a sea-scorpion
garajaq, locative garasame (place-name in Oommannaq fiord)
pijasut three, plural <*pijajoq* (cf. pijajuat the third, etc.)
(Thalbitzer I, 177)

§ 9. Shifting of Consonants with Change of Place of Articulation

The shifts mentioned in the preceding sections are all alike, in that the place of articulation does not change. The following examples of shift are chiefly due to a shifting of the place of articulation:

$K$-q.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>Mackenzie River</th>
<th>Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gikkertaq</td>
<td>kpikeptkapk</td>
<td>qe'gertaq island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nellunaikutaq</td>
<td>nélunaykutapk (sig-nal)</td>
<td>nálunaarqutaq a mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eresa'goq</td>
<td>kpikeptkopk = ék-kaikok coast of Hudson bay</td>
<td>e'geryogo fourth finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The latter word may be compared with the Alaska forms of the same word, northern Alaska *yiakutko* (Bay), northwest Alaska *etitkook* (Wells and Kelly), southwest Alaska *ikkilthkok* (Barnum) [*ik:ilqog*], cf. Thalbitzer I, 263.

The same shift may be observed by a comparison of the West Greenland *tera'goq* A CORNER OF A HOUSE, and the East Greenland *ts'kergog*.

These differences are probably due to analogy, and not to successive shiftings of the parts of articulation. The same is true of the examples

§ 9
of this shift in the Greenland language, where it appears in double forms of words, like *nuerloq* = *nuerluk* etc. (Thalbitzer I, 176).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>East Greenland</th>
<th>West Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>w-F-X</strong>.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ubva</em></td>
<td><em>uppa</em></td>
<td><em>uxxa or uffa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mackenzie River</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>XF-wss</strong>.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nagvärpoq</em></td>
<td><em>nadjuvatopuk</em></td>
<td><em>náawssaaarpq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[<em>naxra:r</em>]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>w-X-F</strong>.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kivgak</em></td>
<td><em>kivgapk</em></td>
<td><em>kiwffraq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>g-w</strong>. As for this shift, see § 4.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 10. Vocalic Shifts

The shifting of *o > e, u > i*, is one of the principal differences between the dialects of West and East Greenland (Thalbitzer I, 196 et seq). Likewise many words of the western dialects, as spelled by the different recorders, bear evidence of vocalic changes of no less importance. In Alaska we often find *u* in the base of the word, corresponding to *i* or *e* in Greenland.

**u-i.**

| West Greenland | East Greenland | |
|----------------|----------------| |
| *allerqut* | *atteqin* | jaw-bones |
| *sikut* | *sikin* | sea-ice |
| *marluk* | *martik* | two |
| *allättooq* | *attätteeq* | a seal |
| *nánoq* | *naneq* | a bear |

**u-i.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southwest Alaska</th>
<th>West Greenland (Barnum)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nuppa</em> (sound, noise)</td>
<td><em>nipe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tuppsalok</em> (it stinks)</td>
<td><em>tipe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>túmchinak</em></td>
<td><em>tiwssinak</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nág’ýuqtoq</em></td>
<td><em>neri’suppoja</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kív’láratôk</em></td>
<td><em>qiwallertoq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mamnok</em></td>
<td><em>mamippoq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iv’rküchéq</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kol’ñug’vok</em></td>
<td><em>k’líffraq</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 = Baffin land *ərmadítin* a piece of skin used to lay in the bottom of a kayak.
z-i, e.

West Greenland

imanna
aap ila
aaŋqoog

East Greenland

iminna
[aamila]
[eemila]
eenqoog

thus
yes, certainly
yes is said

Baffin Land

aqarpoq he says no

East Greenland
eerge no

Southwest Alaska

West Greenland

a-i.

da'manuk or muk

a = i'muk
milk

u-e.

muk or moq
nātuk
nēguk
'livruk
'kinok
'kanuk

i'meq
na'teq
ni'geq
ili'veq
iki'neq
qa'neq
water
floor
north
grave
fire
mouth

uj-uj.

Mackenzie River

nuvūya (pl. nuvū-
yat)

Labrador

nuvūja (pl. nu-
vujat)

Greenland

nuia (pl. nu'issāt)
cloud

i-w-uj.

ivalok (pl. ivalut)

ivalo (pl. ivaluit)

ujalo or ujaloq

sínen

Vowel changes like those here mentioned have left distinct traces
in many derivatives of the present Greenlandic language; e. g.,

a-i.

aaŋqaq summer
upernaaq spring
illu'utta our house's
enerata of his son

aaŋsi-wik summer-place
uperni-wik spring-place
illu'uttait through our house
eneratait through his son

u-i.

aput snow on the ground
ernutaq grandchild

apiwoq (the ground) is covered
with snow
erniwoq gives birth to a child

eriq son

ikumuqoq is on fire, burns
kapuiwoq is one who stabs

iki-ppaa sets it on fire
kapinuaa stabs him

iti'ippoq goes over land,
crosses over the ice

iti'ippoq goes over land,
crosses over the ice

iliwaa lays it (or him) down
iliqeq or iluweq a grave

§ 10

1 Boas II, 334.
The same sounds are used vicariously in several words in West Greenland.

a-t.

kamik and kamak boot (kammikka = kammakka my boots)

u-t.

kalu'ssarpog = kallu'ssarpog pulls and jerks in order to advance
isuu'tterpaa = isuu'tterpaa unfolds or stretches it out
qappiorpoq = qappuarpoq foams, froths; chatters incessantly

§ 11. Mutation

Thus far I have treated the established vowel-shifts belonging to older periods of the language. In addition to these, there is a steady tendency to produce certain slight shiftings of the vowels, in order to accommodate them to the following sounds. This is the Greenlandic (or probably general Eskimo) form of mutation. There are two classes of mutation, based on the same principle as the bipartition of the vowel system:

\[
\begin{align*}
  a & > \ddot{a} (\dot{a}) & a & > a \\
  e & > i & i, e & > e (e) \\
  o & > u & o, u & > o (o) \\
  u & > \ddot{u} (\dot{u})
\end{align*}
\]

Examples:

a > ã.

nä'saa his hood
arnaa his woman (mother)
tä'seq lake
sapi'waa to dike, dam
avo'taq a sealing bladder
uvaya I

nä'säit pl.
arnät women
'tättit pl.
säwä'sät a dike, dam
d'vättät pl.
u'vättut as I  u'wä'wne at me

a > ã.

a'torpa is used
sisä'maat the fourth
qu'laane above it

a'torpät are they used
'sisämät four
qu'lanne above them

e > i.

puise seal
tupeq tent
sulé yet
taleq arm

püisiit pl.
tupine his (own) tent
sulione and yet
talia his arm

§ 11
A shifting in the vowels produced by the intrusion of a following uvular consonant may be termed uvular mutation. The result of this juxtaposition of a vowel + ɾ, ʷ, or ɾ is the uvularization by which the vowel changes according to the scheme just mentioned. The uvularized vowels are symbolized in ordinary transcription as ʷə (aq, ʷə), ʷə (eq, ʷə), or (q, ɾ). The vowel and the consonant in reality make up a phonetic unit. The vowel is pronounced with uvular friction, while an enlargement of the innermost part of the mouth-chamber takes place (cf. § 2 under q and r). The vowels which are affected in this way have a remarkable hollow and grating sound; in case of ə and e it is occasionally somewhat like ɔ on account of the rounding in the posterior part of the mouth. An e between two n's and an ə between two r's are acoustically widely different sounds.

α > A.

näsaa his hood; násag a hood
arnaa his woman (mother); arnaq [arnːaq] woman; arnara
[arnːara] my mother
garsaag [garsːaq] a loom; pl. garsaat [garsːat]
gaqqaame [gaqːame] on, in, the mountain; gaqqaq [gaqːaq] a mountain

e > E.

amia or amee his (its) skin; ameq [ameq] a skin
e'ge=e'geq [eqeq] corner; egia his corner of the mouth
nerivog eats; nereerpoq [nereɾeq] has finished eating
ernikka my sons; erner[a] ernerə my son; erneq[eq] a son; ernen
[erner] his (own) son

o > O.

niaqua his head; niaqog [niaqog] a head
nano=nanoq a bear
illo a house; illorssuaq [ilːorsːuaq] a big house
Kasasuk (name)+rujuk+yuaq: Kasasorujoyuauq the little poor wretched Kasasuk

§ 11
§ 12. Retrogressive Uvularization

Retrogressive uvularization is the name of a phonetic tendency toward uvular anticipation,¹ which may have begun in the earliest history of the language, since it can be traced in all dialects. Its transforming activity has asserted itself at different stages in the development of the language, and has penetrated the eastern dialects in a far higher degree than those of the west. It shows itself in the present state of the Eskimo language, in that many words in the Greenland and Labrador dialects have ar, er, or (uvularized vowels) when the western and partly also the central dialects have retained the original sounds, a, i, u. In the majority of cases this change may probably be traced back to a shift of the word-stress whereby the vowel of the syllable that lost its stress has in the course of time disappeared. By this contraction of the word, two consonants have come into contact, and either have been assimilated or have shifted places (cf. Alaska nimra² and Greenland nerma his [its] binding, both formed from nimeq + suffix a, his, its). The Alaska form suggests that the r of nerma may be explained as the final uvular of nimeq, shifted to r; and this supposition is strongly supported by the fact that the Mackenzie-river dialect (cf. the vocabulary of Petitet), and the dialects west of Hudson bay, contain some transitional forms stressed in the original manner; e.g., aṭepit [aṭereet], the plural of aṭən [aṭeq] name, regularly formed, likewise aṭepa MY NAME (in Alaska aṭqa, in Greenland arqa). A metathesis of the consonants has taken place in the Greenland maruḳ two, which may be compared with Alaska malruk and Mackenzie-river malərok. On account of the assimilation or metathesis of the consonants, the uvular consonant which belonged originally to the suffix or final part of the word has been displaced, and is now found in the middle of the word in the forms east of Hudson bay. In most of the eastern dialects the preceding vowel has thus been uvularized: nirma has become nerma, qitqa its middle (Mackenzie river) has become gerqa (through *qigqa). Intermediate forms are found in the Baffin-land dialect (iq, ir; uz, ur; etc.); but in some instances the assimilation of the consonants (r) has been carried further, in the dialects of Labrador and Baffin land (Smith sound), than in West Greenland.

¹The uvular position of the palate, which originally belonged to the end of the word, is anticipated in the base of the word (Thalbitzer I. 241–242).
²Ray nimra the lashing of the harpoon-shaft.
Examples: 1

\(\text{ulr, } a\text{lr}>\text{arl, arl.}\)

- \text{nalruk (Barnum) two}
- \text{alpàné (Petitot Vocab. LXII)}
- \text{JADIS}
- \text{ālθthrākā [aLra:kō] (Barnum) next year}
- \text{nālθkirtōk [nalgirtoq] (Barnum) it is straight}
- \text{kāḻrāa [kalar:] (Barnum 342) white}
- \text{kāḻloha (Schultze 66) white}

\text{East Eskimo (Greenland and Labrador)}

- \text{marluŋ (Gr.) two; marruk (Lab.) two}
- \text{arlaane (Gr.) in the other one; arbaane (Lab.) last year}
- \text{narəwwoq (Gr.) it is straight; (u > i see § 10)}
- \text{naŋxwoŋq (Erdman: naggovok) (Lab.) it is straight}
- \text{qaŋqortoq (Gr.) white}
- \text{qarŋortoŋ (Gr.) bleached}

\(\text{elr}>\text{erl.}\)

- \text{amēḻrartut (S. Al. Woldt-Jacobsen 328)}
- \text{aməlləraktok (N. Al. Woldt-Jacobsen 328) many}
- \text{amθhrərət (Barnum 75) many}
- \text{nəḵrīt (Rink II, 83, no. 21) geese}
- \text{mokkleret (Schultze 55); ḵḏl = [L] or [RL]?}
- \text{nəgəlek (Ray 55) goose-town}

\(\text{ulr, } u\text{lr}>\text{orl.}\)

- \text{kụlḻθḵṟət (Barnum 348) [qulqwaŋ] the shelves in}
  native houses
- \text{kulaθrakə (Barnum) I put it}
  up high [gulwarakə]
- \text{d'tuŋṟa (Barnum 327), verbal}
  form <ḏṯq̱ṯoŋ̱ I sing, use,}
  wear, etc.

\text{gorḻṟ- e. g., in gorḻṟpooq (Gr.)}

\text{water falling or streaming down}

\text{gulḻṟaṟp̱a (<*qu̱lḻṟa̱) (Gr.)}

\text{lifts it up in the air}

\text{*aŋṟḻ-, e. g., aŋṟḻune (Gr.)}

\text{using}

1The abbreviations Al., C., Gr., Lab., M., stand respectively for Alaska, Coast of Hudson bay, Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river.

2Perhaps the same word as Lab. kug̱v̱m̱ṟṯp̱a lifts up in his trousers, etc., which becomes more evident by comparison with Gr. qulḻṟp̱a covers it (=Lab. kug̱v̱m̱ṟṯp̱a [Thalbitzer I, 230] = Al. koluq̱q̱q̱a [l. c., 231; Barnum 330]).
enr, emr, eyr > ern, erm, ern.
openrak (Rink) spring-time
openachkak (Schultze 43)
'up'naqkak (Barnum 373)
pënrük socks woven from grass (Barnum)
châpingrâtok (Barnum) it is nothing, it is not an actual thing
ingrik (Barnum) mountain

pënínra (Barnum 67) the stronger, its stronger one
'tënru (Barnum) a talisman, a charm
nimxa [nimra] (Ray) its lashing, band

unr > orn.
un'kâ[unra] (Barnum) his arm-pit
katunra (Barnum) son
tungra (Barnum) a spirit
kinggnunra (Barnum) that or those behind
kipunupa (Petitot)

sr > rs, gr (cr) > *rj > rs > ss.
az'râcharak (Barnum 327) adultery
âzhruqga PECCARE CONTRA VI
ezrekogak (Wells a. Kelly) frost-bite

katzarak (Woldt-Jacobsen) white eye
egra (Wells a. Kelly) (my?) eye
'éqka [ijirka] (Barnum) my eyes
(iqka my eye)
nazruk (Wells a. Kelly) abdomen
kug'ru (Wells a. Kelly) a swan
ug'ru (Wells a. Kelly) bearded seal
iggru (Wells a. Kelly) testicles

§ 12

u'pernaaq (Gr.) spring-time
pinne (Gr.) straw that is
pergjît (Lab.) stuck in the boot
saperna- (Gr.) it is impossible (to do)

igyik (Gr.) top of a mountain
pimmak (Gr.) skilled through practice
pimariqok, pimmariuteryik (Lab.) thinks he is a strong man
aarnuaq (Gr.) charm, amulet
aar < eer?
nerma (Gr.) its band, lashing

orna (Gr.) his arm-pit
qitornaq (Gr.) child
toornuaq (Gr.) a spirit
kiyorna (Gr.) after that

arsaarpaa (Gr.) deprives him violently of something, robs
irsekau (Gr. Egede, 1750)
isseaq nug (Gr. now) it is strong cold
qarsortog (Gr.) bleached
irse (Gr. Egede, 1750) eye (< *irje)
issek (Gr. now) eye; í'sikka my eyes
nâssât (Gr.) abdomen (< *arjât)
quussuk (Gr.) a swan (< *urjuk)
ussuk (Gr.) seal (< *urjuk)
issuk (Gr.) testicles (< *irjuk)
Here I may mention an Alaska word, part of which is apparently influenced by retrogressive uvularization: *ir'shinhrat* (Barnum 337) *ountain spirits* is the same word as Gr. *isserqat* (<*irsinngat*), *ingular isseraq*, spelled by Egede (1750) *irserak*. The same is true of the Al. *'kákroq* (Barnum) *throat*, *'káchluk* (Schultze) *lip=Gr. garlog* lip.

\[ \text{Eq, Lq, sq > rq.} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alaska</th>
<th>Mackenzie River (Pettot)</th>
<th>Baffin Land (Boas)</th>
<th>Labrador (Bourquin)</th>
<th>Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atkra (Woldt- atkpa his name)</td>
<td></td>
<td>arqa</td>
<td>arqa</td>
<td>his name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atra (Barnum) atépa my name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natrök (Bar- natkpo FOND num)</td>
<td>DU BARK</td>
<td>(netteq, nut- narga floor, teq)</td>
<td></td>
<td>bottom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mittgon (N. Al., Woldt-Jacobsen)</td>
<td>metkpon</td>
<td>migun</td>
<td>mergut</td>
<td>mergut needle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mingon (S. Al., Woldt-Jacobsen) needle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mîtkpopk</td>
<td>migung</td>
<td>mergoq</td>
<td>mergoq</td>
<td>hair of animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POIL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikkilthkok [ik: ilgoq] (Barnum)</td>
<td>ekkaîkox (C.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>erqergoq</td>
<td>erqergoq the little finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekkitkaurak (Woldt-Jacobsen) the little finger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ikqua (Schultze) (it'cuk FIN)</td>
<td>iqoa</td>
<td>erqua</td>
<td>erqua</td>
<td>the back end of it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the end</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kô'ka [Barnum] kpitkpa *giga qerga</td>
<td>qerga the middle of it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle) MILIEU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirk'klu (Bar- ekhlo intestin igwik erchavik erlawik intestines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'guluk(Schultze) intestines</td>
<td></td>
<td>[er:awik]</td>
<td>erloq rectum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iqta [Barnum] (it'chuk ANGLE) iqe</td>
<td>erge</td>
<td>ege, egeq corner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his den)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 12
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alaska</th>
<th>Mackenzie River (Petiot)</th>
<th>Baffin Land (Boas)</th>
<th>Labrador (Bourquin)</th>
<th>Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akkizhehigik</td>
<td>aix'i'girn</td>
<td>aqigeq</td>
<td>a'diqisseq</td>
<td>ptarmigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[aax:is:iqig]</td>
<td>[aax'i'xiq]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Barnum) ptarmigan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'chisko'a [cisqo-]tchitkpok</td>
<td>s'yoq</td>
<td>seergoq</td>
<td>seergoq kne-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka] (Barnum) GENOU my knee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'okok [og:oy]opktpot blubber</td>
<td>uxsuq</td>
<td>orssoq</td>
<td>orssoq blub-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uskogtoqtakə (Barnum) I hold him with a cord (dog, etc.)</td>
<td>ugsirn</td>
<td>orsseq</td>
<td>orsseq bone ring for fastening the traces (sledge-dog)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The importance of retrogressive uvularization in the evolution of the Eskimo language is evident. Indeed, this phonetic process has deeply impressed itself on the morphology of the eastern dialects, the vocabulary as well as the grammar. The following sections, treating of the general grammatical features of the language, contain many examples of inflectional forms, that may be understood only when we bear this fact in mind.

Retrogressive uvularization is one of the most influential forces of transformation, due to the change of the word-stress mentioned in § 3.

**CLASSES OF WORDS, BASE AND STEM (§§13-16)**


The structure of the Eskimo language is of a highly synthetic character, which apparently testifies to a typical tendency of the Eskimo mind to concentrate and condense its notions into as few word-complexes, or units of speech, as possible. Therefore a single Eskimo word may represent a whole sentence as compared with our usual mode of expression; e. g.—

anergguwaatit he (a) begs (guwa) you (tit) to go out (aner)
anoeiaargergguwaatit he begs you again (qer) to go out early (iaar)

As a rule, such an Eskimo word or word-sentence can be analyzed and divided into an initial base-word (*aner* to go out), one or several
middle suffixes (iaar, ger, quvoa), and a final element (atit). In this chapter we shall consider only the final elements, which are the proper
inflectional forms and represent the most important, because the
most frequently used, grammatical elements of the language.

§ 14. Base and Stem

Most words of the Eskimo language have two or several inflectional stems. The shortest stem is often identical with the base, and may be an obsolete stem. The base, from this point of view, is the primary stem, or the smallest number of sounds of which the word can consist, without losing its close resemblance to the actual forms of the word; we will call this the base of derivation.

The inflectional stem, or stems, are the secondary or expanded stems, which have originated in the history of the language, owing partly to suffixation and partly to phonetic changes in the bases of the word.

In the dialects of West Greenland (the northernmost at Smith sound excepted), all words end either in one of the vowels a, e, o, or in one of the consonants p, t, k, q. Of these sounds, only final p is confined to a certain class of words (viz., nouns), whereas the other final sounds are common to all classes of words. Words that end in a, e, or o, or in q, whether nouns or verbs, are always singular forms; k is the dual character, t the plural character; but there are nouns that end in k or t in the singular; e. g., inuk a man, an eskimo; sannat tool.

In studying the bases of Eskimo words we shall soon see that sev-
eral of them end in other sounds than we are accustomed to find in actual words of modern Eskimo; e. g., in i, u, or l (l) (see § 15). The Eskimo bases are either monosyllabic or bisyllabic; the stems appear to be bases widened by one or two sounds, and sometimes also affected by change of stress. From this point of view, the bases are hypo-

thetical forms, secondary as compared with the words of the modern language; i. e., they have been reconstructed from these words for purposes of comparison. They are the explanatory connecting-links between related modern words, which may often be found to be very dissimilar.

On the other hand, if bases of this language occur which may end in other sounds than those nowadays found as the terminations of modern words, we are not bound to think that they end thus merely
because they have been artificially obtained by analyses, nor that such endings have never existed. There may have been a period in the development of the Eskimo language when the words occurred in forms different from any words that exist now.

§ 15. Examples of Bases and Stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bases</th>
<th>Stage I (a, e, o)</th>
<th>Stage II (e, i, p)</th>
<th>Stage III (q)</th>
<th>Stage IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocable or consonantal.</td>
<td>*ciua</td>
<td>*ci'uk, ci'u</td>
<td>*ciuaq</td>
<td>*cior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. ché front, bow of a boat</td>
<td>*ciua</td>
<td>Al. ché'sika my ear</td>
<td>Gr. siut ear</td>
<td>*ciuaq front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. ciu 'luq the first, foremost</td>
<td>*yu'aq front</td>
<td>Gr. si'ul'leq foremost</td>
<td>sYuarpoq is before</td>
<td>sYor'aq front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. ci'ua, si'ua bow of a boat</td>
<td>*yu'aq front</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kuit</td>
<td>*kuit (&gt; ku'k)</td>
<td>Gr. kooppoq streams down</td>
<td>*kooq</td>
<td>*kooq valley =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. ku'uaqa pours it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. ku'q river = Gr. kook &lt; *ku'k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*guy</td>
<td>*gu'yt</td>
<td>Al. a'q'mat'ak stag. big buck</td>
<td>*guy't</td>
<td>*guy't the men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. 'qamán man, male</td>
<td>*gu'yt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*guy't the men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. a'p'ul, man, male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*guy't the men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. a'n'aqooq pursues, hunts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*guy't the men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ca(*ca?)</td>
<td>*câa-*câo</td>
<td>*câk</td>
<td>*câk</td>
<td>*câk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. saa its front</td>
<td>Al. 'cháxšé the first, foremost</td>
<td>Al. 'cháxšé the one before me</td>
<td>Gr. saappoq turns front</td>
<td>Gr. saappoq turns to, speaks to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Al. 'cháxšé the first, foremost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ca-*can</td>
<td>*câna</td>
<td>*cani &gt; *sani</td>
<td>*scâneq</td>
<td>*scâneq Basics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. chá what thing?</td>
<td>Al. chá'n'mat' nak knife</td>
<td>Al. chá'n'vénok nothing</td>
<td>Al. chá'n'vénok a thing of no value</td>
<td>*scânerpaq soils it with dust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. 'cháap'ik an actual thing</td>
<td>Gr. sín'asok cuts, works</td>
<td>Gr. sín'asok dust (sánik a mote of dust)</td>
<td>*sínerpaq cleans it of dust</td>
<td>*sínerpaq cleans it of dust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. chá'nok a thing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1The abbreviations Al., Gr., Lab., M., stand throughout for Alasaks, Greenland, Labrador, and Mackenzie river, respectively.

*sânik thus appears to be a derivative of the plural collective sannì.

*sânerpaq may have been formed after the analogy of s'maaerpaq TO EMPTY (TAKE [THE CONTENT] [ima] AWAY), cf. s'mæerpaq fills it (with ima).

§ 15
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocative or consociational</th>
<th>Derivative stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage I (a, e, o)</td>
<td>Stage II (k, l, p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*cane</td>
<td>*ca'mik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. <em>sania</em> its side</td>
<td>Gr. <em>sanip'opaa</em> takes place at his side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. <em>sanemut</em> side-wards, athwart</td>
<td>Al. <em>chini</em> <em>satka</em> my nearness, vicinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*quil</td>
<td><em>quila</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. <em>kunia</em> my elevation</td>
<td>Al. <em>kunia</em> takes it up above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. <em>gulalq</em> the uppermost</td>
<td>Al. <em>kunia</em> takes it up above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. <em>gulmut</em> &lt; <em>qum</em></td>
<td><em>gulam</em> above it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mut upwards, up</td>
<td><em>gulam</em> above it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*at (or atj)</td>
<td><em>ata</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. <em>atcoll</em> nethermost</td>
<td>Gr. <em>at</em> taken under it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. <em>atmut</em> &lt; <em>atm</em></td>
<td>Al. <em>a'da</em> taken under it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>downwards</td>
<td>Al. <em>a'da</em> taken under it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. <em>atm</em> &lt; <em>at</em></td>
<td>Al. <em>a'da</em> taken under it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tim</em></td>
<td><em>tim</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. <em>tim</em> body; inland</td>
<td><em>timane</em> in the inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. <em>timut</em> land-wards (on the sea)</td>
<td><em>timane</em> in the inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. <em>tim</em> torso, body</td>
<td><em>timane</em> in the inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>au</em></td>
<td><em>au</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. <em>au</em> ~ <em>au</em> he in the north</td>
<td>Gr. <em>au</em> in the north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. <em>au</em> ~ <em>au</em> there in the north</td>
<td>Gr. <em>au</em> in the north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>au</em> or <em>au</em></td>
<td><em>au</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. <em>au</em> ~ <em>au</em> outwards</td>
<td>Gr. <em>au</em> ~ <em>au</em> outwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. <em>au</em> ~ <em>au</em> over there somewhere</td>
<td>Gr. <em>au</em> ~ <em>au</em> over there somewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. <em>au</em> ~ <em>au</em> over there somewhere</td>
<td>Gr. <em>au</em> ~ <em>au</em> over there somewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(u)~</em>(u) (or u=x)?</td>
<td><em>(u)~</em>(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. <em>u</em> he there</td>
<td><em>u</em>~<em>u</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab. <em>u</em> ~ <em>u</em> there</td>
<td><em>u</em>~<em>u</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab. <em>u</em> ~ <em>u</em> perhaps</td>
<td><em>u</em>~<em>u</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. <em>u</em> perhaps</td>
<td><em>u</em>~<em>u</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>u</em>~<em>u</em></td>
<td><em>u</em>~<em>u</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Gr. *sanmerut* a crossbar.
2*awata* means properly *something that has its place outside*, i.e., on the deck of the kayak.

§ 15
§ 16. Classes of Words

The lines of demarcation between classes of words are vague, because a great many of the inflectional and derivative endings (suffixes) are common to words that we are accustomed to consider as belonging to separate classes, such as nouns and verbs. On the other hand, we can not assert that the evolution of this language has not tended toward a fixed grouping of some of the suffixes around certain classes of words (e.g., demonstratives; temporal particles; the terms I and thou; whole and alone). No doubt the Eskimo language shows § 18
a tendency similar to that of our own, of distinguishing between nouns and verbs; but this tendency has been crossed by other tendencies toward demarcation which partially neutralize the former, as will become evident in the following discussions.

 Accordingly, instead of basing the distinction between Eskimo word-classes on the same principles as those of Latin grammar, I have chosen to depart from the category of the latter without completely giving up its technical terms of expression, which are useful because they are easily understood. In all branches of science, when proceeding from the known to the unknown, it is necessary to interpret the latter in the light of the former.

 Following this method, we may distinguish between the following classes of words:

**α. Base-Words**

1. Words with full typical inflection
   - 1. Nouns (*illo house, ateq name*).
   - 2. Verbs (*ikiwoq is in, aterpoq goes down*).

2. Words with defective inflection (*tamaq all, uvaya i, the numerals, etc.*).

3. Words with atypical inflection: demonstrative and interrogative words (*una he there, kina who*).

4. Words without any inflection
   - 1. Interjections.
   - 2. Particles, temporal (*qaya when*), modal (*ganortoq utinam*), local (*uffa there*), etc.

**β. Suffixes (Actual and Obsolete)**

1. Common to all kinds of words.
2. Confined to certain groups of words.

**INFLECTION (§§ 17-50)**

**Typical Inflection (§§ 17-44)**

§17. Plural and Dual Inflection

This is the most general kind of inflection in the Eskimo language, applying to all sorts of words with the exception of particles and interjections.

§ 17
There are two sets of typical signs of the plural common to both nouns and verbs. Here we are concerned chiefly with the first set, or the pure dual and plural endings. The dual or plural signs of the other set are closely connected with or incorporated into the other inflectional endings, for which reason they have been more or less completely united with them in form as well as in meaning: e.g., the plural ｎ in ｉｌｌｕｓ ｉｎ ｔｈｅ ｈｏｕｓｅｓ, as compared with the ｍ in ｉｌｌｕｓ ｉｎ ｔｈｅ ｈｏｕｓｅ; or ｋ in ｅｒｎｉｋｋａ ｍｙ ｓｏｎｓ, as compared with ｒ in ｅｒｎｅｒ ｍｙ ｓｏｎ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Greenland</td>
<td>a o e</td>
<td>(by adding k) ak uk ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q k t</td>
<td>(by substitution) k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

Nouns: ｎｕｎａ land ｎｕｎａｋ two lands ｎｕｎａｔ lands
illo house ｉｌｌｕｋ two houses ｉｌｌｕｔ houses
iisse eye ｉｓｉｋ two eyes ｉｓｉｔ eyes

Verbs: ａｔｏｒａａ he using it ａｔｏｒａａｋ they two using it
atoraátk they using
atorpoq it is used ａｔｏｒｐｕｋ they two using
atorik he using two

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baffin land</td>
<td>a¹ o² e³</td>
<td>k² &gt; y¹⁰</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

1nûna land (Boas VI, 109)
2igdlu house (ibid., 101)
3alartse stocking (ibid., 98); anu’re wind (ibid., 99)
4tulugaq raven (ibid., 113)
5nigirn south wind (Gr. niqeg); nirdlirm goose (Boas I, 664), cf. Gr. nerleg
6ugjuk a thong-seal (Boas VI, 114)

Mackenzie river | a¹ o² e³ | k¹⁰ or q¹¹ |
(cf. Petittot p. L) | k¹⁰ > y¹⁰ | s¹¹ |
§ 17

7irdning son (ibid., 102)
8angun paddle (Boas I, 659)
9patalaugluk let us two strike (Boas II, 347)
10inung maqong tikitong two men are coming (Boas I, 621)
11qingmit dogs (Boas VI, 105); ujarpâ he searches for them (ibid.)
12tigmidjen the birds (Boas II, 340)
Examples:
1. **tqilla** weather
2. **epklo** intestines
3. **apne** woman
4. **talepk** arm
5. **atein** name
6. **uyapak** stone
7. **apa** father
8. **aggut** man

9. **ipun oar
10. **nunak** two lands (Petitot XLIX)
11. **utekpepk** two names (ibid., L)
11. **tupapkep** two tents (ibid., XLIX)
13. **nunat** lands; **tupkpêit** tents; amit skins; **ublit** days

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alaska (see Bar-num)</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a1 u1 v1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a2 u2 v2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a3 u3 v3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:
1. **sla** weather
2. **irkliu** evil
3. **inglu** half
4. **smê [smê]** its bank or edge
5. **puyok** smoke $k=[q]$
6. **ingrik** mountain
7. **ippun** native spoon or ladle
8. **chivuur** my upper front teeth (Barnum 6); cf. the verb forms
9. **nunat** village (lands)
10. **ingrit** mountains
11. **n** occurs as plural sign only in the numerals: **stamên** four, etc. (Barnum 219)

In the Greenland dialects the formation of the plural of nouns is often accompanied by change of stress: e. g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a1 meq</td>
<td>a2 meq</td>
<td>a3 meq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dual form is much less used than the plural; and I think a great many nouns are never used in the dual, this form being replaced by the plural. On the other hand, there are some few words that occur only in the dual form: e. g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Or</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>marluk two; marlonguik two small ones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gussook the claw of a crayfish; the thumb and the forefinger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following words are collective plurals:

- **attât** a dung-hill
- **nussat** the stomach
- **norluit** ligature
- **ullut** a bird’s nest (especially the down in the nest)
- **assak** the thumb (of man or animal)
- **arsnarnerit** aurora borealis
- **amait** the hand (<**assak** a finger)
- **pau**it a paddle
- **nuffitu** a bird-dart
- **unniat** the boat rowed by women (<**umiaq** the empty boat)

§ 17
Examples of words that form no plural are:

*orssoq* blubber  *oguk* mould
*nilák* freshwater ice  *nuak* snot

**Nouns (§§ 18-29)**

§ 18. CLASS I. PLURAL INFLEXION WITHOUT SHIFT OF STRESS

The examples given in § 17 show that two principles are applied in the formation of the plural,—single addition of the plural sign to the singular form; and substitution of the plural sign for the final consonant. We observe the first principle in *illo*, pl. *illut*; the latter, in *ullog*, pl. *ullut*. In the latter instance, *t* has been substituted for *g*. These two principles may be observed in the whole inflectional treatment of the noun.

On the whole, the plural stems of the nouns are prototypes of their inflection. Many nominal stems are affected by a shift of stress in the plural, which has often been followed by phonetic shifting in the stems of the words. We shall first treat words that show no shift of stress.

The plural ending is regularly *t*, but in some cases *it*.

1. **Singular**  
   *pana*  
   *tutto*  
   *sise*

   **Plural**  
   *panát*  
   *tuttut*  
   *sisít*

   *knife*  
   *reindeer*  
   *fox’s den*

2.  
   *qaggaq*  
   *ayakkog*  
   *gimmeq*  
   *tikippoq*

   *qaggaít*  
   *ayakkút*  
   *gimmit*  
   *tikipput (they)*

   *hill, mountain*  
   *pagan priest*  
   *dog*  
   *he has come*

3. *-it* is added to the consonantal stem (i.e., the absolutive) of words ending in *t* (which *t*, when following an *i*, is regularly changed into *s* [cf. § 8]) and to the absolutive of certain words that end in *-eq* and *-ik* (the *q* and *k* being changed into *r* and *y* [cf. § 4]).

   **Singular**  
   *sànnte*  
   *merqut*  
   *sillit*

   **Plural**  
   *sànnteít*  
   *merqútít*  
   *sillisít*

   *tool*  
   *needle*  
   *whetstone*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ikeq</td>
<td>ikerit</td>
<td>bay, sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erneq</td>
<td>ernerit</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikeq</td>
<td>tikerit</td>
<td>forefinger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iliqeq</td>
<td>iliiterit</td>
<td>sleeping-place in the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uppik</td>
<td>uppenit</td>
<td>owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nukik</td>
<td>nukerit</td>
<td>sinew, tendon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamik</td>
<td>mamigit or mamit</td>
<td>the fleshy side of a hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'kkik</td>
<td>i'kkigit</td>
<td>gum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assik</td>
<td>assiget</td>
<td>image, picture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- it is added to the vocalic stem of many words that end in k in the absolutive case:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unnuk</td>
<td>unnuit</td>
<td>night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inuk</td>
<td>inuit or innuit</td>
<td>man (human being)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assak</td>
<td>assaqt (&lt;assaqt)</td>
<td>finger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- it is added to many words that end in aq in the absolutive, especially to all words ending in -innaq and -ttiag:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sorqaq</td>
<td>sorqaqt</td>
<td>whalebone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utorgaq</td>
<td>utorgaqt</td>
<td>old (man or woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naaw'jaan'naq</td>
<td>naaw'jaa'naaqt</td>
<td>only a gull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umiättaq</td>
<td>umiättaqt&lt;umiät+</td>
<td>a medium-sized boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;umiqaq+ttiag</td>
<td>ttaqt&lt;ttiät</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- it is added to some words ending in -eq or -eq in the absolutive case:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nuloq</td>
<td>nuloot&lt; *nuloit</td>
<td>rump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilorleq</td>
<td>ilorleet&lt; *ilorleit</td>
<td>innermost</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 19. CLASS II (a). PLURAL INFECTION WITH SHIFT OF STRESS

The following nouns all agree in having in the singular strong stress on their final syllable, and weak stress on the preceding syllable; but in the plural the latter becomes strongly stressed, and accordingly, as a rule, lengthened (cf. § 3). The stress shifts, being thrown back toward the beginning of the word; and this shifting is combined with a change of the quantity of the sounds of the last two syllables, the short consonant between them being either geminated or changed, or displaced by a uvular, in the plural.
9. Singular | Plural |  
| a'meq | 'ammit | skin, hide  
| i'maq the sea | 'immät | places of open water  
| nà'noq | 'nannut | bear  
| sà'nik | 'sannit or saynit | dust  
| ku'mik | 'kammit | boot  
| u'mik | 'ummit or uggit | beard  
| uwo'nik | u'winnit or u'vggit | flesh (of a living animal)  

10. awa'daq | a'wàttät | a buoy  
| tsalu'taq | 'taalutät | little sledge  

11. In the next following examples the penult consonant of the word becomes unvoiced in the plural:

| Singular | Plural |  
| isi'gak | i'sikkät | foot  
| 'naal'a'gq | 'naal'ak'kät | one who is obeyed, master  
| 'allu'a'gq | 'allàk'kät | letter  

12. ne'gq | 'nixxät | a snare, gin  
| qate'gak | qa'tixxät | back (of man)  

13. tà'leq | 'tálilt | arm  
| uka'leq | u'kálilt | hare  
| ma'llik | 'málilt | wave, billow  
| 'nàttora'lik | 'nàtto'ràllit | eagle  
| a'loq | 'allut | sole  
| u'loq | u'ilult | mussel  
| awo'al’oq | a'sálult | place of the harpoon-line on the kayak  

14. nu'jaq | 'nuttät (South Gr. = nutsät) | hair  
| ku'ják | 'kuttät | loin  
| nar'a'jaq | 'na'rattät | bait  

§ 19
5. Singular: nā'eq, ki'eq, tā'eq, o'qaqeq, yona'seq
    Plural: 'nättät (South Gr. nātsät), 'kittät, 'tättät, o'qaq'isit, go'yätt'it
    Examples: hood, cap, anchor, lake, word, neck

16. Singular: aju'aq, saati'aq, kanī'q, ilul'i'aq, 'ixxi'aq, qase'ni'q
    Plural: a'jussät, 'sautus sa'sät, ka'nissut, ilul'issät, 'ix'issät, qase'qissät
    Examples: boil, crab, sea-scorpion, iceberg, throat, gullet, Phoca vitulina
    Singular: napari'aq
    Plural: napā'issät
    Examples: upright, rear piece of the sledge, bachelor

In the last-mentioned examples the ss of the plural seems to have originated from a semi-vowel (or j) that has become audible between the vowels, instead of the hiatus of the singular; so that, for instance, ka'nissut has developed from a plural form kanijjut, corresponding to a singular kanī'joq, which form may sometimes really be heard instead of kanioq. The shift j>s has been treated in § 6.

17. Singular: iwik, sa'wik
    Plural: 'ıffit, 'saffit or sa'weet
    Examples: grass, reed, knife, iron

18. qi'pak, inu'waq, tulu'waq
    Examples: feather-bed, blanket, toe, raven

§ 20. CLASS II (b). PLURAL INFLECTION AFFECTED BY RETROGRESSIVE UVULARIZATION

In the following examples (nos. 19–24) the plural stems admit a uvular which causes a shifting of vowel (uvular mutation) in their penultima.

---

1 See § 12, p. 998.
§ 21. CLASS III. IRREGULAR PLURAL INFLATION

Plural inflection on irregularly amplified stems, without any shifting of stress (aside from the single exception qa'jaq), takes place in the following nouns:

25.  Singular       Plural       kayak
     qa'jaq           'gənnat

26.  ka'laaleq      ka'laallit    a South Greenlander
     ма'neelag       ма'neellat    uneven land or ice
27.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'qaateq</td>
<td>'qaarqit</td>
<td>ferrule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'meeraq</td>
<td>'meergüt</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'kunneq</td>
<td>a'koryit</td>
<td>interval</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>poog</td>
<td>puxxut</td>
<td>bag (cf. Al. pugyarak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'naaq</td>
<td>u'narkät</td>
<td>harpoon-shaft</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aaq</td>
<td>atsit</td>
<td>sleeve (Al. 'amrak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naaq</td>
<td>nássät abdomen</td>
<td>(the skin of) the belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iya'laaq</td>
<td>iya'lässät</td>
<td>window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'anno'raaq</td>
<td>'anno'rüssät</td>
<td>shirt, dress</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30.

The suffixes -yuaq LITTLE, -suaq GREAT, and -aluaq FORMER, ELSE, form their plurals by changing -uaq into -uit: e. g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nunayyuaq</td>
<td>nunayyuit</td>
<td>a little land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunarsuaq</td>
<td>nunarsuit</td>
<td>a great land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunayyaluaq</td>
<td>nunayyaluit</td>
<td>former land</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 22. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IRREGULARITIES IN THE FORMATION OF THE PLURAL

The formation of the plural of nouns is very irregular, notwithstanding the fact that the plural forms all end in t. The chief element in these irregular formations is a shift of the word-stress, combined with a consonantonal increase in the stem of the word. From this we may conclude that there must be some connection between these phenomena. Since the psychical factor must be considered the primus motor in the life of the language, we see the cause of the quantitative change in the shift of the stress. I have set forth elsewhere (Thalbitzer I, § 34) how I think this differentiation in the formation of the plural may be explained. It is not necessary to suppose that the general principle of the plural inflection by adding t or it has ever been set aside, or had to struggle with some other principle, but in certain words the plural ending it was added after the full singular stem (the absolutive) of the word instead of after the vocalic stem: e. g., instead of making malik a wave assume the regular plural form maliiit, the ending it was added after the final k, no matter if this k properly pointed out the singularity of the notion; and thus a new
plural form, malikit, was introduced. The ɨ that came to be between vowels changed to ɢ, and maligit lost the vowel of its central syllable when the stress was drawn back to the first syllable. maligit became mallit in Greenland, the ɨɡ (or ɨxɡ) being assimilated into one sound. In the same manner I think most of the geminated consonants in plurals have originated from the final syllable of the singular, the terminal consonant (ɡ or ɨ) of this syllable having been retained in the plural. In mm, kk, ll, etc., then, two different consonants appear assimilated in accordance with the phonetic laws of the language, but each of them maintaining its existence in the lengthening (gemination) of the sound.

§ 23. ABSOLUTIVE AND RELATIVE

The relative case, or p-case, of nouns is formed by adding p or up to the same stem of the noun as that from which the plural is formed. In most instances, in forming this case, the plural sign t is simply replaced by p.

By the addition of the p, the a-stems take the ending -ap; the o-stems -up; the e-stems, -ip; e.g.,

Absolutive       Relative
arnaq woman      arnap of the woman
nuna land        nunap of the land
ayakkog shaman   ayakkup of the shaman
illo house       illup of the house
taleq arm        tallip of the arm
iise ['iise] or ['iíse] eye issip of the eye

-ip is added after those words that end in t in the absolutive (cf. § 18.3): e.g.,

Absolutive       Relative
ayut man, male   ayutip of the man

-up is the relative ending of all the nouns of the series nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30 (§§ 18–21): e.g.,

Absolutive       Relative
erneq son         ernerpup of the son
inuk man          inoop of man (< inu-up)
iserfik entrance  iserfip of the entrance
nunayaluaq former land nunayaloop of the former land
nateq floor       narqup of the floor
tupeq tent        towqgqup of the tent

§ 23
In the western dialects, \( m \) stands for \( p \) in this grammatical function:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>nunu achādne beneath the house</td>
<td>Greenland inip ataane sikup iluane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnum 13)</td>
<td>chikum iltōanē of the ice in its interior</td>
<td>Greenland silap sikup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mackenzie river</td>
<td>nunam of the land</td>
<td>Greenland nunap toqquqruq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Petitot xliv)</td>
<td>tupkib of the tent</td>
<td>Greenland toqquqruq anorip or anorruq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 24. LOCAL CASES

The local case-endings are alike in the singular and the plural, but they are added to different stems of inflection, the nominal stem in the singular ending in \( m \), in the plural in \( n \). This is the same in the Greenland and in the Alaska dialects. Only the prosecutive case is excepted; since in the singular it shows a consonantal stem ending in \( k \), but in the plural either a lengthened stem ending in \(-te\), or a lengthened suffix \((-tunut)\).
Northwest Greenland               Southwest Alaska
Plural                          Plural

Ablative                       it qagga{n}it from the ?
mountains
Instrumentalis                 ik qagga{n}ik by the uk ingrinn{t}ik
mountains
Prosecutive¹                   inut qaggati{g}ut over the t'hu{n} ingrithi{t}an[ingri-
mountains
Conformative or Äqualis        tut qaggat{t}ut like the tun ingritt{t}un
mountains

Singular                        Plural

Absolutive                     illo a house, the illut houses, the
house
Allative                       -ut  illumut to, into, the illunut to, into, the
house houses
Locative                       -e  illume in the house illune in the house
Ablative                       -it  illumit from the illunit from the
house houses
Instrumentalis                 -ik  illumik by (with) illunik by (with) the
house houses
Prosecutive -kut, -gut          illukkut through the illutigut through the
house houses

There is only one kind of irregularity, or of deviation from this
type of inflection, arising by the retention of the final consonant of
the absolutive case in the other cases, this consonant being assimilated
with the initial consonant of the case-suffix. Accordingly, only such
words as end in a consonant in the absolutive singular may show irregu-
larities; e. g., ulloq, which retains its final q, assimilated into r in
four of the singular cases, but is quite regular in the plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural (regular)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>ulloq a day, the day</td>
<td>ullut days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>ullormut to the day</td>
<td>ullunut to the days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>ullorme in the day, on the day</td>
<td>ullune in the days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ullormit from the day</td>
<td>ullunit from the days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td>ullormik with the day</td>
<td>ulluni{k} with the days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>ullukkut in or through the day</td>
<td>ullutigut through the days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ullorme on that day; ullume to-day.

¹ The prosecute plural ends, in Southwest Greenland, in -tigut (= Labrador), which form is nearer
to the Alaska -t'hu{n} (or t'xun?) than is the north Greenlandic form.

§ 24
Other examples:

nā'teq floor  'ukkaq front wall of house
nā'termut to the floor  'ukkarmut to the front wall
nā'terme (or naryane) on the floor  ukkarme at the front wall

ukkakkut through the front wall

i'rneq fresh water
i'nermut to the water
i'nerme in the water
imikkut through the water

Words ending in -leq (local superlative ending):

si'ullecq the foremost one  kiy'ullecq the last one
si'ullermute at the foremost one  kiy'ullermute at the last one
si'ullermik firstly  kiy'ullermik the last time

i lorleq the innermost one  'killeq the most western one
i lorleqmit from the innermost one  'killermute at the most western one
ilorlennut to the innermost ones  'killermut to the most western one
ilorlekkut through the innermost one  'killekkut through the most western ones
ilorleqitijut through the innermost ones  'killertijute through the most western ones

§ 25. LOCAL CASES—Continued

In nouns ending in -k this sound has been assimilated by the formative endings:

Absolutive . . sawik a knife  katuk inner doorway in the house
Allative . . sawimmut  katammute
Locative . . sawimme  katamme
Instrumentalik . . sawimmik  katamnkie
Prosecutive . . sawikkute  katakkute
Conformative . . sawiltute  katattute

Examples:

'sarpinnik by means of the tail (of a whale) (<sarpik,
uilulimmut to the mussel-place (<uilulik place where there are mussels)
noōnmute from the point of land (<nook)
inuttute as a human being (especially Eskimo) (<inuk)
Nouns ending in -t either retain this sound in assimilated shape in the singular declension, or form their cases on a lengthened stem (-te); e.g.,

aput snow on the earth (apummum, apumme, apummik)
oommat heart (oommammik or oommamtimik by the heart; oommamtimik by the hearts; oommatikut through the heart; oommatitijut through the hearts)
nappaa'tt illness (nappaa'mmit or nappaa'ttimit from [because of] illness; nappaa'ttimit from illnesses; nappaa'ttikut through illness; nappaa'ttimitijut through illnesses)

A few words ending in final t are regularly declined after the type of illo; e.g., kammeemik or kammiiumik with the boot-stretcher (<kammiuit).

All nouns belonging to Class II (§§ 19–20) and most of the nouns belonging to Class III (§ 21) form their local cases, both singular and plural, on the plural stem. The absolutive case stands isolated among these formations, being apparently irregular. The explanation of this fact is similar to the one set forth in § 22, and I have treated the question more fully in "A Phonetical Study," § 34.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>ameg hide, skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Relative)</td>
<td>(ammip)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>amminut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>ammine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ammimit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td>ammimik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>ammikut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>ujaraq stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Relative)</td>
<td>(ujargap)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>ujarqamut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>ujarqame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ujarqamit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td>ujarqamik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>ujarqakkut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>koorq valley, ravine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>koorqumut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>koorqume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>koorqumit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td>koorqumik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>koorqakkut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 25
### § 26. PERSONAL CASES, OR POSSESSIVE INFLection, OF Nouns.

**GREENLAND**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong> of the noun</td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong> of the noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing. . . . . ga, ra</td>
<td>kka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing. . . . . i</td>
<td>tit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing. . . . . ne</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl. . . . . rput, puut</td>
<td>wut, put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl. . . . . rse, se</td>
<td>se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl. . . . . rik, tik</td>
<td>tik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing. . . . . a</td>
<td>ce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl. . . . . at</td>
<td>e, et</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ALASKA (BARNUM 19-25)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing. . . . . ka</td>
<td>nka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing. . . . . in</td>
<td>tin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing. . . . . ne</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl. . . . . wut, hput</td>
<td>put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl. . . . . se, se</td>
<td>ce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl. . . . . sity</td>
<td>sity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing. . . . . a, e</td>
<td>aij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl. . . . . at</td>
<td>aij, ait</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be clear from this synopsis that some of the Greenland singular and plural endings must be accounted for in the dual forms of the Alaska dialect. I have especially in mind the endings beginning in r(<q), rput our, rse your, rtk their own, rpit of thy, which in Greenlandic indicate the singular of the thing owned; in Alaska, duality. Likewise the Greenland yik their own two ones, which does not agree in form with the Alaska rket, originally must have meant their two selves' two, since it is in form in accord-

---

1. I designate by “fourth person” the reflexive, the form expressing that the subject of the sentence is possessor.
2. I have here hypothetically transcribed the paradigms of Barnum in accordance with my own spelling of the Eskimo language.
ance with the Alaska possessive suffix of this meaning: *rēk* (in the relative *rēka*). The dual system is disappearing in Greenland, but it has been recorded by Paul Egede and S. Kleinschmidt, so that all the original Greenland forms are known. I have only cited two-fifths of the forms in the synopsis above presented; namely, such as express duality of the object possessed. The other forms express duality of the possessor: e.g.,

### POSSESSIVE DUAL ENDINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor dual</th>
<th>Greenland</th>
<th>Alaska</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Object possessed.</td>
<td>Absolutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td><em>puk</em></td>
<td><em>ppuk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td><em>tik</em></td>
<td><em>ttik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td><em>k</em></td>
<td><em>kik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                | Object possessed. | Relative | Object possessed. | Relative |
|                | Singular | Dual | Plural | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| 1st           | *wunuk*  | *wunuk* | *wunuk* | *murnuk* | *zmurnuk* | *murnuk* |
| 2d            | *wttik*  | *wttik* | *hpiituk* | *zpiituk* | *piituk* | *piituk* |
| 3d            | *ota*    | *kit*  | *inta* | *nnuk* | *rrinka* | *inka* |
| 4th           | ?        | ?      | ?      | *murnuk* | *zmrnuk* | *murnuk* |

In the absolutive first person the two dialects of Greenland and Alaska apparently have interchanged their singular and plural forms, *puk* meaning in Greenland our two selves' one, in Alaska those belonging to our two selves, and *wuk* vice versa. The double duals especially (of both object possessed and possessor) have been contracted in Greenland, *rp* being assimilated to *pp*, *rt* to *tt*, etc. The Greenland *kit*, of their two selves' two, may be the remnant of the Alaska *rkin(ka)*, exactly as is the Greenland dual absolutive *kik* a remnant of the Alaska *rēk*; whereas the last syllable, *ka*, of *rēka*, seems to be a special suffix, perhaps formed in analogy to the *nka* of the absolutive plural first person. It is astonishing to find that the relative endings of the fourth person in the Alaska dialect are identical with those of the first person. The dual forms of that person are probably lost in the Greenland dialect.

The consistent use of the uvular as the general sign of the dual in the Alaska possessive suffixes is worthy of notice, while in the other forms, in the Alaska dialect as well as in the others, the palatal *k* per-

§ 26
orms the dual function. Does this fact perhaps justify us in assum-
ning that the uvular (i.e., ɣ) was once used for marking the dual in the
Eskimo language? (cf. §17.)

§ 27. PARADIGM OF THE POSSESSIVE INFECTION OF NOUNS

GREENLAND DIALECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ILLO</td>
<td>ILLUPE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HOUSE</td>
<td>OF THE HOUSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>ILLOQA my house</td>
<td>ILLUQA my houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>ILLUT thy house</td>
<td>ILLUTII thy houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>ILLUNE his own (šuš) house</td>
<td>ILLUNE his own houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>ILLORPUT our house</td>
<td>[ILLORPUT or ILLORPUT] our houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>ILLORSE your house</td>
<td>ILLUSE your houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>ILLORTEK their own (šuš) house</td>
<td>ILLUTEK their own houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>ILLA his (šuš) house</td>
<td>ILLA his (šuš) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>ILLUT their (šoru) house</td>
<td>[ILLUT or ILLUT] their (šoru) houses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noted that most cases are formed from the vocalic stem of
the word, except three; namely, the first, second, and fourth plural
possessive, singular object, absolutive, which are formed on a length-
ened consonantal stem, *ILLOQ, as if to emphasize the idea of the
singular of the object (ONE HOUSE) as against the plurality of the
personal endings (OUR, YOUR, THEIR) or of those plural cases which
end in wuť (put), se, tik.

The possessive inflection of nouns is apparently always regular,
because the endings are invariably the same. The peculiarities in the
inflection of many nouns are due to shifts in the word-stems, not in
the endings of the suffixes. Exceptions are such occasional assimila-
tions of the initial sounds of the suffixes as follow the linking to dif-
ferent stems: e.g., -ilit thy; illuit thy houses; -iset in unvisit thy
husbands (<uwe); the shifts of e>i, o>u, a>া, etc. (cf. §§ 5 and 10);
aaŋ A SLEEVE, aai<*>aee HIS SLEEVES (i<e HIS).

Only two of the possessive suffixes have alternating forms dependent
on the word-stem to which they are to be added:

First person, singular possessor; singular object possessed, abso-
lutive, ya or ra

Second person, singular possessor; singular object possessed, relative wít, or rpirit or ppirit

§ 27
-ra is the form of the suffix of the first person singular my in such words as end in q in the absolutive:

\[
\begin{align*}
ernea & \text{ my son} \\
arnara & \text{ my mother} \\
qarrrora & \text{ my arrow}
\end{align*}
\]

All words ending in a vowel add ya; e.g., ilyna my house. -ya is added to the vocalic stem of words ending in k in the absolutive:

\[
\begin{align*}
panik & \text{ daughter} \\
paniya & \text{ my daughter}
\end{align*}
\]

Words ending in t in the absolutive form their first person and some of the other personal cases on a longer stem ending in -te:

\[
\begin{align*}
aput & \text{ man} \\
aputeya & \text{ my father}
\end{align*}
\]

A remarkable fact is the constant identity of the form of the second person singular possessor, singular object possessed, absolutive (ilyt thy house) and of the plural form of the word (ilyt houses). There is probably no exception to this rule. Since many words form irregular plurals, either because of retention of the terminal consonant of the singular or owing to internal changes of their stems (cf. § 22), the same irregularity also appears in their second person singular forms:

\[
\begin{align*}
tale & \text{ arm} \\
tallit & \text{ thy arm = tallit arms} \\
talia & \text{ his arm}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 28. IRREGULAR POSSESIVE INFLExION

Following are some deviations from the typical paradigm given above:

(a) Many words ending in e form their third person possessives exactly as if they were vocalic a-stems (cf. § 15 *tim).

\[
\text{ise} \quad [\text{'ise}] \text{ or } [\text{'ise}] \text{ EYE.}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>inau</td>
<td>inai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>isaat</td>
<td>isaat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 28
**YAT MAN, FATHER < ayute.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th></th>
<th>Relative</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>ayutepa</td>
<td>ayutíka</td>
<td>ayutíma</td>
<td>ayutíma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>ayutit</td>
<td>ayutítil</td>
<td>ayutívit</td>
<td>ayutívit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>ayutíte</td>
<td>ayutíte</td>
<td>ayutíte</td>
<td>ayutíte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>ayuterput</td>
<td>ayuterput</td>
<td>ayutítta</td>
<td>ayutítta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>ayuterec</td>
<td>ayutíte</td>
<td>ayutívit</td>
<td>ayutívit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>ayutíte</td>
<td>ayutíte</td>
<td>ayutíte</td>
<td>ayutíte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>ayuta</td>
<td>ayuta</td>
<td>ayuta</td>
<td>ayuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>ayuta</td>
<td>ayuta</td>
<td>ayuta</td>
<td>ayuta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some of the personal cases this word has double forms, its stem-terminal being assimilated with the suffix-initial.

1th per. sing.  *ayutíte=ayunne* his (suus) father
*ayutíte=ayumme*

4th per. pl.  *ayutímit=ayummik*

1st per. pl.  *ayuterput=ayupput* our father

1st per. sing.  *ayutíma=ayunma*

2d per. sing.  *ayutiwit=ayuppit*

(b) **táleq** (pl. 'táLLít) ARM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th></th>
<th>Relative</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>tá'lara my arm</td>
<td>tállikka my arms</td>
<td>tállima</td>
<td>tállima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>tállit thy arm</td>
<td>(tállitt or tállit) thy arms</td>
<td>tállit</td>
<td>tállit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>(tállite or tállin) his or her own arm</td>
<td>tálline or his, her, own</td>
<td>tálline</td>
<td>tálline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>tálerput our arm</td>
<td>tállowput our arms</td>
<td>tállowta</td>
<td>tállowta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>tálerce your arm</td>
<td>tállerse your arms</td>
<td>tállerrese</td>
<td>tállerrese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>tállertik their own arm</td>
<td>(tállertik or) their own</td>
<td>tállertik</td>
<td>tállertik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>tá'la his, her, arm</td>
<td>tá'la arms</td>
<td>tá'la</td>
<td>tá'la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>tá'lita their arm</td>
<td>(tá'llite or) their (korum)</td>
<td>tá'llita</td>
<td>tá'llita</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the word *táleq* is in most of the personal cases declined on the plural stem *tállle*, with shifting of the word-accent and change of the medial consonant (*l > LL*), which becomes geminated and unvoiced in the forms here in question.

§ 28

44877°—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—65
The following nouns are declined after the analogy of *taleq*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural or second person singular</th>
<th>First and second person possessive</th>
<th>Third and fourth person possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>a'iq</em></td>
<td><em>'allut</em> soles, thy sole; <em>allukka</em> my soles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a'meq</em></td>
<td><em>'ammut</em> skins, thy skin; <em>ammweq</em> our skins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>qa'aj</em></td>
<td><em>qa'andit kayaka, thy kayak; qa'amakka my kayaks</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nu'aj</em></td>
<td><em>'nuttit hair, thy hair; <em>'nuttitit</em> thy hair (pl.)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>o'aq</em></td>
<td><em>o'qarit tongues, thy tongue</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>o'qat</em></td>
<td><em>o'qatit words, thy word</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the words that end in one of the suffixes *-yaq, -yaq, -waq, -raq, -roq*, belong here, but others as well; for instance,

*allayaq* something written; *iseraq* the upper part of the foot
*isuyak* (pl. *i'siikkat*) a toe, the foot
*a'qeran* enemy, opponent
*inwaq* a toe (*inwraa* his toes)

Likewise the words ending in *-iaq* and *-uaq* (*-uak*); e. g.,
*assiliaq* picture
*u'luq* cheek

(c) The next paradigm is peculiar, in that the third person is declined on the plural stem throughout.

**a'teq** (pl. *'argit*) a name.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th></th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>atera</td>
<td>atikka</td>
<td>aterma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td><em>argit</em></td>
<td><em>attit</em></td>
<td><em>aterpit</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td><em>atine</em> or <em>arge</em></td>
<td><em>atine</em></td>
<td><em>aterme</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>aterput</td>
<td><em>atitut</em></td>
<td>atitit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>atereke</td>
<td><em>atite</em></td>
<td><em>atitik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>aterveq</td>
<td><em>argt</em></td>
<td><em>arterik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>arqa</td>
<td><em>arge</em></td>
<td>arqatla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td><em>argit</em></td>
<td><em>argit or argote</em></td>
<td>arqitla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The explanation of the development of the irregular forms has been given in § 22.

§ 28
This is the method of declension of the following nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural or second person singular</th>
<th>Third person possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'leq</td>
<td>'arlilt harpoon-lines, thy harpoon-line</td>
<td>a'likka (a'likka my harpoon-lines)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'leq</td>
<td>'narqit floors, bottoms, thy floor, bottom</td>
<td>narqqa (narqqa our floor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa'leq</td>
<td>'parqit marrow (pl.), thy marrow</td>
<td>parqqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qi'teq</td>
<td>'gerqit middle, mid- (pl.), thy middle</td>
<td>gerqqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'teq</td>
<td>'erqit anus (pl.), thy anus</td>
<td>erqqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an'meq</td>
<td>'nermmil bindings, string, thy binding</td>
<td>nermma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'neg</td>
<td>garmmil mouths, thy mouth</td>
<td>qarmna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saamneq</td>
<td>saarnmil bones, thy bone</td>
<td>saarnna (also saarqit, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'neg</td>
<td>'ormmil armpits, thy armpit</td>
<td>ormna (also orqit, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu'pqeq</td>
<td>'tomqit tents, thy tent</td>
<td>tomqqa (also tupit, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu'weq</td>
<td>dlorpil graves, thy grave</td>
<td>dlorpia or dlorra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following numerals also belong here:

arrineq 6
arvergnit the sixth (properly their number 6, or the number 6 of the fingers)
arganeq 11
argarnit the eleventh
arversaneq 16
arversarnit the sixteenth

(d) The peculiarities in the declension of the following paradigm remind us of that just mentioned, a'teq, pl. arqit, a name, to which it is evidently closely related.

**Killik** (pl. killinrit) a limit, boundary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>kilipa</td>
<td>kilikka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kiliyit</td>
<td>kilisit or kilisit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>kilin</td>
<td>kiline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kilipput</td>
<td>kiliput</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kilinai</td>
<td>kiline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>killitiik or killitiik</td>
<td>kilimmik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kilipa</td>
<td>kilipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kilipe or kilipe</td>
<td>kilipe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigm of killik will serve as a model for the following noun:

assik picture; assenit or assit thy picture; assisit or assisit thy pictures; assena my picture, his or its picture; assippit or asserpit our picture

§ 28
Some few other nouns that are rarely used except in the third person are treated in the same manner.

*tukik (third person tukeya) the long side of it
*missik (misseya or missaa) line between two points, proportional line
*terlik (terlleya) his or its safe side (the side from which nothing evil is expected)
qilik (qileya) its bone peg (viz., the bone peg of the throwing-stick)
milik (mileya) that which obstructs a passage or channel
nalik (naleya) its equivalent

erneq A son, t'keq forefinger, t'illeg pulse, pulsation, also belong here:

erner (pl. ernerit) a son.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Relative</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>ennera my son</td>
<td>ennikka my sons</td>
<td>ennerma</td>
<td>ernima</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>ernerit thy son</td>
<td>ermit or ennik, thy sons</td>
<td>ennerpet</td>
<td>ernipet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>erne his own son</td>
<td>ernine his own sons</td>
<td>ennerme</td>
<td>ernime</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>ennerput our son</td>
<td>ernissut or erniput, our sons</td>
<td>ernibuta</td>
<td>ernibuta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>ernerse your son</td>
<td>ernise your sons</td>
<td>ernisse</td>
<td>ernisse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>ennerlik their own son</td>
<td>ernist or ernisik, their own sons</td>
<td>ernermik</td>
<td>ernisk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>ennera his (ejus) son</td>
<td>ennera his sons</td>
<td>ennerata</td>
<td>ennerata</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>ennerat their (korum) son</td>
<td>ennerat or ennerit, their sons</td>
<td>ennerata</td>
<td>ennerata</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 29. LOCAL CASES OF POSSESSIVE FORMS OF NOUNS

The local case-endings (§ 24) may be used with the possessives, the local ending always being placed after the possessive one: (house) my in, your from, etc. The combination is not brought about by a mere addition of the endings, but the forces of assimilation and analogy have modified the compounds in the development of the language.

The local endings -ut, -e, -it, -ik, are augmented by an n (thus, -nut, -ne, -nit, -nik) when joined to a possessive inflected noun; and the prosecutive ending -nut or -kut is apparently augmented by -ti (thus, -tisut). In first, second, and fourth persons, -nut, -ne, -nit, -nik, seem to be joined to the relative possessive forms of the nouns (though the first
person plural and the second person singular take a very irregular form in the compounds), but in the third person the same endings seem to be joined after the absolute possessives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Endings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td><em>illo</em> a house, the house</td>
<td>-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative</td>
<td><em>illup</em> of the house</td>
<td>-p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth per. possessive</td>
<td><em>illumune</em> his (her) own house or houses</td>
<td>-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td><em>illuminut</em> into his own house or houses</td>
<td>-nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td><em>illumine</em> in his own house or houses</td>
<td>-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td><em>illuminit</em> from his own house or houses</td>
<td>-nit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td><em>illuminik</em> by his own house or houses</td>
<td>-nik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td><em>illuminut</em> through his own house or houses</td>
<td>-gut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformative</td>
<td><em>illumisut</em> like his own house or houses</td>
<td>-sut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Locative Case (-ne) Possessively Inflected**

*illo* house; *illumune* in a house, in the house.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular and plural</th>
<th>Old Eskimo</th>
<th>Modern possessive forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td><em>illumine</em> in his house or houses</td>
<td><em>illumene</em></td>
<td><em>illum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td><em>illumune</em> (also <em>illowne</em>) in thy house or houses</td>
<td><em>illuwit</em></td>
<td><em>illum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td><em>illumune</em> in my house or houses</td>
<td><em>illumane</em></td>
<td><em>illum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td><em>illuminne</em> in their house or houses</td>
<td><em>illumikne</em></td>
<td><em>illumik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td><em>illuwseinne</em> in your house or houses</td>
<td><em>illuwse</em></td>
<td><em>illuw</em> (Absolutive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td><em>illuwteinne</em> in our house or houses</td>
<td><em>illuwta</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular, house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td><em>illuanne</em> in his (kius) house</td>
<td><em>illuanne</em></td>
<td><em>illua</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td><em>illuanne</em> in their (korus) house</td>
<td><em>illuanne</em></td>
<td><em>illua</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural, houses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td><em>illune</em> in his houses</td>
<td><em>illune</em></td>
<td><em>illue</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td><em>illune</em> in their houses</td>
<td><em>illune</em></td>
<td><em>illue or illut</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the second person the possessive locative ending -rne is also common; e. g.,

*kiwffarne* (=*kiwffanne*) at thy servant (*kiwffaq* servant, porter)

§ 29
THE PROSECUTIVE CASE POSSESSIVELY INFLECTED

siut ear; siuta-a his ear; siutinut through an ear.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular and plural</th>
<th>Old Eskimo</th>
<th>(Relative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>siutimiŋput through his (own) ear or ears</td>
<td>&lt;siutimeŋput</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>siutikkut through thy ear or -ears</td>
<td>&lt;siutikkut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>siutimmukut through my ear or ears</td>
<td>&lt;siutimmukut or siutimmakut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>siutimmikkut through their own ear or ears</td>
<td>&lt;siutimmikkut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>siutimmisigut through your ear or ears</td>
<td>&lt;siutimmisigut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>siutimmisigut through our ear or ears</td>
<td>&lt;siutimmisigut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular, ear</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>siutaayut or siutaqayut through his (kun) ear</td>
<td>&lt;siutaayut or siutaqayut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>siutaqayut through their (noorun) ear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural, ears</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>siutaa siŋput</td>
<td>&lt;siutaa siŋput</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>siutaa siŋput</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the other endings beginning with -n are joined to the noun in the same manner as -ne.

Other examples:

-ne.

iṣerfiune at the entrance (iṣerfi) of it (a)
umiap ataane of the umiak, in (ne) the under-space (ata) of it (a) =
under the umiak
qilaatʷp kililjane of the sky, in (ne) the border (kilik) of it (a) =
on the horizon
qasนne on the top (gak) of me

-nut.

illuminate iserpog he goes into (nut) his (me) house (illo)
kililjanut to the border of it (a)
ilaminut to his or her own (me) house-mate (ila)
ikiŋutʷnnut to my (ʷn) friend or friends (ikiŋut [e])

-nit.

iniminit from his or its own (mi) place, nest, etc. (ine)
kililjianit from the border of it (a), especially from that time
nooŋ kujataanit of the point of land (nook), from its (a) southern
space (kujat [a]) = from the south of the point of land
qaanat qaanit of the mountain, from its (a) top = from the top of
the mountain

§ 29
nik.

'amminik with his own (me) finger (assak) or fingers
sa'winminik with his own knife (sa'wik) or knives (sa'weet)
alermminnik with their own (min) harpoon-line (aleq)
amel'torgaminnik with their own (min) old skin
ammetorgaminnik with their old skins (ameq, pl. ammit)

-\(\text{\text{-jut, -}kut, -\text{\text{-tjut}.}}\)

qinamijut through or by his own (me) nose (qiyaq)
keenamiyut through or over his own (me) face
qoyasianyut through or about his (a) neck (qoyaseq)
keenaatiyut through his (e\(\text{\text{\text{-jut}}\)) (a) face
niqoqaatiyut through his (a) head (niqoq)
timaatiyut through his body (time)
siutiguakkut through or by my little ear or ears

Verbs (§§ 30-44)

§ 30. CONJUGATION

The conjugation of the Eskimo verb is based on a set of slightly different stems; i. e., they are derivatives from a common base, which in itself need not be of the character of a verb. The personal verb-suffixes follow the stems as terminals. The suffixes (the verb-signs) have different meanings, constituting at the same time the modes of the verb. Accordingly the stem of the verb alternates during the conjugation. From the base kapi are formed the verb-stems kapiy, kapi'wo, kapi'wa, kapile, ka'pi'lo, etc. (see § 31). Since each of these stems has its own set of six or eight personal endings, it becomes evident that the system of conjugation must be very complex. Moreover, there are four classes of conjugation, according to the difference in form of the bases. Examples of these classes are—

Class I, *kapi, the last syllable weak (unstressed), and invariably ending in a normal vowel (a, i, u).
Class II, *piye (piya), the last syllable weak, and ending in e alternating with a.
Class III, *ti'iki (tikik), the last syllable strongly stressed, but never ending in a uvular.
Class IV, *da'toq (ato), the last syllable strongly stressed, and ending in a uvular (y>r).

Thus the differences in the classes of conjugation depend not only upon the final sound, but also upon the stress, of the bases. These differences affect the constituting suffixes. Class I, for instance, adds
in Greenlandic *woq* in the same modes in which Classes III and IV add *poq*.

A consideration of the endings of the conjugated verb proves that most of them coincide, partially at least, with the possessive suffixes of nouns. The etymological researches strengthen this hypothesis concerning the common origin of these elements. Only some few of the personal verb-endings deviate absolutely from the present system of possessive suffixes of nouns. They may be elements of a foreign origin or obsolete suffixes.

Of a neutral character, lacking any mark of personality, is the ending of the third person singular -*oq* (*-poq*, *-woq*), dual -*uk*, plural -*ut*, which quite agrees with the common absolute ending of the noun; and in so far we might speak of an absolute of the verb, but it should be noted that we find no corresponding suffixless relative (-*up*) in the conjugation of the finite verb. On the other hand, we find, in the system of verb conjugation, not one set, but two or three sets, of absolute possessive endings, and another set of relative possessive endings.

The modal suffixes are inseparable from the personal endings; but they may be, and really often are, severed from the base by the insertion of other suffixes. Many of these infixes are of a modal character; but since they do not affect the endings of the words, we shall not treat them here.

The only indication of tense in the simple forms of the Eskimo verb is expressed by modes X and XI (see § 32). As for the other modes, the past tense may sometimes be expressed by infixing -*aluar*(*poq*), -*sima*(*woq*); and the future tense, by infixing *sa* (-*sa*-*woq*, in the third person singular contracted to -*sewoq*), or -*uma*(*woq*), -*umaar*(*poq*).

§ 31. SYNOPSIS OF POSSESSIVE ENDINGS OF NOUNS (N.) AND VERBS (V.) 1

The paradigms in the next following sections are confined to the West Greenland dialect.

1 The dual endings are left out here (cf. § 26). The Roman numerals refer to the modes (see § 32).
Simple Absolutive Possessives, or Compounds made up of one of the Absolutive Singular or Plural Signs, q, k, t, + Possessive Suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>pa ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>it t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>e ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>rput yput</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>ree see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>tik tik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the compounds, q changes to r before a consonant or between vowels (§ 4).

ks is assimilated to ss
tk is assimilated to kk
kn is assimilated to nn
kt is assimilated to tt
kp is assimilated to pp

Relative Possessives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>V. x, x1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>ma rma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>wit rpit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>ada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>me rme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>wta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>wec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>aha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>mik rmik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 31
### Compound Verbal Endings, Composed of an Uncertain Element (w $<$ p) + a Possessive Ending, or of Two Absolute Possessives, or of a Relative Possessive + an Absolute Possessive (B + A or B + D)

#### SINGULAR OBJECTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thou—me</th>
<th>You—me</th>
<th>He—me</th>
<th>They—me</th>
<th>He (se)</th>
<th>They (se)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thou—me:</td>
<td>you—me:</td>
<td>he—me:</td>
<td>they—me:</td>
<td>he (se):</td>
<td>they (se):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rema III</td>
<td>sipa I</td>
<td>aapa III IX XI</td>
<td>appa (wapp) III IX XI</td>
<td>mipa X</td>
<td>mipa (w’appa) X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mma IX X XI (ypa I?)</td>
<td>wippa III IX XI</td>
<td>wist III IX XI</td>
<td>wist III IX XI</td>
<td>mipa I</td>
<td>mipa (w’appa) I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I—thee</th>
<th>We—thee</th>
<th>He—thee</th>
<th>They—thee</th>
<th>He (se):</th>
<th>They (se):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I—thee</td>
<td>We—thee</td>
<td>He—thee</td>
<td>They—thee</td>
<td>He (se):</td>
<td>They (se):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wipit (&lt;wapp)</td>
<td>wist (&lt;wapp)</td>
<td>wist III IX XI</td>
<td>wist III IX XI</td>
<td>wist III IX</td>
<td>wist III IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or wipit III IX XI</td>
<td>wist III IX XI</td>
<td>wist III IX XI</td>
<td>wist III IX XI</td>
<td>wist III IX</td>
<td>wist III IX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Him</th>
<th>We—him</th>
<th>Thou—him</th>
<th>You—him</th>
<th>He—him</th>
<th>Thou—him</th>
<th>You—him</th>
<th>He—him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Him</td>
<td>We—him</td>
<td>Thou—him</td>
<td>You—him</td>
<td>He—him</td>
<td>Thou—him</td>
<td>You—him</td>
<td>He—him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wihop IX XI</td>
<td>wihop IX XI</td>
<td>wihop IX XI</td>
<td>wihop IX XI</td>
<td>wihop IX XI</td>
<td>wihop IX XI</td>
<td>wihop IX XI</td>
<td>wihop IX XI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Him (se)</th>
<th>We—him (se)</th>
<th>Thou—him (se)</th>
<th>You—him (se)</th>
<th>He—him (se)</th>
<th>Thou—him (se)</th>
<th>You—him (se)</th>
<th>He—him (se)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Him (se)</td>
<td>We—him (se)</td>
<td>Thou—him (se)</td>
<td>You—him (se)</td>
<td>He—him (se)</td>
<td>Thou—him (se)</td>
<td>You—him (se)</td>
<td>He—him (se)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tume IX XI</td>
<td>tume IX XI</td>
<td>tume IX XI</td>
<td>tume IX XI</td>
<td>tume IX XI</td>
<td>tume IX XI</td>
<td>tume IX XI</td>
<td>tume IX XI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### PLURAL OBJECTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thou—us</th>
<th>You—us</th>
<th>He—us</th>
<th>They—us</th>
<th>He (se)</th>
<th>They (se)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thou—us</td>
<td>You—us</td>
<td>He—us</td>
<td>They—us</td>
<td>He (se):</td>
<td>They (se):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wipit III IX XI</td>
<td>wipit III IX XI</td>
<td>aipe III IX XI</td>
<td>aipe III IX XI</td>
<td>mipse X</td>
<td>mipse X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wipit IX XI</td>
<td>wipit IX XI</td>
<td>wipit IX XI</td>
<td>wipit IX XI</td>
<td>mipse IX XI</td>
<td>mipse IX XI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I—you</th>
<th>We—you</th>
<th>He—you</th>
<th>They—you</th>
<th>He (se):</th>
<th>They (se):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I—you</td>
<td>We—you</td>
<td>He—you</td>
<td>They—you</td>
<td>He (se):</td>
<td>They (se):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>use III V IX XI</td>
<td>use III V IX XI</td>
<td>aie III IX XI</td>
<td>aie III IX XI</td>
<td>mipse X</td>
<td>mipse X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>use IX XI</td>
<td>use IX XI</td>
<td>use IX XI</td>
<td>use IX XI</td>
<td>mipse IX XI</td>
<td>mipse IX XI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I—they</th>
<th>We—they</th>
<th>He—they</th>
<th>They—they</th>
<th>He (se):</th>
<th>They (se):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I—they</td>
<td>We—they</td>
<td>He—they</td>
<td>They—they</td>
<td>He (se):</td>
<td>They (se):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wipit III IX XI</td>
<td>wipit III IX XI</td>
<td>wipit III IX XI</td>
<td>wipit III IX XI</td>
<td>mipse X</td>
<td>mipse X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wipit IX XI</td>
<td>wipit IX XI</td>
<td>wipit IX XI</td>
<td>wipit IX XI</td>
<td>mipse IX XI</td>
<td>mipse IX XI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>They—they</th>
<th>They—they</th>
<th>They—they</th>
<th>They—they</th>
<th>They—they</th>
<th>They—they</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They—they</td>
<td>They—they</td>
<td>They—they</td>
<td>They—they</td>
<td>They—they</td>
<td>They—they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mipse X</td>
<td>mipse X</td>
<td>mipse X</td>
<td>mipse X</td>
<td>mipse X</td>
<td>mipse X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mipse IX XI</td>
<td>mipse IX XI</td>
<td>mipse IX XI</td>
<td>mipse IX XI</td>
<td>mipse IX XI</td>
<td>mipse IX XI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In this table w, ye, we, uk, stand throughout for w, ye, we, wib, which are phonetically more correct.

* (se) i.e., the Latin reflexive pronoun, here only used to indicate a like grammatical function of the Eskimo me, mik, tik, ne, nik.

§ 31
Simple Personal Suffixes Peculiar to Certain Parts of the System of Conjugation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>(V) IX</th>
<th>I X XI</th>
<th>I IV V</th>
<th>V X XI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>st per. sing.</td>
<td>(ya)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x1 per. sing.</td>
<td>(til)</td>
<td>kit, yit (q)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x4 per. sing.</td>
<td>yo&lt;go</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yo&lt;go, kn, uk</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>ta (v)</td>
<td>(iyut)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>tiyut, sigut</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. pl.</td>
<td>(se)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. pl.</td>
<td>yit&lt;pit</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yit&lt;pit, kit</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>(tit)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yit&lt;pit, kik</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yit&lt;pit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

yo(go) in -mago, -pago, -lugo (South Greenland -mago, -pago, -lugo), seems to be of the same origin as suk, iuk, answering to the Alaskan form -ghwū, -ēū (Barnum 148, 142). The same may be true of -uk in—

atoruk use it!
takupiuq do you see it?
torsiuq you use it!

Thus the original form of this suffix may have been a single o; but between e and o a glide sound (semi-vowel) has sprung up and become self-existent, changing to g, k, j, s, y, at different stages in the history of the language.

yik, kik, probably belonged originally to the dual, but have assumed a plural meaning and stand for yit, to avoid confusion with the second-person forms ending in -yit. The initial y of yik, yit, of course, is derived from q, which sound is otherwise used in these endings instead of y, except in North Greenland.

§ 31
### §32. SYNONYS OF VERBAL Modes OF CONJUGATION (DIALECT OF WEST GREENLAND)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modes of conjugation</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Person endings, A, B, C, D¹</th>
<th>Name and definition of the mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>IV (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>v&lt;q</td>
<td>v&lt;q</td>
<td>v, ll²</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ppo</td>
<td>rpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ppa</td>
<td>rpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV, 2d per.</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>pai</td>
<td>ppe</td>
<td>rpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>ppa</td>
<td>rpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>ppa</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V, 3d per.</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>lle</td>
<td>re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>lla</td>
<td>rla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ A, B, C, D, refer to § 81.
² tikipli or tikitta come.
³ tikippitak or tikippitit thou didst not come.
⁴ In the third person singular, simply used without any suffix.
### Modal characters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modes of conjugation</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Person endings, A, B, C, D</th>
<th>Name and definition of the mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class of conjugation</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>LLO</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td>LLO</td>
<td>rlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII β</td>
<td>(e)sc</td>
<td>(e)sc</td>
<td>te³</td>
<td>rie³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e)so</td>
<td>(e)so</td>
<td>³te⁴</td>
<td>³rte⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>la sa ya</td>
<td>ya&lt;pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX, 1st, 2d, 4th per.</td>
<td>yi&lt;pi</td>
<td>yi&lt;pi</td>
<td>kki</td>
<td>ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya&lt;pa</td>
<td>ya&lt;pa</td>
<td>kka</td>
<td>ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X, 1st, 2d, 4th per.</td>
<td>ya&lt;pa</td>
<td>ya&lt;pa</td>
<td>kka</td>
<td>ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mma</td>
<td>mma</td>
<td>mma</td>
<td>rma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI, 1st, 2d, 4th per.</td>
<td>yu&lt;yu</td>
<td>yu&lt;yu</td>
<td>kku</td>
<td>ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ppa</td>
<td>ppa</td>
<td>ppa</td>
<td>rpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>nne</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. a is the negative character in the third person singular, and the first, second, and third persons plural, of the verbs of class IV: *tere–ne* he not going in *tere–ne*, but *tere-ne* (class III) he not coming.

2. May be used without any suffix.
§ 33. MODE I. IMPERATIVE  
INTRANSITIVE (A-ENDINGS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Class of conjugation)</th>
<th>I. kapli, kapliy TO STAB ONE’S SELF</th>
<th>III. ka’ta, ka’tay TO BE DROPPED, OR TO SHED HAIR, HORNS, ETC.</th>
<th>IV. t’aer, t’aer educator, to &amp;c., in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapliyil (thou) stab!</td>
<td>ka’tayil drop!</td>
<td>iser’ri enter!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapliyelle (you)</td>
<td>ka’tayelle</td>
<td>iser’ritte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thou—me</td>
<td>you—me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapliya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>ka’tayya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>t’eriyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A C-endings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou—us</td>
<td>you—us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapisiput</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>ka’tatiput</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>tseriyput</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D C-endings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou—him</td>
<td>you—him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapikuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>ka’tayuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>tseruk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D C-endings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou—them</td>
<td>you—them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapikkit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>ka’takkit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>tserikkit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D C-endings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Some verbs end in -asuk in this class; e.g., tikisuk (< tikippoa) come to him or to there.

§ 34. MODE II. INDICATIVE  
INTRANSITIVE (A-ENDINGS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I (wo)</th>
<th>III (ppo)</th>
<th>IV (ppu)</th>
<th>Negative (ppûla)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>kapisesya</td>
<td>kalapposa</td>
<td>iserposya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kapiseyput</td>
<td>kalapposut</td>
<td>iserpoysut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapisiut</td>
<td>kalapputit</td>
<td>iserputit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapiseuc</td>
<td>kalappuac</td>
<td>iserpuec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapisooq</td>
<td>kalappoq</td>
<td>iserpooq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapipput</td>
<td>kalapput</td>
<td>iserpul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the positive dual the first person ends in -yuk; the second person, in -tik; the third person, in -puk.

§§ 33, 34
### §35. MODE III. INDICATIVE

**TRANSITIVE (C-ENDINGS)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>thou—me</th>
<th>you—me</th>
<th>he—me</th>
<th>they—me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapitearma</td>
<td>kapiteawestipa</td>
<td>kapiwaapa</td>
<td>kapiwaapia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>kalapparma</td>
<td>kalappawestipa</td>
<td>kalappaapa</td>
<td>kalappaapia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserparma</td>
<td>iserpawestipa</td>
<td>iserpaapa</td>
<td>iserpaapia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>thou—us</th>
<th>you—us</th>
<th>he—us</th>
<th>they—us</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapiwaawstitiyut</td>
<td>kapiwaawestiyut</td>
<td>kapiwaatiyut</td>
<td>kapiwaawatiyut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>kalappawawstitiyut</td>
<td>kalappawawestiyut</td>
<td>kalappaatiyut</td>
<td>kalappaawatiyut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserpawawstitiyut</td>
<td>iserpawawestiyut</td>
<td>iserpaatiyut</td>
<td>iserpaawatiyut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I—thee</th>
<th>we—thee</th>
<th>he—thee</th>
<th>they—thee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapiwaawekkit or kapiwaasayit</td>
<td>kapiwaawestiyit</td>
<td>kapiwaatiit</td>
<td>kapiwaawatiit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>kalappawawekkit or kalappaasayit</td>
<td>kalappawawestiyit</td>
<td>kalappaatiit</td>
<td>kalappaawatiit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserpawawekkit or iserpasayit</td>
<td>iserpawawestiyit</td>
<td>iserpaatiit</td>
<td>iserpaawatiit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I—you</th>
<th>we—you</th>
<th>he—you</th>
<th>they—you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapiwasse</td>
<td>kapiwawesse</td>
<td>kapiwase</td>
<td>kapiwasse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>kalappawesse</td>
<td>kalappawwesse</td>
<td>kalappaase</td>
<td>kalappaasse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserpawesse</td>
<td>iserpawwesse</td>
<td>iserpaase</td>
<td>iserpaasse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I—him</th>
<th>we—him</th>
<th>thou—him</th>
<th>you—him</th>
<th>he—him</th>
<th>they—him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapiwara</td>
<td>kapiwarput</td>
<td>kapibat</td>
<td>kapiwasse</td>
<td>kapiwa</td>
<td>kapiwaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>kalappara</td>
<td>kalapparput</td>
<td>kalappat</td>
<td>kalapparse</td>
<td>kalappaa</td>
<td>kalappaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserpara</td>
<td>iserpaprt</td>
<td>iserpat</td>
<td>iserparse</td>
<td>iserpa</td>
<td>iserpaat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I—them</th>
<th>we—them</th>
<th>thou—them</th>
<th>you—them</th>
<th>he—them</th>
<th>they—them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapiwakka</td>
<td>kapiwawut</td>
<td>kapibatit</td>
<td>kapiwase</td>
<td>kapiwaai</td>
<td>kapiwaaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>kalappakka</td>
<td>kalappawwut</td>
<td>kalappatit</td>
<td>kalappaase</td>
<td>kalappaai</td>
<td>kalappaatit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserpakka</td>
<td>iserpawwut</td>
<td>iserpatit</td>
<td>iserpaase</td>
<td>iserpaai</td>
<td>iserpaait</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 35
§ 36. MODE IV. INTERROGATIVE

**INTRANSITIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapewit</td>
<td>kalappit</td>
<td>letpit</td>
<td>-yyippit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapiwae</td>
<td>kappapit</td>
<td>ierpit</td>
<td>-yyippie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapeca</td>
<td>kalappa</td>
<td>ierpa</td>
<td>-yyika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kappapat</td>
<td>kalappat</td>
<td>ierpat</td>
<td>-yyillat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TRANSITIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thou—me</td>
<td>kapiwipa</td>
<td>kapiwisiya</td>
<td>ierpipa</td>
<td>-yyilisya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou—us</td>
<td>kapiwisiyut</td>
<td>ierpisiyut</td>
<td>-yyilisiyut</td>
<td>-yyilisiyut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou—him</td>
<td>kapiwiuk</td>
<td>kapiwiuk</td>
<td>-yyiluk</td>
<td>-yyilisuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou—them</td>
<td>kapiwiyit</td>
<td>kapiwisiyk</td>
<td>-yyiliyit</td>
<td>-yyilisiyik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### §37. Mode V. Optative

#### Intransitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>kapilapa wish I would stab myself</td>
<td>kataallapa</td>
<td>iserlapa wish I might enter</td>
<td>-pyikkile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. pl.</td>
<td>kapilata</td>
<td>kataallata</td>
<td>iserlata</td>
<td>-pyikkilit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Transitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>he—me</th>
<th>they—me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kapiliya</td>
<td>kapiliyapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iserliya</td>
<td>iserliyapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>he—us</td>
<td>they—us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kapilisiyit</td>
<td>kapilisiyit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iserliisiyit</td>
<td>iserliisiyit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>he—thee</td>
<td>they—thee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kapiliit</td>
<td>kapiliit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iserliit</td>
<td>iserliit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (pl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>he—you</td>
<td>they—you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kapiliise</td>
<td>kapiliise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iserliise</td>
<td>iserliise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>he—him</td>
<td>they—him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kapiliuk</td>
<td>kapiliuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iserliuk</td>
<td>iserliuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>he—them</td>
<td>they—them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kapiliyit</td>
<td>kapiliyit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iserliyit</td>
<td>iserliyit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negative forms are—

- *-pyikkiliuk* he—him
- *-pyikkilit* he—them

448-7°—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—66

§ 37
## § 38. MODE VI. CONTEMPORATIVE

### Stabbing or being stabbed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Intransitive (Active or Passive)</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>kapil'upa</td>
<td>kapima'apa&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kapimuta</td>
<td>kapimunata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapil'uttlu</td>
<td>kapimnattit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapimusue</td>
<td>kapimnase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>kapil'umne</td>
<td>kapimnamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>kapil'umtit</td>
<td>kapimnatit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapil'opo&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>kapimnopo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapil'opit&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>kapimnacat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup>That is, I without being stabbed.

<sup>2</sup>That is, we, he, I, etc., stabbing him, or he being stabbed by un, him, me, etc.

<sup>3</sup>That is, stabbing them, or they being stabbed.

---

## § 39. MODE VII. VERBAL NOUN OR VERBAL ADJECTIVE

### α (noun)

Examples:

* asasse [<i>æ'sæse</i>], with third person possessive suffix asassia the one who loves him, <i>asaseq</i>

* ikiortu, in third person possessive ikiortua the one who helps him, his helper, <i>ikiorteq</i>

### β (noun or adjective)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>kapisopa</td>
<td>isertopo I who enter</td>
<td>-pyil'opu I who don’t —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kapisopu</td>
<td>isertopu we who enter</td>
<td>-pyil'topu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapimnuttlu</td>
<td>isertutlu thou who dost enter</td>
<td>-pyil'tutlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapimnusue</td>
<td>isertusue you who enter</td>
<td>-pyil'tusue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapisqoq</td>
<td>iserteq he who enters</td>
<td>-pyil'teq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapisqut</td>
<td>isertuq they who enter</td>
<td>-pyil'tu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 40. MODE VIII. PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

Examples:

\begin{align*}
\text{assāsqaq} & \text{ one who is loved} \\
\text{assassara} & \text{ my beloved} \\
\text{assāsāt} & \text{ thy beloved} \\
\text{assassaa} & \text{ his beloved, etc.}
\end{align*}

| 1st per. sing. | kālātara my dropped one (the thing I dropped) |
| 1st per. pl. | kālātarpum our dropped one (the thing we dropped) |
| 2d per. sing. | kālātāt thy dropped one (the thing thou droppedst) |
| 2d per. pl. | kālātārse your dropped one (the thing you dropped) |
| 3d per. sing. | kālātāa his dropped one (the thing he dropped) |
| 3d per. pl. | kālātāt their dropped one (the thing they dropped) |
| 4th per. sing. | kālātarne his (se) dropped one (the thing he dropped) |
| 4th per. pl. | kālātārse their (se) dropped one (the thing they dropped) |

All the typical endings of the possessive inflection of the nouns (§ 26) are available in this mode.

§ 41. MODE IX. TRANSITIVE PARTICIPLE

kapipina (S. W. Gr. kapipiga) I who stab him or that I stab (stabbed) him

| thou—me, us | capipimma | capipimmitik | capipimmes | capipimma | capipimmitik | capipimmes |
| you—me, us | capipimeetup | capipimeeti | capipimeess | capipimeetup | capipimeeti | capipimeess |
| he—me, us | capicipapa | capicipaitik | capicipiess | capicipapa | capicipaitik | capicipiess |
| they—me, us | kapipapa | kapipaitik | kapipae | kapipapa | kapipaitik | kapipae |

| I—thee, you | kapipiwekkik | kapipiwe | kapipimme | kapipiwekkik | kapipiwe | kapipimme |
| we—thee, you | kapipiweetik | kapipiwe | kapipimeess | kapipiweetik | kapipiwe | kapipimeess |
| he—thee, you | capicipapa | capicipaitik | capicipiess | capicipapa | capicipaitik | capicipiess |
| they—thee, you | kapipapa | kapipaitik | kapipae | kapipapa | kapipaitik | kapipae |

| I—him, them (se) | kapipimnne | kapipimnntik | kapipimnne | kapipimnne | kapipimnntik | kapipimnne |
| we—him, them (se) | kapipimeen | kapipimeetik | kapipimeess | kapipimeen | kapipimeetik | kapipimeess |
| thou—him, them (se) | kapipimne | kapipimnntik | kapipimeess | kapipimne | kapipimnntik | kapipimeess |
| you—him, them (se) | kapicipiine | kapicipiitik | kapicipiess | kapicipiine | kapicipiitik | kapicipiess |
| he—him, them (se) | capicipama | capicipaatik | capicipaae | capicipama | capicipaatik | capicipaae |
| they—him, them (se) | kapipama | kapipaatik | kapipaae | kapipama | kapipaatik | kapipaae |

| him—I, we | kapipiga | kapipigaput | kapipiga | kapipiga | kapipigaput | kapipiga |
| them—I, we | kapipigaka | kapipigatut | kapipigaka | kapipigaka | kapipigatut | kapipigaka |
| him—thou, you | kapipiit | kapipiques | kapipiit | kapipiit | kapipiques | kapipiit |
| them—thou, you | kapipiit | kapipiques | kapipiit | kapipiit | kapipiques | kapipiit |

| him—he (se), they (se) | kapipinna | kapipinnik | kapipinna | kapipinna | kapipinnik | kapipinna |
| him—him, they—him (se) | kapipinna | kapipinnik | kapipinna | kapipinna | kapipinnik | kapipinna |
| | | | | | | |  

§§ 40, 41
§ 42. MODE X. PAST TENSE AND CAUSAL PROPOSITION

*kapiyama* WHEN (AS) I STABBED MYSELF, BECAUSE I STAB (STABBED) MYSELF

### INTRANSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td><em>kapiyama</em></td>
<td><em>katakkama</em></td>
<td><em>iserama</em></td>
<td><em>kapiyannama</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td><em>kapiwyatta</em></td>
<td><em>katakkawta</em></td>
<td><em>iserawta</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwyantawa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. sing.</td>
<td><em>kapiwyatt</em></td>
<td><em>katakkawit</em></td>
<td><em>iserawit</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwyawit</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. pl.</td>
<td><em>kapiwyawse</em></td>
<td><em>katakkawse</em></td>
<td><em>iserawse</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwyawse</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td><em>kapiyame</em></td>
<td><em>katakkame</em></td>
<td><em>iserame</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwyanname</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td><em>kapiyamit</em></td>
<td><em>katakkamik</em></td>
<td><em>isermik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwyannamit</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. sing.</td>
<td><em>kapiymati</em></td>
<td><em>kalammait</em></td>
<td><em>isermait</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwyammat</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. pl.</td>
<td><em>kapiymata</em></td>
<td><em>kalammata</em></td>
<td><em>isermata</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwyammat</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TRANSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>thou—me, us</th>
<th>you—me, us</th>
<th>he—me, us</th>
<th>they—me, us</th>
<th>he(se)—me, us</th>
<th>they (se)—me, us</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kapiyamma</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwassaipa</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmaya</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmatiyut</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamiya</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmisiyut</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmisiyut</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kapiwyettigul</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwassaigul</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmatiyut</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmasiyut</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmisiyut</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmisiyut</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmisiyut</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—thee, you</td>
<td><em>kapiwyettid</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmattit</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamase</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmamit</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamisc</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmamisc</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kapiwyetse</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwasse</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamase</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamisc</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmamisc</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamisc</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmamisc</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—him (se), them (se)</td>
<td><em>kapiwyenn</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwyitik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmattik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamattik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamattik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamattik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kapiwyenn</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwyitik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmattik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamattik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamattik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamattik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamattik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—him, them</td>
<td><em>kapiwyeko</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwyegik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmato</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamiyo</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamisik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamisik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kapiwyeko</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwyegik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwmato</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamisik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamisik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamisik</em></td>
<td><em>kapiwamisik</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 42
### § 43. MODE XI. FUTURE TENSE AND CONDITIONAL PROPOSITION

**kapiyuna** WHEN (in future) I SHALL STAB MYSELF, IF I STAB MYSELF

#### INTRANSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing .</td>
<td>kapiyuma</td>
<td>kalakkuma</td>
<td>ieruma</td>
<td>kapiyppikkuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kapiyuttta</td>
<td>kalakkuttta</td>
<td>ieruttta</td>
<td>kapiyppikkuttta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapiywitt</td>
<td>kalakkwit</td>
<td>ieruvit</td>
<td>kapiyppikkwit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapiywiss</td>
<td>kalakkwis</td>
<td>ieruviss</td>
<td>kapiyppikkwiss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>kapiywun</td>
<td>kalakkwun</td>
<td>ierun</td>
<td>kapiyppikkun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>kapiywunik</td>
<td>kalakkunik</td>
<td>ieryut</td>
<td>kapiyppikkunik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapipppá</td>
<td>katáppá</td>
<td>ierypá</td>
<td>kapipppipá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapipppata</td>
<td>katáppata</td>
<td>ierypata</td>
<td>kapipppipata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### TRANSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>thou—me, us</th>
<th>you—me, us</th>
<th>he—me, us</th>
<th>they—me, us</th>
<th>he (SE)—me, us</th>
<th>they (SE)—me, us</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapiyumma</td>
<td>kapiywesiga</td>
<td>kapipppáa</td>
<td>kapipppáya</td>
<td>kapipunyípa</td>
<td>kapipunyípa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiywettigut</td>
<td>kapiywesigut</td>
<td>kapipppatigut</td>
<td>kapipppatigut</td>
<td>kapipunyípatisiguto</td>
<td>kapipunyípatisiguto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—thee, you</td>
<td>we—thee, you</td>
<td>he—thee, you</td>
<td>they—thee, you</td>
<td>he (SE)—thee, you</td>
<td>they (SE)—thee, you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiywéstill</td>
<td>kapiywésstil</td>
<td>kapippatíli</td>
<td>kapippatíli</td>
<td>kapipunyisíti</td>
<td>kapipunyisíti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiywésse</td>
<td>kapiywésse</td>
<td>kapippase</td>
<td>kapippase</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—him, them (SE)</td>
<td>we—him, them (SE)</td>
<td>thou—him, them (SE)</td>
<td>you—him, them (SE)</td>
<td>he—him, them (SE)</td>
<td>they—him, them (SE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyumme</td>
<td>kapiywettíne</td>
<td>kapiyunne</td>
<td>kapiyustik</td>
<td>kapipppane</td>
<td>kapippanne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiywéstill</td>
<td>kapiywésstill</td>
<td>kapippatik</td>
<td></td>
<td>kapippatik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—him, them</td>
<td>we—him, them</td>
<td>thou—him, them</td>
<td>you—him, them</td>
<td>he—him, them</td>
<td>they—him, them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiywékkko</td>
<td>kapiywettíko</td>
<td>kapipyukko</td>
<td>kapipyesíik</td>
<td>kapippasuk</td>
<td>kapippasuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiywéktíl</td>
<td>kapiywésktíl</td>
<td>kapipyuktíl</td>
<td>kapipyesktíl</td>
<td>kapippatíytk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### § 44. MODE XII. ABSTRACT NOUN

**kapineq** THE ACT OF STABBING ONE'S SELF; THE BEING STABBED (BY ANOTHER); A STAB, WOUND.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute singular</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapineq</td>
<td>kapineq</td>
<td>kaláneq</td>
<td>ierneq</td>
<td>-ppineq</td>
<td>§§ 43, 44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These forms are inflected alike, following the paradigm of *æaq* (§ 28); for instance,

1st per. sing. . . . *kapinera* my stab (stabbing, being stabbed)
1st per. pl. . . . *kapinerput* our stab
3d per. sing. . . . *kapinera* his stab
3d per. pl. . . . *kapinerut* their stab, etc.

**Defective Inflection (§§ 45-48)**

§ 45. *Prevalence of Possessive or Absolute Inflection in Certain Words*

Some words, or groups of words, can take only certain series of the suffixes previously described. All true nouns may take any of the inflectional suffixes of nouns, though of course in many cases the meaning causes one series to be used more frequently than others, or prevents their being inflected equally through all the forms of declension. We have already mentioned some words that are confined either to the plural, or to the dual, or to the singular (§ 17).

Likewise there are words that are nearly always possessive, while others occur generally without possessive pronouns. To the first group belong such words as signify parts of objects; as, for example,

*itsia* the white of an egg  
*isaa (<iise)* the eye of a man  
(singular)  
(or animal; eye of a needle

*sienia* the bow of a boat  
*nina* the inhabitant or owner

of a thing

To the latter group belong, for example—

*taseq* a lake  
*nuna* land  
*ukioq* winter  

*sila* weather  
*nammineq* self  
*naliqinniaq* everybody

Altogether incompatible with possessive inflection are the demonstrative words (§ 50) and *kina* who, *suna* what, *alla* other.

§ 46. *Interrogative and Personal Pronouns*

The interrogative pronouns have irregular plurals. They form, however, regular local cases from the stems *ki* (singular), *kikkut* (plural), *su* (singular and plural).

*kina* who, plural *kikkut* (Al. *kinkut* [Barnum 77]); *kimut* to whom, plural *kikkunnuq*

---

1 The suffix -*kut* seems to mean *society, family.*
**suna** what, plural **soot** [suːt] or [syrːt] (M. cuna, plural cuvit); *sumut* to what or where (*sume* where)

The Alaskan *cha* [ca], plural *chat* (Barnum 80), which is perhaps related to the Greenlandic *suna* what thing, is presented by Barnum as having both local and possessive inflection; but in Greenlandic these words have no possessive inflection.

Combination of first and second persons and local declension is seen in the personal pronouns:

*uwaya* I; plural *uwayut* we; *uwâwne* at me, *uâwttinne* at us; *uâwnnut* to me, *uâwttinnut* to us; *uâwttut* like me *illit* thou; plural *ilîwse* or *îlisse* [ilisse] you; *illinnut* to thee, *ilîwssinnut* to you; *ilittut* like you, etc.

§ 47. Words Signifying ALONE, WHOLE, ALL

The following three nouns, signifying the abstract concept ALONE, WHOLE, ALL, in relation to persons or things, receive exclusively relative possessive endings, aside from the third person singular. They remind us of the inflection of modes x and xi of the verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st per. sing.</th>
<th>1st per. pl.</th>
<th>1st per. dual</th>
<th>2d per. sing.</th>
<th>2d per. pl.</th>
<th>2d per. dual</th>
<th>4th per. sing.</th>
<th>4th per. pl.</th>
<th>3d per. sing.</th>
<th>3d per. pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kisima</em> I or me alone (only)</td>
<td><em>kisîwta</em></td>
<td><em>kisiwnuk</em></td>
<td><em>kisîwit</em></td>
<td><em>kisîwsec</em></td>
<td><em>kisiwitik</em></td>
<td><em>kisme</em></td>
<td><em>kisîmik</em></td>
<td><em>kisîlit</em></td>
<td><em>kiseesa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ilooqarma</em> I or me whole (all over the body)</td>
<td><em>ilooqâwta</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ilooqarpit</em></td>
<td><em>ilooqâwsec</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ilooqarme</em></td>
<td><em>ilooqarmik</em></td>
<td><em>ilooqâdit</em></td>
<td><em>ilooqâdâsa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tamarma</em> I or me whole (wholly)</td>
<td><em>tamâwta</em> all of us</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 48. Numerals

The distribution of the Eskimo numerals¹ may be symbolized in this manner:

\[
\begin{align*}
I & \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \\
II & \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ (= \ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9 \ 10) \\
III & \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ IV \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ (=11 \ 12 \ 13 \ 14 \ 15 \ 16 \ 17 \ 18 \ 19 \ 20)
\end{align*}
\]

The word for 20 is *inuk* *naaLono* A MAN BROUGHT TO AN END, all his fingers (or hands, I and II) and toes (or feet, III and IV) being counted.

¹ Thalbitzer V (1908), 1-25.
The numeral system of the Eskimo is quinary, closely following the fingers and toes of man. An Eskimo always has recourse to his fingers in counting, lifting his hands in front of him. Nevertheless the terms for the numerals are not identical with those for the fingers or toes. (See examples below.)

The numerals lack the possessive inflection except in the third person, by means of which the ordinal numbers are formed.

The following numerals quoted from Thalbitzer (V), Bourquin, Petitot, and Barnum, are slightly transcribed according to my phonetic orthography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal numbers</th>
<th>West Greenland</th>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>Mackenzie River</th>
<th>Southwest Alaska</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I 1</td>
<td>atawseq</td>
<td>atawseq</td>
<td>ataoiq</td>
<td>atawseq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marlruk or</td>
<td>marlruk or</td>
<td>mallrok</td>
<td>mallruk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arraa</td>
<td>agga [azza]?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II(6)</td>
<td>arpineq or</td>
<td>arvingat</td>
<td>arvenebrit</td>
<td>arvbnlizzin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arpinllit</td>
<td>[arrtipal]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marlruk</td>
<td>agparit</td>
<td>appat or</td>
<td>marwnlizzin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mallronik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>pipasut</td>
<td>pipasut</td>
<td>pipacut</td>
<td>pippayuillizzin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>sialmat or</td>
<td>sialmat</td>
<td>citamat or</td>
<td>qolinunraata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qulaalqual</td>
<td></td>
<td>qolinilool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td></td>
<td>[tellmat or</td>
<td>qolit</td>
<td>qoan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>qolit [qolit]?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>quitit</td>
<td>[tellmat or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>qolinilool</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III(11)</td>
<td>arganeq or</td>
<td>arganeq or</td>
<td>tilannerat or</td>
<td>ataucimik cipluk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arganiillit</td>
<td>arganiillit</td>
<td>tilannterit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iekkkaneq or</td>
<td>iekkkaneq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iekkkanillit</td>
<td>iekkkanillit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>arperaneeq or</td>
<td>arperaneeq</td>
<td>iquun-ilannnerat</td>
<td>(15) akimiak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arperanillit</td>
<td>arperanillit</td>
<td>ilannnerat arvenebrit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V(21)</td>
<td>unna or</td>
<td>unna or</td>
<td>iqut-erit or</td>
<td>jinok ataucimik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unnlret</td>
<td>unnlret</td>
<td>inuwy-cipq =</td>
<td>cipluk =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. lit. plural of -ilk HAVING, SUPPLIED WITH; in plural also -leet, leet; same as M. -erit, Al. -iizigs (Pettitot LIV) (Barnum 41: ilk, plural ilgit).
2. Plural of qule UPPER ONE, IN third person possessive qulaa + ilaat INNER ONE (i.e., the fourth finger, the forefinger).
3. Corresponds to the Greenland ordinal arperpat THE SIXTH.
4. Cf. agga two = Gr. arraa (ordinal).
5. Cipq, cf. cika RESTE, RETAILLE, Al. ciplog IT EXCEEDS, Gr. siinwera SURPLUS.

§ 48
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal Numbers</th>
<th>West Greenland</th>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>Mackenzie River</th>
<th>Southwest Alaska</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[sìullæg or sìullial]</td>
<td>[sìolleq]</td>
<td>[civuleq]</td>
<td>[cakcleq]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a'tppaa</td>
<td>a'ppa</td>
<td>a'pkak</td>
<td>a'pik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pipajuat</td>
<td>pipajuk</td>
<td>pipajuk</td>
<td>pipajuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>silamaat</td>
<td>silitamajat</td>
<td>lëlmaat</td>
<td>lëlmeek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tàllimaat</td>
<td>arvertigaq</td>
<td>arvetigat</td>
<td>arrevinraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>arfernàt or arfernàt</td>
<td>arvernaught</td>
<td>arvernaught</td>
<td>arvernaught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>arqarnàt or arqarnàt</td>
<td>arqarnàt</td>
<td>arqarnàt</td>
<td>arqarnàt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>arqarpat</td>
<td>arverpat</td>
<td>arverpat</td>
<td>arverpat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Irregular Inflection (§§ 49, 50)

§ 49. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns *kina* and *suna* have irregular relative cases formed without *p* or other labial modification; thus—

**Absolutive**
- *kina* who
- *suna* what

**Relative**
- *kìu* of whom
- *sua* of what (or soop < *so-up?)

§ 50. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs

The demonstrative pronouns are inflected in the following manner:

**SINGULAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Endings</th>
<th>he (she, it) there</th>
<th>the one referred to (in speech or thought)</th>
<th>this here</th>
<th>that yonder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>na, pa</td>
<td>una</td>
<td>taawna</td>
<td>mëna</td>
<td>ìppa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative</td>
<td>(ssu)na</td>
<td>ooma</td>
<td>taawsumna</td>
<td>mënuma</td>
<td>issuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>mëppa</td>
<td>oomoppa</td>
<td>taawsumoppa</td>
<td>mënumoppa</td>
<td>issumoppa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>mane</td>
<td>oomane</td>
<td>taawsumanane</td>
<td>mënumanane</td>
<td>issumanane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abitative</td>
<td>mëppa</td>
<td>oomoppa</td>
<td>taawsumanoppa</td>
<td>mënumanoppa</td>
<td>issumanoppa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>mëppa</td>
<td>oomoppa</td>
<td>taawsuméppa</td>
<td>mënuméppa</td>
<td>issuméppa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>mëppa</td>
<td>oomoppa</td>
<td>taawsumoona</td>
<td>mënumoona</td>
<td>issumoona</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PLURAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>ko or</th>
<th>'uko</th>
<th>taawko</th>
<th>makko</th>
<th>ìko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Relative)</td>
<td>koa</td>
<td>'kooa</td>
<td>taawkoa</td>
<td>makkoa</td>
<td>ikko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>nuppa</td>
<td>'ukoppa</td>
<td>taawkonoppa</td>
<td>makkonoppa</td>
<td>ikkonoppa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>nane</td>
<td>'ukuanane</td>
<td>taawkonanane</td>
<td>makkonanane</td>
<td>ikkonanane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablitative</td>
<td>nappia</td>
<td>'uknappia</td>
<td>taawkonappia</td>
<td>makkonappia</td>
<td>ikkonappia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>nippia</td>
<td>'uknippia</td>
<td>taawkonippia</td>
<td>makkonippia</td>
<td>ikkonippia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>noona</td>
<td>'ukunoona</td>
<td>taawkonoona</td>
<td>makunoona</td>
<td>ikkunoona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natiput)</td>
<td>(natiput)</td>
<td>(natiput)</td>
<td>(natiput)</td>
<td>(natiput)</td>
<td>(natiput)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 49, 50
In the same way is inflected ṭ̣ẉna (relative ḳ̣ẉssuma) the one previously mentioned (Latin ille).

There are some other demonstrative pronouns—

āẉṇna he (she, it) in the north .
qāẉṇna he in the south; he in there (in the house); he out there (outside of the house)
pāẉṇna he up there in the east
sāẉṇna he down there in the sea
kāṇna he down there
kīṇna he there in the south
pīṇna he up there in the east

All of these follow the paradigms of taaẉṇa and iṇṇna. And just as the latter forms with the prefix ta ta'̣ṇna (the one previously mentioned we are speaking of), so all these pronouns may take the prefix ta and signify the one we are just now speaking of (or thinking of); as tamanṇa, taq̣ẉṇna, tasaẉṇna, takẉṇna, etc.

These words have no possessive inflection. Still more defective is the inflection of the demonstrative local adverbs, in which three of the inflectional endings of the demonstrative pronouns appear; e. g.—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Endings</th>
<th>there</th>
<th>yonder</th>
<th>in the north</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>maane</td>
<td>uwane</td>
<td>tkane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>maaẉỵna</td>
<td>oopa</td>
<td>tkopa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ypa</td>
<td>maap̣na</td>
<td>uẉappa</td>
<td>tkappa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>ona</td>
<td>maona</td>
<td>uẉx̣ona</td>
<td>tkona</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PARTICLES (§§ 51–54)

Although words lacking inflection are not in themselves affected by the manifold changes due to inflection, some of them at least exert a certain influence on the syntactic structure or on the grammatical forms of the words governed by them. This applies especially to the modal and temporal particles (§ 52 and § 53), and will become clear from the examples given below:

§ 51. Interjections

a amazement or bewilderment.

issom ajississor 'a how terrible the cold is! (literally, the cold is badness, ì!)

ta, ata, calls attention to something: look here!

§ 51
aja  sighing, especially used by women and children.
  aja qasogaa\wya how tired I am!

eeq  or teeq expresses scorn or irony.

na  'aa sudden pain.

\textit{kakkaak, assaasakak}, surprise, wonder, admiration (M. \textit{apkparé}
  ah l [admiration.])

For hunters’ calls, see Thalbitzer I, 323–326:

\textit{dRRR . . . dRRR} . . . used in decoying young gulls.

\textit{qu’teeq qu’teeq} to old female gulls.

\textit{taka’teeq taka’teeq qrg} to the three-toed gulls.

\textit{ha\textdegree m ha\textdegree m} to auks.

\textit{qa\textdegree qa\textdegree} to ravens.

§ 52. Modal Particles

\textit{aa} calling attention to something. In some cases it is used as a prefix:

\textit{\textquoteleft naa\textquoteleft na, \textquoteleft auna\textquoteleft look here, here it (\textit{una}) is! the same as aajuna

In other cases it is used as a suffix; e. g.,

\textit{ooma-aa} you there, come here! (\textit{ooma} is the relative case of \textit{una},
  thus meaning \textit{of him there})

\textit{aa} is very much like the sign of the \textit{a} vocative in such cases as—

\textit{ataata-aa} father!

\textit{aa-makk} they, there!

\textit{atayo} lo! behold! (with future tense of the verb following it.)

\textit{atayo usissayit} try it and you shall see you will be all right

\textit{sun\textdegree aa\textdegree Fa} (<\textit{suna} what + \textit{uffa} there) expresses surprise.

\textit{u’se} (bringing something back to his memory) now I remember.

\textit{us\textdegree uFFa} (<\textit{use} + \textit{uffa}) I thought that—. This particle is always

followed by a participle or a noun.

\textit{usiuffa takussayit}a I thought (expected) I should have seen him

\textit{qanortog} Latin \textit{utinam}, followed by optative of the verb.

\textit{naw\textdegree k}

\textit{massa} \{although (followed by participle).

\textit{wannit}

\textit{massa takussariya ilisariyngilara} although I have often seen him,

I do not know him

\textit{soorLo} as, as if.

§ 52
§ 53. Temporal Particles

ittaq a long time ago (South Gr. itsaq).

kippassaq yesterday (M. ikpëktgiapik).

ullume to-day.

gilamik soon (M. kpüllamik).

storna last year (literally, the one just before).

kijorna hereafter (M. kikunapagun).

qana when (in the preterite).

qaqono when (in the future).

qadqutiqut at times, from time to time.

aqano to-morrow.

§ 54. Particles for Expressing Question and Answer

aap yes (M. ih).

naaxa no, no (M. tchuëtop, diunak; West coast of Hudson bay naaqa).

naamik no (there is no; it is not there).

na^k where (M. tchupavit, tchuma).

sooq why.

sooruna certainly.

massame certainly, indeed.

ilumut indeed, I do not lie.

immnga perhaps (M. tabliu; West coast of Hudson bay iluukuni).

asukiak I do not know, maybe.

tassaq I hardly believe.

ai is it, do you (M. tutchayotin a^n komprends-tu?).

qa'noq how (M. naw-kut, navö-naw, kpanö-kpano).

'tlaa isn't it so?

qujanaq thanks (M. kpoyanaq).

DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 55–60)

§ 55. General Characteristics of Suffixes

In the Eskimo language suffixes (and infixes) are used to an extent quite unknown to European languages. It has been shown in the preceding chapters that all the grammatical and syntactical ideas of our languages are expressed by this means, and that these forms differentiated into a highly elaborate system. Besides this, many concepts that enrich the subject-matter of our sentences, and which

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1 Thalbitzer II, 50–62.
We express by means of adjectives and adverbs, are in Eskimo suffixes attached to the words expressing fundamental ideas. Nearly one-sixth of the Eskimo "words" (bases, stems, and suffixes) are suffixes.

One suffix may be linked to another, and in this way the fundamental idea of the base-word is gradually more and more specialized and enriched. A whole sentence may be expressed in a word—in a word-sentence.

All suffixes are imperfect words—i.e., sound-complexes or single sounds—each of which has a definite signification. Without much practice it is difficult to recognize the suffixes included in compound words, because at the beginning and at the ending of the suffix phonetic assimilation by the preceding and following sounds occurs.

The order of the suffixes is of importance, and full freedom is not allowed in their use. The independent fundamental word must be placed at the beginning of the word-sentence, and the suffixes are attached to it to explain it more fully. Such suffixes as describe the qualities of the fundamental idea or its modes of action, or which refer to size or time, follow these, and appear inserted between the leading stem and the inflectional endings. These, in turn, are attached more closely to the whole word-cluster than the syntactical suffixes which may terminate it; e.g., -lo and, -taaqeq also.

The majority of the suffixes may be freely attached to any word. Thus- liorpoq to make or create may be attached to any word which signifies something that can in any way be made or created. But there are also many suffixes the use of which is restricted to a certain class of ideas, and which may be attached to these only. The suffix -(r)nar- means for the first time, but only in the sense of noticing something for the first time: takornarpara, tusarnarpara I see it for the first time, I hear it for the first time. With other words, like to use a thing, or to make a journey, for the first time, another suffix, -(r)qaar-, is used: atorgaarpata I use it for the first time.

There are many adjectival and adverbial notions for which no suffixes exist. When for this reason it is not possible to express a group of ideas in one word, or in one compound, then the cluster will be broken up, or the expression will be divided into two or several parts. The logical relations between these parts are often shown in the inflection of the word expressing the idea that has been separated. In some cases, however, it can not be recognized by the
inflectional form, but must be deduced from the connection. If the Eskimo wants to say I HAVE A LARGE KAYAK, this may be expressed in one word, because there are suffixes to denote LARGE (seraq), HAVE (gar[poq]), and I (va, ra); but I HAVE A RED KAYAK must be expressed in two words, because there are no special suffixes to signify colors, so that the idea RED must be isolated and expressed by an independent word. The former sentence is expressed by qajaaraseqarporna (KAYAK-LARGE-HAVE-I); the latter by aa*palaartumik qajaarponga; here the first part (RED) is a participle of the verb aa*palaarpog IT IS RED, used in the instrumental (-mik), so that the whole phrase translated literally means RED (or REDLY) KAYAK-HAVE-I, very much as one would say I ROW QUICKLY IN A KAYAK.

§ 56. Classes of Derivative Suffixes

The suffixes are divided into two classes, according to their use. Some are employed to transform the nominal or verbal quality of the independent words, so that nouns are turned into verbs, and verbs into nouns; others, merely to further develop the independent words by enriching them with attributive ideas, but without transforming their nature. Thus it may be seen, in regard both to the suffixes and to the initial stems, that a distinction may be drawn between nouns and verbs, nominal and verbal suffixes, and consequently four fundamental types of arrangement may be observed, and symbolized thus:

\[N > v = V;\] i. e., a noun transformed by a verbal suffix, and so forming a verb:

- **Illoq**: house + -lirpoq makes, **ILLUlirpoq** he builds a house builds
- **Pujq**: smoke + -sunnippog it has a smell or taste of **Pujorsunnippog** it has the smell or taste of smoke
- **Ameq**: skin + -erpaq deprives it of something **Ameerpaq** takes the skin off it, skins it (e. g., the seal)
- **Nassuk**: horn + -miyarpqa makes a motion with a part of his body toward something **Nassumiyarpqa** horns him, butts him

\[V > n = N;\] i. e., a verb transformed by a noun suffix, and so making a noun:

- **Tikippog**: arrives + -qut(e)companion + -a his **Tikeryataa** his arrival-companion, his fellow-traveller


\[ N \rightarrow v = V; \] i.e., a verb developed more fully by a verb suffix, the whole constituting a more complex verbal notion:

\[ \text{uler} (pog) \text{ he returns} + \text{-asuar} \quad \text{uterasuarpog he hastens to return} \]

\[ N \rightarrow n = N; \] i.e., a noun more fully developed by a noun-suffix, the whole constituting a more fully developed noun:

\[ iillo \text{ house} + \text{mio} \text{ dweller} \quad iillumio \text{ house dweller} \]
\[ iillo \text{ house} + \text{ko} \text{ rest, remnant} \quad illuko \text{ a ruin} \]
\[ iillo \text{ house} + \text{yyuaq} \text{ little} \quad iilloyyuaq \text{ a small house} \]

Any compound ending in a suffix may be transformed or further developed. The suffixes thus used for purposes of development and transformation may even succeed each other within the same group. Thus pisivocq HE GETS (si) A THING (pe), of the formation \( N > v \), may be further developed by verbal suffixes and become pisiniaaleroq HE BEGINS (-ler-) TO TRY (-niar-) TO GET A THING (i.e., he begins to buy a thing), which is consequently the formation \( N > v + v + v \). The latter is again transformed by a noun-suffix into pisiniaaleroqik A PLACE, OR THE PLACE (-rik), WHERE ONE (HE) BEGINS (OR BEGAN) TO BUY A THING (OR THE THING), in which change the formation \( N > v + v + v > n \) is produced; and this may again be transformed into a verb (pisiniaaleroqiaa) by means of the verbalizing -a (in the third possessive singular) HE HAS IT (OR HIM) AS A PLACE WHERE HE BEGAN TO BUY THE THING (i.e., it was in that place where, or of that person of whom he began to buy the thing). In this case the last change gives the formation \( N > v + v + v > n > v \).

§ 57. Comparison of Eskimo and Indo-European Derivative Suffixes

In the first instance the Eskimo suffixes are distinguished from those of our own languages by their number; but they differ no less in the vitality of their meanings and in their movability. Thus the diminutive endings in the German RÖSLEIN, HÄUSCHEN, in the English BROKLET, and in the Latin HOMUNCULUS, SERVULUS, impress us as being fossils in comparison with the Eskimo adjectival suffixes, which may be attached freely to all words. In quite another sense than in our languages, the words of the Eskimo are born on the tongue on the spur of the moment. Where we possess finished, fully developed words or phrases, the Eskimo create new combinations specially

§ 57
formed to meet the claim of every situation. In regard to word-formations, the language is incessantly in statu nascendi.

The greater number of the suffixes of our languages may be proved to have been originally independent words (e.g., the English -ly, -ship, -dom, -some, -ful, -less, etc.). How far the Eskimo suffixes have ever been independent words is extremely doubtful; at any rate, there is nothing to show that such is the case.

The Eskimo mode of expression differs essentially from ours in the peculiar power that the suffixes have of linking themselves not simply to an independent word-stem, but to each other, with the result that a complex of ideas may be developed and enlarged within the limits of a single word. We think in sentences, but the Eskimo’s thought lives and moves in the word as an embryo in the womb. Even the object of the verb is included in the word-sentence; e.g., illoqarpqa I have a house.

§ 58. Inflection and Polysynthesis

These peculiar characteristics have determined the viewpoint taken by philologists in regard to the Eskimo language. This may be seen in the work of the Danish scholar Rasmus Rask, who knew the language through the grammars of the missionaries Paul Egede (1760) and Otho Fabricius (1791, 2d ed. 1801), and who has described it in a chapter of his “Undersøgelse om det gamle Nordiske eller Islandske Sprogs Oprindelse” (1818).

H. Steinthal referred the Eskimo and the Mexican languages to a special type, the so-called einverleibende type of W. v. Humboldt, which “draws the object into the verb and usually also combines the governing word (régens) and the attribute into a whole. . . . The word-formation has swallowed up the sentence-formation, the sentence merges into the word; those who use these languages do not speak in sentences, but in words.” According to Steinthal, this type of language belongs neither to the agglutinative nor to the stem-isolating type; it must be called a “formless” type of language.

Lucien Adam, who, at the Americanist Congress of 1883, spoke on the relation of the Greenland language to other languages, arrived at the conclusion that the Eskimo language is not polysynthetic, as are many other languages of North America, but is only a derivative lan-

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1 H. Steinthal, Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues (Neubearbeitung von Mistell, Berlin, 1898).
guage. He set forth that the derivation à l’infini of this language is due only to exaggeration of a method which is common to all polysyllabic languages, and that the Eskimo language differs from other American languages, and from the Ural-Altaic language, merely by the exaggeration of the derivative method.

As regards the descriptive term polysynthetically, it would seem that it very appropriately expresses the conglomeration or clustering of ideas which occurs in Eskimo word-sentences. To use this term as applying to the Eskimo language as a whole is an exaggeration, only in so far as that not all ideas are expressed polysynthetically, but articulate sentences also occur.

We are no doubt as fully justified in speaking of form-endings and inflection in the Eskimo language as we are in speaking of them in those languages that are specially regarded as inflectional. Thus in the Eskimo language both nouns and verbs are inflected to indicate number, case, person, etc., and, as mentioned above, the syntactic relation may likewise be expressed by means of special endings.

On the other hand, it can not well be denied that in the signification and use of the forms certain logical and fundamental differences from the grammatical system of our languages occur, which differences give evidence of marked peculiarities in the psychic basis of the Eskimo language.

§ 59. Noun and Verb

In the Eskimo mind the line of demarcation between the noun and the verb seems to be extremely vague, as appears from the whole structure of the language, and from the fact that the inflectional endings are, partially at any rate, the same for both nouns and verbs. This is especially true of the possessive suffixes.

The part played by the possessive suffixes in the Eskimo language extends far beyond the use which our languages make of the “possessive pronouns.” The person-suffixes of the Eskimo verbs prove to be identical with the possessive suffixes of the nouns (equivalent to my, thy, his, our, etc.), which may be regarded as an evidence of the noun-character of the verb. Even the verb-forming suffixes -woq and -poq (third person singular, mode ii) appear to be inseparable from the structure of the noun. Therefore these endings for the third person indicative must be regarded as impersonal forms (kapiveoq there is a stab, one is stabbed), or as marking the neutral form of the finite verb,
which assumes a personal meaning only when the purport of the sentence as a whole forces upon the speaker and hearer the idea of a third person that is in a certain condition (passively or reflexively). Thus it happens that personal and impersonal verbs show the same forms throughout.

si'allerpoq rain is, it rains
atorpoq use is, it is used
tikippoq arrival is, he arrives
kapivooq stab is, he is stabbed, or he stabs himself

Accordingly the inflected verb in the indicative intransitive is properly translated in this manner:

atorpoqa my use = I am used
atorputit thy use = thou art used
atorpoq use = one is used
= he, it, is used
tikippoqa my arrival = I arrive
tikippuit thy arrival = thou arrivest
tikippoq arrival = one arrives
= he arrives

The same applies to the transitive forms of the finite verb; thus—

atorpara my its use = I use it
atorpat thy its use = thou usest it
atorpaa his its use = he uses it
kapivara my its stab = I stab it
kapivat thy its stab = thou stabbest it
kapivaa his its stab = he stabs it

In case an independent word is added as subject, it is used in the relative case:

Peelip kapivaaanyq Peele's my-his-stab = Peele stabs me
Peelip kapivaatitq Peele's thy-his-stab = Peele stabs thee
Peelip kapivaaqq Peele's his-his-stab = Peele stabs him (another)

It is worth noticing that the base of the verb seems to have a passive or reflexive sense; e. g., "Peelip kapivoq P. STABS HIMSELF, OR P. IS STABBED." Our transitive sentence construction (HE STABS ME) is based on the idea of an active relation between subject and object. The corresponding Eskimo form of speech is based on a passive or reflexive relation between the subject and the object; that is to say, in the Eskimo language no strictly transitive use of the verb is

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known. The verb is treated as a noun + a verb-forming suffix ($-\text{wo}$, $-\text{wo}$; $-\text{po}$, $-\text{pa}$) which gives the noun a passive or reflexive signification, + the mark of the absolutive ($-y$) or of the person. If we translate an Eskimo verb as an active relation between subject and object, it is only quasi-transitive. Its fundamental idea is rather that of a passive than that of an active verb. The Eskimo does not say

\begin{quote}
He stabs me, he sees me, but rather my being stabbed by him is, my being seen by him is.
\end{quote}

Judging from these considerations, we get the impression that to the Eskimo mind the nominal concept of the phenomena of life is predominant. The verbal idea has not emancipated itself from the idea of things that may be owned, or which are substantial. Anything that can be named and described in words, all real things, actions, ideas, resting or moving, personal or impersonal, are subject to one and the same kind of observation and expression. We are accustomed to conceive activities or qualities as essentially different from the things in themselves, and we have a special class of words (viz., the verbs) to express them. They seem to impress the Eskimo mind, or to be reflected by it, as definite phenomena of the same kind as the things, and accordingly are named and interpreted by means of the same class of terms as are used for naming things. The Eskimo verb merely forms a sub-class of nouns.

\section*{§ 60. List of Suffixes}

The following abbreviations have been used in the list of suffixes:

v. is suffixed to verbs only.

n. is suffixed to nouns only.

n $>$ v is suffixed to nouns after they have been transformed into verbs.

If neither v. nor n. is added, the suffix may be attached to either class of words. The nominal or verbal character of the suffix may be determined by its signification or by its form.

\begin{flushleft}
intr. = intransitive.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
ntr. = neutral, i. e., transitive or intransitive, according to the signification of the leading word.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{quote}
\text{æet, ãit n. or v.} (marks a question or a polite invitation) how? please; e. g., illlit-ãit you, how? i. e., is it you (or yours)?

\text{aipupoq v. ntr. frequently}

\text{aluaq (n.), aluarpoq v. n $>$ v, ntr. otherwise; former (with proper names); late; although; certainly, it is true—but —— (forms conditional mode in verbs)}
\end{quote}
allarpog v. NTR. preliminarily, provisionally; first, yet
araq N. miniature, diminutive; a young one; a little
araaqv. NTR. is in the habit of. In mode x, first person sin-
gular arinama or araayama.
asuarpog v. NTR. hastens to ——; in a short time, speedily
erpaq N. deprives it of, removes the —— of it
erpq has lost its ——; sells
ererpq has lost something he possessed
eriwoq has some part of his body frozen
rik, frik v. place or time
fiqaa v. has him (or it) (B) for his (A) place to ——, he (it) is his
place to ——, i. e., he (B) is the object of his (A's) action.
g-, see g
iaarpog, see jaarpog
iaq, liaq, siaq N., in third person possessive, made by him; in
first person possessive, made by me
iaq (v.), iaqarpog, tariaqarpog v. intr. he (it) is to be ——ed (the
sense of this suffix corresponds to that of the gerundive in
Latin)
iaarpaa N. deprives it of several parts, or deprives it of its —
several times (cf. erpaq)
iaarpog N. has got it (his weapon, etc.) injured; broken
iaarpog, liararpog N. intr. goes to (a place); is out hunting ——
iaartorq v. ntr. goes or comes in order to ——; more and more
imiqoq v. ntr. somewhat, very little more ——
iniaq N., innarpog v. ntr. only; exclusively, constantly; without
hesitation
ioq v. ntr. also, too; indeed
ioqorpog, liioqorpog n. works, manufactures; transitive, works (some-
thing) for him
iuppaa, liuppaa N. works or makes a —— of it, uses it for mak-
ing a ——
ippog, lipog q. intr. has arrived at (a place)
ippog is without; is not ——
iosarpog N. intr. has gone or come to fetch ——
issarpog, liissarpog N. intr. takes a —— with him; carries (some-
thing) with him
jaarpog v. ntr. early
jaavoq v. intr. is apt to, may easily ——
juippog, suippog v. intr. never
qaooq v. ntr. (intensive) very much, strongly
garpog N. intr. has ——; there is ——
gat, in third person possessive, his companion, fellow; another
of the same kind
qatiqqaa has him as (for) his companion
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qattaarpoq v. ntr. many in succession; several times
qinawoq v. ntr. it might easily come to pass; wish he (it) would not
quit n. or v. appurtenance; instrument by means of which —
kanneq n., kannerpoq v. towards; nearly, not far from —
karpog v. intr. suddenly
kaarpoq v. intr. with long, equal intervals
kasik n., kasippoq v. ntr. vexatious, bad; odiously, badly; unfortunately
ka+wcek n., ka+wssappoq v. intr. vexatious, vexatiously; ugly
katappoq ntr. has got too much of ——; is sick of ——; is tired by ——
kippoq n. intr. has (a) little; has little ——
ko n. refuse, waste; remnant; cast off, left off
kootaarput or -rpaii n. (by numerals) at the time
kuluk n. pitiable; wretched
kuluppoq v. ntr. rather little, tolerably
kkuppaq v. regards, deems, takes him for ——
kkut n., family, society, company
llaippoq, llattiarpoq v. ntr. a short time, a moment
llattiarpoq ntr. now and then, from time to time
llarpog v. ntr. with speed; with might and main
llarqippoq v. ntr. he is very clever in ——
laarpog v. ntr. but little; slowly
larcoq v. intr. impulsively; in an unsteady state
le n. or v. but
lerivoq, erivoq n. intr. is occupied with, has something to do with ——
lleq n. (local superlative) the extreme one as to place, the —— most
lerpoq v. ntr. begins to ——; is about to ——
lerpaa, serpaa (cf. erpaa) n. supplies him (it) with a ——; places a —— on it
lera+waarpoq v. ntr. intends to
lerTorpoq v. ntr. in short time
liaq I, see iaq; liarpoq, see iarpoq
liaq II n. one who travels to a (place); one who is out hunting —— or gathering ——
liorpoq, see iorpoq
lik, pl. llit n. having ——, supplied with
lo n. or v. and; lo—lo, both —— and
looneet or; looneet—looneet, either —— or
lluarpoq v. ntr. well, right; opportunely; completely; at all
lluinnarpog v. ntr. wholly; completely

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luppoq, lupoq N. INTR. has (a) bad —; v. INTR. badly —;
has a pain (in some part of his body)
lussinnarpooq V. NTR. in vain
lusooq N. or v. like, as if it were
mmaaq v. one who is practised in —, skilled in —
mmaawooq v. is practised in —, skilled in —
mawooq v. NTR. is in the state of —
me N. or v. (intensive) indeed, then
mmersorpoq V. NTR. long time, long
mmipippoq rnmipippoq N. (instrumentalis) makes a movement with
— (that part of his body)
mineq N. a piece of —, a fragment of —
mio N. inhabitant of —
misaarpoq v. NTR. by little and little; weakly
mniq, rmiq V. NTR. (rare) after all
miwoq see imiwoq
mukarpoq, mnukarpoq N. INTR. goes (is gone) in the direction of —
mukaarpoq N. INTR. is situated in the direction of —, faces —
naq, rnaq N. peculiar.
nmaaq, nnaapua N. his dearest one, favorite, pet
nnaarpoq v. NTR. enjoys to —, with pleasure, continues to —
narpona, nnaarpa v. makes it too —; finds it beyond his expectations
narpoq, nnarpoq v. (this suffix gives the third person of the finite verb a subjective sense; the third person is used thus for a form of modesty; the impersonality = i); (passive; thus used in all persons) is to be —ed, is —ed
naraa v. he thinks it —ing
nawiarpoq v. NTR. there is a risk that —; most probably it will —
nawierpoq v. NTR. there is no longer any risk that —; now he (it) can not more —
nawiersarpaa v. prevents him from —
ney (verb abstract; mode xii)
ney)rpoq (passive suffix, especially of such verbs as are not used in mode ii)
nararpaa v. says that he (it) —, says that he is —
nar‘luppoq V. NTR. wrongly (cf. lluppoq)
narpoq v. NTR. I wonder whether —, or if —
narwwooq v. NTR. (comparative) more
niaq, niarpoq NTR. aims at; endeavors
nnarpoq (suffixxed to local adverbs) goes (to) there
nnipippoq (verbal derivative, of the verb abstract, mode xii)
§ 60
yaa, raa has him (it) for ——, he (it) is his ——; takes him (it) for ——; thinks him (it) to be ——. 
yajak N., yajappog v. NTR. nearly, almost. 
yasaarpoq N. is much frequented, full of ——. 
yaarpoq v. NTR. in a high degree, very much. 
peek, yeet, reet; yeeput, reeput n. (or v.) pair, joined in pairs; reciprocally, mutually. 
yyilaq v. NTR. not (forms the negative conjugation in the verbs; see §§ 32 et seq.) 
yippoq, rippoq n. NTR. is good, has good —— or nice ——. 
yooq (goop), roop n. or v. it is related, it is said to be ——. 
yyorpq N. INTR. becomes, grows; TRANS. makes him (it) become ——. 
ynnuaq n., ynuarpoq v. NTR. little ——, dear little; with pleasure. 
yuppq (guppq) n. INTR. longs for ——. 
paaqt, passuit n. a multitude, a great many. 
palaq n., palaaqpoq v. NTR. worthless; trash. 
pallappq, paluppq NTR. looks as if ——, sounds as if ——, behaves as if ——. 
palaarpoq, see wallaarpoq. 
pilk n., piluppq v. NTR. evil, bad. 
ppoq, rpoq n. has caught a ——; has put —— (one's clothes) on raa, see yaa. 
reespoq v. NTR. has done with ——, has already ——. 
riarpoq v. NTR. (in epic style) eagerly. 
rippoq v. INTR. is skilled in ——, is master at ——. 
rraqq'nioopq v. NTR. in emulation; they contend with ——. 
rraqarpq v. NTR. nearly, had nearly ——. 
rqamarpoq v. NTR. just, just now. 
rqarpq v. NTR. hardly, with difficulty. 
rqaarpoq v. NTR. first. 
rqippoq v. NTR. again. 
rqippoq (cf. llarqippoq) v. NTR. is able to. 
rqissivoq v. INTR. is or can better now than before. 
rqissaarpoq v. NTR. doing to the best of one's ability; diligently. 
rqoorpoq v. NTR. presumably, most likely. 
rqortooq n. has a large ——, has a great ——. 
rquppoq, rquppaq n. goes that way, along that side of it. 
rqwaaq v. NTR. wants him to ——, bids or asks him to; INTR. wants himself to be —— ed by some one else. 
rraaq v. newly, recently. 
rjuk n., rjuippoq v. NTR. improper, improperly. 
rjyonnyuaq wretched; miserable, pitiable. 
rjuussuaq enormous; awfully ——.
rusuppoq v. NTR. is inclined to ——, should like to ——
sarpaa v. (causative) works that he (it) ——
sarpoq, see tarpoq
ssaq n. future; something that may be used for ——
*ssawoq v. NTR. (future tense) shall, will (cf. ssoog and ssua)
ssaarpoq v. INTR. manifoldly
ssaarpoq v. NTR. has ceased to ——
ssayawoq v. NTR. thinks that he shall or will ——
sarpaa, see lerpaq
siaq n. bought; got into one's possession
simawoq v. NTR. (preterite, especially the perfect tense) presumably, likely
sinnaawoq v. NTR. is able to; can
siroopq n. is out hunting ——; is in search of ——; moves, travels in or on ——
siwoq, ssawoq gets or has got ——; comes into possession of ——; comes across ——
ssippaa n. manufactures (that) to him which he shall have
ssoog <**ssawoq (q.v.), 1 sing. ssoogga; 2 sing. srootit; 3 sing. ssoog;
1 pl. ssxogput; 2 pl. ssoose; 3 pl. ssxapput
nowqa, sopaa v. thinks that he (it) ——, supposes that ——
ssua <**ssawoq (see ssawoq), mode III, 1 sing. ssuraa; 2 sing.
ssuat; 3 sing. ssuaa; 1 pl. ssxwarput, etc.
ssuag n., ssaarpoq v. great, big; large; wide; greatly, strongly, largely
sunnippooq n. INTR. has a smell or taste of
ssunooq v. (verb abstract, cf. noq)
ttaagy, ssapqq n. and v. also, too
taalivwaa v. prevents him (it) from ——
taq, sqaq, ssaq v. (passive participle, mode VIII)
taq, saq, n. a part of ——; belonging to ——
taqq, ssaq n. a new ——
taarpoq, saarpoq n. has got a new ——
taroog, sarpoq v. NTR. (iterative) often, frequently; used to ——,
is in the habit of ——; knows how to ——
te v. (v. o noun, mode VII)
tiwayco v. INTR. is so, is such
tiwaia v. is to him such; has him for his ——
tippaa, sippaa v. (causative) occasions him (it) to ——, makes him ——; INTR. makes himself ——
toqaaq, soqaq n. old
torpoq, sorpoq, ssorpoq employs it several times; eats it; uses it
tooopq v. NTR. it occurred to him that ——
tterpaq, serpaq; tteeroq v. waits for ——
ttiaq n., ttiarpoq v. NTR. middling, moderate; pretty; a short time
§ 60
tuap N., tuarpooq V. NTR. the only one; only, only one time
tuunnarpooq V. NTR. assiduously, continuously
tuwooq N. INTR. has a great ——; has many ——
uarpooq N. has too many ——
unaarpooq, junaarpooq V. NTR. (future tense) will or shall in the future, not immediately, but later on
unawooq, junawooq V. NTR. (future) will, wishes to ——.
unnaarpooq, junnarpooq V. NTR. probably, most likely
unnaarpooq V. NTR. no longer, no more
uppaa V. (this suffix transforms an intransitive verb into a transitive, or gives the transitive verb another object) with regard to him (it); and the other one too
useq V. state of ——, quality of
usaq, ussaq; Russaq, yussaq N. similar to ——; imitation of ——
usnaarpooq, usnaarpooq N. represents ——, makes it represent ——;
plays that it is ——
utt (soust; t) V. vehicle, instrument, medium, means by which ——;
the cause of ——
utilaaq V. by means of that; on that occasion, for that reason
utt N. owned; belonging to ——
uttq N. INTR. is ——, is a ——
wallaarpooq, pallaarpooq V. too much; in a very high degree
wik, see rik
wiya, see riya
wik N., wipooq V. NTR. proper; properly, strictly

§ 60
TEXT

KAASSASSUK

(Fragment of a tale from North Greenland, recorded in Disco bay, 1901.)

Kaasasorjuonuaq 1 allineq 2 ajormmat 3 tinumissarualuorlono 4 attanut 5

Kaasasuk wretched little growth because not although they ought to have on the dung-

able to taken him up

hill

initarppaat 6 ilasi 7 ogas'sapput 8 ujaraaanjtitoq 9 alliumarpoq

they used to throw his place-

him fellows

illut aqi'sorssu'it 10 pini'arttunik 11 ulikaartut 12 naakisarppaat 13

houses very large with hunters filled they used to pity him

allisarumallono 14 tinuussarpaaq 15 allineq ajormmat nulee 16 ogar-

wanting to make him grow they used to take him growth because not his wife he

to them able to

fen'issua 17 allineq ajukasippoq 18 attanut inq'issuk 19 injippaaq 20

used to say to her growth he is unfortunately on the dung-

throw him out unable to

hill

ituusissaarummat 21 arnarquasaap 22 tinowaq 23 okkarmee 24 ineqaarllune 25

(she) being without any an old woman she took him in the front-

of (any other) foster

child

hope to her wall platform

---

1 Kaasasorjuonuaq < Kaasasuk + raju(k) POOR WRETCH + quaq LITTLE. u>v before r and y ([10-11]).
2 allineq grows, allineq verb abstract.
3 ajormmat mode IX of ajorpoq is UNABLE TO.
4 tinumissar ( = tinumissar) he TAKES HIM WITH HIS HAND OR INTO HIS ARMS. SUFFIXES: aq(r) + aluaq + logo (mode VI).
4 Allative of ailt (only in the plural).
5 iqi(poa) + tar(poa) mode III, third person plural.
6 ila companion, fellow (house-fellow or place-fellow), third person possessive.
7 oqog(poq) + uaq(woq).
8 ujara(ak) + u<u(woq) + yqi(woq) mode VII.
9 api(woq) is big + soq (mode VII) + asuaq, in plural aqut.
10 pe thing, something + niar(woq) + to(q) (mode VII) + nik instrumentally.
11 ulikaar(woq) is filled + toq, plural aqut, mode VII.
12 naak(aa) (conjugation II) + sar(poa).
13 alii(woq) (cf. note 2) + sar(poa) + uma(woq) + logo (mode VI) third person singular.
14 tinu(uqa) + sar(poa) mode III.
15 nula + four person singular.
16 oqog(poq) (see note 5) + Feg(aa) (conjugation II) + asuaq aswaaq future tense, mode III, third

person singular.
17 oqog(poq) + aq(k)(poq).
18 Imperative transitive singular (cf. note 6).
20 The verb corresponding to the intransitive tinusivoq (cf. note 21).
21 Locative singular: qoqaq.
22 aqar(place) + qaq(poa) + lune mode VI, fourth person singular.
tiinquumanulolo piniartut kamāllutik arnarquasaq Kaasassumvik
and after having the hunters they were angry the old woman
Kaasassuk

tiqusimmāt torssoonut pissippaaq torssoneelerppoq ullakut
because she had into the entrance they moved he began to live in the
Kaasassuk

taken him to her passage on the morrow

anilerunik kammiut tiqussuait anaataralong qimmit torsoon-
when they were the boot they would take using it to thrash the
to about to go out stretch it dogs because they

neetarmmata arnaquasaarlo ilanulloonoo anaalartappaaq
usually stay in the entrance-passage and the old woman considering her as
his partner

as they used to thrash her

anuniarunik tikkunik aniqsimallutik katammik Kaasassuk
when they caught when they came having caught seals from the inner
Kaasassuk

seals home

nuissoc qinasinut assamminik qaqissuait anususatik qalatt-
shall ascend by the nostrils with their fingers they would lift
Kaasassuk

they when they

rinjata natsermmut poonutaq ilissuait neronqu’sillu’tillo
was boiled on the floor a dish they would and when they were
Kaasassuk

put it to eat

nerrisissapput Kaasassuk kisime saweqarane mikaa’nar
they would get the meat Kaasassuk he only having no knife using only
Kaasassuk

LLune neresappoop arqalannera sualuppat kinutaai pear-
his teeth he used to eat the tearing it off if he scolded

his teeth they taking

---

24 Cf. note 23, mode X + lo AND.
25 <ka’map(paq) mode VI, fourth person plural.
26 The object of an intransitive verb is set in instrumentalis (Kaasassumvik).
27 <torsoot (only in plural).
28 Two occur in the locative + ip(paq) is THERE + ler(paq) begins to, mode II, third person singular.
29 uluav(q) in the present.
30 ani(wpq) + ler(paq) mode XI, fourth person plural.
31 Cf. note 23, + sna(aa) mode III, third person plural.
32 *anaawte a stick to beat with + ra + lopo VI, third person singular.
33 *<qimme(q).
34 Cf. note 30, + tar(paq) mode X, third person plural.
35 Lo AND indicates that they thrashed both Kaasassuk and the old woman.
36 <lappup(paq) mode VI, third person singular, makes it (OF HIM, HER) A PART (illa) OF SOME
37 OTHER THING.
38 anaalar(paa) + tar(paa) mode III, third person plural.
39 apu(wpq) catch + niiar(paq) mode XI.
40 <tiki(paq) mode XI.
41 apu(wpq) [cf. note 40] + sima(wpq) mode VI.
42 nui(wpq) + sna(eq) (future).
43 qipo(q) in the purposive.
44 asaak in fourth person possessive and instrumentalis plural.
45 qaqi(wpq) + sna(aa).
46 Cf. note 40, in mode VIII, fourth person plural.
47 qalap(paq) + tar(e) irregular, mode X, third person plural.
48 na’eqe in the allative.
49 neri(wpq) eat + qiu(wpq) invite + s(wpq) mode VI + lo AND.
50 <neri( = neqeq) + s + sna(eq) mode XI, third person singular. neri-, cf. nerrikkipoq is accustomed
to eat only little (Kleinschmidt, Ordbug, p. 426).
51 See § 47.
52 saveeq (k) + qar(paq) + a negative.
53 mikkippoq especially plucks the hair of a skin by means of the teeth.
54 neri(wpq) + sna(eq).
55 arqalap(paa) + ney verb abstract, third person possessive.
56 Mode XI, third person singular.
Lonjiṭ⁶⁶ killinneq ajulissuaq⁶⁵ nerissane⁶⁰ kinotaarotarigame⁴⁶ them out the biting he began to be his food because he was deprived of his teeth unable to
ataatip⁶³ nallilinaangamiuk⁶³ sawimminik⁶⁴ tunisarppea⁶⁵ isu-one because she (or he) used to pity him bar (or his) knife she used to give him be
maliulerppoq⁶⁶ innuit pissaartartut⁷⁶ nakuarsuanporllutillo⁵⁸ begins to ponder men using to train their and growing very strong strength
ilaa'ne⁶⁹ ite'rame⁷⁰ qaqqamut majuarppoq qaillorjolo⁷¹ torillo-once upon a when he awoke on the mountain he ascended and climbing he called day
laarppeq pissaq inuwa⁷² nas'wk maaneepoq alakkarppale⁷³ loudly strength's its genius where here I am and he made his appearance to him
terianniaq anisornuquussaq⁷⁴ maaneepoqa ersilerporlo⁷⁵ qaarquala⁷⁵ a fox immensely big here I am and he begins to fear and he calls on him to approach
ersenqunnane⁷⁶ ornippa⁷⁷ tikikkase⁷⁶ qaarppoq⁷⁹ p'miuma⁸⁰ bidding him not to fear he went towards he arriving at he (the fox) said "Of my tail him him
noodtitinut⁸¹ teqoonqa⁸³ tinuwaa immuppalaq⁸² 'pisipporlo⁸³ by the end of it take hold of me" He took hold and he wrapped it of it around himself a jump
silaa'narmilo⁸⁴ qa'nątarppoq 'tukkamilo⁸⁵ anninnjilaq⁸⁶ qaarrijalaq⁸⁷ and in the air he rose aloft and falling down he felt no pain and he said to him, on the earth

⁶⁶ pe (cf. note 11) + tar(poq) mode VI, third person plural.
⁶⁷ sawi(k) third person possessive, instrumentals.
⁶⁸ tuni(waa) + sar(paa).
⁶⁹ isuma THOUGHT + ito(poq) MAKES + ler(poq).
⁷⁰ pissa(k) STRENGTH + sar(poq) GET + tar(poq) in mode VII.
⁷¹ naku(q) STRONG + suq(q) GREAT, VERY + por(poq) mode VI, fourth person plural + lo AND.
⁷² ila in the locative, literally in (on) ONE OF THEM (vis., the days).
⁷³ t'erreopoq mode X, fourth person singular.
⁷⁴ qa'qip(paa) (mode VI, third person singular) + lo.
⁷⁵ fnuk in third person possessive singular.
⁷⁶ lo AND.
⁷⁷ aqi(waaq) 18 BIG + so(q) (mode VII) + ruju(k) + suwak.
⁷⁸ lo AND.
⁷⁹ erris(q) is AFRAID OF + cu(waa) + ma negative, fourth person singular.
⁸⁰ = ornippa mode III, third person singular.
⁸¹ Mode IX, fourth person singular he (Kasassuk) ARRIVING AT HIM (the fox). The object of ARRIVING AT is the same person as the subject of the governing verb (qiqarpooq), viz., the fox; therefore the fourth-person suffix is used. If the meaning of the word had been he (the fox) ARRIVING AT HIM (Kasassuk), the compound suffix would have been (k)isine.
⁸² The fox is of course the genius of strength.
⁸³ pamioq TAIL first person singular, relative.
⁸⁴ nood (the third person possessive singular nooa) possessive case.
⁸⁵ Mode I, first person singular <tiguwaa = tiguwaa.
⁸⁶ = lo and = lo (I becomes unvoiced after k, q, l).
⁸⁸ tup(poq) mode X, fourth person singular + lo.
⁸⁹ ansner(poq) SMARTS, ACHES + gilalq negative.
⁹⁰ qoar(poq) SAYS, TELLS + -zipaa + lo AND.
kenumut 98 qiviareet 99 takuваalo penjuat katassimmallono 90
" back look behind you!" and he saw playthings (the fox) shaking it off
terianniarlo ogarpq allineq 91 ajootitit 92 penuaaro'mattonja wit 93
and the fox said, "growing the reason why because you have been without
you are unable to any plaything
allineq ajorputit aamalo 94 pa'miu'ma nooatinut tinumma 95
growth you are unable Once more of my tall by the tip of it take hold of me."

immupaa pissipporlo orlonnilaq ogarrinaalo tassa nakuarsuannoq 96
he wrapped it and he (fox) he (K.) did not and he said to "this is growing very strong
around made a jump fall down him
at'terneavit 97 at'erlune imminut 98 malonilerpq 99 nakoannorlune 100
goose down he going down to himself he began to feel himself growing strong
ujarassuillo 101 anj'sorssuit 102 sarmmillonit 103 artonnilaa 104 illullo 105
and the big stones enormous upsetting them he mastered them and of the
(bowlers)
kilinjanut 106 pimmat 107 meeraqataasa 106 aluttornaat 108, etc.
the border of it as he came his fellow-children they were fascinated etc.
with him,

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98 *keno (in possessive kenva) THE BACK OF IT; kempumut allative.
99 = qiviarat mode I, second person singular.
100 and he saw the fox shaking playthings off his body (out of his fur) katap(paa) + sima-
(wea) mode VI, third person singular.
101 allineq mode XII.
102 1st ajootippaa? IN UNABLE TO CARRY OUT A WORK, OR TO BUY SOMETHING = ajoooppaa, mode IX
irregular (obsolete form).
103 peyuv(q) + er(paa) + up(paa) + ma(uuq) + loor (poq) mode X.
104 aama again + lo.
105 Cf. note 92, same mode and person, irregular.
106 nakuva(q) STRONG + sua(q) VERY, GREATLY + poq rare form for -poq IT IS SAID.
107 ater(poq) + niar(poq) mode I, second person singular.
108 imme SELF, allative.
109 malop(aa) + ler(poq).
110 nakuva(q) + por(poq) mode VI.
111 ujara(k) + sua(q) (In the plural suff) + lo.
112 aip(uuq) is big, mode VII + sua(q) plural.
113 sarmin(paa) mode VI, third person plural.
114 artor(paa) DOES NOT MASTER, negative, mode III, third person plural.
115 ilo relative + lo.
116 Killi(k) (possessive Killipa) allative near TO, close TO.
117 pi(uuq) mode X, third person singular.
118 meera(q) + qat(ce) relative, third person plural.
119 aluttorna mode III, third person plural.